Mobility and Bounding the Traveling Imagination

A Cultural Analysis of Visiting Friends and Relatives Tourism

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Abstract

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Tourism can be a difficult form of travel to define. In order to make working with tourism easier, the tourism industry often uses criteria and definitions that can limit understandings of tourism. An example is an often-common view in the tourism industry of visiting friends and relative (VFR) as unimportant. The purpose of this thesis is to offer research showing why VFR can be important to the tourism industry.

This thesis presents a research project that uses ethnography and cultural analysis to study the visits of friends and family of foreign-born residents in the city Malmö. The focus is on how residents and visitors attempt to articulate questions such as, are visits tourism trips or family and friends get togethers? How does one present Malmö to friends and family so they feel welcome, and hopefully comeback? By focusing on mobility, the cultural processes that guide answers to these questions are revealed.

The research demonstrates that during visits lines between tourism and migration and tourist and local are blurred. Residents and visitors, guided by rules of hospitality, switch between roles of host and guests as they co-create complex place experiences that draw on aspects of daily life and tourism and migration. These experiences are explained as residents and visitors attempting to construct a new sense of place based on mobility. The research also demonstrates insight into what consumers can value as tourists as well making the case that the tourism industry can benefit by working with different forms of mobility.

Keywords: Mobility; VFR Tourism; Hospitality; Migration; Globalization; Tourism Marketing; Co-creating experiences

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Visiting friends and relatives (or VFR) is an important, but often neglected, area of tourism and travel research that can offer important insight and knowledge into tourism and mobility. This thesis is an investigation that reveals insight into some of the cultural processes that make VFR important. The investigation is based on the results of a research project carried out in conjunction with the City Government of Malmö Tourism Bureau on visiting friends and relatives. The project investigated VFR by focusing on the visits of Malmö residents, who were born abroad, and their visitors. A key finding from the research revealed that residents and visitors engage in acts of hospitality that leads to mixing and attributing meaning to different forms of mobility. The meaning attributed to these mobilities during visits, this paper argues, is best described as a formation of a mobile sense of place, steered by rules of hospitality that consists of both tourism and migration. Or put another way, where the social imagination is bounded from cultural processes of giving meaning to forms of mobility and acts of hospitality. This paper will strive to uncover and delineate the cultural and social processes behind residents and visitors mixing and attributing meaning to different forms of mobility.

1.2 The Tourism Industry and Mobility

What is mobility and why is it important to a discussion about VFR? First, mobility simply put, is meaning that is given to movement through social interaction (Cresswell, 2006, p.3). In other words, mobility is the cultural and social dimensions of different kinds of movement we engage in, be it the movement of tourists, of migrants, of women and men, how a person walks, goes about the daily commute, or travels for business. Mobility is forms of movement that are culturally articulated and given meaning. Second, thinking of mobility allows us to investigate cultural processes behind VFR without being restricted to an analysis of typologies that revolve around either tourism or migration (O'Dell, 2004). Analyzing travel through typologies is a problem that became apparent to me while conducting the research project with Malmö Tourism. The agency seemed uninterested in working with VFR, or residents born abroad, arguing that the research topic is non-essential category of tourism, and that, they did consider working with residents a priority. The core problem with Malmö Tourism

and those in the tourism industry lacking interest in VFR travel is they are failing to recognize that tourism is composed of different forms of mobility that can be mixed and defined with many forms of mobility. Goals of city tourism agencies like measuring the success of activities and raising revenue for the city can reinforce a definition of tourists as those who come spend money on restaurants, hotel rooms, and museums and not on people who are born abroad. What is needed are ways of problematizing notions like tourist and migrant in order to expand an understanding of tourism. Viewing tourism in a categorical fashion can limit the potential ways of working with tourism and inhibit a capacity to understand how travel is constituted. In order to improve understandings of tourism and how to work with tourism, greater attention must be paid to how different forms of mobility are defined. In addition, there is evidence from the research that residents are creating tourist experiences, defining tourist patterns, and experimenting with tourist ideas in VFR with little interaction or recognition from the tourism industry. In a western context of increased reflexivity (Lash and Urry, 1994) and diminishing influence of the state (Appadurai, 1996), by not recognizing VFR there is also a risk for those working in the tourism industry that can they lose relevance in the lives of tourists and reduce their ability to contribute to the definition of tourism. This paper argues that in order to manage these problems Malmö Tourism and those working in the industry need to begin thinking of tourism as composed of different forms of mobility that mix, inflect, and inter-articulate each other in different contexts. To gain an understanding of how mobility mixes and is attributed meaning understanding of the context in which mobility happens is needed. In this case, the context of visits is Malmö.

