

# Intersections of Tourism, Migration and Exile

Edited by Natalia Bloch and  
Kathleen M. Adams



“At long last! We finally have a scholarly volume of work that critically and efficaciously examines the multiple crossovers between tourism, migration, and exile. This remarkable collection of chapters provides an endless buffet of theoretically rich and empirically inspiring insights into diverse human mobilities and their implications for tourism. Crucial concepts, including migration, belonging, identity, existential fluidity, imaginaries, exclusion and inclusion, and many others, are skillfully interpreted through the lenses of mobilities, diasporas, migrations, refugees, and exiles. I congratulate Natalia Bloch and Kathleen M. Adams for putting together this consequential tome, which is global in its reach and appeal. This masterpiece belongs on the desk of every social scientist who has interests in tourism, migration, exile, and all other manifestations of human mobility.”

**Dallen J. Timothy**, *Professor and Senior Sustainability Scientist,  
Arizona State University*

“One of the most important developments in the study of mobilities over the last quarter century has been a growing willingness by scholars to consider the intersections between different forms of (im)mobility. Natalia Bloch and Kathleen M. Adams’s edited volume constitutes a major contribution to this effort. This diverse collection of ethnographic case studies demonstrates the dynamic productiveness of addressing the overlaps and interplays between tourism, migration, and exile rather than treating these mobilities as investigative siloes. It will be a significant resource in both research and teaching.”

**Vered Amit**, *Professor Emerita of Anthropology,  
Concordia University Montreal*

“This collection constitutes an important step towards the integration of the study of mobilities. In a series of ethnographic case studies of tourists, migrants, exiles,

refugees, returnees, and volunteers, the volume provides a framework for the systematic study of the great variety of personal mobility phenomena in different parts of the contemporary world. The insights of the authors and editors constitute a step forward towards the formulation of a systematic comparative approach to mobilities.”

**Erik Cohen**, *Department of Sociology and Anthropology,  
Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

“Tourist, migrant, traveler, refugee: too often we take for granted what these terms mean and to whom they should be applied. This collection’s lucid, thought-provoking chapters trenchantly challenge such simplistic categorizations, using the fine-grained lens of ethnography to reveal how mobilities overlap, intersect, and blur in lived experience – despite deep-rooted systems of governance, finance, representation, and scholarship that keep them conceptually distinct. Addressing a dazzling range of geographical settings, populations, motivations, and outcomes, this wonderfully coherent yet notably interdisciplinary volume will be a landmark work, prompting serious reflection and debate.”

**Dr. Naomi Leite**, *Reader in Anthropology, SOAS,  
University of London*

# INTERSECTIONS OF TOURISM, MIGRATION, AND EXILE

This book challenges the classic – and often tacit – compartmentalization of tourism, migration, and refugee studies by exploring the intersections of these forms of spatial mobility: each prompts distinctive images and moral reactions, yet they often intertwine, overlap, and influence one another.

Tourism, migration, and exile evoke widely varying policies, diverse popular reactions, and contrasting imagery. What are the ramifications of these siloed conceptions for people on the move? To what extent do gender, class, ethnic, and racial global inequalities shape moral discourses surrounding people's movements? This book presents 12 predominantly ethnographic case studies from around the world, and a pandemic-focused conclusion, that address these issues. In recounting and juxtaposing stories of refugees' and migrants' returns, marriage migrants, voluntourists, migrant retirees, migrant tourism workers and entrepreneurs, mobile investors and professionals, and refugees pursuing educational mobility, this book cultivates more nuanced insights into intersecting forms of mobility. Ultimately, this work promises to foster not only empathy but also greater resolve for forging trails toward mobility justice.

This accessibly written volume will be essential to scholars and students in critical migration, tourism, and refugee studies, including anthropologists, sociologists, human geographers, and researchers in political science and cultural studies. The book will also be of interest to non-academic professionals and general readers interested in contemporary mobilities.

**Natalia Bloch** is an Anthropologist and Associate Professor in the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. She specializes in the anthropology of mobility in the postcolonial context. She conducted research in Tibetan refugee settlements and among mobile workers and entrepreneurs of the informal tourism sector in India. She is the author of the book

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# CONTENTS

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <i>List of Figures</i>  | <i>ix</i>  |
| <i>List of Tables</i>   | <i>x</i>   |
| <i>Foreword</i>   | <i>xi</i>  |
| <i>Mimi Sheller</i>   |            |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i>  | <i>xiv</i> |
| <i>List of Contributors</i>   | <i>xv</i>  |
| <br>  |            |
| Problematizing Siloed Mobilities: Tourism, Migration, Exile<br><i>Kathleen M. Adams and Natalia Bloch</i>                                   | 1          |
| <br>  |            |
| 1 Temporality and the Intersection of Tourism and<br>Migration: Mobilities Between Cuba and Denmark<br><i>Nadine T. Fernandez</i>           | 31         |
| <br>  |            |
| 2 Migrant, Tourist, Cuban: Identification and Belonging in<br>Return Visits to Cuba<br><i>Valerio Simoni</i>                                | 45         |
| <br>  |            |
| 3 Diasporic Im/mobilities: Migrants, Returnees, Deportees,<br>Expats, Tourists, and Beyond in the Vietnamese Homeland<br><i>Long T. Bui</i> | 60         |
| <br>  |            |
| 4 Student Migration as an Escape from Protracted Exile: The<br>Case of Young Sahrawi Refugees<br><i>Rita Reis</i>                           | 78         |



|    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 5  | The Intersections Between Tourism and Exile: Justice<br>Tourism in Bethlehem, Palestine<br><i>Rami K. Isaac</i>   | 94  |
| 6  | Crafting Activists from Tourists: Volunteer Engagement<br>During the “Refugee Crisis” in Serbia<br><i>Robert Rydzewski</i>  | 112 |
| 7  | Panama’s Temporary Migrants in the Tourism Era<br><i>Carla Guerrón Montero</i>  | 130 |
| 8  | Intersections of Tourism, Cross-border Marriage,<br>and Retirement Migration in Thailand<br><i>Kosita Butratana, Alexander Trupp and Karl Husa</i>  | 148 |
| 9  | The Tourist, the Migrant, and the Anthropologist:<br>A Problematic Encounter Within European Cities<br><i>Francesco Vietti</i>  | 170 |
| 10 | In and out of Brazil: Overlapping Mobilities in the<br>Capoeira Archipelago<br><i>Lauren Miller Griffith</i>  | 187 |
| 11 | Intersections of Professional Mobility and Tourism Among<br>Swedish Physicians and Researchers<br><i>Magnus Öhlander, Katarzyna Wolanik Boström<br/>and Helena Pettersson</i>                           | 201 |
| 12 | Mobility Through Investment: Economics, Tourism, or<br>Lifestyle Migration? Narratives of Chinese and Brazilian<br>Golden Visa Holders in Portugal<br><i>Maria de Fátima Amante and Irene Rodrigues</i> | 217 |
| 13 | Pandemic Postscript: Tourism, Migration, and Exile<br><i>Stephanie Malia Hom</i>  | 238 |
|    | <i>Index</i>  | 252 |

# FIGURES

|     |  |     |
|-----|--|-----|
| 1.1 | People of Cuban origin in Denmark                                | 37  |
| 1.2 | International tourism – numbers of arrivals in Cuba in 1995–2018 | 38  |
| 7.1 | Afro-Antillean migrants on Colon Island, 19th century            | 132 |
| 7.2 | Map of Panama  | 135 |
| 7.3 | Marta in Providencia   | 140 |

# TABLES

|      |  |     |
|------|--|-----|
| 5.1  | Most frequently used words                                 | 100 |
| 8.1  | Reasons for migration to Thailand                          | 156 |
| 8.2  | Aspects of visiting family and relatives in Thailand       | 162 |
| 12.1 | GV grantees by country of origin, October 2012 to May 2021 | 218 |

# FOREWORD

In these times of pandemic disruptions to travel, hardening migration and border policies, and roiling climate emergencies troubling our entire planet, the burning questions of human and other species' (dis)placements press upon all other issues. The fractious and fragmented temporalities of moving and dwelling are at the forefront of social and ecological thought. In the face of inexorable climate mobilities, multispecies extinctions, viral outbreaks, political violence and wars driving exile, skyrocketing inflation, logistics breakdowns, and economic recessions, many are asking: Where can we stay or where can we go? How can we stay and how can we go? Shall we stay or shall we go?

Even so, in the midst of these existential crises, things may be weirdly calm and business as usual also continues. People go back to workplaces (which some never left); tourists go off on vacations (while others indulge in local staycations); families make decisions about where to move or how to stay in touch across distances; hopeful migrants climb into boats and cross deserts; and many people continue to find new ways to combine work, travel, migration, and international opportunities such as education or entrepreneurship. Birds and animals migrate; plants reproduce; tides come and go. Life goes on.

