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Intersections of Tourism, Migration, and Exile
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Tourism, migration and exile are frequently studied as distinct research topics, yet the social reality we live in today paints a much blurrier picture. While terms like “tourist”, “traveler”, “migrant” and “refugee” (among many others) are increasingly prevalent in our everyday vernacular as our societies become more mobile and interconnected, the desire to separate these labels oversimplifies increasingly common complex situations. The result has ramifications in the study of anthropology as well as geography, as we try to comprehend the intricate dimensions of human mobilities in the 21st century. Furthermore, the reshuffling brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic and the post-pandemic rebound has added increased layers of complexity. While some scholars have begun to examine the intersections between tourism and migration, or between exile/diasporas and tourism, few have explored all of these mobility forms together, which means there is significant potential for novel approaches to the study of these growing phenomena.

Edited by Natalia Bloch and Kathleen M. Adams, *Intersections of Tourism, Migration, and Exile* dismantles the dualistic thinking that divided these topics in the first place, and instead presents a more nuanced view of these fields, where they overlap, and where they branch off into new forms of mobility. The book consists of 12 case studies conducted through mostly ethnographic interviews with people in different regions of the world, including Europe, Central and Latin America, East Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, as well as an informative introduction and postscript, which help us better understand current

mobility practices, with all of their delicate shading and diverse facets.

In the book’s foreword, Mimi Sheller argues that human mobility is governed by highly unequal mobility and legal regimes which differentiate the relative positions of tourists, migrants and exiles, even though the topics are interrelated in ways that are both obvious and not-so-obvious. She also raises questions about the mobilities of researchers and academics themselves, and their obligations to others and the places they visit – all of which are relevant and have implications for research ethics in these fields.

The editors of the book begin by describing an event called *La Caminata Nocturna*, a “night walk” organized by an indigenous community near Mexico City designed to simulate the experience of undocumented migrants for both Mexican and foreign tourists. The editors use this known practice to illustrate the economic, social and cultural benefits of the new “mobilities paradigm” that has emerged in the social sciences thanks to the seminal work of Mimi Sheller and John Urry (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007). This sets the scene for the rest of the book while advocating for greater recognition of the diverse mobility experiences that shape people’s lives. Also relevant to the book are the editors’ own relationships with the book’s subjects: Bloch’s interest in the anthropology of tourism overlapped with refugee migration studies when she was an undergraduate “migrant tourist-worker” in Valencia; and Adams’ interest in the interplay between mobility and identity was fostered by her visits to the French and Italian “homelands” of her family heritage.

In the first chapter, Nadine T. Fernandez analyses how Cuban-Danish couples navigate state policies that control their movements between countries; and how these regulations create inequalities in terms of people's access to mobility and residency. Using the lens of objective and quantitative temporality (*chronos*) versus the more subjective life chapter perspective (*kairos*), the author uncovers the intersections and overlaps between experiences of tourism and migration. The second chapter, by Valerio Simoni, explores the experiences of Cubans who live in Barcelona and later return to Cuba, and the challenges of categorizing individuals as migrants, tourists or locals, and who has the power to do so. These categories are influenced by global inequalities, particularly the North-South divide; and returnees often feel exploited due to expectations that they will provide material support, which affects their sense of belonging and identity, and the emotions that arise when individuals feel stuck between categories.

In chapters three to six, the book shifts focus to include specifically the topic of exile. Long T. Bui examines the return of South Vietnamese refugees to Vietnam in chapter three, highlighting involuntary returns of deportees and incarcerated tourists, as well as voluntary returns of retirees and expats. The blurred boundaries between exile, migrant and tourist follow the enduring lines of the Cold War, as the Vietnamese state uses "visiting friends and relatives" (VFR) tourism to manage refugee/returnee politics, while also threatening expulsion. In chapter four, Rita Reis describes how young Sahrawi refugees who participate in Spain's Holidays in Peace program eventually study abroad and become economic migrants, thereby using education mobility as a strategy for a better future. While these movements are part of a larger nation-building effort in the diaspora, the process also involves Spa-