1.3 Aim of the Thesis

There are two overall aims for this paper: First, to investigate how and why Malmö residents and visiting friends and relatives attribute meaning to different forms of mobility in the context of the visit; and second, to evaluate how meanings attributed to mobility during visits could have implications for Malmö Tourism and the tourism industry. This paper will achieve these aims by attempting to answer these questions:

1. What motivates Malmö Residents and Visitors to attribute meaning to mobility through visits?

2. How are acts of hospitality, and dynamics of host and guest, involved in attributing meaning to mobility during visits?

3. What forms does mobility take on during visits? And why?

4. How can understandings of mobility from visits be used by Malmö Tourism to produce marketing initiatives?

1.4 Overview of the Thesis

To answer these questions this paper will begin by outlining some of the empirical material and provide a theoretical framework to be used in analysis, which will then be followed by a section on the methods used during the research project. From there, I will present empirical material that suggests during visits Malmö residents and visitors are attempting to attribute new meanings to mobility, that creates a shared sense of place based on that mobility, to better participate in each others lives. To achieve this they must deal with several issues that the visit presents. The second chapter will argue that based on the issues of perceiving differences between each other leads to framing visits with a politics and ethics of the visit based on conditional hospitality. From there, this thesis will argue that to create a mobile sense of place mobilizing the politics and ethics of the visit and embodied perceptions and experiences become important.

2. Theoretical Frame Work

The purpose of this section is to present some of the empirical material from the research and to assemble a theoretical toolbox that can be used in analysis. Other perspectives will also be added through out the paper to help deepen analysis. First, I will begin by outlining a theory of mobility and connect to globalization and the work of the imagination.

2.1 Mobility and the Imagination

Human geographer Tim Cresswell has written about the importance of mobility in modernity and offers a theoretical outline of mobility we can use to analyze visits. Cresswell starts by explaining that mobility is a line from point A to point B that is not simply empty or without meaning, but is instead full of meaning and active in producing power (Cresswell, 2006, p.3). Mobility is movement made meaningful. The line of movement could be attributed meanings of gender, home, fun, politics, identity, and many more. Cresswell goes on to link the

argument of mobility to an understanding of place saying that, "If movement is the dynamic equivalent of location, then mobility is the dynamic equivalent of place" (Cresswell, 2006, p.3). Mobility is a form of socially produced motion; or the way in which geographical imaginations are mobilized in contexts of social and cultural power that informs the construction of new forms of knowledge and ways of knowing the world (Creswell, 2006, p.3). Mobility as a way of knowing the world happens in three relational moments: first, that mobility is a phenomenon that is an empirically observable thing in the world, or simply put something you can see in your daily life. Second, mobility as forms of ideas that attempt to explain what mobility is, to quantify it, and represent it; or how we make sense of it, whether that be explanations of people going to cities as tourism or science explaining running as good health; and third, the embodiment and experiencing of mobility through what we do in our daily lives. In other words, what mobility can actually feel like becoming a part of daily life. These relational moments conceptualize a process of producing mobility through representation and practice, meaning that "often how we experience mobility and the ways we move are intimately connected to meanings given to mobility through representation. Similarly, representations of mobility are based on ways in which mobility is practiced and embodied" (Cresswell, 2006, p.4). In addition, that our world is composed of and informed by moral geographies that view mobility in both positive and negative ways, and that both moralities have deep resonance in contemporary social thought and action. Cresswell takes issue with any post-modern sense of nomadism or sedentary ideologies of mobility claiming that both have a tendency to erase power relationships and social politics that divide and generate meaning in different forms of mobility. Instead mobility is a social and cultural resource that gets distributed unevenly and in interconnected ways (Cresswell, 2006). Power relationships like those of gender, class, and law interact in varying cultural contexts and are productive of, and produced by mobilities, but always informed by and connected to historical, and moral ideologies of mobility. Cresswell's framework can help us understand how dynamics of power and political relationships present in visits to Malmö mobilize geographical and moral imaginations that embody mobility, imbue mobility with meaning, and generate trajectories of mobility that guide the lives of Malmo residents and those who come to visit them. As was mentioned in the introduction however, informants who participated in the research study were born outside of Sweden, and come from many places around the world. To help build on

our understanding of mobility we need to understand how mobility is linked to global flows of people.