While the study of tourism mobilities, migrant mobilities, and experiences of exile and return has animated many debates about belonging and mobility in the contemporary world, it still remains a challenge to think about them simultaneously. Yet especially now this is a necessity in the emergent worlds of (re)mixed and mixed up (im)mobilities. And our theories, methodologies, and epistemological questions must forge new pathways to understand the current context.

This volume brings together sensitive investigations of multidimensional human mobilities and multilayered representations of complex (im)mobilities. One of the great outcomes of this book, like much satisfying ethnography, is to disrupt taken-for-granted dichotomies and dualistic thinking with more subtle hybrid models

and braided forms of understanding. In drawing our attention to the many ways in which tourism, migration, and exile are not just entangled subjects but are intrinsically co-present flickering identities within diverse performances of travel, the authors dislodge settled categories and the assumptions we bring to them: home and away, consumption and production, citizen and foreigner, self and other, belonging and estrangement, danger and safety, and the local and the global.

Many of the contributions also hint at some ways for building more ethical relations of mobility and mobilizing research for greater mobility justice. All human mobilities, whether we like it or not, are governed by highly unequal mobility regimes and legal regimes (borders, visas, passports, temporary work permits, citizenship laws, racialized discrimination, data collection, surveillance, mobile tracking, vaccine cards, etc.). Such mobility regimes differentiate these subject positions of the tourist, the migrant, and the exile and diffract the spaces of mobility into splintered channels and systems of rule. Yet as the field of mobilities research shows us, these mobile subjects are also always interrelated with each other in multiple obvious and not-so-obvious ways. It is the complexity of these possible entanglements – and their implications for mobility justice – that this book compellingly conveys, delving into unexamined places with new optics and research approaches.

In the studies presented here, we encounter complex mixtures of expatriates, exiles, deported refugees, and diasporic return tourists, for example, in return mobilities to Viet Nam (Bui) or the subtly hyphenated practices of pilgrimage, educational travel, migration, and “visiting friends and relatives” tourism in the *capoeira* communities of practice around the world (Griffith). Tourism, migration, and exile all rely on the creation of “imagined archipelagoes” of different kinds (places where one desires to travel, places where one visits for a while, places where one anchors nostalgic memories or dreamed of futures), as well as more dystopian archipelagoes (places where one gets stuck, places to which one can never return, places where one cannot get a visa, and places one was forced to flee in terror). Yet the tourist archipelagoes, the migrant archipelagoes, and the archipelagoes of exile are overlapping and mutually constitutive.

Whether in physical places of transiting, waiting, and dwelling, or in imagined representational spaces of belonging, alienation, and nostalgia, the stories of the tourist, the migrant, and the exile appear together, confront each other, transform each other, and get wrapped into individual experiences of multi-mobilities. New stories and physical experiences can also be intentionally produced. Other chapters focus on the active intersectional practices of co-production and public pedagogy such as “justice tourism” in Palestine (Isaac) or “responsible tourism” in the European *Migrantour* (Vietti). Both seek to “radicalize” tourism not only by juxtaposing the politics of migration and displacement with the tourist’s experience of freedom of mobility but also by building relations of learning and active engagement between oppressed groups suffering domination and those who seek out cross-cultural understanding of the places they visit or even their own homes.

At the heart of these inquiries are also questions of the mobilities of the ethnographer, the researcher, the academic, and the writer. What are our obligations to others and to the places through which we travel or stop traveling? Can dreams of liberation, justice, and healing still motivate our research travels or are we just business travelers becoming tourists? How does the diversification of higher education allow for the emergence of new mobile subjects who can practice ethical tourism/research/mobilities in ways that can respond to the demands of these times? These are questions for anthropology, global education, and academia as a whole. And in asking these questions, we can perhaps radicalize not only tourism but also radicalize ourselves, our methodologies, and our multidimensional travels through the world, or better yet in relation to the world(s) of others.

Mimi Sheller

Dean of The Global School, Worcester Polytechnic Institute

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*Research, Journal of Refugee Studies, Critical Asian Studies, and Transfers Interdisciplinary Journal of Mobility Studies.*

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# PROBLEMATIZING SILOED MOBILITIES

## Tourism, Migration, Exile

*Kathleen M. Adams and Natalia Bloch*

Roughly three hours by car from Mexico City nestled in the arid hills of the Central Mexican highlands lies Parque EcoAlberto, a three-thousand-acre resort and eco-adventure destination collectively owned by the indigenous Hñúhñú community. Here, *capitalinos* (urban Mexicans from the capital) and tourists from farther afield can romp in a sprawling waterpark, soak in natural hot springs, or enjoy zip-lining, rock-climbing, kayaking, camping, and overnight stays in rustic cabins. However, the park's biggest draw is *La Caminata Nocturna*, an interactive “night walk” where, for about US\$20, tourists experience a simulated evening of dark play as undocumented migrants. For four moonlight hours, local guides lead small groups of vacationers through rugged desert terrain, winding through craggy hills, forging riverbeds, circumnavigating brambly cacti clumps, and balancing atop imposing walls in simulated attempts to surreptitiously cross the “border” into the United States. Along the way, these groups of make-believe migrants encounter assorted staged threats, ranging from pre-positioned wild beasts to costumed border patrol officers. When sirens or gunshots puncture the nocturnal desert soundscape, the Hñúhñú guides harangue their tourist charges to shut off their lights, move more quickly, or run for cover lest they be captured by *la migra* (immigration patrol). When Hñúhñús masquerading as border patrol agents ultimately capture and interrogate the tourists, the lighter-skinned Mexican tourists from the capital are sometimes singled out and questioned for being “too white to be Mexican” (Hasian, Maldonado and Ono, 2015, p. 319).

Centuries ago, the indigenous Hñúhñús' homeland was in the more fertile Mezquital Valley, but conquest by Aztecs, Spaniards, and other groups forced them to retreat into the region's most arid mountain nooks (Schmidt, 2012, p. 204), effectively rendering them marginalized exiles living on the fringes of their own ancestral lands. The Hñúhñús in this particular craggy hinterland valley had long relied on farming for their livelihood, but much changed with the 1980s

devastation of Mexico's agricultural base and the subsequent rise of industrial farms that wreaked havoc on small-scale farmers: An estimated 80% of the community has undertaken the dangerous journey north to toil as undocumented farmworkers, construction workers, and truck drivers in the United States (Healy, 2007, par. 9; Walsh, 2019, p. 41). Aiming to curtail out-migration by creating local jobs, the community initiated Parque EcoAlberto in 2004, with financial assistance from the Mexican government. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, *La Caminata Nocturna* employed over 70 Hñúhñús playing roles as masked guides (*coyotes*, who smuggle migrants into the United States for a fee), Border Patrol agents, guards, ranchers, and fellow aspiring migrants (Healy, 2007). Many of these indigenous employees themselves had spent time as undocumented workers in the American Southwest (Hasian et al., 2015, p. 322). Today, most community residents rely on jobs at the eco-resort or on remittances from undocumented migrants for their livelihood (Hasian et al., 2015, p. 322).

In recent years, the Park's *Camina Nocturna* has attracted growing media attention: It has been featured in *The New York Times*, *The Daily Mail*, *Vice*, and the BBC news and has even been the topic of a documentary film,<sup>1</sup> drawing ever more tourists from around the world up until the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic. Although some commentators note the ethically problematic dimensions of tourists play-acting as undocumented migrants,<sup>2</sup> *La Caminata Nocturna*'s founders and its Hñúhñú actors envision the touristic simulation as offering not only a novel source of locally based income but also an opportunity to forge a sense of community and raise awareness of migrants' experiences (Healy, 2007, par. 12). Some scholars aptly herald the park as a "prime example of the complexities of freedom and liberty in the contemporary age of free trade, global markets, diasporas and human migrations" (Hasian et al., 2015, p. 312). For us, the park also poignantly encapsulates the core themes of this book: The intersections of tourism, migration, and exile.

Within the borders of the park, we find descendants of internally displaced persons (IDPs) – many of them returned undocumented migrants – working as performers in a tourist setting. As they reenact sanitized versions of community members' haunting border-crossing experiences, their tourist entourages play at being migrants. The simulations themselves showcase how peoples' varied experiences with mobility are entwined with race, ethnicity, class, politics, and global regimes. Moreover, the park embodies the touristic commercialization of painful, danger-fraught migrant experiences and prompts an array of ethical debates.

