Introduction

The Story of Ibrahim (Part I): How the Owner of a Travel Agency in Damascus Became a Syrian Refugee

I started working in tourism in 1984, almost by chance. At the time I was twenty-four years old and was a foreign language student at the University of Damascus, where I started working as a receptionist in a beautiful five-star hotel close to home. This is where I met my first groups of English and Italian tourists. I remember the very first Italian I escorted around the *souq* of Damascus. He was a guest at the hotel and had asked me to give him a tour, during which I realized that, in truth, I knew little about the history and art of my own city. I was mortified and decided that I should study and improve my local knowledge.

In the New Year of 1986, I accompanied my first group of tourists around Syria, including the sites of Palmyra, the city of Aleppo, and other places which I had rarely visited but which I would eventually come to know very well. After the ten-day visit, that tourist group left me a tip of 1,700 Syrian lira. This was more than my monthly salary at the hotel. I resigned from the job at reception and started working as a full-time guide. Thanks to my father having gone to Italy in the 1960s to study at the University for Foreigners in Perugia, I was the only guide in Syria who spoke Italian well. Therefore I became the correspondent in Syria for a tour operator in Venice, for which I essentially managed their Syrian headquarters. In addition to being a guide, I took care of the entire organization of the trip and managed the logistical aspects. In the 1990s there was a boom of Italian tourists in Syria. A few years before there were not even paved roads to get to the archaeological sites, but then we reached a stage where many groups would come, and I earned more than my father, who was a doctor . . . I was doing well financially, and I also liked the work very much.

After 2000, my wife and I set up our travel agency. She was mainly involved in outgoing travel for Syrians who went on holiday to Lebanon, Turkey or Egypt, and I was involved in incoming travel. I also used to come to Italy at least twice a year for the main tourism fairs and, from 2005

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onwards, for other reasons too. After the Pope's visit to Syria, a new type of tourism from Italy started: that of religious pilgrimages for groups that were interested in tracing the route of Saint Paul. So I also began to follow these groups and I became very passionate about the theme of inter-religious dialogue. I talked about it with the priests during their trip and then they invited me to Italy to talk about issues such as the role of the Virgin Mary in the Quran. I remember that I came to Assisi, Lecce and Sassari. Anyway, I worked in tourism for twenty-five years; it was my life and I thought it would last forever.

In 2011, just before the beginning of the first civilian uprising against the Assad government, I had a nice house, nice cars, and I had just bought land to build a hotel there. Then, in that spring of 2011, everything changed. People went out in the square to protest, and the government responded with machine-gun fire at the crowd. I had tourists booked until New Year's Eve, a whole year full, but they started cancelling reservations one after the other, and by May we had no reservations for the rest of the year. However, until that moment we did not think what would happen could be possible. . . we were convinced that the government would fall quite quickly and that the tourists would return the following year. We had a lot of money saved up and we thought we would pull through the crisis.

But things changed suddenly in 2012 on a day like many others when I was arrested after a document check at a military checkpoint. They took me blindfolded to the secret service prison and then beat and tortured me, and other things I cannot recount. I do not know why they took me. It is possibly because in previous years I had also been a translator and interpreter for the Italian Embassy in Damascus and they thought I knew secrets. After two weeks they let me go, as suddenly as they had taken me. They put me in a car with a hood over my head and threw me out on the side of a road, all broken. After several days of treatment in hospital I managed to return home. I immediately told my wife and daughters that it was time to leave. It was not only because of the violence I had suffered, but also because the country was no longer safe. They bombed the neighbourhoods and cities, and the girls missed a lot of school. After they had taken the minibus in the morning they would often return because a bomb or a mortar had fallen, and the school was closed. From the first days of the war, I had prepared a small suitcase that I always kept under my bed with all our family's important documents, such as school diplomas and certificates. When the day came for me to take that suitcase, we loaded everything we could into our car, left Damascus and headed to Lebanon. Of my twenty-five years of work in tourism, I took only two things: a small antenna from a car radio that could be shortened and lengthened and to which I had attached a blue flag (I used it to guide tourists and I always had it in my pocket) and my address

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book where all the names and phone numbers of the tourists I had met and become friends with were stored.

We crossed into Lebanon and stopped at a refugee camp and then after some time we managed to move into a small apartment. The plan was we would all move to Europe together, but after months of attempts I was only able to get a tourist visa for myself in Spain lasting three months. The flight to Madrid included a stopover in Paris, and while I was in the French airport, I decided to try to leave and reach Italy. It was at that moment that I pulled out my address book in which I had five hundred names of people who lived in Italy. You know how it is to work in tourism: on the first day when I welcome them at the airport you are just a guide, but by the end of the tour you can become a friend, exchanging friendly hugs and kisses. Many told me: 'If you come to Italy, come and visit us!' And so I did, but when I read many of the names I had difficulty recalling who they were, or remembering their faces. However, there were some whom I had a closer relationship with and so I called them, especially a group of tourists and a travel agent who lived in Veneto. They were all very kind and they told me to meet them and that they would handle everything themselves. And they really did it! I spent five months moving from one house to another of the tourists who lived between Padua, Vicenza and Verona. Everyone hosted me for a few days and, thanks to them, I was also able to get in touch with a lawyer from Turin to get the documents necessary to reunite my family. Unfortunately, I found out that in order to apply for asylum I would first have to wait for my tourist visa to expire. I felt like I was going insane, because it was so crazy and I was really desperate!

Nevertheless, the lawyer and I prepared all the necessary documents for the Commission and after six months I finally obtained refugee status. Six months seemed like a lot, but I found out that there were other people who had been waiting for a year or two. I managed to do it faster thanks to the lawyer, but obviously not everyone can afford this help. In my case I was lucky because, once again, it was my former tourists who paid a good part of the bill. (Interview with Ibrahim,[1] carried out by the author in Turin on 9 September 2022)

The first part of Ibrahim's story highlights some of the key themes on which this book is based. They are the unpredictability of global crises that affect people's life stories, the fragility of the tourism sector in the face of political, economic and social upheavals, and also the tortuous paths of those who are forced to reimagine their identity, their work and their future through migration.

It is a painful picture: the ruins of art and architectural masterpieces reduced to dust by the war; the migrants who have lost so much time

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in preliminary reception centres and the long waits for the bureaucratic practices that will establish their status; the heartbreaking memories of the destroyed house, and of the belongings that were left behind or disappeared. However, as the second part of Ibrahim's story, presented in the Conclusion, will illustrate, it is a journey that can lead to a haven of new ideas, new challenges, new perspectives.

It all depends, of course, on what happens along the way. Ibrahim's story, as well as that of millions of other asylum seekers, is a story of mobility. There was a time in Ibrahim's life when he travelled across his country in tour buses accompanying foreign guests on their visits. Then came a time when he searched for any means of transport available to leave Syria with his fellow countrymen on the run.

Mobility includes the spatial and symbolic, the tangible and intangible. Migrants move between the country they leave, the lands they cross and the places they arrive in, and perhaps will one day leave again to return home or to continue their lives elsewhere. There is also a sense of movement between who they were before emigration, who they had imagined they would become in the future and who they actually became during and after migration. Mobility therefore implies a variety of dimensions of change, which are interconnected: social status, family ties, friendships, the perception of oneself and the gaze of others.

Many factors are involved in guiding mobility, some of which are structural. They originate from the global inequalities of political power and economic wealth that characterize the world system and produce borders and passports with unequal rights to mobility and border crossings. Further factors concern the imaginary perspective with the collective social production of ideas about other people and places. The production of such imagined worlds feeds on multiple sources, from the circulation of objects and photographs to the memories of witnesses and myths of the dream of a better future.

For Ibrahim, various structures played a decisive role at different times in the story of his life. At the beginning of the 2000s, the tourism sector in Syria was growing strongly. In 2009, there were six million foreign visitors, and in 2010 eight and a half million, contributing 14 percent of the country's gross domestic product and 11 percent of the jobs available. The outbreak of the civil war in March 2011 eliminated international tourist arrivals within a few months, quickly leading to the collapse of the sector. In 2013, tourism revenues in Syria had decreased by 94 percent compared to before the war. Hotel rooms no longer hosted tourists, but internal migrants, war-displaced persons and foreign visitors like journalists, international representatives and staff of non-governmental organizations (Popa and Cosoş 2015). This is a common destiny for tourist accommodation facilities during wars and

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humanitarian crises, from Bosnia during the conflict in the 1990s to the invasion of Ukraine that began early in 2022.

The war and the collapse of the Syrian tourist market forced Ibrahim to leave his country. The ability to imagine a future in Italy for himself and his family was shaped by the fact that Ibrahim knew the language and cultural context of Italy from his regular visits there and the many encounters he had with Italian tourists that he had guided around his own country. While foreign visitors to Syria considered it a meeting with 'a local guide', for Ibrahim it constituted a daily practice of building a vast archive of contacts, exchanges and relationships with people from a different place which he considered to be increasingly familiar. This knowledge proved fundamental when Ibrahim left for Italy and then had to reunite his loved ones, building a new future by disentangling himself from administrative practices, regulatory and bureaucratic obstacles, institutional jargon, stereotypes and well-established prejudices against migrants and refugees. When he was working as a guide in Syria, Ibrahim believed that meetings with Italian tourists were a part of his profession, but they proved to be an asset in his migration journey.

Is Ibrahim's story exceptional? Certainly, every biography has its own dimension of uniqueness, but I see Ibrahim's experience as an example of processes that are much broader and more frequent than is commonly thought. We are used to clearly seeing the implications of the encounters between those who experience the condition of 'mobility' (related to tourism, migration, exile or forms of commuting/travelling/itinerant work) and those who find themselves representing 'settlement' (the locals and the communities rooted in a place where tourists, migrants and other people go). Nevertheless, we often fail to see how ubiquitous these encounters are. In many cases, it is tourists, migrants and locals that meet. The overlaps and exchanges between these three groups show us how the boundaries are more blurred than expected. Migrants can also be tourists who visit their original countries during summer holidays; local people could be – or have been – migrants, who after living there have become citizens. Sometimes the process of identity-making is riddled with challenges and contradictions. A person can arrive in a place as a tourist, then decide to settle, perhaps marry a local person, and slowly start to feel 'at home', but still continue to be perceived by other locals as an immigrant, a foreigner and an outsider. Obviously, these are not just symbolic representations. Each of these conditions involves different degrees of citizenship and therefore access to different rights and opportunities, as well as experiencing limitations of movement, which disadvantage them when they assert their personal position on the public and political scene (Ong 1999).

In some cases, this difference in power between tourists and migrants makes their spatial proximity upsetting. Among the more common images

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in recent global media are the pictures of migrants in their makeshift boats arriving on beaches full of tourists during the summer, from the Greek islands of the Aegean to the southern coast of Spain and from Lampedusa to the Canary Islands. Shipwrecks are either ignored or the victims are rescued by men and women in swimsuits and sunglasses who sacrifice their relaxation and leisure to experience the drama of immigration. In other cases, the overlap between the 'tourist' and the 'migrant' emerges in the xenophobic discourse of the political debate. Asylum seekers who cross the Mediterranean from Libya to Europe are compared negatively to 'tourists' who travel 'on cruise ships' – meaning NGO ships – and are then hosted 'in hotels and guesthouses' with the same comforts reserved for holidaymakers. This common complaint requires those who want to debate the ethical and political meaning of the (un)expected encounters between tourists and migrants to take a reflective approach. They must recognize the ambivalence and ambiguity of the intersections between tourism and migration, and the effects and possible misunderstandings of the meaning of the research in this field. Comparing the selfies that Syrian migrants take with their smartphones upon landing on the beaches of Lesvos and those taken by European tourists could perhaps convince some that asylum seekers are just tourists who therefore have no right to any protection.