For that we turn to Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai who has set out a framework to understand globalization, flows of people, and their role in shaping modern subjectivity through the work of the imagination. Appadurai articulates a world in which global flows of media, people, technology, and ideas, that are ever more disconnected from each other, circulate and chase each other around the globe on greater scales and at greater speeds. These flows land asymmetrically fracturing localities by creating disjuncture's with some and junctures with others. Modern subjectivities are caught between macro-global and micro-local contexts that spur the work of the imagination into forms of social practice that articulate and then resend global flows back into circulation in heterogeneous form. Appadurai highlights two overall elements that are configuring a world of flows and disjuncture's. He points to electronic media and human motion as the key diacritics that interrogate and juxtapose notions like ethnicity, national belonging, or gender (Appadurai, 1996). Of particular interest to this thesis is the manner in which flows of people and human motion are shaping situated imaginations, situated imaginations are shaping flows of people, and how this process is involved in producing mobilities between family and friends. The fact that more and more people are on the move has the affect of destabilizing communities and relational networks as more persons and groups have to deal with the realities of having to move or fantasies of wanting to move (Appadurai, 1996). One of these realities is the forging of imagined communities as people strive to maintain family and friends networks from afar. The model presented here is useful in offering a guide that helps to understand the importance of human mobility in processes of globalization; particularly in regard to imagined communities and family and friends networks. Neither Cresswell nor Appadurai however, draw attention to how their arguments are related specifically to forms of mobility from tourism and migration. As this paper seeks theoretical explanation of informants mixing forms of mobility that arrive primarily from tourism and migration I will next draw on discussions that focus on tourism, migration, and VFR.

2.2 The Tourism and Migration Nexus and VFR

In academia, inter-articulations of tourism and migration have yet to be adequately explored. In one of the first books attempting to conceptualize how tourism and migration are intertwined

Geographers Adam Williams and Collin Hall said that, "the tourism-migration nexus represents a fertile and still largely virgin territory…Not only is this potentially fruitful interface between different research traditions, but it also represents an increasingly important component of the new forms of mobility" (Williams and Hall, p.3, 2001). Williams and Hall are part of a growing number of authors who have done great service to discussions about globalization and mobility by problematizing barriers between tourism and migration, begun to disentangle their chaotic and problematic conceptualizations, and helped to bring attention to the changing ways mobility is formulated in various contexts around the world (Williams and Hall, 2001). There are three overall aspects of the research useful for this thesis. First, the critical point that there is nothing new about many forms of mobility, like labor migration; however, what is new about mobility is how it is constituted by, and of, globalization that leads to new articulations of mobilities, and inter-articulating combinations of mobilities, like in labor migration and tourism. Second, mobility is increasingly being branded, marketed, and commodified. Thus, in studying how mobility is produced during visits in Malmö close attention must be paid to the ways in which globalization and the imagination are mixing forms of mobility that constitute tourism and migration. Important is to pay heed to how these constitutions can be useful for Malmö Tourism in marketing mobility. Third, there is growing recognition of the importance of VFR and the importance in attempting to conceptualize VFR as a phenomenon (Boyne, Carswell, and Hall, 2002; Duval, 2004; Feng and Page, 2000; Kang and Page, 2000; Oigenblick and Kirshenbaum, 2002). Important is the point that VFR should be viewed as already an outgrowth of migration but also the role VFR plays in creating new migration (Williams and Hall, Boyne, Carswell, and Hall, 2002). Most useful for this thesis though, has been the work of Geographer Timothy Duval who focuses on return migration visits and the role visits play in building and maintaining ethnic identities. He argues that return visits serve to solidify social networks, cultural values, and norms carried by migrants (Duval, 2004). This thesis is not focused on how migrants reproduce ethnicity, it does however, wish to build on the point that visits play an important role in constituting social networks and building identity. Instead of return visits, this thesis focuses on the visits from friends and relatives to residents who have moved. The reason for this focus is that Duval and other VFR researchers have paid relatively little attention to visitors who come to visit those who have moved, and how the mobility of both inform and interrogate each other during visits. In a world that is increasingly more mobile, if we are to understand how friendship,

family, and community are involved in attributing meaning to mobility the focus cannot be solely on the mobility of those who have move, but also on the mobility (or lack of mobility) of those who did not move. To do so would neglect a critical dynamic that can reveal how forms of mobility mutually define each other, and are defined by notions of friendship, family, and community. My intention to pull visitors from the shadows of inquiry and put them center stage with Malmö residents who have moved there in order to understand how the social and political dynamics between them can produce new understandings of mobility.