## **Beyond Silos: Decompartmentalizing Tourism, Migration, and Exile**

This book aims to challenge the classic – and often taken-for-granted – compartmentalization of tourism, migration, and refugee studies by exploring the intersections of these forms of human spatial mobility. The chapters in this volume offer case studies from around the world examining how tourism, migration, and exile

intertwine, overlap, and influence one another.<sup>3</sup> Such intersections are multidimensional and multidirectional. Migrants and established exiles can be tourists in their home countries (and elsewhere), drawing on economic, social, and cultural capital gained through mobility. While visiting friends and relatives (VFR tourism), tracing ancestral roots (ancestral/roots/diaspora tourism), or traveling via transnational networks, they engage in tourism and leisure activities. Moreover, some return migrants invest in tourism enterprises. Migrant and refugee neighborhoods can also become tourist destinations for both outsiders and other migrants seeking a taste of home, as witnessed in “Chinatowns” worldwide. In addition, refugee communities can attract tourists within the framework of justice tourism, via solidarity tours or as volunteer tourists (who often become activists). Refugee children from the Global South are offered holiday escapes in the Global North, which can sometimes pave paths out of protracted exile. Furthermore, it is not only “locals” but also migrants who work as laborers and entrepreneurs in the tourism sector (at times becoming tourists themselves, using forms of capital acquired through interactions with tourists). Tourism, on the other hand, can stimulate migration. Vacationers develop friendships and romantic relationships with local residents and tourism sector employees, ultimately relocating to their countries of origin and sometimes becoming migrant-tourism entrepreneurs themselves. Additionally, tourism is often an initial step to retirement migration. Finally, in many forms of mobility, the boundaries between migration and tourism are vague, as evidenced in entrepreneurs’ and investors’ lifestyle migrations and in the mobilities of highly skilled professionals. Thus, while scholars have classically researched and theorized tourism, migration, and exile separately, social reality blurs these seemingly fixed categorical boundaries. As a growing chorus of researchers has begun to observe, people may be migrants/exiles and tourists simultaneously and their status may change over time, sometimes repeatedly; “one set of movements leads to another” (Hall and Tucker, 2004, p. 15; see Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). In offering a collection of ethnographic case studies that dismantle and move beyond these deep-seated conceptual boundaries, this book aims to examine mobilities in their mutual constitution and “fluid interdependence” (Sheller and Urry, 2006, p. 212). Rather than circumscribing ourselves within a single mobility silo, we advocate for greater recognition of the variegated and intersecting mobility experiences that shape people’s lives and inform their practices.

As many of the chapters in this volume illustrate, different mobilities evoke varying political and popular imagery: some forms of mobility are positively valued, appreciated, and encouraged, while others are demonized and restrained (Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013, p. 188). Consider, for instance, the semantic valorization of second home owners and long-term tourists from the Global North as “cosmopolitan nomads” versus the typical media representation of migrants from the Global South as “aliens” and “intruders.” In a similar vein, highly skilled professionals and business travelers freely traverse nation-states’ borders whereas impoverished asylum seekers are pushed back from “fortress Europe.”<sup>4</sup> We believe that considering how uneven distributions of power permeate people’s movements will prove valuable on several levels. First, such



examinations promise to sharpen social critiques of how public discourses conceptualize and moralize various forms of mobility, reflecting gender, class, ethnicity, race, and other global inequalities. Second, deconstructing the conceptual foundations of these moral valorizations of people's movements will enable new theoretical insights and, finally (we hope), will also foster empathy with those whose movements are restrained.

### **Beyond the Trinity of Tourism, Migration, and Exile: Other Intersecting Mobilities**

Scholars interested in forms of human mobility and their intersections have highlighted a broad range of movements, far more than the trinity we are spotlighting in this volume (see Clifford, 1997; Salazar, 2017). For instance, we have abundant studies highlighting intersections between pilgrimage or sacred travels and tourism, dating back to the 1970s, when Nelson Graburn (1977) penned his classic treatise on tourism as a sacred journey and Victor and Edith Turner (1978, p. 20) made their much-quoted observation that “a tourist is half a pilgrim if a pilgrim is half a tourist” (e.g., Badone and Roseman, 2004; Cohen, 1992; DiGiovine and Choe, 2020; Eade, 1992; Ebron, 1999; Graburn, 1983; Pfaffenberger, 1983; Smith, 1992; Timothy and Olsen, 2006). We also have studies that spotlight (post)modern forms of nomadism and their intersections with exile, diaspora, or tourism (e.g., Cohen, 1973; Peters, 2006; Richards and Wilson, 2004; D’Andrea, 2009), including a growing array of studies of digital nomads (e.g., Makimoto and Manners, 1997; Richards, 2015; Thompson, 2019). In addition to the pilgrim, the nomad, the exile, and the tourist, a recent special issue of *Social Anthropology* offers individual chapters on two other “key figures” that have animated mobility research theory: the pedestrian and the flaneur (see Salazar, 2017). So why did we select tourism, migration, and exile as our focal points?

While we could have opted to embrace a scattershot approach in this collection, highlighting all these varied and intersecting forms of mobility, we felt that by focusing our lens on tourism, migration, and exile, we could enable richer, more nuanced analyses and foster an opportunity for patterns to surface between the chapters. For us, tourism, migration, and exile have been especially important for structuring people's lives, imaginations, and understandings of their own and others' experiences in the current era.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, as others have argued, migration and tourism are two of the most important social and economic (and we would add cultural) dynamics in society today (Hall and Williams, 2002). We believe this statement also applies to exile/refugees/forcibly displaced people. However, many of the chapters in this book also highlight how other genres of human mobility articulate within their case studies. For instance, Rami K. Isaac (Chapter 5) and Lauren Miller Griffith (Chapter 10) weave the theme of pilgrimage into their respective discussions of justice tourism in Bethlehem and capoeira-oriented mobilities. Also, Rita Reis (Chapter 4) addresses nomadism in her analysis of young Sahrawi refugees' vacation and educational migrations. Moreover, although a growing number of works highlight intersections between tourism and migration or between exile/

diasporas and tourism, very few works address all three forms of mobility together. We believe that dismantling the pernicious dichotomous classifications haunting migration, tourism, and refugee studies will enable us to better understand mobility practices. Spotlighting the intersections of different forms of human spatial mobilities promises to yield fertile grounds for harvesting new insights, including critical insights into the global power relations and inequalities inscribed in various moralizations of specific mobilities.

## The Conundrum of Definitions

Offering definitions of the three forms of mobility at the core of this volume carries the risk of reifying the very silos we seek to problematize. The categories of tourism, migration, and exile are, after all, abstractions that cannot possibly capture the multidimensional nature of human mobilities (see Bell and Ward, 2000; Hall and Williams, 2002). Here we briefly sketch some of the classic ways in which these concepts have been defined and indicate the challenges in finding suitable definitions.

Anthropologists have had a notoriously difficult time defining tourism (Nash, 1981; Stronza, 2001). In what is widely hailed as one of the first anthropological volumes dedicated to tourism, *Hosts and guests* (1977[1989]), Valene L. Smith defined the tourist as “a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change” (1989, p. 2). Yet, the boundaries of this classic definition quickly unravel when one asks questions such as, “what constitutes home?” For instance, how does second home travel fit in (Jaakson, 1986)? This category of mobility – one that straddles the tourism and migration binary – has inspired a number of studies, ranging from examinations of elite, wealthy tourists/(temporary) migrants with second homes (e.g., Hall and Müller, 2004) to more “ordinary” middle-class getaway cottage owners (e.g., Harrison, 2008, 2010). Analyses of second home travel challenge the notion that tourism, by definition, entails leaving a home: rather studies have highlighted the negotiations of home, identity, and place entailed in second home travel (e.g., McIntyre et al., 2006). And what of migrant tourist-workers who combine motivations and practices related to leisure, sightseeing, and paid work (Williams and Hall, 2002, pp. 5, 13; see also Bianchi, 2000). Consider, for instance, Australian and New Zealander backpackers traveling in Europe who supplement their tourism budgets with odd jobs (Mason, 2002), or backpackers from Japan, South Korea, or Taiwan on “working holidays” who are temporarily employed by tourism entrepreneurs from those countries (both first- and second-generation migrants to Australia and New Zealand) who provide services to tourists from their countries of origin (Cooper, 2002). In short, classic definitions of tourism invariably have fuzzy borders that pull us into other travel genres.

