

## Chapter 1

# Introduction: Mobilizing and Mooring Hospitality

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Hospitality is a profoundly evocative concept that reverberates with cultural, political and ethical undertones. It conjures up a jumbled collage of images and senses drawn from ancient mythology, cultural traditions, scriptural references, tourism metaphors, regional stereotypes, national narratives, and government policies. Hospitality reveals its complex nature in a range of places, moments, objects and fantasies, from the material gestures of a warm smile, laden table or cosy bed, to the moral tales of Philemon or the Good Samaritan, to the iconic symbols of an open door or of the Statue of Liberty welcoming the world's tired, poor, huddled and homeless masses. At the same time, the concept of hospitality embodies its own impossibility, calling to mind images of exclusion, closure and violence: walled borders, gated communities, asylum detention centres, and race riots.

Hospitality is a phenomenon that, even in its failure, evokes the ancient and persistent question: how should we welcome the stranger, the sojourner, the traveller, the other? Where might hospitable encounters occur, and what kinds of spaces does hospitality produce? Who is able to perform the welcoming host, and who can be admitted as a guest? And in extending hospitality to the other, how should we define our individual, communal, or national self? It is toward these questions that the contributors to this book direct their investigations of a variety of phenomena, practices, places, and histories of intersecting hospitalities and mobilities. By invoking the concept of hospitality, the chapters presented here aim to reflect critically upon the ethical implications, including the limits and the possibilities, of social relations between people in an increasingly mobile and globalized world.

As individuals and groups of people now travel across the world at ever-escalating distances, scales, and speeds, the contemporary global condition is perhaps best understood through metaphors of scapes, flux, flow, mobility and liquidity (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1996; Bauman, 2000; Urry, 2000). Social relations are increasingly produced through mobile networks of environmental, cultural, social and economic interdependencies that transcend territorially bounded societies or nation-states (Urry, 2000; Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006). People and places across the globe are now bound together through complex and fluid connections that emerge around the transnational flows of commodities and capital, images and information, ethnicity and culture, crime, disease, waste and pollution. And, of course, people. New patterns of migration, diaspora, and transnational labour, along

with the exponential growth of business travel and global tourism, now account for unprecedented levels of international mobility.

Even individuals who are not physically on the move may find themselves imaginatively or virtually mobilized, especially as the Internet and new mobile communication technologies bring geographically dispersed social networks together in new ways (Bauman, 1998; Tomlinson, 1999; Morley, 2000; Urry, 2000). At the same time, neighbourhoods, communities and nations are 'internally globalized' and 'cosmopolitanized' by complex global circulations of commodities and cultures that accompany the flows of tourism and migration (Massey, 1994; Beck, 2000). For those who travel as well as for those who ostensibly stay home, social life is increasingly comprised of 'strange encounters' (Ahmed, 2000). These new intersections and proximities bring the provocative dilemma of hospitality – how do we welcome the stranger? – urgently back to centre stage, reframing it against the contemporary concerns of a mobile world.

The plethora of different journeys in today's mobile world has thus led to a diversity of hospitalities. By examining both literal and metaphorical examples of hospitality, this book introduces questions of context, historicity, temporality, space, mobility, and social relations in order to complicate the meaning of hospitality. The concept of hospitality has been applied in several disciplinary settings and across a wide range of phenomena. Hospitality has long been a focus of anthropological enquiry, with ethnographic accounts framing hospitality as a way of negotiating kinship, friendship and hostility (Selwyn, 2000). More recently, the metaphors and paradigms of hospitality have emerged in other fields as well, from historical accounts of the shifting social and cultural meanings of hospitality (Heal, 1990; Browner, 2003), to commercial forms of hospitality, such as those provided by the travel and tourism industry (Smith, 1989; Lashley and Morrison, 2000; Lynch, 2005; Lashley, Lynch and Morrison, 2007), to less explicit forms of hospitality extended by the nation to migrants, refugees or asylum seekers (Ahmed, 2000; Rosello, 2001; Pugliese, 2002; Schlunke, 2002; Gibson, 2003, 2006; Yegenoglu, 2003; Chan, 2005; Metselaar, 2005; Savic, 2005; Kelly, 2006; Worth, 2006). Along these lines, critical accounts of hospitality in the context of business, tourism and migration have also sought to highlight the contingent notion of hostility within hospitality (Gibson, 2003). The concept of hospitality, especially in its Kantian articulation, has been revived to address human rights and cosmopolitical formulations of a universal law of hospitality (Derrida, 1999, 2000: 2001b; Honig, 1999; Dikeç, 2002; Venn, 2002; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Amin, 2004; Benhabib, 2004, 2006), and emerging forms of online social relations and cybernetic encounters have been examined in terms of technological forms of hospitality and belonging online (Aristarkhova, 1999, 2000). Clearly, the concept of hospitality poses practical and theoretical questions that span disciplinary boundaries.

A key aim of this collection of essays is to enact a form of 'intellectual hospitality' (Kaufman, 2001; Bennett, 2003) by considering how the deployment of the concept of hospitality in one disciplinary context may provide insights in another. As Friese argues 'what is at stake is not only the thinking *of* hospitality, but thinking *as* hospitality' (2004, 74; and see Still, 2004). In the able hands of various scholars, the cultural, commercial, philosophical, political, ethical and social dimensions

of hospitality have been subjected to rigorous debate. Yet, perhaps because of its wide appeal across disciplines, the concept of hospitality has eluded any attempt to delineate it as a unified theoretical paradigm or ontological framework. Nor is that our intention here. However, we do aim to coordinate some of these interdisciplinary approaches to hospitality through the perspective of mobility.

Hospitality is not just a metaphor for reflecting on encounters with the stranger (Rosello, 2001), but serves more broadly as a central concept for the emergent paradigm of ‘mobilities’ (Urry, 2000). By focusing on the complex intersection between hospitality and mobility, we hope to open up a space for imagining humane and ethical answers to the pressing question of how to welcome the stranger in today’s mobile world. Hospitality is a structure that regulates, negotiates, and celebrates the social relations between inside and outside, home and away, private and public, self and other (Still, 2006: 704). We seek to engage critically with the way such social relations are structured through literal or metaphorical gestures of hospitality that transgress and reiterate boundaries, that fix and mobilize identities, and that negotiate the distinction between the self and the other. Thus, this book is about the ‘politics of mobility’ (Cresswell, 2001) and the ‘ethics of hospitality’ (Derrida, 1999).