Furthermore, as was mentioned in the introduction, there is a danger in framing this argument with a tourism and migration dialectic. One problem, as Ethnologist Tom O'Dell points out, is that while migration studies usually have good intentions there is a habit of avoid researching the travel of people whose lives do not appear sufficiently problem ridden; meaning that the research can tend to end up being travel stories about Others (O'Dell, 2004). Secondly, there is a tendency amongst tourism studies not to problematize the types of travel narratives where people's mobility can be inhibited from notions of ethnicity, class, the law, or gender (O'Dell, 2004). The point here is that there are a number of problems with attempting to explain new forms of mobility with conceptual technologies like tourism and migration. Notably, there is a risk of Othering and erasing important power relationships. Instead, we need to be sensitive to the fact that "mobility is not reserved for Others; it engages us all, but not always on the same grounds" (O'Dell, 2004, p.110). We need to be aware of power relationships and how they are reinforced when people are categorized according to terms like migrant, tourist, or diaspora peoples. In keeping with this line of thought, when this paper evokes the term VFR, the intent is to say just that, people who go to visit their friends and family. Considering however that this thesis is designed to produce insight for the tourism industry the acronym VFR is used but with attention to particular meanings that are built in. In addition, the desire here is not to attempt building conceptual bridges between tourism and migration but instead to borrow insights from research on tourism and migration while paying attention to the manner in which mobility takes on forms from tourism and migration. Doing so will help better understand how mobility becomes embedded in, and defined by, local and global political economies that control and manage mobilities through travel technologies like tourism and migration (O'Dell, 2004). There is also, one more framework that can help explain empirical material and deal with issues of the tourism and migration nexus, a framework of hospitality.

2.3 Hospitality

The need for a theoretical framework in hospitality is twofold: first, as was mentioned, empirical results suggested that acts of hospitality become important in attributing meaning to mobility during visits; and second, framing the argument with hospitality helps to destabilize conceptualization of mobility based solely on tourism and migration. Hospitality helps to isolate and contextualize dynamics between residents and visitors that play a role in configuring mobility with relationships of politics, power, morality, and mobility. Scholars Jennie Germann Molz and Sarah Gibson have highlighted the important role hospitality plays in shaping the ethics of social relations of an increasingly mobile world. They argue that today, as in the past, the intersection between mobility and hospitality is important in framing the political and ethical parameters of social interaction (Molz and Gibson, 2007). In order to investigate how mobility and hospitality co-configure each other during the visit this paper will analyze how the roles Malmö residents as hosts, and visitors as guests, are involved in attributing meaning to mobility. The host-guest dynamic should not however, be viewed as an exchange between rigid cultural concepts. As has been consistently revealed by empirical studies the host-guest binary opposition rarely holds up in the field (Molz and Gibson, 2007). Instead, hosts and guest should be viewed more as "fluid, contested social roles that people move into, out of, and in between as they negotiate extensive overlapping mobilities and social membership" (Molz and Gibson, p. 7, 2007). This thesis, therefore, will investigate the role shifting, contesting, and rearticulating the host and guest dynamic plays in producing mobility during the visit.

Philosopher Jacques Derrida posits that fundamental to hospitality is a tension between the absolute principle of unconditional hospitality and the conditional laws of hospitality (Derrida, 2000; Dikec, 2002; Molz and Gibson, 2007; O'Dell, 2006). For Derrida, this tension forms an unsolvable enigma, or "an insoluble antinomy, a non-dialectizable antinomy between, on the one hand, *The* law of unlimited hospitality (…), and on the other hand, the laws (in the plural), those rights and duties that are always conditioned and conditional," (Derrida, 2000, p.77). Derrida's enigma of hospitality offers an instructional and convoluted grounding in the nature of political and ethical social interaction. Derrida's main point is that acts of hospitality, of offering all one has, or being a good host or guest, are not possible without placing expectations. Whether from commercial hospitality where businesses set prices and rules for potential customers with products and services, or nation-states who create laws and regulations