nish host families visiting refugee camps as part of solidarity tourism. Rami K. Isaac, in chapter five, examines the intersections between exile and justice tourism through international tourists' experiences attending alternative tours in Bethlehem. The author argues that justice tourism offers a platform for subaltern histories of exile and suffering which are not voiced in mainstream tourism, creating empathy and solidarity between international tourists and Palestinian refugees. In chapter six, Robert Rydzewski examines the 2015-2016 refugee crisis on the Balkan route, focusing on how volunteers, who were mostly from the global North and acted like tourists, helped refugees who had limited mobility due to restrictions on their movements. According to the author, these encounters led to new forms of political activity and solidarity based on reciprocity, which challenges the EU's border regime.

Chapters seven to ten shift more heavily towards the intersections of tourism and migration, starting with Carla Guerrón Montero's written and photographic exploration of different types of migrant experiences in Panama's tourism sector. Her analysis includes both Afro-Antilleans who were once treated as temporary workers but have been legitimized with cultural and political autonomy through tourism, and American lifestyle migrants who can help undocumented workers in the tourism sector through their cultural and economic capital. In chapter eight, Kosita Butratana, Alexander Trupp and Karl Husa examine the retirement migration of men mostly from Western countries who live with local partners often half their age. They also explore how Thai women migrate for marriage, and often work in the tourism sector before joining the Thai diaspora in the global North, while gender obligations to family drive short-term VFR tourism as well as migration decisions. The book takes a narrative turn in chap-

ter nine, with Francesco Vietti's critical snapshot of the Migrantour project, an initiative in 20 cities that showcases the contributions of migrants as tour guides in European cities, and how their heritage can be a tourist attraction that he argues can transcend being trivialized as touristic folklore. In chapter ten, Lauren Miller Griffith examines the movements of the transnational community dedicated to the Afro-Brazilian martial art *capoeira*, highlighting issues of race and class within these movements. North American students travel to Brazil as tourists to follow their masters, while teachers engage in VFR tourism and other touristic activities, which allows both groups to advance within *capoeira*'s internal hierarchy and sometimes leads to permanent migration.

Migration and tourism in privileged mobilities and the overlap between them are the subjects of the book's final two chapters. In chapter 11, Magnus Öhlander, Katarzyna Wolanik Boström and Helena Pettersson examine the international mobility of Swedish scholars and physicians to illustrate the intersection of work-related mobility and tourism. The authors show how tourism imaginaries and opportunities play a role in their travel planning, leading to overlapping work and tourist moments that are sometimes hard to distinguish and often result in a "professionals' tourist gaze." Maria de Fátima Amante and Irene Rodrigues then analyze the intersection of migration and tourism through the lens of foreign investors, focusing on the experiences of Chinese and Brazilian golden visa holders in Portugal. They reveal that the state utilizes the country's tourism appeal to attract foreign investors, but these investors are often seeking a better quality of life, making them better described as lifestyle migrants rather

than capital investors. Lastly, Stephanie Malia Hom's postscript explores the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on tourism, migration and exile, and the resulting paradoxes it created. The pandemic forced tourists to adopt vocabularies of limbo, waiting, imprisonment and uncertainty more typically associated with migrants and refugees. The author also notes that the pandemic exposed how mobility is linked to privilege, and highlights the importance of considering ethical issues and matters of biopolitics in intersecting forms of mobility.

Although each chapter in this book has a distinct focus and feel, they come together to give a detailed look at the complexities of tourism, migration and exile in the 21st century. The book does a solid job of breaking down barriers between different types of mobility research, and presents a more accurate and thoughtful view of different movements and travel experiences. By doing so, it hopes to encourage understanding and to motivate people to work towards creating a more just world for all migrants and travelers, making it an important read for anyone, anthropologist or not, interested in these topics.

Bibliographical references

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