In the following pages, my aim will be to showcase some of the contexts in which encounters between tourists and migrants take place. I will then focus on the impact that these encounters have on the transformation process of societies and territories at cultural, economic, political and social levels. My discussion will merge three interconnected layers: (1) ethnographic description of the social practices observed in the research contexts; (2) theoretical analysis of the broader meaning of contemporary mobilities; (3) critical reflection on the applied initiatives that engaged researchers and how they could develop alongside their interlocutors, especially with people who are in a subaltern condition and who aspire to make their voices heard in the public arena (Feldman 2012).

This may sound ambitious but it is a matter of establishing a correlation between apparently disparate phenomena. These include the 'roots tourism' of the second and subsequent generations of migration, the various ways that migrant workers participate in the tourism industry, the negotiations and competition for resources in places frequented by both tourist and migrant flows and the joint effect of these forms of mobility on the processes of heritage-making. These are just some of the themes that I will try to piece together in the different chapters of this book.

The region on which I focus my analysis is predominantly, though not exclusively, the Mediterranean. Although what I investigate happens in every corner of the planet, it is the sea itself and the islands and countries

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surrounding it that constitute the main field of ethnographic observation on which I build my reflections. From the first brief field trip conducted in Albania in the spring of 2005 to my last ethnographic study in Moldova and Ukraine carried out in the summer of 2022, I have moved in a terraqueous environment for over fifteen years, which has offered many opportunities to come into contact with the different local and global levels of encounters between tourists and migrants. In the decade before the Covid-19 pandemic began and the consequent period of unprecedented contraction in global mobility, the Mediterranean emerged as the main global tourist area, with more than 300 million international tourist arrivals per year, or about 20 percent of all tourism mobility on the planet. Since the second half of the twentieth century, tourism has become the main source of work and income for almost all the islands and coastal areas of the Mediterranean region (UNWTO 2020). In the same years, population displacements due to migratory processes have also developed between states and localities overlooking the Mediterranean Sea. These flows, mostly from the southern to northern coasts and from east to west according to three main routes of movement (western, central and eastern), involve a variable number of migrants depending on the different periods of crisis and uncertainty in regions over the years. Some routes are reflected in the colonial past of the Mediterranean over the centuries, as in the case of the decades-long migration from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia to France. In other cases, migrations are dictated by territorial proximity, cultural ties and opportunities offered by the labour market, as with migrations between Albania and Italy. In others, civil wars and political crises trigger the departure of millions of asylum seekers, like in Libya and Syria recently. The islands can be used as stopovers during passage and transit, where the length of stay is uncertain and can drag on far longer than the migrants would like. This happens in Lesvos as it does in Lampedusa, in Malta as it does in Crete. Ports and coastal cities, from Tripoli to Marseille, from Barcelona to Istanbul, have the memory of migrations that have happened over time inscribed in their streets and neighbourhoods. Mobility shaped them well before the beginning of our 'age of migration' (de Haas, Castles and Miller 2020).

Ibrahim's story, which frames the heterogeneous case studies that I will examine, is deeply Mediterranean. It begins in Damascus, among the remains of the Hittites, Macedonians and Romans, the Umayyad mosques, the Ottoman caravanserais and the Christian churches. It ends up in Turin, a city at the foot of the Alps made Mediterranean by generations of migrants who arrived here from southern Italy and the northern coasts of Africa. It is a city in which Ibrahim believes he can recognize the architecture of Apollodorus of Damascus and where he finds a new job at the Egyptian Museum, among

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sarcophagi and masterpieces of the ancient Nilotic civilization. But this is not the time to anticipate anything. In this Introduction, I first present an exploration of mobility studies through some analytical categories that can hopefully help us to orient through a multidisciplinary and fast-growing field of study. Then, a second section goes deeper into the ethnographic context, articulating a conversation with some of the authors and studies related to the anthropology of the Mediterranean that have most inspired my reflections. Finally, I outline a summary of the structure of the book and indicate how themes and issues will progress through the various chapters that follow.

Mapping the Intersections of Tourism, Migration (and Exile)

In the history of Mediterranean mobility, a fundamental role has been played by the tools that have allowed travellers to move from one point on the coast to another, between islands and across the sea, well before the creation of today's nautical charts and modern satellite geolocation systems. Among these, medieval portolan charts are particularly fascinating today, as they are presented as maps in which the perception of movement prevails over any static description. Rather than lands and borders, they highlight the possible directions of the nautical routes to take to reach the desired destination. Other maritime inventions also tell us about the challenge of determining positions, distances and route in a changing environment like the sea, between winds and currents. Just think of the astrolabe and the sextant, with all the related triangulation techniques between the height of the stars, the horizon and the points of reference on the coastline.

My aim in the following paragraphs is to craft the tools to allow us to embark on the navigation of the vast sea in front of us. Before we weigh anchor, however, I must mention some terms that will recur frequently in the book and have already appeared in the preceding pages.

First, the topic I will address falls under the macro-category of mobility, or rather, mobilities studies. 'Mobility' is a key idea that has emerged in various disciplines as a central theme of study, especially since the 1990s (Adey 2017). Over the years, many disciplines like geography, sociology, anthropology and political science have experienced their own 'mobility turn'. These relatively recent developments are rooted in Georg Simmel's focus on mobility as one of the crucial elements of modernity. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the great German intellectual studied the forms of urban life, concluding that mobility expresses people's will for connections and produces new social relations (Simmel [1909] 1997). According to Simmel, spatial mobility is made up of both the physical reality of movement in space

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and all those social, cultural and political dimensions that enable the very constitution of society.

As Kathleen Adams and Natalia Bloch reconstruct in the introduction to the volume *Intersections of Tourism, Migration, and Exile* (2023), twenty-first-century mobility represents an essential paradigm for problematizing what had previously appeared as forms of 'siloed mobilities'. For a long time, in fact, tourism and migration studies had developed independently, with at most limited forms of interaction and exchange. Starting from the groundbreaking studies of John Urry (2000, 2007) and Sheller and Urry (2006), the emergence of the 'new mobilities paradigm' has offered us the opportunity, as noted by Adams and Bloch (2023: 3), to overcome the 'compartmentalization of tourism, migration and refugee studies by exploring the intersections of these forms of human spatial mobility'.

This process first required critically reviewing the categories of 'tourist', 'migrant' and 'refugee' on which the analysis of different forms of mobility had been consolidated. We would all believe that we could distinguish between who is a 'tourist' and who is a 'migrant'. However, if we are asked to formulate more precise definitions of the differences between these contemporary travellers, it becomes more difficult. Indeed, there is no legal or widely accepted definition that circumscribes exactly who is a tourist or a migrant. Most definitions proposed by international organizations agree that tourist mobility is primarily for recreation, fun and relaxation, and may include other motivations (e.g. health care, visiting relatives and friends, education) to the exclusion of paid work. Migration, on the other hand, is identified with a longer duration away from the usual place of residence, and is often characterized by the motivation for employment. Although it is not the only reason for migration, in public and political debate labour appears as the main reason for this form of mobility as well as expecting the presence of migrants in a territory. The only option for a migrant is to be an economically productive worker as unemployment would mean losing every opportunity, and even being deported.

An early, fundamental step in problematizing these assumptions is due to Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams. More than two decades ago, the two geographers published a pioneering article (Williams and Hall 2000) and an influential edited volume (Hall and Williams 2002) that first identified the intersection of migration and tourism as a specific object of analysis, explaining that the relationships between these two forms of mobility had long been obscured by a dichotomous view linking migration exclusively to production and labour and tourism to consumption and leisure. Since then, much research has questioned this division and looks at the various forms of overlap and similarity between migration and tourism (Geoffroy and Sibley 2007; Burns and Novelli 2008): retirement migration, lifestyle migration,

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residential tourism and second home tourism are just a few examples that have been used to study those forms of mobility that combine production and consumption, leisure and work and reshape the binary oppositions between 'host' and 'guest', 'home' and 'away'. At the same time, a growing amount of grey literature has been produced since the early 2000s by international institutions, non-governmental organizations, local administrations, and professionals in the field of tourism and migration, which has created an archive of texts and documents that are extremely useful in reconstructing how this theme has gradually emerged in the public arena (UNWTO 2009).

In the last decade, there has been special attention paid to the different experiences of 'migrants' and 'refugees'. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) offer us definitions that can act as a starting point for critical reflection on the analytical use of these categories, as well as their use in political and media debate. The general label of 'forcibly displaced people' refers to people who are forced to flee their homeland because of war, violence and persecution. They may be referred to as 'asylum seekers' when they reach a foreign country in which they seek protection, which, if recognized, confers the legal status of refugee in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention.

Kathleen Adams and Natalia Bloch in the aforementioned introduction to their edited volume (2023) reflect very carefully on the term 'exile', pointing out how on the one hand it refers back to the historical experience of diasporas, and on the other to the question of access to rights for contemporary refugees, their condition of fragility and suffering. In relation to tourism, exile has been studied primarily through the crucial question of memory connected to a (home)land that no longer exists or to which one cannot return (Coles and Timothy 2004; Marschall 2017).

While fully recognizing the differences in conditions of migrants and refugees, my choice in this book is to consider exile not as a separate category but as a particular component of the category of 'migration'. As Adams and Bloch (2023) point out, the boundaries between voluntary and forced migration are as blurred as ever. Severe economic crisis, lack of work and poverty may force people to leave their countries, showing that asylum reasons can go beyond the political dimension. Today there is increasing concern over the issue of climate change: environmental refugees are growing rapidly in number, although the causes of their plight are often not recognized. Moreover, as an Italian researcher with a particular focus on the Mediterranean, my reflections must incorporate the political use of the categories of 'migrant' and 'refugee' following the so-called 'European refugee crisis' of 2015. The misrepresentation of the so-called 'economic migrants' as being totally different to 'political refugees' had a twofold negative effect. First, countries like Italy reduced the number of migrants they would legally

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accept for work; then, as many migrants were forced to seek asylum as soon as they landed in the country to avoid deportation, the stigma turned against the 'false refugees'. In the end, humanitarian protection is now delegitimized and increasingly limited to a small number of 'real refugees'. This is the reason why, when referring to Ibrahim's story in this Introduction or to the stories of the asylum seekers, I will often use the broader term 'migrants' to refer to people who are, or aspire to be recognized as, 'refugees'.

Further scientific literature concerning the intersections of tourism, migration (and exile) will be discussed in detail throughout the book. The ambition of this introductory analysis is now to frame a more general reflection on the anthropological meaning of the different forms of mobility and encounters that see tourists and migrants as protagonists. The discussion presented here identifies three analytical categories, using them as coordinates to navigate the ethnographic case studies: *Scapes*, *Gazes* and *Regimes*.

Scapes

As with any representation of a space, let's start by paying attention to the issue of scale. If maps usually have a fixed and well-defined scale, what we must draw here is characterized by the need to relate different scales of analysis.

The scale of the research extends from the local to the global, thus correlating and not contrasting with the level of face-to-face relations (which we can define as the encounter between tourists, migrants and resident communities), that of the logic and action of the state (which helps determine under what conditions and within what limits the encounters can take place) and that of the powerful transnational and supranational forces that direct the flows of mobility at a planetary level and which constitute the macro-structural dimension.