conditioning the terms people can enter, welcome always comes with an 'if' (Dikec, 2002). What's more, forming expectations, both for hosts and guests, is where identities begin to be constituted. For the host offering his house he must first articulate who he is, what he has to offer, and who the guest is so that he knows what expectations to put on the guest. The guest, must also analyze him self, and perceive who the host is in order to understand the guest's own expectations for accepting the host's hospitality. Hosts and guests are mutually dependent upon each other to build identity. The guest requires the hospitality of the host, and the host needs to be hospitable to the expectations of the guest; otherwise he is left in isolation. An example being commercial hotels, they need guests to stay with them otherwise they would cease to be a hotel. At this point the host becomes the guest and the guest becomes the host as both demonstrate acts of hospitality. The two constantly shift between identities as they negotiate, engage, and perhaps contest the expectations between each other (Dikeç, 2002). This model of hospitality is infused with politics as hosts and guests set conditions on each other and oscillate between the lines of intimacy and hospitality. Derrida and his enigma of hospitality will help us uncover the manner in which dynamics of hospitality are imbricated with power and political relationships that configure moral and ethical geographies of mobility during visits to Malmö.

To summarize, the theoretical framework presented here can help make sense of how mobility in visits can become a way of knowing the world and is attributed meaning through power relationships that mobilize political and moral economies. In addition, the framework will help us to gain insight into how through the work of the imagination, visits becomes an important means for maintaining family and friends networks and constituting identity. Attention must also be paid to the ways in which borders between different spheres of mobility are being blurred and mixed; and that this blurring is grounded in contexts laced with power, politics, and moralities of mobility. In order to get to get to the heart of how power, politics, and moralities of mobility attribute different meanings to mobility during visits we need to investigate the political and ethical dynamics of hospitality between Malmo residents and their visitors.

This thesis does not, however, presume to be able to explain all phenomena involving friends and family who come to visit residents. The focus of this thesis is to contribute to discussions on VFR by examining the visits of a few Malmö residents and some of the people who have come to visit them in order to gain insight into how mobility is attributed meaning

during visits. In addition, the research conducted for this paper was done in conjunction with the Tourism Bureau of Malmö in order to assist in creating marketing strategies. Following the call by Scholars Cecilia Fredriksson and Håkan Jönsson (2008) that applied cultural analysis needs more tools for it's analytical tool box this thesis will also attempt to further studies of applied cultural analysis by outlining specific and concrete strategy suggestions for Malmö Tourism

3. Researching a Field On the Move

3.1 Defining the Field

Traditionally in order for ethnographers to prove the legitimacy of their research they have had to have 'been there' (Davies, 2006), to establish that they went into the field and came back. But when studying mobility, where is the field? How do you define the field? And what research strategies should be used to study the field? One of the goals of the research was to obtain empirical material of two components of the visit: first, what happens in Malmö; second, what happens going to and leaving Malmö. Important to point out, is that that the traveling visitors do getting to Malmö, and leaving Malmö, is not considered separate from the visit and required some form of empirical investigation. The visit in this thesis is defined as when visitors leave the place they are at to come to Malmö for the purpose of visiting their friends or family and when they return to that point or a point where they are longer occupying the same physical space as Malmö residents. This definition does not imply that the place visitors are leaving from is in any way connected with notions of what is a 'normal' place of residence, or does not set any kind of time limits as to what the visit is or is not (Williams and Hall, 2002). This definition is designed to give sufficient framing to work with while avoiding any discussion of what is and is not temporary mobility according to terminologies associated with tourism and migration.

3.2 In the Field

The first component of the fieldwork to organize was research strategies. The first strategy chosen was semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews, according to Charlotte Davies have the advantage that they are open-ended and are not restricted to the preconceived notions of the Ethnographer (Davies, 2008). Interviews would be conducted simultaneously with both Malmö residents, in Malmö, and visitors that had come for a visit via Skype and or on the phone. This strategy had the advantage of being able to observe and

potentially stimulate a reenactment of the social dynamics during visits. The Second method would be a form of participant observation. Inspiration, here, comes from Davies when she said that, "participation in the everyday lives of people is a means of facilitating observation of particular behaviors and events and of enabling more open and meaningful discussions with informants" (Davies, 2008, p. 81). Depending on distance and cost, I would attempt to conduct as many interviews as possible in the locations of visitors by making trips to those locations. This would have the advantage of gaining an understanding of the lived experiences visitors have in visiting their friends and relatives, that could also then be used to make interview discussions more meaningful and deepen analysis.