Implicit in most definitions of hospitality are the movements of tourists and visitors (those mobile others who come and go) as well as the movements of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees (those mobile others who come and stay). Although mobility underpins any discussion of hospitality, none of the erstwhile contributions on hospitality have explicitly brought a mobilities focus to bear on hospitality, nor has the emerging scholarship on mobilities studies included a sustained focus on the political, philosophical and ethical aspects of hospitality. The notion of hospitality, as Hent de Vries (2001) argues, has ‘immense relevance [...] for the most urgent questions dominating contemporary political debates’ on immigration, globalization, multiculturalism, and citizenship (178). In this book, we want to make explicit what is often implicit about hospitality – its predication on mobility – and to highlight the fluidity of the practices and categories of hospitality. In order to do this, the book inserts itself at some busy intersections: between politics and ethics, between tourism and migration, between travelling and dwelling, and between mobility and immobility.

## **The Politics of Mobility and the Ethics of Hospitality**

To be sure, the question of hospitality is not new; indeed, it is one of human civilization’s most ancient themes. Nor is the global movement of people in itself a new phenomenon. For centuries, the movements of traders, travellers, pilgrims, tourists, migrants, explorers, nomads, colonialists and warriors have drawn individuals, communities and nations into contact along varying degrees of friendship and violence. Much scholarly attention has been paid to the question of how the social relations that occur in these ‘contact zones’ (Pratt, 1992) should be politically or ethically negotiated.

In recent articulations of these debates, Immanuel Kant’s *Toward Perpetual Peace* (1996 [1975]) has been of particular importance in teasing out the complex civic and

moral implications entwined in questions of mobility, citizenship and human rights. In this slim but influential treatise, Kant observes that: ‘by virtue of the right of possession in common of the earth’s surface on which, as a sphere, [humans] cannot disperse infinitely but must finally put up with being near one another’ (1996 [1795], 329). In other words, because humans inhabit a geographically limited planet, it is our natural destiny to come into contact with one another. For Kant, this ‘natural law’ of shared residence on the earth’s surface assumes a ‘cosmopolitan right’ to travel and encounter each other under various auspices. This right that is conditioned by the law of ‘universal hospitality’, which ensures the rights and duties associated with the movement of foreigners around the world: the right to travel and be received in other lands without hostility; and a duty to not use one’s travels as a means of exploitation or oppression (see Waldron, 2006: 90). Written more than 200 years ago, Kant’s reflections on global civil society sought to institutionalize a special relationship between mobility and hospitality as the underlying tenet of cosmopolitan interaction between people and nations. We maintain that this intersection between mobility and hospitality is just as relevant today, if not more so, in framing the political and ethical parameters of social interaction, moral duties and state obligations in a world of strange encounters. And we are not alone. Scholars across disciplines have revived Kant’s notions of universal hospitality and cosmopolitan right to address contemporary concerns, especially around issues of migration, asylum and citizenship (see Nussbaum, 1994; Derrida, 1999; Bauman, 2002; Dikeç, 2002; Benhabib, 2006; Waldron, 2006). While the current debates owe much to Kant’s meditations on hospitality, many scholars are critical of the juridical conditions and necessary limitations that Kant imposes on the concept of hospitality. One of the more powerful critiques has been offered by Jacques Derrida in his various writings on cosmopolitanism and hospitality.

Because several of the chapters in this collection engage directly with Derrida’s work on hospitality, we want to take a moment here to outline Derrida’s critique of Kant’s universal hospitality and to reflect on Derrida’s contribution to our understanding of hospitality as a framework for thinking about the ethics of social relations in a mobile world. Derrida explains that because Kant’s notion of hospitality relies on conditions of reciprocity, duties and obligations between people and nation-states it delimits rather than opens up borders and possibilities. Derrida admonishes that Kant’s hospitality is ‘only juridical and political: it grants only the right of temporary sojourn and not the right of residence; it concerns only the citizens of States’ (Derrida, 1999: 87).

In contrast, Derrida draws a distinction ‘between an *ethics* of hospitality (an *ethics as* hospitality) and a *law* or a *politics* of hospitality’ (Derrida, 1999: 19), seeing Kant’s formulation of hospitality as a politics of conditional hospitality as opposed to an ethics of infinite, unconditional and absolute hospitality (Gibson, 2003). The laws of hospitality place a series of conditions upon the welcoming of others, but *the* law of hospitality – hospitality as an ethics – ‘tells us or invites us, or gives us the order or injunction to welcome *anyone*, any other one, without checking at the border’ (Derrida and Düttmann, 1997: 8).

What Derrida encourages us to think about is a hospitality that is infinite, absolute and completely open – a welcoming of the other and regardless of who that other is,

regardless of the potential dangers and risks involved. An ethics of hospitality entails opening one's borders or doors to *anyone*, acting beyond our own self-interest. It is not an easy thing to imagine, and indeed Derrida is fully aware of this difficulty. As Gibson observes:

Absolute hospitality is impossible as it undermines the very condition of a nation or state, which is constituted through the erection of frontiers and borders. Absolute hospitality requires the "generosity" of the state even as the ethical notion of absolute hospitality goes beyond any frontier or border of the state (2003: 374–375).

Absolute hospitality is impossible for the nation-state, and equally aporetic in the case of interpersonal exchanges of hospitality, for in welcoming the foreigner unconditionally, the host must relinquish the mastery of his or her home which is the condition of being able to offer hospitality in the first place. In other words, absolute hospitality requires us to go beyond, even beyond the very conditions that enable a state or a person to offer hospitality at all.

Derrida is concerned with the difficulty in thinking through these two supplementary meanings of hospitality as an ethics and as a politics.

If the two meanings of hospitality remain mutually irreducible, it is always in the name of pure and hyperbolic hospitality that it is necessary, in order to render it as effective as possible, to invent the best arrangements [dispositions], the least bad conditions, the most just legislation. This is necessary to avoid the perverse effects of an unlimited hospitality whose risks I tried to define. This is the double law of hospitality: to calculate the risks, yes, but without closing the door on the incalculable, that is, on the future and the foreigner (Derrida and Düttmann, 2005: 6).

His concern is not to reconcile the politics of hospitality with an ethics of hospitality, but rather to extend a provocative challenge that speaks to the politics of self-other relations and draws out a model for living with difference.

As critics working especially in the area of migration and multiculturalism remind us, our official and informal policies toward welcoming the other for the most part fall far short of Derrida's ideal of absolute hospitality (see Gibson in this volume). While we might find in political and popular rhetoric gestures toward multiculturalist tolerance and metaphors of generous hospitality surrounding the reception of migrants, these discourses often serve to reiterate a specific power relation between the self and the other. As Yegenoglu (2003) notes, 'far from laying the grounds for an interruption of sovereign identity of the self, multiculturalist respect and tolerance implies the conditional welcoming of the guest within the prescribed limits of the law and hence implies a reassertion of mastery over the national space' (16). In other words, hospitality tends to reassert the identity and belonging-ness of the host against the movement, shifting, unstable, un-belonging-ness of the guest. But in Derrida's deconstruction of hospitality, the binary opposition between host and guest unravels:

The *hôte* who receives (the host), the one who welcomes the invited or received *hôte* (the guest), the welcoming *hôte* who considers himself the owner of the place, is in truth a *hôte* received in his own home. He receives the hospitality that he offers in his own home; he

receives it from his own home – which, in the end, does not belong to him. The hôte as host is a guest (Derrida, 1999: 41).