The classic definition of migration as production-led mobility is unfounded not only when we reflect on “migrant tourist-workers” and “working holidays”

but also when we consider migrants engaging in tourism practices, in the form of VFR or homeland tourism (see, e.g., Boyne et al., 2002; Nguyen and King, 1998; Duval, 2003; Ashtar et al., 2017; Din, 2017; Horolets, 2018; Adams, 2019; Moon et al., 2019) as well as other forms of leisure tourism (Dwyer et al., 2014). Moreover, many migrants do not produce but consume, as in the case of retirement migration, both residential and seasonal (e.g., Ono, 2008; Gustafson, 2002; Woube, 2014). Additionally, the time span that seemingly distinguishes migration from tourism – with more permanent migrant mobility and temporary tourist trips – fails to capture the complex nature of current mobilities (see Williams and Hall, 2002, pp. 4–5), if we compare circular migrants (e.g., Skeldon, 2012; Duany, 2002; Deshingkar and Farrington, 2009), business travelers (e.g., Gustafson, 2014; Unger et al., 2016), and highly skilled mobile professionals (e.g., Nowicka, 2007; Baas, 2017) with residential tourists (O’Reilly, 2007). Finally, the voluntary character of migration which is treated as a core distinction between migrants and forcibly displaced people, including refugees, becomes less obvious if we question the very notion of voluntariness (Bakewell, 2021). This is also the case with the classic distinction between migrants’ economic motivations and refugees’ political motivations. Is it voluntary or forced migration when someone decides to flee their homeland due to being unable to secure a livelihood and provide for their family? And if a poor economic situation in one’s country is the result of political circumstances – an authoritarian regime, occupation, or war – can we still talk about purely economic motivations? Is starvation necessary to speak of economic coercion? And what of situations where one can no longer live a dignified life in one’s own country?

Moreover, humans are guided by multiple and complex motives, and the labels they use to define themselves are often strategies for maneuvering global mobility regimes (consider Cubans who employ the category of migrants to maintain rights to return visits discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 in this volume or Chinese investors in Portugal who remain silent about their political motivations for mobility featured in Chapter 12). In addition, when defining refugeehood, we encounter a narrow, legal definition of a person who flees persecution and is recognized as a refugee by being granted this status based on the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. However, this definition excludes a number of forcibly displaced peoples (see Malkki’s critique, 1995a), such as IDPs, climate refugees, asylum seekers whose claims have been rejected, and those who, for various reasons, decide not to pursue such a status. Thus, as Liisa Malkki rightly points out, “the label ‘refugees’ connotes a bureaucratic and international humanitarian realm,” while “‘exile’ connotes a readily aestheticizable realm” (1995a, p. 513), often explored in 20th-century literature (e.g., Said, 1984). In this book, however, we have decided to employ the category of exile in its structural rather than symbolic sense. That is, as a broader, more encompassing term which refers to all those people who are not free (or able) to return to their home countries (drawing on the historical concept of exile as punishment, i.e., the banishment of a person from one’s homeland; see Böss, 2006). In other words, when talking about exile, we bear in mind the need to historicize

and politicize this category (Malkki, 1995a, p. 514), as Malkki did in her seminal book *Purity and exile. Violence, memory, and national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania* (1995b).

When discussing the complexities of mobilities, the ground-breaking book *Mobilities* by John Urry (2007), along with Mimi Sheller's and Urry's article "The new mobilities paradigm" (2006), must be mentioned. They postulated a new paradigm for theorizing (im)mobilities which would not only dismantle the conceptual boundaries between different forms of mobilities but also move us beyond the binary conceptualizations of movement and stasis, displacement and emplacement, and fixity and motion. Their work has thus created fertile theoretical terrain for projects such as ours. Finally, an important theoretical framework for this book has been shaped by studies of global mobility regimes that privilege some sets of movements while restraining others, thus creating hierarchies of mobilities and producing inequalities in terms of the right and opportunities to be mobile (see Tesfahuney, 1998; Cunningham, 2004; Shamir, 2005; Gogia, 2006; Turner, 2007; Koslowski, 2011; Glick Schiller and Salazar, 2013).

## Multiple Mobilities: Prior Iterations

Although multiple mobilities have been embedded in historical processes for centuries, it is only recently that they have come to be recognized as an undeniable aspect of the human condition (Urry, 2007, p. 35). Clearly, we are not the first scholars to realize that the siloed fields of migration, tourism, and refugee studies have much to gain by engaging in dialogue. Over the past two decades, scholarship problematizing the divisions between tourism and migration has blossomed. C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams' edited volume, *Tourism and migration: New relationships between production and consumption* (2002) was the first major book to address the dynamic interplay between tourism and migration, questioning the taken-for-granted binary of production/labor/migration and consumption/leisure/tourism. Path breaking for its time, it was composed of studies by human geographers and scholars of tourism and tourism management and addressed tourism's intersection with labor migration, consumption-led migration, VFR travel, and other forms of tourism-induced mobilities. Our book, published 20 years after this landmark publication, aims to further explore these intersections by addressing newer forms of mobility that have emerged in recent years and adding one more important dimension of mobility, namely, exile.

The intersections between tourism and migration were further explored in the book *Going abroad: Travel, tourism, and migration. Cross-cultural perspectives on mobility* edited by Christine Geoffroy and Richard Sibley (2007) as well as by Peter Burns and Marina Novelli in the edited volume *Tourism and mobilities. Local-global connections* (2008). The authors of the latter argue that the "tourism" category is no longer useful in capturing the complex realities of traveling people as it encompasses various forms of mobile practices. Already in 2003, Karen O'Reilly queried "When is a tourist?" and presented ethnographic accounts of three forms of

tourism-related migration of British citizens to Spain: retirement migrants, entrepreneurial migrants, and consumption-driven, economically active migrants (O'Reilly, 2003). Fiona Allon, Kay Anderson, and Robyn Bushell demonstrated that “backpackers are not just tourists; they are also frequently students, working holidaymakers, highly skilled professional workers, and even, at times, long-term semi-permanent residents” (2003, p. 73).

Studies of lifestyle/amenity migration also illustrate the blurred boundary between migration and tourism, given that many migrants are not (only) economically motivated: they make their migration choices by weighing factors akin to those considered by tourists when selecting their destinations. Lifestyle migration is thus a form of mobility in which both the quest for a good life and class constitute particularly important fields of inquiry (Moss, 2006; Amit, 2007; Benson and O'Reilly, 2009; Benson and Osbaldiston, 2014; Åkerlund and Sandberg, 2015; Duncan et al., 2016). Lifestyle migration encompasses a range of leisure-oriented mobilities already mentioned in this introduction – residential tourism, retirement migration, and second home tourism – in which “home” and “away” (another often taken-for-granted binary) are deconstructed (Janoschka and Haas, 2014). However, this form of consumption-led mobility can be combined with production, challenging the dichotomy of work and leisure, as in the case of “travel-stimulated entrepreneurial migrants” (Snepenger et al., 1995), “lifestyle entrepreneurs in tourism” (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2000), and the previously discussed “digital nomads” (Makimoto and Manners, 1997). Moreover, not only are these mobilities usually inspired by prior tourist experiences, but lifestyle entrepreneurship often occurs within the tourism sector.

Tourism is not only a leisure activity for tourists but also a workplace and a source of income for migrants, given the sector's many low-skilled and low-paid jobs. A number of studies have explored international and domestic migrant workers and small-scale entrepreneurs in the tourism sector, both formal and informal (e.g., Adams, 1992, 1996; Forshee, 2001, 2002; Bianet Castellanos, 2010; Lenz, 2010), including sexual relations offered to tourists by migrant women (Brennan, 2004; Lindquist, 2008). These migrant workers in the tourism sector challenge the classic notions – and another binary – of “hosts” and “guests” (Griffin, 2017; Bloch, 2020).<sup>6</sup> Studies of this realm address postcolonial and postsocialist disparities, interrogate tourism's emancipatory potential for migrants' well-being and empowerment, or spotlight tourism's capacity for serving as a platform for creating self-representations (Enloe, 1989; Castellanos, 2010; Ghodsee, 2005; Bloch, 2021b). Sometimes, the encounters between migrant tourism service providers and tourists trigger further mobility, i.e., marriage migration, which itself can be economically driven or a lifestyle mobility (see, e.g., Jaisuekun and Sunanta, 2021). In some tourist destinations, migrant workers and working tourists share the same space (Carson et al., 2016). Finally, return migrants challenge the dichotomy of migration and tourism, not only because they often feel or are treated as tourists in their own homeland but also because they sometimes provide services to tourists (Adams and Sandarupa, 2018; Adams, 2019; Pido, 2017). Thus, as Noel Salazar

(2020) notes, tourism without migration would not be the same as it is (if it would be at all), just as migration without tourism be entirely different; for this reason, labor migration and tourism mobilities should be consistently brought together in our analyses. Likewise, writing in broader terms, Erik Cohen and Scott Cohen (2015) called for tourism studies' incorporation into the mobilities paradigm in order to shed new light on how tourism is entangled with other forms of discretionary mobilities and to deconstruct "problematic binary modernist thinking in tourism studies" (2015, p. 157).