In other words, we begin by situating migration and tourism within the framework of the anthropological interest in the sociocultural dynamics of what Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) defined as the 'world system' in the second half of the twentieth century. The main interpretative paradigm of the post-colonial world shaped by global capitalism can be seen in a complex system of large-scale interactions in which the unequal relationship in terms of power and wellbeing between centres and peripheries is examined. This is a world in which migration and tourism appear to be dynamics related to the international division of labour and to the inequalities between centres, semi-peripheries and global peripheries.

Migrants and tourists were side by side for the first time in one of the 'scapes' of globalization outlined by Arjun Appadurai (1996). According to the Indian anthropologist, the contemporary world is characterized by

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disjunctures and differences in intensity and volume between global flows of people, technologies, ideas, images and goods. Appadurai calls these flows 'scapes' to highlight their fluid and variable nature from differing perspectives of people in different contexts. These include nation states, supranational organizations, diasporic communities and individual actors who interact personally at the level of neighbourhoods, villages and families. In essence, these are 'imagined worlds' built on the collective work of imagination, that is, the social practice that continuously negotiates and connects local practices and global meanings. In particular, Appadurai defines ethnoscape as:

> the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree. (Appadurai 1996: 33)

This does not mean that these 'anchorages' have disappeared today from being constituted by the networks of kinship, friendship and local affiliation, but that an increasing number of people experience forms of deterritorialization. For example, 'When Turkish workers who emigrated to Germany watch Turkish films in their German apartments' or 'Pakistani taxi drivers in Chicago listen to the tapes of sermons recorded in Pakistan or Iran', as Appadurai wrote in 1996 (ibid.: 17). Today we could include when an English tourist in his Airbnb apartment in Rome orders a pizza from a Chinese restaurant on his phone that will be delivered to him by a Senegalese rider. We are faced with a complex dialectic between homogenization and cultural heterogenization.

In these examples, it is clear that the various perspectives of globalization cannot be separated but must always be taken into account collectively in their interweaving. The movement of people (i.e. ethnoscapes made up of migrants, tourists, etc.) takes place in a world in which we can also see mediascapes, that is, the information and images that represent 'others' and 'other' places globally, creating imaginaries that are crucial for migratory and tourist mobility; technoscapes produced by new technological tools (like smartphones and the impact that mobile phones and the Internet have had on the way people think about and practise mobility); financescapes, that is, how global capital, with its orientations and speculations, determines opportunities and crises that arise in people's lives, related to the choice or need to leave or stay; and finally ideoscapes, which concern the political sphere, with its ideologies and counter-ideologies, and provide ideas 'good to think' in order to explain the movement of people: democracy, freedom, wellbeing, rights and sovereignty.

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Our 'modernity at large' is the result of the complex interaction between mass communications, mobility and social imagination. The relevance of these phenomena is not in their novelty but in their combined strength, which greatly increases the number of people who can imagine going to, working in or living in places away from where they were born or habitually live. Imagining new ways of life concerns not only people who are on the move, but also those who are forced into immobility, and those who do not think about moving or do not want to move at all.

Globalization, for Appadurai, does not erase the locality, but produces it again through the configuration of spatial and virtual neighbourhoods which are potentially subversive to the logic of the nation state, which despite having not disappeared needs to continually (re)legitimize itself through border control and confirmation of the loyalty and affiliation of its citizens. The contexts in which locals, tourists and migrants meet are always marked by 'surveillance apparatus', to quote Foucault's well-known concept, which is more or less (in)visible. Whether they are places of transit such as ports or airports, city streets or museum halls, or places of leisure or work, the state intervenes everywhere to order, divide, legitimize and discipline.

These sites are where researchers have the opportunity to conduct ethnographies, trying to grasp the impact of the deterritorialization on the imaginative resources and experiences lived locally by their interlocutors. 'Put another way,' Appadurai notes, 'the task of ethnography now becomes the unravelling of a conundrum: what is the nature of locality as a lived experience in a globalized, deterritorialized world?' (1996: 52).

To face this challenge, I would like to recall James Clifford's (1997) valuable guidance for the definition of culture-as-travel-relationships that he proposed in the late twentieth century. 'If we rethink culture and its science, anthropology, in terms of travel,' Clifford writes, 'then the organic, naturalizing bias of the term "culture" . . . is questioned. Constructed and disputed historicities, sites of displacement, interference, and interaction, come more sharply into view' (Clifford 1997: 25). For anthropology, as with other fields of knowledge at the time, such considerations open the field to the so-called 'mobility turn'.

The assonance between the terms 'roots' and 'routes' becomes, for Clifford, an effective way to dismantle the concepts of confined community, organic culture and a static relationship between centre and periphery. He highlights instead the relevance of border and diaspora experiences, through which separate places and dispersed peoples can find themselves linked thanks to a 'cultural traffic' made possible by modern technologies of transport, communications and mobility of people. The routes – that is, the practices of travel and movement – therefore appear not as an anomaly,

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but as offering cultural meanings. Mobility produces and transfers broader cultural meanings.

Clifford's reflections on modernity and post-modernity invite us to retrospectively reconsider the role of all those mobile populations (missionaries, translators, government officials, policemen, merchants, explorers, seekers, tourists, travellers, ethnographers, pilgrims, artists, seasonal workers, migrants) for whom culture has always been 'a site of travel'. With respect to the history of anthropology, this also means recognizing that the informants of ethnographers, as well as 'natives', have also often been 'travellers'.

The pervasiveness of today's global mobility pushes Clifford to believe that the chronotope (i.e. an environment or scene that organizes time and space in a complete, representable form) of the present day can be identified in the hotel lobby. And yet, the chronotope of the hotel, as well as the idea of everyone being travellers today, is indelibly invested with the ambiguity of its colonial heritage. This is through an encrustation of European, literary, masculine and bourgeois meanings and practices connected to the intersection of class, gender and 'race' inequalities. The story of the journey is (also) a story of power, privilege and oppression. So where can we situate the travel encounters of 'someone moving from rural Guatemala or Mexico and across the United States border', or of a Western African who 'gets to a Paris *banlieue* without ever staying in a hotel' (Clifford 1997: 33)?

This is why the ethnographer should focus on all those transit sites, crossed by 'forces that pass powerfully through: television, radio, tourists, commodities, armies' (Clifford 1997: 28). Anthropologists are called upon to analyse 'the different modalities of inside-outside connection', through a multi-localized ethnographic practice showing how they are places of residence and travel simultaneously. In other words, places where you can study 'specific histories, tactics, everyday practices of dwelling and travelling: travelling-in-dwelling, dwelling-in-travelling' (ibid.: 36). The research work, therefore, concludes Clifford, can be imagined as the construction of a comparative itinerary of access to complex histories of travelling cultures (and cultures of travel).

It is this itinerary for which we need further orientation tools, as we are now aware of the importance of the scale and complexity of the landscapes of globalization through which we will move during the journey.

Gazes

The visual dimension played a crucial role in the sociocultural history of travel from a European thought perspective. It is through gazing that the traveller makes contact with the world, with the landscape and with others. The act of gazing makes the traveller essentially an observer, and all that falls

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within his visual field is an object of observation. It is from this relationship that the formative value of the direct experience of having been in a place, as in the case of the Grand Tour, or the validity of the knowledge produced by the scientific expeditions of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries emerges. Anthropology's very history is to do with the potentials and limits of gazing to understand and to some extent take possession of the lands and peoples observed through ethnographic research (Leed 1991).

However, this also leads to reflections on issues that go beyond the myth of the totality and objectivity of the observation of phenomena from the outside (a vision that we could call 'overview'). The traveller is in fact called to reflect on the partiality of his point of view, on the specificity of his perspective and the affective dimension that the gaze implies. Starting from an acute reflection on the Chinese language, art and poetry dedicated to the landscape, French philosopher and sinologist François Jullien discusses the possibility that the gazer could be 'absorbed' by what he sees. This process implies that the gaze 'does not cast itself into the world and retrieve, like so much netted game, as much of the object as the subject needs to get its bearings. Instead, the gaze gives us occasion to pry into the relations of things, to immerse ourselves in the tension-setting network of opposition-correlations' (Jullien 2018: 14). This is an immersion of the gaze in movement, in an interplay of correlations that mirrors 'the entirety of the world in vibrancy: not a world that beckons from Elsewhere but a world perceived in the to-and-fro of its respiration' (ibid.: 26).

Keep this in mind when returning to the intersection of mobilities and trying to think of the encounter between migrants and tourists in terms of an exchange of gazes. The emigrants who return to their country of origin for summer holidays see those who stayed in a different way from what they remembered before leaving, and in turn are seen differently by the local people who find that they have become more similar to tourists. On the small islands crossed by European and Mediterranean borders, tourists and migrants often do not see each other and are subjected to policies of invisibility, which nevertheless could be transgressed. This becomes a transgression of the borders. In the streets of the global metropolises, residents, migrants and tourists exchange glances of prejudice and fantasy that are based on a stratification of colonial and post-colonial imaginaries and make their bodies ghosts of traditionalism and modernization.

Focusing on the gazes means questioning the relationships that underlie them in a spectrum of possibilities that extend between intimacy and otherness and that have obvious ethical and political implications. For this reason, despite the many years that have passed since its formulation, the stratifications of the debate and the criticisms that have followed, I think it is useful to return to the seminal analysis proposed in 1978 by Edward

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Said, an intellectual of Palestinian origin who had experienced the alienating conditions of travel and exile. Said's reflection on orientalism and its latent or manifest dimensions is still crucial today for deciphering the complex articulations of the gaze's power through the definition of the imaginaries about others and the elsewhere that permeate the experiences of migrations and tourism in the Mediterranean. This style of thought is based on the ontological and epistemological distinction between East and West, which Said illustrates in a polemical and illuminating way. It is characterized by discursive productions aimed at exerting their influence and their domination over the different. Through a rich apparatus of theories, images, narratives and artistic and scientific re-elaborations, Europe has, for centuries, managed its relationship with the East not only in terms of power relations in the economic, political and military spheres, but also at a cultural level. Defining the East, or even 'inventing' the East, has thus contributed to the West's reflection of itself and its own identity. Recalling the Gramscian notion of hegemony, Said notes that the orientalist strategy has long been based on a flexible superiority of position that has allowed Westerners to cultivate the most varied forms of relations with the East while always maintaining a relative predominance: a cultural and moral power consisting of general notions of what 'we' can do and understand, and 'others' fail to do, or understand, as much as 'we' do (1978: 12).

The orientalist gaze, therefore, has the fundamental power to describe, observe, know and understand. It is an active gaze that is defined in relation to the passivity of the 'Orientals' and of everything that is 'oriental' which 'is given as fixed, stable, in need of investigation, in need even of knowledge about himself. No dialectic is either desired or allowed' (Said 1978: 308). Borrowing an expression formulated by Karl Marx, Said offers us a very topical insight to explain the condition of those who, today, are to be described as 'foreigners', 'immigrants' or 'refugees': 'They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented' (quoted in Said 1978: epigraph). The crucial struggle of subaltern classes to win the right to self-representation in the public space arises from the dawning consciousness of their condition.