Like Derrida, we want to destabilize hospitality as a paradigm and ‘host’ and ‘guest’ as distinct categories, by ‘mobilizing hospitality’ – by opening it up and by questioning its closures, by examining the nuanced fluidity of categories such as host and guest, and by disassociating stasis with hosts/homes and movement with guests/travel. We take as our starting point the mobilities of tourism and migration, which are generating new patterns of circulation, intersection and proximity between strangers. The chapters in this book bring debates around voluntary and obligatory mobilities into conversation by examining the politics of travelling and staying still and by interrogating the ethical responses to mobile others who are more or less invited, more or less welcome.

### **Tourism and Migration: Circulating Discourses of Hospitality**

In distinct yet related ways, the academic, political and popular discourses surrounding tourism and migration have invoked the metaphors of hospitality – along with terms such as host, guest, welcome, refuge, invitation and home – to categorize people, to erect, police and transcend symbolic and physical boundaries, and to authorize or condemn certain terms of social interaction. Much of the current literature that applies a hospitality framework to studies of tourism or migration mobilities has tended to reproduce fairly rigid social categories that associate mobility with the guest, tourist or migrant, and immobility with the host, local population, home or nation. The chapters in this book seek to destabilize these associations by demonstrating that these categories are produced through intersecting circulations of mobility and rest, people and places, objects and memories (see chapters by Bell, Lynch, Di Domenico and Sweeney, and Cresswell in this volume). Here, we highlight some of the specific overlaps and disjunctures between tourism and migration discourses in negotiating the political and ethical implications of practices of welcoming, ways of belonging, and forms of citizenship while on the move.

#### *Hospitality in Tourism Discourse*

Since the publication in the late 1970s of Valene Smith’s influential collection *Hosts and Guests*, hospitality has been one of the most pervasive metaphors within tourism studies, referring in one sense to the commercial project of the tourist industry (such as hotels, catering, and tour operation) and in another sense to the social interactions between local people and tourists – that is, hosts and guests. Smith’s influential collection helped to reframe the focus of tourism studies away from an emphasis on tourists and toward a critical concern with the unequal social relations within tourism and the impact of tourism on local populations and environments (McNaughton, 2006). Over the years, many scholars have sought to revise and refine the deceptively simple paradigm, while others have rejected the usefulness of the hospitality metaphor altogether.

Empirical studies consistently indicate that the binary oppositions between the categories of host and guest rarely hold up in the field (McNaughton, 2006). For example, cases of diasporic migrants revisiting their ‘homeland’ as tourists (Duval, 2003, 2004); second-home owners travelling or retiring to their holiday homes abroad (O’Reilly, 2003; Hall and Mueller, 2004); migratory labourers working in the hospitality industry (Choi, Woods and Murrmann, 2000); travellers employed on working holiday programs (Clarke, 2004; Heuman, 2005); the seasonal influx of handicraft and souvenir merchants to tourist areas (McNaughton, 2006); or multinational tourist developments funded by overseas interests (Selwyn, 1996; Tribe, 2005) all call into question who is the host and who is the guest. Many researchers have challenged the binary opposition between host and guest by refining these categories in more pluralistic and heterogeneous terms, or by inserting a continuum of social actors, including observers, brokers and mediators, between the two poles of host and guest (see Crick, 1985; Selwyn, 1996; Cheong and Miller, 2000; McNaughton, 2006).

More useful are critiques that frame host and guest as fluid, contested social roles that people move into, out of, and in between as they negotiate extensive overlapping mobilities and social memberships (Sherlock, 2001; Duval, 2003). For example, O’Reilly (2003) shifts the frame of reference by asking ‘*When* is a tourist?’ suggesting that social categories such as tourist and migrant, or indeed host and guest, can be seen as temporally-constrained social performances rather than as strictly-bounded identity categories (see Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Sherlock, 2001; Duval, 2003; McNaughton, 2006). For our purposes, O’Reilly’s question may also be helpfully rephrased as ‘*Where* is a host or guest?’ to remind us that hospitality produces not only certain social categories (such as host and guest), but also certain spatial patterns of social interaction on the move (see in particular chapters by Bell, Cresswell, and Cuthill in this volume).

Some critics find the host-guest paradigm altogether irrelevant to contemporary forms of tourism. For example, Aramberri (2001) urges the host to ‘get lost’, arguing that a hospitality framework fails to adequately account for the commercial organization of modern mass tourism and the fact that, for better or for worse, most interactions between tourists and local people come down to some form of monetary exchange. In his estimation, the terms ‘service providers’ and ‘customers’ more accurately capture these social interactions (Aramberri, 2001: 746). He goes on to itemize the various ways in which mass tourism, even when posing as sustainable development, transforms touristic encounters into commercial exploits that have no relation to ‘the old covenant’ of hospitality (746). And yet, in many circles, hospitality has become synonymous with the tourism industry, referring precisely to the commercial provision of tourist services (see Lashley and Morrison, 2000; Lashley, Lynch and Morrison, 2007; and see Cuthill and O’Dell in this volume). Given the expanding realm of activities that seem to count as hospitality within tourism research and the tourism industry, we suggest that instead of rejecting the hospitality paradigm altogether, we should consider the way the concept of hospitality continues to be made meaningful within academic discourse and everyday practices. For example, Cuthill (Chapter 5) discusses the production of hospitality in restaurants

and bars in two English cities, while O'Dell (Chapter 6) analyses spas in Sweden as sites of hospitality.

More importantly, we need to pay attention to the way the concept of hospitality brings meaning to certain social arrangements between strangers. For example, instead of rejecting commercialized interactions as *not* hospitality, the contributors to this book examine the way the ethics of social interactions in commercial settings are contested through a discourse of hospitality. For example, in her analysis of online hospitality clubs, Germann Molz (Chapter 4) finds that travellers evoke ideals of hospitality precisely to contest commercialized uses of the Internet and commercialized host-guest relations. Meanwhile, Lynch, Di Domenico and Sweeney (Chapter 7) tease out the complex overlaps between for-profit and private hospitality in the context of the 'commercial home'. Commercial venues such as restaurants, spas and bars do not elide hospitality, but rather become the setting for complex negotiations of multiple hospitalities and embodied encounters between strangers (see chapters by Cuthill, O'Dell, and Kuntsman in this volume).