Recognition of the importance of exploring the ways in which exile intersects with migration is evident in the establishment of the *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* in 2002. Its editors declare that "it is unique in its character as it covers both migration and refugee studies,"<sup>7</sup> creating a platform where studies of these two mobilities can be presented together although in most cases they continue to be analyzed separately. Moreover, exiles may become migrants. This is not obvious, given the popular mass media image of refugees as newcomers struggling in temporary camps. However, the majority of the world's forcibly displaced people live in protracted exile (see Aleinikoff, 2015). These are mostly second- and subsequent-generation refugees who see international educational mobility and economic migration as avenues for gaining political agency and/or as pathways for escaping from exile, as has been demonstrated in studies of Sahrawi refugees (Chatty et al., 2010; Farah, 2010; Reis, 2019), Sahrawi and Palestinian refugees (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2015), or Tibetan refugees (Choedup, 2015).

In their edited volume *Coming home? Refugees, migrants and those who stayed behind*, Lynellyn D. Long and Ellen Oxfeld (2004) discuss not only return migrants but also the experiences of returning refugees during both temporary visits and permanent repatriation. Many other studies have addressed the links between established diasporas/subsequent generations of refugees and tourism in the form of diaspora/roots/ancestral tourism (e.g., Butler, 2003; Leite, 2005, 2017; Tie and Seaton, 2013; Marschall, 2017). The landmark volume in this field is *Tourism, diasporas and space* edited by Tim Coles and Dallen J. Timothy (2004a) which discusses the production of diaspora tourism destinations as well as the experiences of diaspora tourists. In addition, Sabine Marschall's edited volume, *Tourism and memories of home. Migrants, displaced people, exiles and diasporic communities* (2017), offers a collection of ethnographic studies from different parts of the world highlighting the tourism-memory nexus in diaspora tourism. Here, the emphasis is on examining how memory underpins the touristic mobility of exiles and migrants who travel to their (often imagined) homelands. The ethnographic monographs exploring this nexus include Shaul Kelner's (2010) volume on political-religious homeland tours organized by the Israeli government to foster Jewish-American youths' attachment to Israel. Other writers have explored how Jewish diaspora tourism is tethered to processing difficult pasts and cultivating new personal identities (e.g., Lehrer, 2013; Feldman, 1995). The intersections between historic exile and diaspora have been also explored with regard to the slave trade and contemporary black diaspora tourism to ancestral homelands (e.g., Holsey, 2008; Bruner, 1996).

Not only do members of diasporas become tourists, but refugees can also transform into tourism sector entrepreneurs, which is an important topic with regard to both urban refugees (i.e., those living outside the camps and not being assisted by humanitarian agencies) and refugee self-reliance (e.g., Portes and Jensen, 1989; Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008; Alrawadieh et al., 2019; Cetin et al., 2022). Also, the cultural capital of refugee groups can be skillfully converted into economic capital via tourism – commodifying refugees’ ethnic culture may be a survival strategy in exile, as demonstrated by the case of Tibetan refugees in India (McGuckin, 1997), who have maintained their ability to manage their cultural heritage and its commodification. In contrast, Kayan refugees from Myanmar are denied control of tourism in their villages in Thailand by Thai state agencies that use Kayan “long-neck women” as an icon of ethnic tourism in Thailand (Cole and Eriksson, 2010, pp. 115–117).

Nevertheless, tourism also has the potential to become a platform for recovering refugees’ voices – empowering refugees not only economically (as in the studies discussed earlier) but also politically. The history of exile is often subaltern history, unvoiced in the narrative of mainstream tourism shaped by the state and its citizens. However, alternative tours – in the form of solidarity or justice tourism (see Higgins-Desbiolle, 2009) – can bring these stories to light, as demonstrated in studies of tourists visiting Palestinian refugee camps (Isaac, 2010; Kassis et al., 2016), Tibetan refugee settlements (Bloch, 2018, 2021b, pp. 149–157), and refugee camps in Western Sahara (Popović, 2018) or refugees acting as tourist guides in refugee-receiving countries (Burrai et al., 2022).

Since Europe’s crisis of receiving refugees in 2015 and 2016,<sup>8</sup> voluntourism in support of asylum seekers has been widely explored (e.g., Chtouris and Miller, 2017; Trihas and Tsilimpokos, 2018; Sandri, 2017; Freedman, 2018) wherein not only do tourists become volunteers – responding to the call “what can tourist do to help?” (Porter, 2015) – but also volunteers become accidental tourists (Paraskevaidis and Andriotis, 2021). In addition, the influence of refugees’ presence in the tourism sector in receiving countries – when “refugees and tourists share the same beaches” (Kingsley, 2015) – has been studied, particularly by scholars in economics and tourism management (e.g., İstanbullu Dinçer et al., 2017; Pappas and Papatheodorou, 2017; Tsartas et al., 2020). Moreover, tourism infrastructure – hotels, hostels, guesthouses – is often used to accommodate refugees. This intersection has been documented since the eve of the World War II when Amsterdam’s Lloyd Hotel housed Jewish refugees. Other notable examples of tourism infrastructure being repurposed for refugees occurred during the war in Yugoslavia when Dalmatian resorts opened their doors to refugees from Bosnia and during the genocide in Rwanda when Hotel des Mille Collines in Kigali offered refuge to a few hundred Tutsis (Fregonese and Ramadan, 2015). Such actions can constitute revival strategies for hotels experiencing stagnation or survival strategies in periods of tourism decline due to political instability. They can also be acts of solidarity (see, e.g., Manning, 2009). There are also cases where asylum seekers (and grass roots groups working on their behalf) have organized initiatives to occupy hotels, as was the case with the shuttered Hotel City Plaza in Athens which was appropriated as a residence for refugees in 2016 (García Agustín and Jørgensen, 2019).

Finally, of particular interest are the studies that encompass all three forms of mobility. Magdalena Bodzan (2020) offers an ethnographic case study of several culinary initiatives in Warsaw, Poland, which brought together refugees and migrants as cooks and tourists as customers. These initiatives drew on the cultural and refugee capitals of the cooks and involved both capitalizing on their ethnicity and modifying it to mesh with the tourists' tastes (for instance, adapting meals to accommodate vegetarians).

## Researching Mobilities: Methods

Given the volume's anthropological origin, the majority of the chapters' authors are anthropologists, although contributors also include human geographers, a scholar in spatial sciences, and a scholar in ethnic studies. Therefore, the chapters' findings emerge primarily from anthropology's hallmark methodology of ethnographic field research (participant observation, informal conversations, autoethnography, activist research, and online ethnography), as well as in-depth unstructured interviews, and semi-structured interviews (Fetterman, 2020; LeCompte and Schensul, 2010; Spradley, 2016). Some chapters also draw on visual and textual content analysis, archival research, and certain quantitative methods (word frequency count and surveys). We believe that qualitative research methods, particularly ethnography, are the best means for gaining insights into people's everyday perceptions and experiences of (im)mobility. This sort of approach, which foregrounds emic perspectives, has much potential to deconstruct the legacy of scholarly and state-imposed conceptual categories. Ethnographic methods, particularly long-term participant observation – living with and partaking in the daily life of the community one seeks to understand for an extended period – inevitably force researchers to reassess their prior understandings.

Long-term participant observation also enables researchers to build trust with individuals who may be hesitant to speak candidly during formal interviews with outsiders (Adams, 2012). This is especially important for research on sensitive topics, such as undocumented migration or tourist destination residents' ambivalence about tourism in their communities. As Stroma Cole observed while researching local understandings of tourism in Eastern Indonesia, “spontaneous, indoor fireside chats were a more successful technique than attempting to carry out questionnaire-based interviews . . . [and] disclosed information on topics that were not openly discussed at other times” (Cole, 2004, pp. 295–296). Moreover, unlike surveys, long-term fieldwork allows us to capture not only frozen moments in time but also dynamic processes and changes.

Anthropologists studying mobilities argue that such fieldwork needs to be mobilized, that is, moved away from synchronic studies of territorially bound culture to enable us to follow people on the move (e.g., Appadurai, 1996; Clifford, 1997; Elliot et al., 2017). Although many scholars researching mobile lives draw on mobile or itinerant ethnography (Schein, 2005, 2002; see also Sheller and Urry, 2006, pp. 217–218), studying mobilities does not always involve movement on the



researcher's part: sometimes "staying put" turns out to be the most effective way to observe mobilities (Coates, 2017, p. 119). Often scholars combine mobile methods (following our research partners) with ethnographic research rooted in concrete locales. In essence, "a processual, collaborative, and creative ethnographic focus enables anthropologists to document the many ways in which mobility transforms social life, both for 'movers,' 'stayers,' and those in-between" (Salazar et al., 2017, p. 15).