The next component of fieldwork was to recruit informants. As was mentioned earlier I wish to avoid research that explicitly investigates the reproduction of ethnicity and diaspora while also keeping in the mind that there are different conditions that enable or hinder mobility. Therefore informants would be chosen from a wide variety of different ethnic backgrounds, socio-economic backgrounds and according to geographical distance, which included inside Sweden, in order to compare practical difficulties and perceptions of distance. The aim was to recruit ten residents and ten visitors. Once recruitment started there were several difficulties that arose: first, limited financial and time budgets for the project meant there was little possibility to make the necessary trips to all visitors to Malmö. Second, the study attempted to recruit informants from a variety of different socio-economic backgrounds, however, this did not become possible and in the end there was little variation in socio-economic positions. Third, of the elven residents who were initially recruited only one informant was able secure an interview with a family member, and none had visitors coming to Malmö during the research period. However, recruitment of Malmö residents was a success in both number, eleven in total, and that there were informants that came from a number geographic distances that included: Costa Rica; Denmark; Ethiopia; Iran; Lebanon; Namibia; Spain; Romania; two from Sweden (but neither born in Malmo); and USA.

The problems with recruiting visitors persisted through much of the fieldwork. In the end, there were six visitors who had been recruited but interviews with hosts had mostly been finished which meant there was no need to interview the people these visitors came to see. Visitors were from Belgium, Holland, Lebanon, South Korea, Sweden, and USA. After considering that

recruitment and research done up that point had not lead to interviews between Malmö residents and visitors as was originally intended, I decided to attempt a second round of recruitment, though with smaller numbers, in the hopes of doing interviews with Malmö residents and visitors who had actually come to see them. If recruitment were successful both the first and the second round of fieldwork would be included in analysis.

The second round of recruitment was more successful than the first. Two married couples were interviewed, one comprised of a husband who spent a part of his life in Greece and a part in Italy, and his wife who is from Turkey and another comprised of a husband from Sweden (not born in Malmo) and a wife from Italy. Another interview was carried out with a woman born in Sweden but who lived large portions of her life living in different countries and who has parents from Sweden and USA. Two interviews with Malmö residents where conducted in the homes of residents and the other in a public location. These informants arranged for interviews with a total of five visitors who had all been to Malmö to visit them. One interview was conducted during a visit to Malmö with the parents of Malmö residents. The interview was then followed by observations of Malmö residents and visitors during a visit. Another short interview was conducted with a visitor during a visit to Malmö, that included observations, and also a longer follow-up interview once the informant had returned via Skype. This had the advantage of observing the interaction between the Malmö resident and the visitor during the visit and also helping to gain insight into communicating with visiting informants from a distance after leaving Malmö. In order to gain insight into the trips visitors make I travelled to a town in Region Kalmar, in Sweden, and to a town near Turin in Northern Italy to conduct interviews with visitors. Two shorter interviews were conducted separately with informants from Region Kalmar, each informant on the phone at first and then later a joint interview was conducted during trip to their home. The strategy of traveling to informant's homes proved very useful in deepening the process of analysis for this thesis. It helped to experience the routes that informants travel. Making me aware of sensations of excitement to arrive, anguish over problems, confusion over how to arrive, that helped to understand how these factors play a role in visits. Important to point out also was that both towns I visited were not located in a major city that could be easily accessed by direct means of travel. Therefore, I gained an understanding into how finding the right travel arrangements, planning the trip, and negotiating the routes to places can be difficult. In fact, there were difficulties on both trips. On the trip to Region Kalmar, I was