Instead of jettisoning the paradigm, we should take this opportunity to ask who gets to be a guest, and under what conditions? Who gets to be a host, and under what conditions? Who gets to move between these categories? How do these categories authorize some people's right to travel and to be welcomed, while delegitimizing other claims to mobility and belonging? As McNaughton rightly notes, 'host and guest are not innocent terms. They reverberate with a sense of welcome and with particular understandings of hospitality that reveal more about the archaeology of the discourse than they do about the nature of contemporary tourism' (2006, 648).

The host-guest paradigm has certainly provided tourism studies with a powerful framework for interrogating social relations within the domain of leisure mobilities, but it has recently been evoked in the very different context of national discourses around migration and asylum seeking. This is certainly not to say that the boundaries between tourism and migration are patently distinct; indeed, recent studies have demonstrated the way tourism and migration mobilities overlap and inform each other (see Feng and Page, 2000; Hall and Williams, 2002; Duval, 2003; O'Reilly, 2003; Coles and Timothy, 2004). Attending to the relations between 'migration, return migration, tourism, transnationalism and diaspora' helps us to focus on the uneven mobilities of 'obligatory as well as voluntary forms of travel' (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 10) and to consider the way such unevenness is reproduced through discourses of hospitality that determine which strangers are (or are not) invited and welcome.

### *Migration Discourse*

The metaphor of hospitality structures contemporary debates on nationalism, migration, multiculturalism, and asylum. Who feels at home within the nation? Who is excluded or fails to feel at home in the nation? Is a host necessarily a citizen of the host nation-state? Why are immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers imagined as guests of the host nation-state? These are important questions for understanding the metaphors of hospitality and the home in contemporary debates on national identity and citizenship (see Kelly, 2006). Hospitality is intimately connected to nationalism,

where crossing the border into the nation (whether as an immigrant or as a tourist) is dependent upon national definitions of what counts as hospitality, and the figure towards whom hospitality is offered and received (Rosello, 2001, viii). In the context of debates on nationalism and immigration, discourses of hospitality work to blur 'the distinction between a discourse of rights and a discourse of generosity, the language of social contracts and the language of excess and gift-giving' (Rosello 2001: 9). In these debates, the Kantian cosmopolitan right to 'universal hospitality' is in tension with the sovereignty of the nation-state (see Benhabib, 2004, 2005).

In studies of migration, multiculturalism and postcolonialism, the metaphor of hospitality is frequently invoked (Ahmed, 2000, 2004; Rosello, 2001; Hage, 2002, 2003; Chan, 2005; Still, 2006). But this metaphor of hospitality is a dead metaphor (Rosello, 2001: 3) since such studies employ the metaphor of 'hospitality' precisely to reveal the hostility present within such policies of managing diversity within the 'host nation'. In constructing 'the immigrant as guest' (Rosello, 2001), the host nation excludes the immigrant from feeling at home in the nation. This opposition between host/guest, native/stranger maintains the line between power/powerlessness, ownership/dispossession, stability/nomadism (Rosello, 2001: 18). Such a rhetoric of hospitality is ideological as it enables 'some people to have *fantasies of control*' (Hage, 2002: 165; see Gibson, this volume) in the power to host and welcome.

Similarly multicultural national imaginaries which often employ the metaphor of hospitality are revealed to be, in fact, 'not very hospitable' (Ahmed, 2000: 190) as they continue to position 'the natives' as hosts who decide which guests/strangers will or will not be welcomed. Discourses of multiculturalism involve the contradictory processes of 'incorporation and expulsion' (Ahmed, 2000: 97) or an 'inclusive exclusion' (Laachir this volume). The guests/strangers in such a narrative of multiculturalism are consequently placed under a 'debt of hospitality' (Chan, 2005: 21) to the host nation. Such uses of the metaphor of hospitality in studies of migration and multiculturalism similarly ignore the historical social relations of colonialism, which involved the transformation of guests into hosts (Ahmed, 2000: 190). Whether the host nation welcomes, expels, or deters the stranger these responses to the other are all premised on the same power relation. It is the native who is empowered to feel at home and to assume the position of the host. If the immigrant is imagined as 'the guest,' the 'host nation' maintains its historical position of power and privilege in determining who is or is not welcome to enter the country, but also under what conditions of entry. Hospitality, however, is not simply a question of crossing (or not) the border. The question today, Bauman argues, is how to live with strangers daily and permanently (1997: 55).

The host nation, despite explicit evidence to its contrary, often imagines itself narcissistically as being hospitable. Derrida's distinction between a limited, conditional hospitality and an infinite, unconditional hospitality has been critically engaged with to puncture these narcissistic myths nations use to construct the current so-called problem of asylum (on Britain see Ahmed, 2004, and Gibson, 2003, 2006, and in this volume; on the Netherlands see Metselaar, 2005; on France see Rosello, 2001, and Still, 2004; on Australia see Kelly, 2006, Pugliese, 2002, and Schlunke, 2002; and on New Zealand see Worth, 2006). In such studies, the figure of the asylum seeker is constructed as 'the uninvited' (Harding, 2000), where the nation-

state imagines itself to be a 'reluctant host' (Joly and Cohen, 1989) who is unwilling to generously offer hospitality to such unwelcome and parasitical guests. The tension between the human right to asylum (which is ratified in international agreements) is often in contrast to the right of the nation-state to maintain control over its borders.

While the metaphor of hospitality in discourses of nationalism and immigration has empowered the native to assume the powerful position of the host, it is precisely this metaphor that needs to be deconstructed in order to conceive new ways of figuring the social relations between citizens, immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and nation-states. The metaphor of hospitality needs to be deconstructed in order to interrogate the different contexts in which it is deployed as a means of legitimating the power of some while disavowing the rights of others. If the immigrant is imagined as a guest (Rosello, 2001), the figure of the immigrant is conceived either negatively in anti-immigration discourses as a parasite or positively in discourses of multiculturalism as a grateful guest. While the host-guest paradigm has been useful in theorizing social relations between strangers within studies of nationalism, immigration, and multiculturalism, rather than imagining the immigrant through the binary opposition of host/guest it is important to re-conceive the social relations that characterize the relationships between host and guest, citizen and immigrant. Hospitality is about the other questioning and interrupting the self, rather than reasserting the mastery of the self. Instead of rejecting the metaphor of hospitality, the contributors to this book take the opportunity to consider the promise of hospitality (see the chapters by Gibson, Kuntsman, Laachir, and Still in this volume) in reconfiguring social relations between strangers within studies of nationalism, immigration, and multiculturalism.