Many of the chapters in this volume draw on the methodology of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995). George E. Marcus coined this expression to describe the adaptation of "conventional ethnographic research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse time-space" (1995, p. 96). Although some of the contributors to this volume may not use Marcus' term to describe their data gathering practices, their approaches fit under the broad umbrella of multi-sited ethnography. Ideally suited for learning about the lives, experiences, and meaning-making dynamics of moving peoples, multi-sited ethnography is not limited to simply studying individuals in various geographical locales: it also entails following people, objects, ideas, and meanings through various social and political contexts: tracing the connections between local and global, between offline and online, and between discourses and practices (for instance, by bridging migrants' everyday experiences and the macro workings of mobility regimes).

## Paths to This Book

Often, one gleans only small hints of how the volume editors came to the topic at hand, beyond usually via passing mention of an initial conference panel (see endnote 3). Since length constraints prompted us to refrain from contributing our own ethnographic chapters to this volume, we turn to share some of our relevant research findings here, thereby adding two additional Asian regions – India and Indonesia – to those addressed in this volume. In keeping with scholarly recognition of the value of attending to how the personal informs research paths (e.g., Okely and Callaway, 1992; Amit, 2000), we also briefly reference our formative experiences with these intersecting mobilities. In so doing, we nod to calls for greater transparency regarding the ways in which personal backgrounds intersect with and color our research agendas, engagements, and findings.

Both of us, the editors of this book, encountered intersecting mobilities in our anthropological research and personal lives. When she was an undergraduate student from a postsocialist Central European country, Natalia Bloch became a "migrant tourist-worker" at a melon plantation and a vineyard in Valencia in order to earn money to support her desire to travel to Spain. She worked with undocumented migrants from Morocco who dreamed of further migration to France, migrants who rushed to hide in the shed when the Spanish police made periodic unannounced inspections (she noted that they did not check too carefully – presumably they had an arrangement with the vineyard's owner). Later, when she

became a PhD student in anthropology, Bloch worked as a tour guide for Polish tourists traveling to India and Nepal (see similar experiences of leading anthropologists of tourism: Bruner, 1995; see also 2005; Smith, 2005). This enabled her to travel to India and conduct her fieldwork in Tibetan refugee settlements before she obtained a PhD research grant. At the close of each tourist season, she sent tourists home and turned to her research. In this way, her interest in the anthropology of tourism was born and comingled with refugee and, subsequently, migration studies.

One of Bloch's field sites was Dharamshala, a refugee settlement in northern India and an informal capital of a Tibetan diaspora that has been turned into a tourist attraction. Dharamshala's attractiveness is used by refugees to gain visibility and promote their political cause via their direct encounters with tourists. In her book *Encounters across difference. Tourism and overcoming subalternity in India* (2021b), Bloch demonstrated that skillfully politicized tourism can both transform tourists into allies in refugees' struggle for self-determination and serve as a platform for recovering refugees' voices. In this form of justice tourism, tourists become recipients and conveyors of the diaspora's political postulates – postulates for which the diaspora is struggling to gain international moral and political support. Creating self-representations and engaging tourists in political activities for the Tibetan cause takes place in Dharamshala in several arenas. These arenas include producing political souvenirs which refer to the “Free Tibet” slogan; creating educational experiences for tourists (for instance, awareness talks, movie screenings, and meetings with former political prisoners); and organizing political reality/solidarity tours around Dharamshala (see also Mahrouse, 2008).

Bloch researched another dimension of the intersections between tourism and forced displacement in Hampi, a village in southern India, located within a UNESCO World Heritage site. Hampi residents experienced eviction and their houses and small tourism businesses were demolished in the name of protecting tangible national heritage in its “splendid isolation” (Herzfeld, 2006, p. 143). The forcibly displaced residents struggled for their own vision of living heritage, as well as their rights to housing, and the benefits accrued from tourism. Their allies in this struggle were, again, tourists who expressed their solidarity in the media, organized online support campaigns, took videos, and crafted petitions for UNESCO and the Indian government to stop evictions, thus developing – as Freya Higgins-Desbiolles (2010, p. 200) calls it – a transnational solidarity-based activism (Bloch, 2016, 2017, 2018).

While researching the informal tourism sector in India, Bloch noticed that many tourism service providers – workers and small-scale entrepreneurs – were not “locals,” as it is usually imagined, but migrants (both settled and seasonal, international and domestic), IDPs (from draught-afflicted regions), so-called expats (tourists-turned-migrants from the countries of the Global North) and refugees (both newcomers and second-generation exiles). They all challenge the often taken-for-granted “binary between mobile tourists and place-bound locals” (Sala-zar, 2012, p. 874). Moreover, these mobile tourism workers also engaged in leisure

activities, becoming tourists themselves – either by being invited by befriended tourists or using social networks built with other tourism service providers to perform VFR (both in India and abroad). VFR facilitated their leisure mobilities, making them more affordable and thus more accessible.

The informal, heterogeneous character of both tourist destinations where Bloch conducted her ethnographic fieldwork enabled the “hosts” to develop unmediated, close relationships with tourists beyond the service provider–customer framework. For the “hosts,” these relationships were a source of alternative social networks that sometimes resulted in marriage migration to the tourists’ home countries, usually located in the Global North; Tibetan refugees referred to them as “greener pastures” in the West (see Bloch, 2020). In some cases, these intersections were even more unexpected. For instance, Bloch analyzed the case of Tibetan refugees who – supported financially by befriended international tourists – provided humanitarian aid to other forcibly displaced people, i.e., Indian climate IDPs from draught-afflicted areas who lived in a slum alongside a riverbank in Dharamshala (Bloch, 2021a).

Kathleen M. Adams’ path to this volume was fueled by a combination of personal and scholarly factors. Reared in a predominantly immigrant enclave in the touristic city of San Francisco, Adams’ mother was a French immigrant and her maternal grandmother had migrated at age 12 from Italy to Paris to toil in the garment industry, relocating again decades later to follow her daughter to California. Like many of her classmates, Adams’ early childhood was animated by nostalgic stories of lives in the homeland. For Adams, San Francisco was always “home,” but other ancestral homes – Paris and Turin – were ever present in the fabric of family life, enlivened by the aroma of her grandmother’s pasta simmering on the stove, the arias of her mother’s beloved French operas, and the garden cage of live snails awaiting transformation into *escargot*. These sensory experiences and subsequent familial visits to French and Italian “homelands” fostered Adams’ abiding interest in the interplay between mobility and identity.

Adams’ fieldwork in Indonesia and the United States has broadly focused on the politics of tourism, heritage, and identity (e.g., Adams, 1984, 1995, 2003, 2011). Her mid-1980s dissertation research on ethnic and artistic change in the context of tourism was based in the Toraja highlands in Indonesia, at a time when anthropologists identified field sites as stationary and bounded (Adams, 1988). Yet, living with a Toraja family in a carving village popular with tourists, Adams saw that mobility beyond the homeland informed their lives (2006, p. 33). It quickly became apparent that tourism was entwined with other forms of mobility: not only did foreign and domestic tourists flow through the village daily but also local guides formed relationships with tourists, sometimes relocating abroad to pursue opportunities presented by these relationships.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, local carvers whose shops catered to tourists participated in workshops and exhibit openings in Bali, Jakarta, and Japan. Moreover, many families had children and other kin who studied or found jobs off-island: villagers with disposable wealth occasionally visited these far-flung relatives and engaged in VFR tourism. In addition, these migrant relatives returned

for rituals, vacations, and, sometimes, retirement. Some who acquired foreign language skills while abroad ultimately returned home and found employment in the tourism sector. In short, Adams came to realize that the borders of tourism were fuzzier than the classic scholarship suggested and that the varied human flows across time and space – ethnoscapes in the language of Arjun Appadurai (1986, 1990, 1996) – were interconnected.

Adams’s 1988 dissertation and subsequent book (2006) examined how movements of tourists, anthropologists, art dealers, missionaries, and Torajans were entangled with shifting Torajan perceptions of themselves and their arts. In these works, she argued that Torajans were artfully deploying the touristic and anthropological interest in their culture to navigate a better position for themselves in the hierarchy of Indonesian ethnic groups. Her recent research has focused more directly on the intersections between tourism and migration. Some of this research foregrounds the emotional terrain entailed in migrant return visits to the ancestral homeland, visits that combine tourism with familial time (VFR), and demonstrates that returning migrant visitors’ somatic, sensory experiences during their travels home serve to reframe their understandings of their current-day identities (2019).