The type of travel we call tourism started and developed at the end of the nineteenth century around an articulation of the orientalist gaze outlined by Said. The first tourists of the modern era travelled around the Mediterranean region, from north to south and from west to east, heading towards Istanbul, Palestine and Egypt, and embarked on ships for cruises up the Nile organized by Thomas Cook. Today, more than a century later in the age of global tourism, the Mediterranean continues to be crossed by tourists whose gaze often harbours contradictory feelings: nostalgia for the lost authenticity, disappointment in the ordinariness of the experience, irritation at having found sameness where one expected to find difference (Leed 1991: 353). At the

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same time, in the 'ethnic neighbourhoods' of globalized cities, immigrants are observed through a primordial lens in that they represent their country of origin, mysterious and indefinite, attractive and repulsive at the same time. This gaze is shaped by the orientalist imagination which still dominates how migrants' homelands are represented, and which is often used as a brand in the Mediterranean tourism market. In 2005, when I first went to Albania, the 'Land of the Eagles' was promoted on posters and tourist brochures as 'the latest secret of Europe': an example of 'Mediterraneanism' (Herzfeld 2005), or even more precisely of 'Balkanism' (Todorova 1997). It is a peculiar variety of orientalism that has been reiterated in the Western collective imagination from the last thirty years of migration from the south and east of the Mediterranean towards Europe.

The gaze can be understood as one of the fundamental coordinates for reflecting on the intersection of migration and tourism. It is therefore necessary to recall the importance of John Urry's work and his analysis of the processes through which the 'tourist gaze' is socially organized and systematized. 'We gaze at what we encounter,' Urry and Larsen (2011: 1) write at the beginning of the third edition of the famous essay originally published by Urry in 1990. Our gaze organizes our encounters with others, and is the fruit of learning. It is the construction of 'a certain way of seeing' things, people and the world that feeds on images and imaginaries allowed by today's digital technologies.

The tourist gaze is not homogeneous, nor is it unique. We are rather faced with many different tourist views, historically, geographically and socially located, all of which are concerned with the general condition of modernity and post-modernity. Today we could say that places themselves are a product of the tourist gaze, in the sense that in the global world there are spaces specifically designed or reconfigured to appeal to the taste of tourists. Cultural heritage is also designed to be contemplated and essentially consumed by the tourist gaze. This view has to do with the visual dimension, but it must also be understood as a performative practice, and to a certain extent multisensory, which is never realized in the abstract, but always within contextualized relationships. In short, the gaze is a performance in which the bodies and their arrangement in physical space have great importance, as is evident, for example, in the intersections of gazes between residents, tourists, migrants and police forces in the 'border encounters' on islands such as Lampedusa or Lesvos.

The work of migrants in the tourism sector is also seen by the tourists, although it often seems invisible. As Urry and Larsen (2011: 82) rightly note, these are jobs that mostly take place in what can be defined as the 'tourist backstage', where low-paying and low-skilled tasks are concentrated, and for which foreign workers are required to be infinitely flexible and to accept

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highly hierarchical power relations. The conditions which they must accept due to their weak position are accentuated by the irregularity and lack of permanence of their employment.

Tourism is always a 'mutual gaze' in that tourists watch and are watched by people who reside in the places they visit. They arouse, often unconsciously, fantasies and desires for mobility. Tourists thus catalyse local aspirations for a desirable future elsewhere and the encounter with their otherness, with their stories and with their bodies, can become an integral part of the 'culture of emigration' that attributes individual and collective meanings to whether to leave to achieve a better future for themselves, their family or their community (Cohen and Sirkeci 2011; Riccio 2019).

As mentioned previously, our reflection on the gaze that observes and participates in the encounters between migrants, tourists and residents cannot ignore another subject in the field: the researcher. The 'anthropological gaze' also has its own positioning, and while it shares some assumptions with those of its interlocutors, it can also distance and distinguish itself from them. According to the well-known definition offered by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1985), the gaze of the ethnologist is the 'view from afar' (*regard éloigné*) par excellence. It is the point of view of a 'foreigner by profession', who, however, is also engaged in trying to grasp the point of view of his interlocutors, and therefore to reach some level of cultural intimacy. The Italian anthropologist Francesco Remotti (2014) tried to synthesize this apparent combination of estrangement and intimacy by imagining the gaze of anthropology as a 'look backwards', which is trying to swim upstream in a river, against the current, to its source: an image that seems to recall the immersion of the gaze in the landscape, in its interrelations and in accordance with its vital breath, as evoked by Jullien.

On the other hand, the anthropologist's gaze shares some similarities with the gaze of a migrant in that they are far from his place of origin and in a condition of discomfort. To a certain extent, as Malcolm Crick (1995) wisely pointed out, the anthropologist's gaze also recalls the tourist's gaze. Certainly, the duration and intensity of the experience changes, but from the point of view of the 'locals', anthropologists in the field can easily be mistaken for tourists, perhaps with some particular interest in local culture and folklore. Possibly for this very reason, Crick reflects that anthropologists have always tried to distinguish themselves from tourists during their travels, and they do not try to render invisible the tourists present in their fields of research, or to denigrate the value and meaning of their presence. Anthropology's certain aversion to tourism would derive from the discomfort at the similarity between these two ways of knowing the world and of entering into a relationship with others, united by the practice of travel and the 'collection' of encounters, stories and objects (ibid.: 207).

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We will see more clearly in the next section how anthropologists consider their own gaze as being more 'serious' than that of tourists, contrasting the playful, mundane and naive approach of the tourist with that of the engaged, committed anthropologist standing beside those who are oppressed by the inequalities of globalization. We will also see how this can be substantiated in the framework of the policies of mobility and immobility.

Regimes

The pandemic period, which began in the spring of 2020, confronted all of us with the experience, in many ways unprecedented, of a prolonged prevention of movement. The rapid spread of the Covid-19 virus and its perceived risk to public health on a global scale led to containment measures following common models of action (lockdowns, social distancing, closure of national borders) which were also phenomena resulting from the global circulation of people, images and ideas. Looking specifically at the Mediterranean area, it is interesting to note that the obstacles to mobility that in recent decades had been applied almost exclusively against migratory flows (control and restrictions of valid reasons for travel, detention at border points, expulsions and repatriations) have been partially extended to those 'tourists of globalization' whose trips, in Zygmunt Bauman's famous categorization (1998), are unlike those of migrants due to their freedom from limitations and constraints. The paradigmatic figures of the 'tourist' and the 'vagabond', to adopt Bauman's terminology, started to overlap in the media during the start of the pandemic reporting as European tourists became stuck in the African tourist destinations they had chosen for their holidays. They were quarantined as suspected carriers of the contagion, before being expelled and repatriated to their countries of origin. During the pandemic, tourism was for the first time since it became a mass phenomenon considered an invalid reason to travel anywhere.

I will conduct a more specific analysis of the unprecedented links between migration and tourism at the time of the pandemic in the Conclusion but here I would like to highlight what has become visible since the Covid pandemic: the pervasiveness of the mobility and immobility policies implemented at local, national and international levels, as well as the impact that these policies have on people's daily lives and future aspirations. For millions of European citizens, until the beginning of 2020, the prohibition of movement within their country or abroad was simply unthinkable, and was connected in the collective imagination only to migrants and other marginal people (the homeless, Roma, individuals subject to limitations of personal freedom, etc.). The sudden obligation to remain shut up in one's own home, along with the legal decrees that divided countries into areas that were not

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accessible and the social distancing rules, have perhaps made it easier for all of us to understand the limits and deprivations of migrants. They found themselves crossing one of the borders of 'Fortress Europe' and landing in one of the first reception camps in Greece, Italy, Malta or elsewhere. 'Today Lesvos begins on your doorstep,' the Spanish philosopher Paul Preciado (2020) said provocatively in a speech published a few weeks after the outbreak of the pandemic.

This brings us to the third coordinate, which I believe is essential in placing the various dimensions that intersect migration and tourism within a general framework of meaning. In order not to lose our way, we must not depoliticize mobility. Rather, it will be necessary to study its different 'regimes', including how we see the immobility to which people may be subjected against their will, or to which, on the other hand, they could aspire, instead of being uprooted and forced into mobility.

I would now like to focus on the concept of 'mobility regimes', an interpretative paradigm initially proposed by Shamir (2005) and Koslowski (2011) and then further developed by the well-known contribution of Glick Schiller and Salazar (2013). According to these authors, mobility in the contemporary world is articulated in 'regimes' characterized by systems of regulation, surveillance and government that generate not only connections and overlaps, but also – and above all – hierarchies of power, inequalities and conflicts. The Israeli sociologist Ronen Shamir invites us to especially consider how in the era of globalization, contrary to what one might think, mobility is in fact a rare resource, and is distributed so unevenly that it becomes one of the main factors in social differentiation in our contemporary world. The possibility of movement and the differential ability to move in space constitutes the global social hierarchy within which we all exist (Shamir 2005: 200). Dominating the 'global mobility regime' is what Shamir defines as 'a paradigm of suspicion' against a multitude of people perceived as 'dangerous' because they are on the move. Written in the years of the 'global war against terrorism' launched by the United States after the September 11 attacks of 2001, Shamir's contribution denounces in particular how Islamophobia had, in the early 2000s, become a discourse aimed at creating a symbolic connection between migration, poverty, cultural difference and terrorism. Suspicion, and its consequences in terms of mobility limitations, thus appears as a powerful ideoscape (to take up Appadurai once again) aimed at increasing inequalities on a global scale, rather than decreasing them through the possibility of free movement (ibid.).

In the book edited by Rey Koslowski (2011), several detailed contributions discuss the concrete functioning of the practices that implement what Koslowski identifies in his introduction as the three main regimes of global mobility: international travel (which includes tourism, as well as business

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and commercial travel), labour migration and asylum seeking. These practices constitute a variety of 'mobility/immobility infrastructures' which are of crucial importance in the intersection of migration and tourism, such as the organization of controls and surveillance in border areas and the role of passports, visas and other travel documents in the processes of certification and authentication of the identity of tourists and migrants.

In essence, an approach based on the intersection of the different 'mobility regimes' must go beyond simply equating mobility to freedom. It should also take into account the conditions of (im)mobility, confinement and stasis, together with movement and connections (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013: 190). These complementary categories actually define each other and are shaped 'by the social, political, cultural and economic relations of capital production as they play out within specific local contexts' (ibid.: 195–96). In other words, there is no dichotomy between mobility and immobility, or between movement and stasis, but a dynamic relationship. This concept is a useful tool to avoid the methodological nationalism that can still impose itself on our way of considering processes such as migration and tourism, and allows us to deconstruct some of the myths surrounding the nation state, such as that of the sacredness and authenticity of the homeland. As we will see in the case of 'roots tourism' of the Albanian diaspora (Chapter 1), 'there is actually no place like the imagined home' (ibid.: 194).

Therefore, according to Nina Glick Schiller and Noel Salazar, it is necessary to focus on how the various actors in the field behave in specific situations rather than more generally. 'We need to interrogate the situations in which certain kinds of mobility, or certain kinds of mobile individuals, become the subjects of praise or condemnation, desire, suppression or fear' (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013: 196). For researchers, a field of study consisting of 'mobility policies' is thus outlined: it will be a question of ethnographically grasping a complex interweaving of movement, representations and practices, highlighting the different ways in which mobility and immobility are produced by, and productive of, social relationships (Cresswell 2010).