A key point of intersection between the discourses we have just described is the way the concept of home is evoked in the ethics and politics of welcoming the other. National discourses of hospitality frame the nation-state as a 'home' that is open to (certain) foreigners, but whose borders must be protected; while in tourism, the notion of hospitality suggests a range of possible homes, including the cities and local places tourists visit, the homes of friends and family members who host travellers, or the hotel or resort that serves as the tourist's 'home-away-from-home'. Tourism and migration mobilities both imply a movement away from home, but also toward a new (permanent or temporary) home. For example, migration studies often 'foreground acts of "homing" and "re-grounding" which point towards the complex interrelation between travel and dwelling' (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006: 10; and see Hage 1997 on 'migrant home-building' and Brah 1996 on diasporic 'homing desires'). The chapters in this book suggest that as much as hospitality is associated with mobility, it is equally concerned with stasis and rest (a place to eat, sleep, or recuperate). Indeed, hospitality occurs precisely at this intersection between travel and dwelling. To host or to be hosted are both forms of travelling-in-dwelling and dwelling-in-travelling where the mobilities of guests, travellers and foreigners intersect with hosts and homes.

## **Travelling and Dwelling**

Home is often idealized as a ‘space of hospitality’ (Dikeç, 2002; Friese, 2004) that offers the traveller respite from the labour of mobility. Where is home? What does it mean to be at home? Who feels at home and who fails to feel at home? Who can be a mobile host away from home, or a guest at home? Edith Wyschogrod has argued that ‘for there to be hospitality there must be a home’ (2003, 36). Home is clearly central to formulations of hospitality, however, what constitutes home depends very much on the way hospitality is imagined, performed, offered, or denied.

If hospitality, as we suggest, poses the question of how to welcome the stranger, how to make the stranger feel ‘at home,’ this question assumes the figure of the stranger (who receives hospitality) as well as the figure of the host or hostess (who is able to offer hospitality), in addition to the place of hospitality. In his influential essay on ‘The Stranger’, Georg Simmel argues that the stranger is a ‘purely mobile person’ (1971, 148), who is able to move across borders, and who embodies both relations of proximity and distance within the home. In other words, the mobile stranger troubles assumed notions of home as bounded or static. The concept of home is, as David Morley argues ‘the uninterrogated anchor or alter ego of all this hyper-mobility’ (2000: 3). However, to focus purely on mobility would be to ignore the complex abstractions regarding the imagining of the stranger, in defining who is welcomed or expelled (Ahmed, 2000) or deterred (Gibson in this volume) from crossing the border of the nation-state or the threshold of the home. Hospitality can only be offered to the figure of the stranger, but as Sara Ahmed has so persuasively argued there are ‘substantive differences between ways of being displaced from “home”’ (2000: 6).

Discourses of hospitality are predicated upon home, but they also produce home – and who gets to be at home – in particular ways. For example, social groups who negotiate community and belonging on the Internet may consider a website, discussion forum or homepage to be a kind of online ‘home’ (see Kuntsman and Germann Molz in this volume). The hospitable city may offer to make some visitors feel at home (Bell, 2007, and in this volume), while denying this homeliness to others (see Cresswell in this volume). Or the nation itself may become a ‘home’ (Kelly, 2006; and see chapters by Gibson, Laachir, and Kuntsman in this volume). Just as ‘host’ and ‘guest’ are never innocent terms, neither are metaphors of home unencumbered with histories of power, especially the sovereign power to determine which mobile strangers are welcome, and which are not.

Mobility is ‘a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship’ (Massey, 1994; Ahmed, 2000; Skeggs, 2004: 29) and is often dependent upon the exclusion of those who are fixed in place (Ahmed, 2004). Similarly, emphasis must be placed here on the specific contexts of travel and dwelling, for just as not all travellers travel under the same conditions, nor are people able to be at home under the same conditions. As Clifford suggests, analysis of the tensions between dwelling and travelling must account for ‘specific histories, tactics and everyday practices of dwelling and traveling’ (1997, 24). Who is able to make themselves at home, and under what conditions? Who is able to offer hospitality, and how does the offer of hospitality entrench certain relations of power, ownership and sovereignty? This is

the power geometry of hospitality, hospitableness and hospitable social relations (see Massey 1994 on the power geometry of mobility). Hospitality is not offered to every stranger, nor does every stranger gratefully receive the gift (or debt) of hospitality. Similarly, not everyone is able to give hospitality to the stranger, not everyone is empowered to be hospitable. It is only to those recognized, identified, familiar, welcome-able strangers who are generously given hospitality, and this gesture of hospitableness can only be made by those hosts who feel at home.

Even under the guise of tolerance and generosity, hospitality frames 'home' as a domain of power where the host polices the conditions by which the front door remains open or closed. In welcoming the stranger, the host is positioned as being at home (in control of the home) in contrast to the mobility of the stranger. As Yegenoglu argues, 'hospitality is a giving gesture. But with the hospitality as law, what this gesture in fact does is to subject the stranger/foreigner to the law of the host's home. In this way, the foreigner is allowed to enter the host's space under conditions the host has determined' (2003, 15).

At the same time, however, hospitality disturbs its own framework of power. Hospitality *requires* opening up the home of the host to the other (Derrida 2000, 25). Derrida argues that hospitality is

part of being at home; there is no home, no cultural home, no family home without some door, some opening and some ways of welcoming guests. But in that case the hospitality is conditional, in that the Other is welcome to the extent that he adjusts to the *chez soi*, to the home, that he speaks the language or that he learns the language, that he respects the order of the house, the order of the nation state and so on and so forth (Derrida 2001a: 97–98).

Hospitality is simultaneously about 'opening, without abolishing' (Dikeç, 2002: 299) the boundaries of the host's home. Thus, the gesture of hospitality reinforces the host's position of power and privilege, maintaining the host's sovereignty and control over the limits/borders of their 'home' (Derrida 2003: 127–128). John D. Caputo explains that 'when the host says to the guest, "Make yourself at home", this is a self-limiting invitation. "Make yourself at home" means: please feel at home, act as if you were at home, but, remember, that is not true, this is not your home but mine' (1997: 111).

This model of home and hospitality assumes that the home is secure against what is foreign, strange, and unfamiliar. Home, however, is not simply the place from which the stranger departs, it is also the place of arrival and transit. If the stranger is the one who has moved away from home, this neglects that there is movement implicated in the formation of homes themselves as 'complex and contingent spaces of inhabitation' (Ahmed, 2000: 88; Ahmed et al., 2003). Similarly, homely places do not simply have to be conceived as singular and bounded (see Lynch, Di Domenico and Sweeney, this volume). Criticizing the connotations of homely places as being associated with stasis, fixity, and nostalgia (homesickness), Massey instead argues that places are 'not so much bounded areas as open and porous networks of social relations' (1994: 121). Instead, we might think of home as a mobile place that is 'implicated within complex networks by which "hosts, guests, buildings, objects

and machines” are contingently brought together to produce certain performances in certain places at certain times’ (Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006: 13).