Another dimension of Adams’ research examines how entwined forms of mobility (labor, educational, recreational, and cyber) pose new opportunities and challenges for Indonesian families in translocal times. Marjorie Esman (1984), Dal-len Timothy (1997), and others have underscored that people draw on “travel and tourism to the ‘home country’ to (re)assert, reaffirm and perform their heritage” (Coles and Timothy, 2004b, p. 12). Adams argued that it was not solely “heritage” in the generic ethnic sense that is being (re)affirmed via these travels but also culturally specific ideas about the nature of the family. As she demonstrated via the Toraja case, Toraja migrants and their foreign-reared children return to the homeland for funeral rituals and, simultaneously, tourism. While there, they tour not only typical touristic sites but also specific ancestral houses and attend rituals with hundreds of other members of their “house families.” For these migrants, tourism becomes an integral dimension of the discovery, exploration, articulation, and, sometimes, rejection of more expansive ancestral house-based notions of the family (Adams, 2015). More broadly, Adams has argued that attending to “local knowledge” can destabilize our entrenched siloed conceptions of tourism and migration and foster more nuanced understandings of mobility dynamics, as illustrated via Toraja practices and the Malay concept of *merantau* (travel for financial and experiential enrichment), a commonly used term in Indonesia and Malaysia which does not map neatly onto the Western siloed categories of tourism and migration (2020; also see Adams, 2016 and Din, 2017).

## A Roadmap to This Volume

The studies in this volume draw on original, predominantly ethnographic, research. Each chapter presents a case study that challenges persistent dichotomous classifications (tourists vs. migrants; migrants vs. refugees; voluntary vs. forced migration;

leisure vs. work; etc.). The work presented here spans the globe. For instance, chapters analyze intersecting and overlapping mobilities between Cuba and Europe; Vietnam and the United States; Sahrawi refugee camps and temporary homes in Western Sahara and Spain; as well as Western countries and Palestinian camps in the Middle East. Additional chapters address intersecting forms of mobility between China, Brazil, and Portugal; Thailand, East Asia, and Europe; Panama and Europe; and along the Balkan route refugees followed during Europe's crisis of receiving refugees. These mobility vectors are multi-directional: from the Global South to the Global North, from the Global North to the Global South, and within these regions. Collectively, the chapters chronicle both short- and long-term mobilities prompted by various motives, desires, and aspirations. These include political, economic, and safety challenges, expulsion, leisure, earning possibilities, educational opportunities, love, marriage, retirement, lifestyle aspirations, career advancement, and investment possibilities.

Chapters 1 and 2 unveil the intersections of migration and tourism by analyzing the stories of Cuban return migrants occupying the status of tourists in their own country and, at times, engaging in the tourism sector as entrepreneurs. On the surface, their motivations to leave Cuba seem to be primarily economic; however, Cuba's economic struggles are tethered to its political regime (and the US embargo); thus, the exile dimension also emerges. Many Cubans leaving the country adopt the status of migrants, rather than refugees, to enable returns. The Cuban state plays with mobility categories by imposing the category of (economic) migrants on those who leave the country unless they migrate to the United States in which case they are automatically considered exiles. Nadine T. Fernandez's chapter focuses on long-term, mobile relationships between Cubans and Danes who move between both (and sometimes additional) countries. Fernandez uses the lens of temporality and the life course perspective to scrutinize the intersections and overlaps between peoples' experiences of tourism and migration and the state policies that control and categorize their movements. She shows how Cuban–Danish couples maneuver these temporal regulations – visas, residencies, permits, and so on – revealing inequalities in terms of people's access to both mobility and residency. Valerio Simoni's chapter also discusses the experiences of Cubans living abroad in Europe during and after their return to Cuba. His chapter spotlights the complex questions of when one is migrant, tourist, or local and who imposes these designations. Simoni examines the potentials and limitations of these categories for evoking different modes of belonging and identification and the emotions involved, when “you are less than a tourist, and less than a Cuban,” in the words of one of his research participants. Returnees' mobility and their tourist/migrant/Cuban identifications are grounded in global inequalities across a North–South divide. Returnees are aware of expectations of sharing (i.e., providing material support) and feel exploited, much in the same way (foreign) tourists often feel, which results in “downscaling” family and reconstructing social life, leading to fragmentation and differentiation.

Chapters 3–6 scrutinize how exile intersects with other mobilities, namely, return migration, deportation, VFR tourism, student mobility, solidarity tourism,

justice tourism, and volunteer tourism. Long T. Bui discusses the involuntary and voluntary returns of post-war South Vietnamese refugees from the United States, analyzing the categories of repatriated deportees, incarcerated tourists, and retired or working expats. The author juxtaposes cases of Vietnamese exiles sent back to Vietnam by the US government against their will (due to old criminal records or other infractions) with cases of US tourists of Vietnamese origin arrested and expelled by the Vietnamese government. He also addresses voluntary returnees who move to Vietnam either upon retirement or for work, thus transforming from exiles to expats. Here, the blurred boundaries between exile, migrant, and tourist follow the enduring Cold War line, distinguishing a friend from an enemy in a world of global flows of ideas, capital, and bodies. VFR tourism, in this case, is a way for the Vietnamese state to manage refugee/returnee politics. But at the same time, the threat of being banished mitigates such tourism. Rita Reis, in her chapter on young Sahrawi refugees, argues that educational mobility can work as a strategy for escaping protracted exile and pursuing a better future. Via ethnographic stories, Reis shows a typical trajectory for Sahrawi exiled youth from refugee camps to Spain: first participating in the Holidays in Peace program (which offers Sahrawi children an opportunity to spend their summer vacations in Europe), then being fostered by one's Spanish host family, studying abroad, and ultimately becoming an economic migrant. These mobilities are accompanied by flows in the opposite direction – the travels of Spanish host families to the refugee camps within the framework of solidarity tourism. The mobilities she discusses are embedded in a nation-building process that takes place in the diaspora. Rami K. Isaac's chapter explores the intersections between exile and tourism (as well as pilgrimage) through the lens of justice tourism. He examines the motivations, perceptions, and experiences of international tourists attending alternative tours to the Segregation Wall and Palestinian refugee camps in Bethlehem. Justice tourism here plays a similar role to that seen in Bloch's study of Tibetan refugees discussed earlier in this chapter: it offers a platform for subaltern histories of exile and suffering which are not voiced in mainstream tourism. Here, the otherwise silenced voice of Palestinian refugees can be heard by tourists. The author discusses the potential of this form of tourism to create empathy and solidarities between international tourists and Palestinian refugees. Finally, Robert Rydzewski's chapter shows how, during the first crisis of receiving refugees in Europe in 2015–2016, refugee camps, bus and train stations, and informal asylum seekers' settlements in the Balkan route brought together two mobile groups: refugees from the Global South and volunteers from the Global North, the latter resembling tourists in their itinerant volunteerism. Asylum seekers and the voluntourists Rydzewski accompanied in Serbia acted in concert with one another, following each other and responding to each other's needs. However, their movements reflected unequal access to mobility: While the mobility of the former was restricted, the latter enjoyed the privilege of unhampered mobility, moving freely across nation-states' borders. What emerged from encounters between these two mobile groups were new forms of political activity and solidarity based on reciprocity that resulted in challenging the European Union's border regime.

Intersections between tourism and migration are explored in Chapters 7–10. Carla Guerrón Montero writes about migrants who are workers in the tourism sector, tourists who turn into lifestyle migrants, and diaspora roots tourists in Panama. In particular, she focuses on Afro-Antilleans who since the mid-19th century were treated as “temporary migrants” in Panama until tourism offered them a platform for creating their self-representations and a degree of cultural-political autonomy from the national meta-narrative. At the same time, Panama attracts lifestyle migrants – mostly from the United States – who were once tourists. Guerrón Montero demonstrates how cultural and economic capital gained through interactions with those lifestyle migrants and tourists has the potential to help undocumented “temporary migrants” working in the tourism sector overcome their status-related constraints. She also shows how migrants working in the tourism sector can act as tourists both through VFR and traveling in dwelling. Finally, she indicates an additional dimension of overlapping mobilities, i.e., diasporic Afro-Antilleans visiting Panama as tourists within a framework of roots tourism. In their chapter, Kosita Butratana, Alexander Trupp, and Karl Husa analyze tourism as an impetus for retirement migration and marriage migration in the Thai context. Retired migrants in Thailand are mostly men from Europe, North America, Australia, and some East Asian countries, who often live with a local partner. This is a consumption-led migration that itself blurs the boundaries between migration and tourism with regard to both motivations and destinations. The counter-mobility of retirement migration, with converse selectivity, is the cross-border marriage migration of young Thai women, who often are internal migrants themselves working in the tourism sector. Upon migration, they join the Thai diaspora in the Global North countries which, in turn, propels VFR tourism. Here, VFR tourism does not only mean return visits for leisure but reflects the gender obligations of Thai women toward their family members (especially, the parents). The authors argue that short-term stays for leisure often generate more permanent mobility, i.e., that previous tourism experiences play an important role in the migration decision-making and therefore they should be examined together. Francesco Vietti’s chapter explores another dimension of overlaps between migration and tourism. He discusses migrants acting as tourist guides and migrant heritage as a tourist attraction in European cities. His case study offers a critical analysis of the Migrantour project developed in 20 cities in cooperation with anthropologists to highlight migrants’ contributions to transforming these cities. As with the case of solidarity tours to Palestinian refugee camps, tourism here offers first- and second-generation migrants a platform for telling their stories about life in their current cities – to both tourists and residents. These encounters between migrants and tourists are aimed at transcending touristic folklorization and trivialization of migrants’ otherness. Vietti discusses the categories of “transformative encounters,” “traveling-in-dwelling,” and “daily multiculturalism” to explore their potential and limitations for living together “in difference.” Finally, Lauren Miller Griffith scrutinizes the complex and overlapping mobilities of the transnational capoeira community. North American students travel to Brazil as tourists/pilgrims following