This is the position that I have taken in my different research contexts as an anthropologist. The ethnographic encounter with residents, tourists and migrants is, in my opinion, to be understood not only as an analytical and methodological tool, but also as a premise of an ethical and political commitment aimed at transforming reality. At this time of accelerated social, economic and technological change, there is an increasing need to radically undo current opinion regarding migration, borders, nation states and the logic of neoliberal capitalism. If mobility scholars must offer alternative imaginaries and collaborate to promote change towards a socially more just world (Samers 2010), a good starting point, I think, could be to pursue what Mimi Sheller has called 'mobility justice'. In her 'Manifesto', Sheller (2018)

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proposes a multi-scale approach that moves from the level of individual bodies to that of the street, the city, the nation and the world. Across these five levels is the call to put in place social practices, infrastructures and narratives that can support migrants in their struggles against the racialization of their bodies and the consequent inequalities they face in their capability of moving. These practices would favour the right to the city and the public sphere, to challenge borders and the different forms of securitization and militarization of transnational mobility and stand against the structures of global capitalism that provide the extraction and circulation of resources without any form of distributive justice on a global scale or compensation for the environmental impact of these activities (Sheller 2018: 30). This is an invitation that urges us to imagine practices, initiatives and projects from below in which residents, tourists, researchers and migrants do not find themselves competing against each other for resources and opportunities, but can instead 'meet across difference' (Bloch 2021), fighting together so that 'mobility justice' is more equally distributed on a global level.

Navigating the Anthropology of Mediterranean

The map reproduced as Figure 0.1 was given to me in July 2018 by the volunteers at the Mosaik Support Center in Mytilene, on the Greek island of Lesvos. Opened in 2016 following the 'refugee crisis' in the Aegean Sea, this space today offers services and socializing opportunities for residents, migrants and refugees and is also supported by selling artisanal pieces to tourists, as we will see better in Chapter 3.

Although the area depicted in the map is familiar to us, it actually describes a place that does not exist, or rather, puts before our eyes an imaginary space or an aspiration for a possible future: that of a *Mare Liberum*, in which the boundaries that delimit nations have disappeared and freedom of movement is a right for everyone.

Projecting into a future horizon, this image ends up looking a lot like those from the distant past that I mentioned previously. Medieval portolan charts, in fact, also show us not territories segmented by borders, but coastlines quilted by an infinite series of ports, and a multiplicity of routes that connect possible landings with no apparent obstacles in any direction.

Mare Liberum is a definition originally formulated by the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It has a juridical meaning and refers to the principle of the free maritime routes for seafaring trade, in contrast with the *Mare Clausum* policy. Nevertheless, today *Mare Liberum* could be another name for the 'sea between the lands'. It was called *Mare Nostrum* for the Romans, *Akdeniz* (White Sea) for the

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Figure 0.1. The *Mare Liberum* map. © Mosaik Support Center, Lesvos, Greece

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Turks, *Yam gadol* (Great Sea) for the Jews, among others, and still shows us how the Mediterranean has gone through numerous cycles of integration and disintegration (Aboulafia 2011a). The theme of oscillation and tension between unity and fragmentation, between homogeneity and difference, has also been at the centre of the anthropological interest in the populations of the Mediterranean. The birth, affirmation and crisis of Mediterranean anthropology as an 'area study' was articulated between the 1950s and 1990s around the debate on cultural traits that could have allowed us – or not – to specify and recognize societies developed around the Mediterranean, from the Strait of Gibraltar to that of the Bosphorus, and beyond.

As outlined by Dionigi Albera (2006), there has been a lot of interest in the anthropology of the Mediterranean in the last twenty years, especially for themes such as globalization, borders and diasporas. This renewal has been boosted by the new centrality gained by what had previously been marginal (in terms of topics and national research traditions) and by a fruitful interdisciplinary dialogue, especially with history (Viazzo 2003). The Mediterranean has thus emerged as a context of study, rather than an object of study per se, marked by correspondences with both similarities and differences. Attention to contemporary forms of mobility and transnational connections must be accompanied by an awareness that such processes are rooted in local contexts shaped by history. Dealing with the future, or rather with the futures of the Mediterranean, does not mean forgetting the anthropology of yesterday, but rather presupposes the ability to localize global processes in regional fields of knowledge (Albera, Blok and Bromberger 2001).

It is in the wake of this renewal of Mediterranean anthropology that my book offers its analytical and ethnographic contribution. It will show how the intersection of migration and tourism allows us to return to some 'classic' themes within this field of study, using them to understand the stratifications of mobility and immobility that characterize the world today (Shryock 2020). In this sense, reflecting on the Mediterranean means not only taking an interest in the region itself, but also learning about other 'Mediterranean-like spaces', where the characteristics and dimensions are different, such as the Baltic Sea, the Indian Ocean or even the Sahara Desert, for the study of which the analysis of *Connections*, *Hos(ti)pitalities* and *Borders* is fundamental.

In this section I will therefore try to show how these three categories, connected to the previously considered *Scapes*, *Gazes* and *Regimes*, can be useful coordinates to continue navigating the waters of Mediterranean anthropology and beyond.

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Connections

In 2013, the year in which Marseille was the European Capital of Culture, the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MUCEM) was inaugurated at the entrance to its large harbour. Since then, the museum has become one of the most important cultural institutions of this French city, as well as one of its most visited tourist attractions thanks to its temporary exhibitions of contemporary art, which attract large crowds of enthusiasts. However, one of the main reasons for interest in the MUCEM is represented, at least for me, by the semi-permanent exhibition (inaugurated in 2020 and planned to remain until 2023) called 'Connectivities'. Here are illustrated, through maps, videos, documents and works of art and craftsmanship, the connections between the great ports of the Mediterranean from the sixteenth century until now. Thus, we can follow the intertwined stories of the exchanges and transformations of Marseille itself, as well as those of Istanbul, Algiers, Venice, Genoa, Seville, Athens, Cairo and Casablanca. These elements offer a complex representation of the network of reciprocal influences, alliances and conflicts, of the development and decay of trade routes and of the constant displacements of the centres of political, military and religious power that have led to such a dense web of connections in the Mediterranean. As explained in a video interview with the French anthropologist Michel Agier, which is accessible to visitors to the exhibition, migrations are now one of the processes that most notably produce areas of connection, in large cities as well as in border areas.

Before analysing the intersection of migration and tourism through the display of 'migrant objects' in museums and elsewhere (see Chapter 3), I would now like to convey from this first visit to MUCEM the clear reference to the role of connectivity in the past, present and future prospects of the Mediterranean. The historiographical approach of the Marseille museum is obviously indebted, as explicitly acknowledged by the curators, to the French tradition of studies on the Mediterranean and in particular to the famous work of Fernand Braudel (1949). However, the title of the exhibition also clearly refers to the notion of connectivity proposed by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell (2000), who, rather than trying to define the features of a common Mediterranean 'identity', insisted on the opportunity to think of the Mediterranean as a kaleidoscope of human 'micro-ecologies', developed in a highly topographically fragmented and densely interconnected environment. This approach pays special attention to issues of scale and is situated in a 'mesoglobal' dimension. 'The Mediterranean as we conceive it (fragmentation plus connectivity),' writes Peregrine Horden in a more recent contribution, 'is a region that is intermediate in scale between the "micro" of microhistory and the "macro" framework of global history.' This

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means 'thinking about the Mediterranean region as a whole and asking what is the largest context with which that whole might be better understood, both by comparison and by examining, and attempting to theorize, connections between regional and global' (Horden 2020: 202).

A special kind of Mediterranean connectivities can be traced following the circulation of ritual dimensions in the religious experience around and across the 'faithful sea' (Husain and Fleming 2007). As we will see in the case of Lampedusa (Chapter 4), the interactions between different cults illuminate some neglected intersections of migration and tourism. The so-called 'shared sacred spaces' – shared by two or more different religious groups – emphasize the role of some saints and biblical figures (patriarchs, prophets, kings) capable of going beyond the boundaries of different theological traditions by 'building bridges' between different places and religions, as in the emblematic case of Mary of Nazareth (Albera and Couroucli 2012; Albera, Barkey and Pénicaud 2018). Over the centuries, the Madonna has experienced several 'iconographic migrations', travelling with migrants from one coast of the Mediterranean to the other and thus acquiring her own peculiar inter-religious effectiveness. The Madonna of Trapani is a significant case. She arrived in La Goulette, near Tunis, in the nineteenth century, with Sicilian emigrants. After having gone through all the various phases of the history of the Italian community in Tunisia during the twentieth century, she has recently returned to being invoked as a protector of the poor, the marginalized and the exploited, today personified by migrants who reach the Mediterranean coasts from the countries of sub-Saharan Africa (Russo 2020). In other cases, the mobility of the Marian cult is linked to the dynamics of power of the colonial and post-colonial era. It was, for example, in the story of the Virgin Mary of Santa Cruz, 'transplanted' to Oran following the French conquest of Algeria in the mid-nineteenth century, and 'repatriated' a century later when Algeria became independent, and becoming a pilgrimage destination for *pied-noirs* in Nîmes (Slyomovics 2019).

Therefore, multiple dimensions of connectivity emerge. The connections are certainly widescale, but they also imply a tension at the level of power (between 'centres' and 'peripheries', between forms of predominance and subordination) and are embodied in the biographies of many 'connectors', both individual and collective, that in the past and the present cross the Mediterranean, carrying with them goods, ideas, technologies and imaginaries. 'These connectivities,' as David Aboulafia writes, 'have brought not just commodities such as grain, oil and wine but individual migrants and merchants, missionaries and mercenaries, mystics and pilgrims, conquerors and slaves, from one shore to another, sometimes merging into an apparently dominant culture, but often transforming it by their presence.' To these historical dynamics, we must then add the role of 'more transient modern

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visitors, such as tourists, who have also altered the Mediterranean by their demand for certain goods, facilities, and services' (Aboulafia 2011b: 222).

In particular, according to Aboulafia, the cycles of integration and disintegration in the region would have led to the birth, development and disappearance of several 'Mediterraneans', the last of which started around 1950 and is still in existence, characterized by the two forms of mobility which are of specific interest to us: migration and tourism.

In the second half of the twentieth century, losing its centrality in commercial and military terms, the Mediterranean increasingly became a mass tourist destination. As Jeremy Boissevain (2001) provocatively argued, trying to understand the social and cultural life of the Mediterranean without considering the tourism dimension would be as serious as conducting an anthropological study on the Nuer without taking into account the place that cattle raising occupies in that society (Boissevain 2001: 686). The development of mass tourism was made possible by the combined action of three elements: the governments that recognized the opportunity in tourism to recover from the post-war economic hardships; the actions of the great international tourism companies, who at that time focused their attention on the Mediterranean; and finally the presence of an ever-growing number of customers from central and northern Europe, who had economic resources and the desire to spend their holidays on the warm beaches of the south. The technological development of means of transport and the construction of the necessary infrastructure (in particular flights and airports) did the rest (Aboulafia 2011a: 632).

In the same decades, different migration flows followed the opposite route, originating from the tourist destinations towards the places the tourists are from. It is therefore a process which has developed since the 1950s and has involved different migratory routes: from the typically post-colonial flows from the countries of North Africa to the former motherlands, to migrations for work directed towards countries able to offer higher-paid jobs (for example, Germany for Italians, Greeks and Turks). The crisis and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union and other Eastern European Communist regimes gave rise at the end of the last century to vast numbers of people moving towards the West. Since the 1990s, several countries in Mediterranean Europe have finally experienced a 'migration transition', becoming destinations for immigrants. It is in this new context that some destinations of mass seaside tourism, such as Malta, Lampedusa or the Balearic or Dodecanese Islands, emerge as places of arrival and transit for significant flows of migrants from the southern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. The impact of this movement of people has been enormous, certainly in social, economic and political terms, but also culturally. Through the circulation of food and diets, religious beliefs and practices of worship,

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family patterns and lifestyles, languages and forms of artistic creativity, the Mediterranean 'has become everyone's cultural possession' (Aboulafia 2011a: 629).