Hospitality puts the notion of home into motion, opening it up literally and figuratively to the intersecting flows and circulations of hosts, guests, buildings and objects that simultaneously challenge, reassert and perform a place *as* home. In this sense, we might think of the home through the metaphor of the ship, which is for Foucault ‘the heterotopia *par excellence*’ (2002, 236). The ship is ‘a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea’ (Foucault, 1986: 27). Like ships, places are what Hetherington calls ‘immutable mobiles’, simultaneously stabilized and mobilized around networks of agents, humans, and non-humans (Hetherington, 1997: 185–189; also see Gilroy, 1993).

### Hospitality as Mooring

In December 1997, several Caribbean governments, including the British territory of the Cayman Islands, denied docking privileges to a cruise ship whose passengers consisted of about 900 gay and lesbian travellers from the United States and Europe. In her analysis of the incident, Jasbir Puar explains that Cayman officials denied docking rights to the so-called gay cruise because the passengers could not be counted on to ‘uphold standards of appropriate behavior’ on the island (cited in Puar, 2002: 101). At the time, a US-based gay rights organization called on the British government to intervene, and then Prime Minister Tony Blair determined that the refusal of the cruise ship constituted a breach of the International Covenant of Human Rights and should therefore be rescinded.

According to Puar, the debates and discussions surrounding the affair revealed conflicting transnational alliances within the context of postcolonial politics, human rights discourse, and the economics of commercial tourism. For example, though the local Caribbean media and many local organizations stayed quiet on the topic for fear of a backlash, those activists who did speak out framed their protests in commercial terms, arguing that alienating affluent gay travellers would hurt the Caribbean tourist economy. In the end, and despite protests from activists and the British government, the cruise ship was not allowed to dock (Puar, 2002). For Puar, this incident and the ensuing debates posed questions about global and local sexualities, global gay identity in postcolonial situations, and the contested mobilities of queer tourism.

More recently, the *MV Tampa* was controversially refused hospitality on the shores of Australia. In August 2001, a Norwegian container ship, the *MV Tampa*, rescued 438 predominantly Afghani asylum-seekers from a sinking Indonesian ferry. The Australian government refused to allow the *Tampa* to dock at the Australian territory Christmas Island, arguing that the asylum seekers were the responsibility of Norway or Indonesia. Upon entering Australian waters, the *MV Tampa* was boarded by Australian Special Forces and pushed back to international waters. The *Tampa*’s captain, Arne Rinnan, referred to these rescued asylum seekers as his ‘guests’, while Australia argued that that it would ‘not be held hostage by our own decency’ (in Perera, 2002). The asylum seekers were eventually transferred to Nauru, and then

to New Zealand. This refusal by Australia in allowing the *Tampa* to dock reveals complex debates on hospitality, at the national, international, and maritime level. It also revealed historical debates on Australia itself.

Perera (2002: 33) charts how the 'discourse of hospitality and care for guests' was during this period asserted most strongly by Indigenous Australians as an assertion of their ownership of the land. At the same time, the Australian crisis of hospitality predicated upon this ship was invoked in New Zealand's narcissistic narratives of their superior hospitality and compassion towards asylum seekers (Worth, 2006: 226). These gestures of willingness to offer hospitality, for Perera, link 'inside and outside, these and those bodies, our stories and their stories; make simple reciprocal gestures between guest and host, sheltered and homeless, harbour and traveller' (2002, 34). Australia's failure to offer hospitality towards these asylum seekers shores up the national imaginary of Australia through the securitization of the 'boat people' as a threat, but it is also in conflict with the maritime humanitarian regime at sea which is predicated upon solidarity among seafarers (Pugh, 2004). The sea upon which the ship moves (and is moved) invokes the metaphors of flows, waves, and liquidity (Bauman, 2000; Urry, 2000) that characterize modernity. In relationship to the ships that carry potential asylum seekers and refugees towards the host nation, these strangers are imagined metaphorically as 'waves,' 'tides' or 'floods' in posing a threat to the nation but often these bodies are themselves 'at the mercy of tides, waves, shipwreck and drowning' (Pugh, 2004: 55).

We invoke these stories of ships and harbours here in part to demonstrate the complexity of negotiating hospitality through the tangled grids of global tourism, cultural mores, commercial aspirations, and social anxieties as well as international human rights, maritime regimes at sea, state sovereignty, and land ownership. Indeed, these episodes of (failed) hospitality highlight the way the privilege to be mobile, as well as the privilege to stop and visit, is always filtered through the prism of race, class, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. However, we also invoke these incidents in order to think about the way hospitality is always implicated in the double and contradictory processes of movement and stillness embodied by the ship.

In keeping with the story of the ship, the dock, and the denied visitors, we suggest thinking of hospitality as a form of 'mooring'. Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006) introduce the metaphor of 'mooring' to highlight the necessary interdependence between mobility systems and immobile infrastructures or platforms that enable mobilities. They argue that 'mobilities cannot be described without attention to the necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings that configure and enable mobilities', pointing to examples such as roads, transmitters, airports, docks and factories as examples of the immobile infrastructures 'through which mobilizations of locality are performed and re-arrangements of place and scale materialized' (6). The very immobility of these vast material infrastructures make mobility systems *possible*.

Hospitality is produced through the negotiation of movement and mooring. Even a world of constant mobility must sometimes stop. We need to slow down, sit down, settle and sleep. If hospitality is predicated on mobility, it is equally predicated on immobility – those places and moments of rest and repose that refresh and rejuvenate the traveller. In mobilizing hospitality, we must also attend to the constitutive

immobilities that define hospitality and to the power relations that emerge at this intersection between moving and staying still. As Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006) argue, the interplay between mobility and moorings raises important questions of ‘how to move and how to settle, what is up for grabs and what is locked in, who is able to move and who is trapped’ (8). These are the questions that this book aims to address – how do we think about strangers and others in a mobile world; in a world where strangers need to sit down, sleep, or settle in the presence of one another? How can we think, or re-think, hospitality through an ethical framework appropriate for our contemporary situation of mobility?

The maritime associations of the term ‘mooring’ call to mind an infrastructure of ropes, cables, docks, and anchors that secure ships in a safe harbour. A moored boat is anchored at dock or in a bay, safe from the heavy winds and waves of the open sea. Yet, the mooring itself must also be flexible, giving the boat some leeway to shift and move within the water. We must think about encountering the stranger as a complex negotiation between moving and staying still – of allowing mobile others a chance to stop, rest and breathe without locking them or ourselves figuratively or literally in place (see Laachir, this volume).

The metaphor of mooring moves us in this direction, suggesting as it does the notion of safe harbour, but also the possibility of (re)launching our journey. For Ghassan Hage (2002, 2003) hospitality is intertwined with hope:

[W]hat we are talking about when it comes to discussing hospitality towards asylum seekers, or compensation for the colonised indigenous people of the world, or compassion towards the chronically unemployed [is]: *the availability, the circulation and the exchange of hope*. Compassion, hospitality and the recognition of oppression are all about giving hope to marginalised people (2003: 9).