their masters while capoeira teachers move in the opposite direction, engaging in VFR tourism and other “touristy” activities. These movements enable both groups to move up within capoeira’s internal hierarchy and sometimes lead to more-or-less permanent migrations. Ultimately, Griffith shifts our gaze from the focus on capoeira’s globalization to the movements of people who pursue it and, in so doing, addresses issues of race and class inscribed in these mobilities.

The last two chapters of the book address blurred boundaries between migration and tourism in privileged mobilities. Magnus Öhlander, Katarzyna Wolanik Boström, and Helena Pettersson analyze the international mobility of Swedish scholars and physicians – highly skilled professionals – to problematize the multidimensional practices of their work-related mobility and tourism. The authors demonstrate how tourism imaginaries and opportunities figure into these professionals’ travel planning. In this case, professional and tourist gazes, as well as work and tourist moments, overlap to the point that they are sometimes hard to distinguish, converging in a professionals’ tourist gaze. Finally, Maria de Fátima Amante and Irene Rodrigues observe how migration and tourism intertwine in the category of foreign investor. Their case study focuses on the motivations and experiences of Chinese and Brazilian Golden Visa holders in Portugal. They also demonstrate how the state strategically deploys the country’s tourist attractiveness to entice international investors. However, contrary to the state’s aims, these investors are neither super-rich nor absent from the country. For many of them, the opportunity to obtain a Golden Visa to this European Union country is an avenue for pursuing a better life which exceeds the desire to expatriate capital. What a better life means depends on the group under study; for Chinese investors, a less stressful educational environment for their children and cleaner air were key, while for Brazilian Golden Visa holders, a sense of personal security and a less stressful work environment were most significant. Therefore, as the authors argue, these Golden Visa holders might be best understood as lifestyle migrants rather than capital investors. Interestingly, the political dimension can also be detected in this form of mobility – although the mainland Chinese did not express this explicitly, the Brazilians were very vocal about the unstable political and economic situation in their country of origin as well as the banalization of violence that motivated them to relocate to Portugal as investors.

Finally, Stephanie Malia Hom’s postscript addresses the varied ways in which the COVID-19 pandemic has altered and “reshuffled” subjective experiences of tourism, migration, and exile. Building on points elaborated in the volume’s chapters and interweaving her own cogent analyses of media stories in the COVID-19 era, Hom spotlights the mobility-related paradoxes wrought by the pandemic. She chronicles how the pandemic’s rhetoric of contagion was cast onto tourists who found themselves trapped and immobile while vacationing, prompting tourists to adopt vocabularies of limbo, waiting, imprisonment, and uncertainty more typically associated with migrants and refugees. She also observes that the pandemic brought reassessments of earlier associations between mobility and privilege: those of means could choose to shelter in place thereby shielding themselves from the



virus, whereas those without “network capital” (Urry, 2007, cited by Hom) – migrant agricultural farmworkers and food workers, in particular – were mobilized as “essential workers” and exposed to the virus (for migrants, staying home means the loss of income and their ability to send remittances). Ultimately, Hom’s chapter underscores the importance of considering ethical issues and matters of biopolitics underpinning intersecting forms of mobility in the COVID-19 era. Hom also offers various suggestions for future research directions. As she suggests, scholars interested in the intersections of tourism, migration, and exile in the (post-)pandemic era might want to examine the ethical dimensions of these shifting experiences of mobility. That is, we might ask who gains advantages from “deploying” (im-)mobility and how? How might considering “variegated” mobilities foster new paths toward mobility justice?

In raising these questions, Hom signals our broader hopes for this volume. In recounting, juxtaposing, and analyzing stories of (im-)mobile lives – refugees’ and migrants’ returns, marriage migrants, voluntourists, migrant retirees, migrant tourism workers and entrepreneurs, mobile investors and professionals, and refugees pursuing educational mobility – the chapters comprising this volume aim to cultivate more nuanced insights into intersecting forms of mobility. Moreover, taken together, they invite reflections on the moral, economic, and cultural dynamics of spatial mobility. It is our hope that these richer understandings will foster not only empathy but also greater resolve for forging trails toward mobility justice.

## Notes

- 1 See *La Caminata* (The Long Walk). Available at: [www.newday.com/film/la-caminata](http://www.newday.com/film/la-caminata).
- 2 For example, Patrick O’Gilfoil Healy suggests that tourists’ activities on *La Caminata Nocturnal* can appear “crass, like Marie Antoinette playing peasant on the grounds of Versailles” (2007, par. 12).
- 3 The idea for this volume was born at the 2019 Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) held at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. There, we (the volume editors) co-chaired a panel on “The Intersections of Tourism, Migration, and Exile” which garnered much interest from anthropologists working on mobility-related topics. Three of this book’s chapters were presented as part of this panel (Chapters 1, 11, and 12). Additional chapters were subsequently solicited with the aim of creating a broader geographical range of case studies and fostering a more diverse array of contributors (in terms of gender, nationality, ethnicity, and academic seniority).
- 4 Hilary Cunningham (2004) coined the expression “gated globe” to convey these inequities in access to mobility, drawing on the metaphor of gated communities.
- 5 It is estimated that in 2019 (just prior to the COVID-19 pandemic), 1.5 billion international tourist arrivals were recorded globally ([www.unwto.org/international-tourism-growth-continues-to-outpace-the-economy](http://www.unwto.org/international-tourism-growth-continues-to-outpace-the-economy), accessed on: May 28, 2022). In the same year, the number of international migrants worldwide reached nearly 272 million ([www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/InternationalMigration2019\\_Report.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/InternationalMigration2019_Report.pdf), accessed on: May 28, 2022) and the number of forcibly displaced reached 79.5 million (including 26 million people who were granted refugee status and 45.7 million internally displaced persons; see [www.unhcr.org/flagship-reports/globaltrends/globaltrends2019/](http://www.unhcr.org/flagship-reports/globaltrends/globaltrends2019/), accessed on: May 28,

- 2022). The latter statistics have grown significantly in 2022, due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Although difficult to calculate, the numbers for pilgrimages are also high (estimated at 155 million annually in 2011), but they are not that widely distributed around the world. Hindu and Sikh (primarily domestic) pilgrims comprise half the total of pilgrims worldwide. Muslim travels to spiritual sites account for approximately 2.3 million pilgrimages annually (for data on pilgrimages, see: [www.arcworld.org/downloads/ARC%20pilgrimage%20statistics%20155m%2011-12-19.pdf](http://www.arcworld.org/downloads/ARC%20pilgrimage%20statistics%20155m%2011-12-19.pdf), accessed on: May 28, 2022).
- 6 An early volume that highlighted the “converging interests” of mobile workers and tourists merits mention here, namely, Jill Forshee et al. (1999).
  - 7 [www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=wimm20](http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=wimm20) (Accessed on: May 13, 2022).
  - 8 See Chapter 6, endnote 1, for an explanation regarding why the crisis of 2015–2016 was not a crisis of refugees but rather a crisis of receiving refugees marked by securitization, border control, and institutional violence (push-backs) or even a crisis of European values (Buchowski, 2017, p. 521). Therefore, we opt to term this phenomenon a “crisis of receiving refugees” (see Bloch, forthcoming).
  - 9 For more on this dynamic elsewhere in Indonesia, see Dahles and Bras (1999).

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## Temporality and the Intersection of Tourism and Migration

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## **Migrant, Tourist, Cuban**

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## Crafting Activists from Tourists

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## Panama's Temporary Migrants in the Tourism Era

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## Intersections of Professional Mobility and Tourism Among Swedish Physicians and Researchers

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## Mobility Through Investment

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