It can be argued, therefore, that tourists and migrants today are creators of connections that used to be covered by other kinds of travellers across the Mediterranean: merchants, pilgrims, missionaries, slaves. Migration and tourism can therefore be understood as two forces that have produced a phase of 'integration' in the Mediterranean, which, however, requires new mapping work capable of restoring its characteristics, opportunities, challenges and critical issues in a diachronic and synchronous way. It is, in fact, about pursuing that 'remapping' effort that Ben-Yehoyada, Cabot and Silverstein (2020) have recently indicated as the horizon of a renewed anthropology of the contemporary Mediterranean:

> This temporal combination of pre-modern, colonial, and contemporary Mediterraneans correlates to a particular cartography: A Mediterranean space which hovers above our bordered world, variously connected with it but also pointing to a different kind of geography premised on other forms of socio-spatial relatedness – not necessarily fully coherent or always peaceful, but marked by intimate forms of proximity and distance. This Mediterranean presents itself as a re-mapping, a challenge to the official geographies of the contemporary world. (Ben-Yehoyada, Cabot and Silverstein 2020: 3)

This new 'mapping of connections' will have to try to trace the complex 'social navigation' routes of the populations moving around and across the Mediterranean in an era of great uncertainty. As Carlo Capello, Panas Karampampas and Jutta Lauth Bacas (2021) have recently highlighted, the Mediterranean is going through a period marked by deep and repeated phases of crisis linked to its position of relative marginality in global political and economic terms. In the last decade, the international crisis in the financial markets and the subsequent period of austerity that hit the region hard (some particularly hard, like Greece), the Covid-19 pandemic and the conflicts that have generated significant flows of forced migrants (from Syria and Libya previously, and recently from Ukraine) have made it particularly difficult to imagine the future of the Mediterranean. The aim of ethnographic research will therefore be to give substance to the invitation that Henrik Vigh (2010) issued in an influential contribution several years ago: to use the concept of 'social navigation' not only as a metaphor, but as an analytical tool to study the concrete ways in which individuals and communities interact and move in a social environment that is in turn mobile, influenced by structural forces and subject to sudden threats to its stability while trying to reach a position of greater wellbeing and security.

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Hos(ti)pitalities

In November 2016, the President of the United States, Barack Obama, visited Greece, which had been prostrated by years of economic crisis and austerity. In his opening speech, Obama celebrated the 'legendary hospitality' that the country had once again demonstrated with the 'refugee crisis', and in his speech he used the Greek term *philoxenia* (φιλοξενία), taking up the same concept that Alexis Tsipras, the Greek prime minister, had put at the centre of his narratives about the need to welcome migrants (Dimitriadi 2018). The same term is used by travel agencies and tourist brochures to promote the most 'authentic spirit' of the Greek Aegean islands: hospitality that will make any visitor feel 'at home'.

In fact, hospitality is an idea used as frequently in public and media discourses related to welcoming migrants as it is in tourist rhetoric aimed at enhancing the open and welcoming attitude of local communities towards tourists. However, it is not difficult to see how quickly this welcome could flip to a rejection of 'unwanted guests', and not infrequently into real *xenophobia*, to use the most appropriate Greek word. While tourists are the most sought-after guests in these resorts, and migrants are the ones who need to be rejected to avoid compromising the wellbeing and tranquillity of paying guests, in other cases the perception can be subverted. On the walls of Barcelona, a city that has, in recent years, suffered the negative effects of over-tourism and where there are numerous groups of activists fighting for the rights of migrants, it is not uncommon to read graffiti such as 'REFUGEES WELCOME, TOURISTS GO HOME!'.

Much thought and research has been published over the years examining the multiple interpretations of the concept of hospitality, which helps the anthropologist decipher the complex meanings of these varied practices of (non-)reception. Through acts of hospitality, the exchange of goods or services can establish or strengthen the relationship between different subjects, who in this way assume the roles of 'host' (the one who gives hospitality) and 'guest' (the one who receives it). This relationship does not end in material and symbolic exchange or sharing, but implies a moral dimension. Through the hospitality given and received, hosts and guests claim to participate in the same moral world (in the case of the consolidation of already existing relationships), or to want to build together a common moral universe (in the case of new relationships). As stated by Tom Selwyn (2000), hospitality is a transformative act: it converts strangers into familiars, enemies into friends, outsiders into insiders (Selwyn 2000: 19).

Given the importance of this act, it is not surprising that hospitality practices are accompanied by complex rituals, articulated in rules, traditions and public celebrations that can involve entire communities, especially in cases

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where hospitality involves groups. However, as Selwyn rightly points out, ethnographic research has been quick to show how, in different societies, hospitality is always closely connected with hostility, or rather, how hospitality and hostility constitute the extremes of a continuum that expresses all the possibilities of relationship with the other. This is a complex and ambivalent relationship, as Marcel Mauss ([1926] 2007) noted a century ago, highlighting the common etymological root of the Latin terms *hostis*, the enemy, and *hospes*, the host. In the same vein, the Franco-Algerian philosopher Jacques Derrida more recently coined the neologism 'hostipitality' to show the ethical paradox of a total openness to the other, which at the same time expresses the need to control the power that the host exercises over the hosted (Derrida 2000). It is precisely this internal aporia that makes hospitality an interesting conceptual hub around which discourses on identity, otherness, sovereignty, inequality, conviviality and reciprocities are articulated, and where tensions develop between spontaneity and calculation, generosity and parasitism, friendship and hostility (Candea and Da Col 2012).

Reflections on hospitality have their own Mediterranean traditions. Acknowledging the social, cultural, political and economic impact of hospitality, anthropologists turned to the Mediterranean as an area of ethnographic interest. From the classical studies of Pitt-Rivers (1968) and Boissevain and Mitchell (1973) onwards, the lens of hospitality can highlight connections and similarities between apparently disparate contexts. The specific Mediterranean location of these issues was further accentuated by the extraordinary growth in tourist flows in the region in the second half of the twentieth century. The tourism industry in the Mediterranean has in fact become a 'hospitality industry', which has provided endless possibilities for analysis of the 'host-guest relationship', which had become a central concept in the emerging anthropology of tourism. Since the publication of *Hosts and Guests* by Valene Smith (1977), anthropologists have in fact been interested in the tourism phenomenon, essentially considering it in terms of a practice that establishes a problematic relationship in cultural, social and economic terms between 'host communities' (broadly understood as native, indigenous, permanent and traditional) and groups of guests (tourists), whose presence has a transformative impact (more or less intense depending on the size of the flows, economic disparity, cultural diversity, etc.). The classification of types of tourism elaborated by Smith, plotting the quantitative criterion of attendance (from individual explorers to masses of holidaymakers) against the qualitative dimension of the experience (with exchanges that become increasingly superficial and commodified as the numbers of attendees increase), appears now to be an interesting tool for interpreting the dominant narratives in terms of how migrants are received. It is not

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uncommon for the warm and full 'hospitality' reserved for small groups of 'newcomers' to turn into 'hostility' when the flows increase in consistency and represent 'the wave' or 'the invasion' of masses of illegal immigrants. Hospitality thus becomes in some way synonymous with privilege reserved for the first-comers, or to those most deserving of benevolence.

In other cases, hospitality appears, instead, to be a tool to subvert (or at least challenge) power relations at an individual and collective level. In Greece, the influential work of Michael Herzfeld (1987) showed how hospitality is a crucial factor in the processes of identity construction on different scales, from single villages (or single islands) to the national and international. Hospitality, just like identity, is a variable concept in the sense that its extent varies depending on the relationship between the speaker and the listener. Depending on the context, *kseni* in Greek can refer both to those who are 'outsiders' because they come from another village, and to those who are 'foreigners' because they come from abroad. As a result, hospitality is revealed as a 'shifter' that helps establish an 'essential homology between several levels of collective identity – village, ethnic group, district, nation. What goes for the family home also goes, at least by metaphorical extension, for the national territory' (Herzfeld 1987: 76). What is valid for the village in terms of traditional values will, therefore, also apply to the country as a whole, allowing Greek tour operators, as well as Tsipras and Obama, to say that tourists and migrants are welcomed in Greece with the same generosity that has always been reserved for their guests.

As Matei Candea and Giovanni Da Col (2012) stated in their rich contribution on the 'return of hospitality' in contemporary anthropology, hospitality is a 'bridge' that allows the connection of scales, from the microethnographic one of family and village practices to the global one of international political-economic relations, and can even subvert them. According to Herzfeld, the value of hospitality is exactly what allows Greeks, through tourism (and today, we could add, through the reception of migrants), 'to reverse the historical and political dependence of their country upon the West' (1987: 86). The moral dimension, therefore, overturns political asymmetries, offering to those who host the advantage of moral superiority, despite being economically and politically subordinate.

The encounters between migrants and tourists invite us to deconstruct the rigid dichotomy between hosts and guests and between 'locals' and foreigners (whether migrants or tourists). More precisely, Jennie Germann Molz and Sarah Gibson (2007) propose 'mobilizing hospitality'. The objective of this action is not only analytical, but also ethical and political: to destabilize the power relations that are conveyed by the discourses on hospitality in relation to migration and tourism and to question the automatic association 'of the host with home, territory, stability, and ownership on one side, and

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of the guest with mobility, estrangement and un-belonging on the other' (Germann Molz and Gibson 2007: 16). In the narratives on immigration, in particular, an ideological conception of hospitality seems to prevail today which 'enables some people to have fantasies of control in the power to host and welcome' (ibid.: 9). In this way, hospitality helps construct the nationalist discourse, relegating immigrants to the perennial role of *guests*, with the aim of reserving the role of greater power and prestige for *hosts* and 'natives'. This is a metaphor that needs to be radically deconstructed, so that we can imagine new ways for citizens, immigrants, refugees and state institutions to relate to each other. A good starting point, as we will see ethnographically in Chapter 5, could be to reflect on the category of 'home', where hospitality is achieved materially and symbolically. It is the space that is shared or to which one is admitted, which is built or rebuilt through a process both physical (*home-making*) and social (*homing*). 'Mobilizing hospitality' will therefore mean firstly recognizing, recalling James Clifford's vocabulary mentioned previously, that 'to host or to be hosted are both forms of travelling-in-dwelling and dwelling-in-travelling' (Germann Molz and Gibson 2007: 10).

Faced with the example of many countries (in Europe, in the Mediterranean region and beyond) where the distinction between citizens and foreigners is constantly monitored and consolidated by policies that aim to build other forms of permanent opposition around this division (identity/otherness, rights/duties, power/subjection, ownership/expropriation, stability/precariousness), 'mobilizing hospitality' thus becomes a concrete appeal for researchers to take a position and act in the public arena. After all, as Mireille Rosello already wrote twenty years ago with some concern regarding the post-colonial hospitality that France reserved for 'its' immigrants: 'If the guest is always the guest, if the host is always the host, something has probably gone very wrong' (Rosello 2001: 167).