Thus, hospitality is not just about the gift of repose, but also about the gift of hope. Making the guest feel at home is not just about seeing to his or her physical comfort or embodied needs (though these are certainly important); it is also about instilling the guest with a feeling of hope and a sense of being ‘propelled’ forward (Hage, 2005). As Hage has eloquently argued, hospitality provides not only a place to be safely still, but also the hope of moving:

For what is security if it isn’t the capacity to move confidently? And what is ‘home’ if not the ground that allows such a confident form of mobility [...]. A home has to be both closed enough to offer shelter and open enough to allow for this capacity to perceive what the world has to offer and to provide us with enough energy to go and seek it (2003: 28.)

In other words, hospitality mobilizes the guest. Hospitality, home and hope are all intricately inscribed upon one another as the gift of staying still *and* moving forward.

## Welcome to the Book

Taking our cues from the way scholars such as Ghassan Hage, Jacques Derrida, Sara Ahmed, Mireille Rosello and others have reflected on the ethical dimensions of

hospitality, we hope to deconstruct the notion of hospitality in order to reassemble it in terms of movement, possibility and hope. We want to illuminate the paradox of hospitality – that it evokes *both* home *and* movement – in order to destabilize the way power relations are congealed within the paradigmatic discourses in tourism and migration studies. We hope to figuratively mobilize the concept of hospitality across disciplines and to de-couple associations of the host with home, territory, stability, and ownership on one side, and of the guest with mobility, estrangement, and un-belonging on the other. In casting a critical eye over this intersection between mobility and hospitality, we hope to open up a debate around Derrida's aporia: if the concept of absolute hospitality is unattainable, at least it keeps us talking about and searching for the most ethical practices in our encounters with strangers. We hope that the chapters in this book, presented alongside a series of photographs by London-based artist Elly Clarke, will open up questions that keep the debates going and that guide us in our search for more ethical answers. The chapters that follow are organized around three core themes, namely locating hospitality in a mobile world, performing the hospitality product, and defining the limits of hospitality. Many of the chapters engage with more than one of these themes as they address the ethics of social relations in a mobile world. Questions surrounding the spatiality and temporality of hospitality, the material and embodied performances of hospitality, and the sometimes hostile negotiations of inclusion and exclusion surrounding hospitable gestures provide thematic linkages throughout the book.

The first three chapters are organized around the spatial and temporal aspects of hospitality encounters. When and where does hospitality happen? How are hospitable places opened up and closed off? Cities, neighbourhoods, cafés, homes and even websites are possible sites of hospitality, where past, present, and future mobilities are welcomed or denied. In Chapter 2, David Bell introduces the concepts of 'host-spots' and 'flickering moments' to draw out the way hospitality is spatially and temporally performed in an urban context. Drawing on a range of examples, from railway catering to London's Olympic bid, and from city cafés to mobile computing, Bell argues that new mobilities and new technologies are challenging assumed dichotomies between public and private and between 'host-at-home' and 'guest-visitor' as the work of hosting or guesting is often performed in mobile and public encounters, such as on trains, on the Web, or in a public square.

In his discussion of hospitality as an element of city promotion, Bell suggests that the unconditional and generous welcome of the hospitable city is often linked to ideas about cosmopolitanism, conviviality, and multiculturalism. Continuing this discussion of urban hospitality, in Chapter 3 Tim Cresswell interrogates the way the city becomes a site of refuge for past migrant mobilities. In this chapter, Cresswell examines the interconnections between place, mobility, memory, materiality and practice in the context of Maxwell Street, Chicago, which has historically been the site of considerable migration both from abroad and internally within the US. Through a close analysis of the documents surrounding local activists' efforts to preserve the area from redevelopment by a nearby university, Cresswell considers the difficulty in institutionalizing sites of memory when those memories are of practices that were necessarily transitory and mobile and left little permanent mark on the material landscape. This chapter thus relocates some of the discussion of

hospitality, which is usually used to refer to contemporary migration, by considering the question of whether it is possible to be hospitable to past mobilities.

In Chapter 4, Jennie Germann Molz examines the Internet as a site of hospitality by considering the way virtual and face-to-face hospitality encounters occur on and are organized through social networking websites. Her analysis focuses on hospitality club websites where members offer to host each other as they travel the world. While the websites ostensibly coordinate the logistics of face-to-face hospitality, they also engage the technological interface to coordinate the parameters of reciprocity and reputation through which the hospitality of the web community operates. In this sense, Germann Molz continues the theme of cosmopolitanism introduced in previous chapters, arguing that the hospitality offered between members serves the cosmopolitan fantasy of (safe) proximity to difference, intercultural exchange and an ability to feel at home in the world.

In their individual approaches to the spatial and temporal dimensions of mobility and hospitality, these first three chapters also encourage us to rethink the categories of 'host' and 'guest' by questioning who or what can be a host or guest, and when and where hosting and guesting might happen. As such, they highlight the fluidity of these categories, and challenge the dichotomy between the host and the guest. In particular, they point toward the various ways hospitality is *performed* in space and time.

Place and time are crucial to the production of hospitality, as are the embodied mobility practices and performances of 'hosting work' and 'guesting work' (see Bell, Chapter 2; Veijola and Jokinen, 2005). The next three chapters take up the theme of performing the hospitality product with three empirical studies that draw out the intricate connections between places, bodies, and mobilities in commercial forms of hospitality. These chapters show how basic provisions of hospitality toward the body – nourishment, shelter, and well-being – are implicated in complex performances of sociality, inclusion and exclusion, class, and lifestyle. In Chapter 5, Viv Cuthill explores the intersecting and contested hospitalities and socialities of eating and drinking venues in two northern English towns, Harrogate and Whitehaven. She argues that cafés, bars and restaurants flow in and out of places, signalling messages of style and taste that circulate not only in the way these tourist destinations are imagined, but also in the performance of lifestyle by the social groups who frequent these venues. Moving beyond a dichotomy of production and consumption in defining hospitality, Cuthill proposes that hospitable service cultures are best understood as an embodied and active performance by staff and customers. However, in comparing certain social group mobilities, such as those of tourists and local residents, she also emphasizes that these performances in commercial hospitality spaces represent negotiations of inclusion and exclusion.

In Chapter 6, Tom O'Dell examines how notions of health and well-being circulate in the commercial hospitality site of the spa in Sweden. Whereas many of the chapters in the book focus on the large-scale mobilities of tourism and migration, O'Dell introduces the notion of 'micro-mobilities' to bring our attention to the way hospitality is also orchestrated through small, localized, and embodied movements. In particular, he charts the way bodies move through the spa facility, the way spa treatments are envisioned as mobilizing energy within the body, and the way spa

workers' bodies are implicated in the everyday mobility regimes of the spa. His analysis also pays careful attention to links between the micro-mobilities of the spa and broader issues related to class and social trends within Sweden.