Borders

In the last decade there has been a large increase in the number of dystopian novels that focus on migration and that place the theme of the borders, barriers and walls that migrants must cross at the centre of their imaginative universes (De Bruyn 2020). For science fiction, as already pointed out several years ago by Ursula K. Le Guin (1969), the future is indeed a powerful metaphor for denouncing the contradictions of the present. Just think of the novel by John Lanchester (2019), *The Wall*, which tells of a fortification, thousands of kilometres long, erected around Britain to defend the island from the Others, namely migrants who come from the sea in search of safety, or *Exit West*, by the Anglo-Pakistani writer Mohsin Hamid (2017), which

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Figure 0.2. Border on Varosha beach. Famagusta, Cyprus, 2019.
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tells the story of Nadia and Saeed, who are refugees who try to escape from their country in war, eluding the militarized borders by passing through mysterious doors that can lead fugitives elsewhere.

These types of fictions record and rework one of today's most significant political phenomena, namely the multiplication of real and imaginary boundaries. Moreover, as the anthropologist and refugee Shahram Khosravi wrote in his autobiography, *'Illegal' Traveller*, 'ours is a time of the triumph of borders, an epoch of border fetishism' (2010: 1). Reconstructing the events that led him to emigrate illegally from Iran and to seek asylum in Sweden, Khosravi reflexively turns his gaze as an anthropologist on the many borders that he has had to cross in his life, and on those that he still has to face in his daily and professional life, and invites us to look at the borders from the other side. If we cannot see the boundaries that surround and cross our cities and countries, Khosravi tells us it is probably because we are looking at them from a privileged position. The Covid-19 pandemic, as I mentioned before, has offered us the opportunity to recognize the relevance of borders these days, and take into account the point of view of migrants and their experiences of crossing barriers and fences, walls and checkpoints, escaping from police forces and border guards, on land and at sea. These are an integral part of the necessary vision-training exercise that we use to try to grasp the pervasiveness of borders around, and in, the Mediterranean.

Artists and activists, who have recently reflected on the aesthetics of the border and created works and performances that try to deconstruct

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the processes of naturalization that tend to present borders as inevitable, fair and sacred, can also help us in this path (we will explore this topic in Chapter 4). On the wall between Israel and Palestine, as well as on the wall between the United States and Mexico, murals and installations denounce the violence of borders and pay homage to those who try to cross them by whatever means – even at the cost of their lives. In Malta, in the locality of Ħal Far (which ironically means the City of Rats), asylum seekers are forced to enter and leave the temporary camp residence by passing through narrow gates in a wall made of large concrete blocks. Here, at the gates, the artist Biancoshock has placed a passport on top of a mousetrap with the words 'European Union'. This ephemeral installation reminds people that borders also chase migrants within nations, confronting them continually with traps and deceptions.

During my twenty years of research, I have found myself facing and crossing many borders, alone and together with tourists, and others with migrants or activists. Along the road between Montenegro and Albania, where in 2005 I first came across the endless queue of Albanian cars full of emigrants returning home for their summer holidays. Then in Lampedusa, in 2012, looking at the sea in the shadow of the 'Gate of Europe' monument, which recalls all those who died crossing the Mediterranean. In Northern Cyprus, on Varosha beach in 2017, I had to stop in front of the barrier of sheet metal and barbed wire that stretched from the shore to the sea: on the other side, hotels and houses abandoned for fifty years and now in ruins, a symbol of the island's division in 1974 and the forced movement of the population that followed. In Claviere, on the mountain border between Italy and France in the winter of 2018, participating in a meeting of a group of 'no borders' activists in an occupied shelter, where migrants could stop before making their crossing on the paths that skirt the ski slopes where tourists spend their '*settimane bianche*' on the snow. And several other times, until August 2022, when I crossed the border between Ukraine and Moldova, joining the long line of refugees headed for one of the hotels in southern Moldova that have hosted tens of thousands of people escaping the war.

To read the material and symbolic stratifications of the borders, Mediterranean anthropology can draw on a rich archive of studies and research deposited within the framework of the so-called 'border studies', to which, in addition to anthropology itself, many other disciplines have contributed, from history to geography, and from political sciences to sociology (Wilson and Donnan 2012; Kolossov and Scott 2013). Following his interest in the ethnographic mountain context of the Alps, Pier Paolo Viazzo (2007) insists that we must distinguish between the concepts of 'border', 'boundary' and 'frontier'. A fundamental aspect of his analysis is that while 'border' identifies a line of demarcation and political division, 'frontier' is used rather

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to refer to a space of sociocultural interaction. This distinction is drawn from the seminal works of the historian Owen Lattimore, who between 1920 and 1960 travelled and lived in eastern and northeast China, studying life on the border between China and Mongolia for a long time. Lattimore (1988) observed how society in that marginal, outlying area differed from the cultural hubs of China and Mongolia: Chinese farmers living on the edge of the Mongolian steppe tended to adopt subsistence strategies and live in settlements similar to those of the nomadic shepherds, while the lifestyles of the Mongols who came into contact with the sedentary farmers also changed. Cross-border activities and interests tend to create a sense of common belonging among border peoples across different nationalities while opposing the central authorities. 'Certain things,' as Donnan and Wilson (1999: 4) have summed up, 'can only happen at the frontier.' Although thousands of kilometres away from the Mediterranean, the steppe studied by Lattimore strongly recalls the image of a sea criss-crossed by forms of connection, in the terms with which we became familiar in the previous pages. Linda Darling (2012), in this regard, proposed the definition of the Mediterranean 'as borderland', suggesting that the entire Mediterranean region could be conceived as a border area.

The third concept, 'boundary', then, refers to the influential thought of Fredrik Barth. In his well-known book *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Barth 1969), the Norwegian anthropologist introduced the idea that the construction of an ethnic identity (in both individual and collective terms) is more a question of 'contacts' than 'content'. Ethnic distinctions do not come about in a vacuum, but rather arise in the interactions between groups and individuals: inter-ethnic relations do not necessarily produce assimilation or segmentation, but rather lead to a constant crossing of boundaries. These both separate and unite, generating a broad border area around them that is characterized by dynamics related to identity formation and cultural syncretism. Barth's thought suggests a further, important characteristic of boundaries in that they are performative in the sense that they are the continuous outcome of the movements and changes produced by the practices of 'bordering' and 'debordering'. The boundary is therefore a process, at least as much as a product, involving a variety of social actors and symbols (Paasi 1996).

The European Union, from the second half of the twentieth century to the present day, has distinguished itself by making and undoing borders. The constant 'border-work' conducted in recent decades by the European institutions has aimed on the one hand to eliminate the borders between the different countries admitted to the Union, and on the other to 'externalize' the borders of the European Union in the Mediterranean region by moving their management directly into the waters and territories of

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neighbouring countries, the Balkans, North Africa and beyond. The main aim of these practices was to control immigration, which was entrusted to a number of bodies, including FRONTEX (the 'European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union'). This 'remote management' of Europe's Mediterranean borders has included the provision of means, instruments and economic resources to governments which from time to time are in charge of 'filtering' or 'blocking' direct immigration flows into Europe, and the signing of agreements for the construction of camps and detention centres for migrants in Libya and Turkey. The tens of thousands of deaths and disappearances in Mediterranean waters in recent years testify to the ethical, legal and political failure of this strategy (Bialasiewicz 2012). In what has now become one of the most dangerous border areas in the world, there seems to be no other solution for migrants but to follow the routes that Luca Queirolo Palmas and Federico Rahola (2020) have called 'Underground Europe'. Moving between Patras, Athens, Ventimiglia, Ceuta and Melilla and other sites of European shame, the two Italian sociologists evoked the image of the 'underground railroad' connected to the escape of African American slaves from the plantations of the United States before the civil war to name the alternative routes that migrants use today to escape walls, barriers and rejection in the Mediterranean. It is in the hubs of the 'Mediterranean underground railroad' that migrants meet tourists, residents and all the other various inhabitants of the border. Jutta Lauth Bacas and William Kavanagh (2013) wrote in this regard:

> Since frontiers bring people together in spatial proximity (though clearly such physical proximity does not necessarily entail social proximity), . . . of great interest are the hierarchical relations between the people who meet at international borders: permanent residents on one or another side of an international frontier, as well as migrants, travellers, tourists, traders and pensioners in interaction with border guards, police officers or security personnel with the power to grant or to delay passage beyond the physical limit of the frontier. (Lauth Bacas and Kavanagh 2013: 2)

The 'border encounters' observed by Jutta Lauth Bacas (2013) in Mytilene, on the Greek island of Lesvos, are not exhausted in the act of crossing or rejection that occurs on the external border of the island but continue in the daily local interactions. As Heath Cabot and Ramona Lenz (2012) have clearly highlighted through applying the 'tourist gaze' category proposed by John Urry to the context of Lesvos, reciprocal (in)visibility is a matter of gazes: a highly structured, politicized and active gaze that creates classifications and hierarchies. Yet, where there is a boundary, there is also the possibility of its contestation and transgression:

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> The borderline that cuts across the Aegean formally enacts stark distinctions among lands, people, and cultures. The visual regimes at work on these islands often replicate these dichotomies, structuring gazes in ways that distinguish natives from foreigners, locals from strangers, 'legals' from 'illegals', Europeans from Others. However, the fluidity of the borders of (in)visibility, as they are variously traversed, transgressed, and reconfigured provides insight into how borders, with their many dichotomies, map onto long histories of – and new possibilities for – sociocultural exchange and transformation. The migrations currently taking place in the Aegean amid the contexts of tourism attest to ongoing, transformational encounters across the shifting borders of (in)visibility, (il)legality, and difference. (Cabot and Lenz 2012: 178)

It is precisely with these 'transformative encounters' that anthropologists can exercise their analytical and reflexive stances and test their engagement. Anthropology itself is both 'frontier knowledge' and knowledge about the frontier (Fabietti 2005). The Italian anthropologist Ugo Fabietti used this formulation to express how anthropology is somehow 'on the margins' of the Euro-Western tradition of thought that generated it. This marginality makes it a form of knowledge that is particularly willing to cross the borders and is interested in the different ways in which human societies build borders: between forms of identification and belonging, between the spheres of the human and the divine, and so on (Fabietti 2005: 178–79). To carry out these crossings, anthropology has the possibility, both ethical and epistemological at the same time, to recognize the 'centrality of the margins'. 'Putting the margins at the centre', as Roberto Malighetti invites us to do, will mean 'promoting the discussion on the practices and proposals of social actors, traditionally thought through the categories of marginality, to define new forms of citizenship'. It will then be up to the diasporic groups on the margins of history – the colonized peoples and slaves, immigrants, refugees and displaced persons, indigenous and deprived people – to offer their perspective so we can understand the 'contemporary subject, decentralized and delocalized by the acceleration of the disruptive and dislocating mechanisms of globalization' (Malighetti 2012: 873).

Thus, we can now conclude that these coordinates can help us in our navigation across the intersections of migration and tourism in the Mediterranean. We now have a set of tools that allow us to build a framework for orientation, as outlined by the diagram in Figure 0.3. The categories that we analysed in the previous paragraphs thus constitute the three sides of a triangle where we can represent the areas in which the encounters between residents, tourists and locals examined in this book are located. These are the territories of encounter which are defined by three variables: (a) mobility flows on a scale that extends from local to global, through 'connections' and 'scapes'; (b) exchanges that produce forms of hos(ti)pitality and mutual gazes in the context of relationships performed in a continuum of otherness

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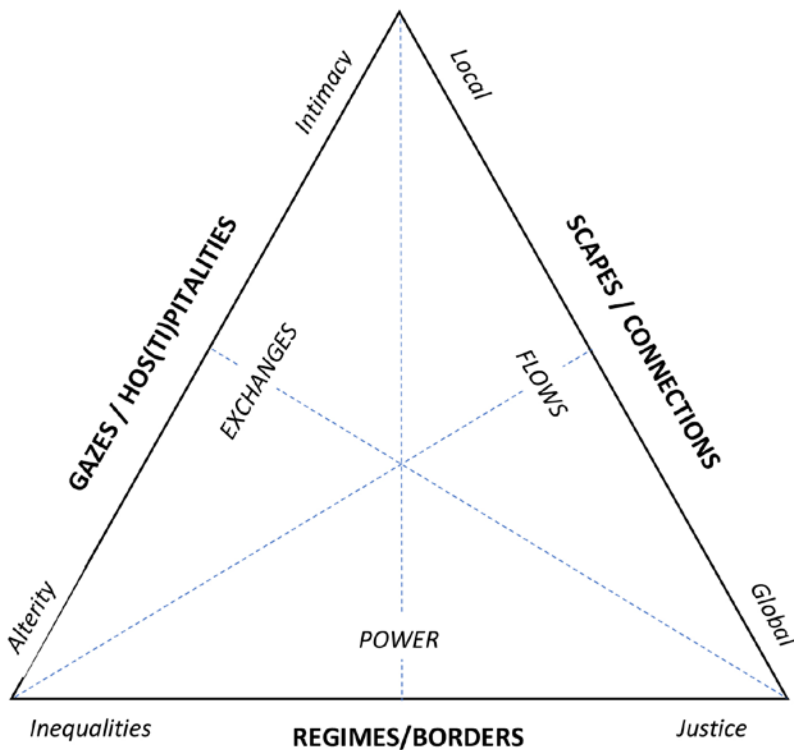

Figure 0.3. The 'theoretical sextant' of the book. An orientation tool to navigate across the intersections of migration and tourism in the Mediterranean. © Francesco Vietti

and intimacy; (c) the power that is expressed by regimes and borders in a continuous tension between inequalities and justice. Working as a 'theoretical sextant', this orientation tool helps us locate our position in relation to the social dynamics we are interested in.

What are we going to discover within these territories of encounter? Following the proposal made by Selwyn (2007) and by Scott and Selwyn (2010: 9), in the next chapters we will place 'spaces', 'images', 'objects' and 'bodies' in this analytical scheme. The encounters we will reflect on involve the bodies, the biographies and the life experiences of many people who recognize themselves in one or more of these identities: residents, migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, tourists, anthropologists, law enforcement, local administrators, volunteers, professionals, tour guides, journalists and artists, among others. They are people whose encounters are anticipated by, and are productive of, images and imaginaries that circulate through the media, that are shared on social networks, that feed the public and political debate, that

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create expectations, prejudices, desires, fears; encounters that are mediated by objects, which in various ways materialize, narrate, reflect and misrepresent them, from smartphones to souvenirs, from food products to museum collections. Finally, as we will see, the encounters between locals, migrants and tourists are powerful agents of transformation that change spaces. They are integral to the history of places and promote a re-reading and a reinterpretation of heritage, producing locality in the context of globalization and creating local identities that embody the otherness and the elsewhere. This will be the subject of the following work.

Book Outline

I would now like to present the logic in which this book is structured and articulated. The following chapters are interconnected while also having a certain degree of thematic autonomy, which is also reflected in the respective methods of investigation used.

One premise: this book reflects upon my personal conviction that the so-called Three Missions of the University should be cultivated in a complementary way as much as possible and constitute three ideal lines of action to be intertwined around any theme and field of scientific interest. Teaching (the first mission), research (the second) and public commitment and application (the third) should be seen as a single horizon of work for scholars. A scholar, therefore, should always think of the object of investigation as a topic to develop a didactic and pedagogical proposal and then think of possible projects which are able to start a conversation with the communities and territories involved, and also favour some form of social benefit deriving from research activity.

It is from this perspective that I have tried to approach the intersection of migration and tourism since 2005, covering different roles and experimenting with hybrid forms of research, teaching and public engagement. During these years I have carried out periods of fieldwork as part of my doctoral research and of subsequent research assignments; I have taught anthropology of migration and anthropology of tourism, and co-coordinated a summer school on mobility and heritage in the Mediterranean; I have served as scientific coordinator on several applied anthropology projects realized at national and international levels. These experiences mean the research I present in this book is the result of structured periods of ethnographic field research, as well as what I have observed as a tourist guide, trainer and as a person responsible for activities and initiatives that have involved my informants, whether they were tourists, migrants, local communities or students. It was certainly a question of disparate positions, of which it is important not

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to neglect the limits and ambivalences, which have led to varied opportunities for different forms of dialogue and a multiplicity of discourses, representations and points of view on the issues of my interest. Even with this variety of identities, I hope that I never lost the indispensable anthropological gaze, playing the role of an anthropologist-researcher rather than anthropologist-tourist, anthropologist-tour guide, anthropologist-trainer and so on. I have placed myself in all these circumstances as an 'aspiring anthropologist', developing the various contexts in which I have been involved into as many opportunities as possible for situated learning (Remotti 2012).

The outcome of this path is reflected in the following chapters. Part I is mainly the result of field research conducted according to the ethnographic method in various locations in Albania, but it also benefits from my experience as a tour guide in the Western Balkans. Part II is based mainly on the collective path of analysis developed together with the teachers and students of the summer school entitled 'Mobility and Heritage in the Mediterranean', which I coordinated for two editions together with my colleague Rachel Radmilli of the University of Malta, as well as on different phases of field research that I carried out on Lampedusa, Lesvos, Kos and other islands. Part III, finally, is based on the reflexivity correlated to the decision-making processes I observed in the ten years that I was the scientific coordinator of an applied anthropology project launched in Turin and then replicated in another twenty Italian and European cities. The first, second and third Missions of the University therefore constitute, in equal proportions, the many sources of production of knowledge discussed in this book.

Given these preliminary clarifications, this is how the publication will continue. At the level of the general structure, the book consists of three parts, each divided into two interconnected chapters. In Part I – Roots, we start by analysing a territorial context strongly characterized by a history of internal migration and emigration in which a crucial role is played by returning migrants who, during the summer, stay there as tourists. In Part II – Shores, we move to consider island territories that are also places of transit for tourists and migrants, and in which the local population (also often having arrived from elsewhere in the past) negotiates their relations with both groups of 'guests'. In Part III – Gates, we see urban contexts in which the dynamics of settlement and positioning of immigrants prevail, looking at how their presence triggers friction and/or coexistence with other residents, and can become an attraction for local tourists (including students and fellow citizens) interested in cultural diversity. Overall, the three parts of the book focus on different phases of tourist and migratory mobility (departure, transit, arrival, return), suggesting a circular reading, in which the end of the book is linked to its beginning according to a vision of continuity of movement.

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Figure 0.4. Researchers and migrants in Lampedusa, Italy, 2013.
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The first two chapters, included in Part I – Roots, concern the case study of Albania, a country that in the last two decades has established itself as a significant destination for 'diaspora tourism'. This umbrella term encompasses different experiences, from the so-called 'visiting-friends-and-relatives' (VFR) tourism for emigrants who periodically return to their own country or move to other countries to cultivate their social ties with friends and relatives, to 'roots tourism', which mostly concerns the second generations and descendants of emigrants who want to rediscover their cultural and family origins. In all cases, there is a gradual overlap of the status of the 'tourist' and the 'migrant', with different outcomes in terms of identification, social and economic practices and how they are perceived by the 'locals'. In these two chapters, I try to analyse this phenomenon by taking two complementary points of view. In Chapter 1, I trace a group of second-generation Italian-Albanian youngsters travelling through Albania between seaside resorts and cultural sites. In Chapter 2, I focus on the transformational effects of diaspora tourism on the context of Ksamil, a village on the southern coast of the country, not far from the Butrint Archaeological Park and the Greek island of Corfu, which is populated mostly by internal migrants who have invested the money they earned abroad in the construction of holiday apartments and guesthouses. The houses of Ksamil appear to be the result of a peculiar circularity of movement, in which migration and tourism feed each other, giving rise to complex layers of mobility.

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In the Albanian case, therefore, an (un)expected encounter takes place between migrants who are living a 'tourist' experience in their country of origin and their compatriots who host them as 'locals', but who are themselves migrants (internal and seasonal): an encounter marked by a high, albeit problematic, level of intimacy.

In Part II – Shores, by contrast, I turn my attention to those territories, particularly islands, which are simultaneously crossed by flows of migrants and tourists and where the encounter is generally characterized by the highest degree of extraneousness. Lesvos and Lampedusa, the two main contexts of ethnographic research on which I base the reflections of Chapters 3 and 4, are in fact islands where the 'border encounters' between migrants, tourists and locals take place mostly in terms of mutual invisibility. Within a framework of extraordinary visibility at the level of the global imagination (for which the 'border spectacle' is staged and performed), there are processes of 'invisibilization' at the local level, which make encounters substantially impossible. Both islands have a long history of mobility, linked to colonialization and forced population movements between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. It is this recovery and reinterpretation of this past of otherness that provides imaginative resources to challenge and transgress the boundaries of invisibility. They are a form of struggle and solidarity that I will show can involve the island populations and in some cases even the tourists themselves along with the migrants.

The borders can also be internal ones, which cross society and cities, until they are inculcated in people's bodies and minds. Following this reflection, Part III – Gates moves to those metropolises of Mediterranean Europe that in recent decades have seen walls and barriers (sometimes tangible, sometimes symbolic) grow between areas for residents, tourists and immigrants, and have sometimes faced the challenges of these different urban populations coexisting within the same neighbourhoods. Here, the flow of tourists produces dynamics of gentrification amid the expulsion of citizens of immigrant origin, but also opportunities for work and for intercultural conviviality between residents. In Chapter 5, I examine one of these neighbourhoods, namely the Porta Palazzo market in Turin. This area, where I have lived for many years, represents a sort of 'Mediterranean port' although it is located at the foot of the Alps. It has been the first landing place for several generations of migrants, first from southern Italy and then from other countries on the southern coast of the Mediterranean, in particular Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco. In Chapter 6, my analysis then expands to other cities, such as Barcelona, Catania, Cagliari and Marseille, where the European project 'Migrantour – Intercultural Urban Routes', for which I was the scientific coordinator from 2009 to 2019, has been active for some years. This is an initiative aimed at creating urban walking tours designed and accompanied

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by first- and second-generation migrants to offer an innovative reading of local history and cultural heritage.

These are, therefore, in summary, the stages of the journey I propose we undertake together. In the previous pages, we have outlined the coordinates so as not to mistake the route between the many topics and ethnographic contexts: *Scapes/Connections*, *Gazes/Hos(ti)pitality*, *Regimes/Borders*. They will allow us to triangulate our position from time to time and proceed in our navigation, gradually creating an increasingly articulated map of places, processes, practices, biographies, projects and (un)expected encounters between tourists and migrants in the Mediterranean.

Note

1. Throughout the book, the names and some personal data of my interlocutors have been changed to protect their right to privacy. The use of pseudonyms was agreed upon with all interviewees, except for people in public roles whose words are quoted with reference to real name and surname.

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