In Chapter 7, Paul Lynch, Maria Laura Di Domenico and Majella Sweeney focus on hospitality encounters in commercial homes, where guests pay for accommodation in the host's private home. Here, as the commercial transaction between the host and the guest is negotiated through interpersonal and often friendly relations, the dichotomies between public and private, home and away, guest and host begin to unravel. In place of strict dichotomies, the authors describe a fluid site of hospitality where physical journeys of guests intersect with the metaphorical journeys of hosts to imbue the home with a sense of both permanence and movement. Central to these hospitality performances, they argue, are various material artefacts, including the house itself, that mark home as a dynamic site of welcome familiarity and of worldly travel. In challenging these dichotomies, Lynch, Di Domenico and Sweeney bring our focus to the liminality of hospitality. Performances of hospitality necessarily transgress a threshold, whether this threshold is literally the door of the home or the nation's border, or the figurative threshold between self and other. In such transgressions, the line between hospitality and hostility is constantly in play, underpinning efforts to create openings while simultaneously policing boundaries. The final chapters of the book are concerned with the threshold that epitomizes the hospitality encounter, asking what defines the limits of hospitality.

While many of the previous chapters in the book focus on various forms of tourist mobilities and hospitalities, the last four chapters of the book return to the limits of hospitality in the context of migration and nationalism. These chapters focus on the failure of hospitality to embody its ethical ideal within national contexts. These chapters focus on the ways that gestures of hospitality, welcoming the other, and feelings of belonging, are often highly negotiated and contested through either symbolic or physical violence. With case studies ranging from France and Britain, to the case of queer Russian migrants in Israel and the history of hospitalities in the Middle East, these chapters examine the way differing national discourses of hospitality negotiate the tension between pride, fear, and shame. They highlight how belonging is as inextricably connected to the closures and failures of hospitality as it is to openings. These chapters ably demonstrate how hospitality, welcoming the other and the ability to feel at home, are inseparable from questions of nationality, race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, class, and gender. It is hospitality encounters, whether public or private, national or individual, that structures these social relations. Developing themes raised throughout the book, these chapters explore the spatial and temporal aspects of hospitality encounters. A key focus examined is the haunting of contemporary hospitality encounters by the past and on the relationship between past and present mobilities and hospitalities.

Similar to Germann Molz's analysis of online hospitality clubs (Chapter 4), Adi Kuntsman charts the overlap between the virtual space of an online discussion forum with the physical space of a South Tel Aviv club in considering the case of queer Russian migrants in Israel. In her discussion in Chapter 8, she demonstrates how these two spaces of hospitality are central to the fierce and sometime violent negotiation of a queer migrant subjectivity and of a sense of belonging. As Jews,

these Russian migrants are welcomed by the Israeli 'Law of Return' that defines their immigration as a national home-coming. Yet, this hospitable home-coming is problematized by the simultaneous process of othering and exoticization by Israeli society, and the Israeli queer community. These migrants, as Kunstman argues, who were Jewish in Russia have now become Russian in Israel. Kunstman traces how religious, national, and sexual identities all intersect with both the opening and closing of hospitality.

This failure of hospitality is also examined in Chapter 9, where Sarah Gibson considers both political and popular discourses of hospitality surrounding the arrival of asylum seekers in Britain. Gibson observes an underlying tension between pride surrounding Britain's identity as a hospitable nation and the nation's increasing hostility directed towards the figure of the asylum seeker. The pride that is invoked in past moments of hospitality is in stark contrast with the shame associated with the securitization of the nation's borders in response to the contemporary 'asylum problem' in Britain. She argues that in contrast to the public rhetoric of 'our' hospitality, the nation's promise of hospitality can never be fulfilled since a nation's hospitality necessarily has to be limited, restricted and conditional. However, this impossibility does not mean that gestures towards hospitality, tolerance and generosity should be abandoned altogether. Instead, Gibson suggests that the underlying ethics of hospitality provide hope for recovering the promise of British hospitality in the future.

This temporal aspect of hospitality is continued in the final two chapters of the volume. These chapters examine how contemporary debates on national identity, citizenship, and belonging in France are inseparable from France's colonial past and discourses of Orientalism. In Chapter 10, Karima Laachir examines the xenophobia and hostility directed towards the figure of the migrant in Europe today. She traces how discourses of hospitality are haunted by the legacy of colonialism with its hierarchical and racist subordination of other cultures and peoples. Hospitality, she argues, is today marked by closure and fear in France. By focusing her attention on the marginalization of postcolonial diasporic communities, Laachir shows the temporal inadequacy of continuing to theorize the 'immigrant as guest' (Rosello, 2001) in contemporary debates of national identity, citizenship, and belonging in France. The 'inclusive exclusion' of these communities within France perpetuates the power structures of colonialism and Orientalism. Laachir argues that Islam has emerged as the cultural and racial other to France's (and Europe's) self. This limit of hospitality is figured through the veiled woman. The veil, as a 'multilayered signifier' (Yegenoglu, 1998: 47), plays a crucial role in articulating sexual and cultural difference in Orientalist discourses.

The discourse of Orientalism is also examined by Judith Still in the last chapter to this volume. In Chapter 11, Still outlines the complexities and contradictory invocations of hospitality during eighteenth century France and examines the differing mobilities and hospitalities embodied in the figure of Jean Chardin, a Protestant diamond merchant who later became one of the Huguenots who sought refuge in Britain from the intolerance of Catholic France. Chardin's life exemplifies how the significance of hospitality varies in its temporal and spatial contexts. As a French diamond merchant, Chardin's writings contributed to the discourse of

Orientalism, and to the representation of Oriental or 'Arab' hospitality. The nomadic ideal of hospitality is imagined in the space of the caravanserai, while the sybaritic hospitality is urban, luxurious, and associated with the harem. These representations of hospitality are in contrast to the French inhospitality (and British hospitality) shown towards the Protestant community during the same period. Still argues that the temporal and spatial aspects of hospitality illuminate the discourse of hospitality in present day France. Hospitality in other times and spaces is central to the analysis and understanding of contemporary discourses and invocations of hospitality. What constitutes hospitality, hospitableness, or welcoming the stranger in a particular moment today can only be understood in relation to these intertexts. This intertextual quality of hospitality is thus repeated throughout all the sections and chapters of this volume. Hospitality, as illustrated through the different practices, spaces, and times encountered throughout the book, is an exceptionally mobile concept in theorizing social relations between people in an increasingly mobile world.

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