unable to catch a connecting bus to the final destination due to a short connection time. Because there would not be another bus for several hours I was forced to call the informants in order to be picked up. Later, the informant proclaimed that he had made the exact same mistake when coming back home some years earlier. Making the trips provided common ground that could be discussed during interviews. In both cases there was significant discussion by both my self and informants about experiences with the trip. In addition, making the trips and visiting people in their homes created a context of hospitality for interviews that helped make observations of living environments of informants and gain more first hand knowledge into what hospitality is for visitors. Common ground was also found in the fact that I also have had experience with living in other countries and having friends and family visit. Davies reminds us that ethnographers should try to pay attention to social potions during interviews so as not to undermine the egalitarian ethos of the interview, she said, "ethnographers must be aware of such difficulties and make attempts to compensate through their interactions." (Davies, 2008, p.111). Because there were different social positions between informants and myself, I always attempted to point out common ground with issues being discussed. This helped to provide and egalitarian atmosphere during interviews. Furthermore, four of the six interviews were conducted with couples; this helped facilitate more in-depth responses and friendly debate between informants. Davies spoke about this when she said, "in interviews with more than one respondent, ethnographers frequently find they can be much less directive during the interviews, in the sense of having to probe for more information on a given topic, as respondents often stimulate one another's responses" (Davies, 2008,p. 116). Informants often expressed and discussed each other's ideas with little interaction with me.

The empirical material that will be analyzed in this thesis comes from both phase one and phase two of the research. Phase one includes: seventeen interviews with eighteen people, eleven residents and six visitors. One interview was done with Skype, another on the phone, and the rest in person. Interviews lasted from one hour to an hour and a half. Phase two includes: seven interviews with five residents and seven visitors, with participant observation from two visits and two trips to interview informants. Two interviews are with the same informant where one interview lasted approximately twenty min during a visit and the other for one hour with Skype. The rest of the interviews lasted from an hour to an hour and half. None of the informants interviewed were born in Malmö, with hosts having lived in Malmö for an average of three

years, with two informants having lived there for eight years. It should be noted that in conducting two phases of research to compensate for the lack of success in recruitment and fulfillment of research strategies in phase one an overabundance of research data was produced. All of the issues that arose during interviews will not be analyzed in the following sections. However, this thesis argues that the research data presented is the most relevant for answering the questions in the introduction.

4. Re-Imagining Place

The first issue to investigate in this thesis is the motivations hosts and guests have to initiate and participate in the visit. Gaining an understanding of motivations will offer insight into why Malmö residents and visitors attribute meaning to mobility during visits. The objective of this chapter to explore and analyze the motivations of Malmo residents and visitors have in making the visit happen in order to understand how they play a role in attributing meaning to mobilities.

4.1 Connecting Imaginations

There were many motivations that came up during interviews with Malmo residents and their visitors. Motivations ranged in form and importance: from a desire to visit Scandinavia, have a weekend getaway, see grandchildren, practice Swedish language skills, play paintball, to a chance to go to Claes Ohlsen (a large chain of hardware stores). There was one motivation however, that seemed to reign supreme over others and frame subsets of motivations during the visit. That motivation was for visitors to spend time with residents and gain an understanding of the local context at a general but also personal level. Both Malmö Residents and visitors described the importance of gaining a lived experience of Malmö so to better understand the nature of resident's lives. While this might seem relatively obvious at first glance, we have to keep in mind that many Malmö residents, but not all, regularly make trips back to places of origin in order to maintain relationships with friends and family. Furthermore, most hosts and guests remained in regular contact with friends and family via phone, e-mail, and Skype. Informants described that these conversations are filled with detailed descriptions of Malmo and residents local lives. Many visitors explained that upon coming to Malmo they felt as if they

already knew the city because of frequent conversations about Malmö. Both residents and visitors there was a desire to maintain relationships through more than just residents return trips back home and descriptions of resident's local environments. There was a desire to have visitors interact and gain first hand knowledge of that environment. Kristin, a woman from a small town in Region Kalmar, but who has lived in many places through out world for the better part of her life, has had a number of experiences hosting friends and family in Malmö and other places. When asked why it's important to her that friends and family visit she said this,

> Because if you don't see your family and friends for maybe a year, and I think it's important because I know exactly what they are doing. In Vimmerby or in Oslo or in Malmö or wherever, or Stockholm. Because they've, we've been in that environment together, and I want to share my new environment with them (Kristin, November 28th, 2011).

She went on to explain something that came up with several informants, that by showing friends and family her local environment they are able to have an image in their mind, and personal memories from visits attached to those images, of the places and people that make up her new life. In doing so, her friends and family are able to relate to her more easily when they talk on the phone or she goes to visit them. What residents and visitors are attempting to put into action is not simply sharing local environments and building shared memories that can be discussed, but are instead attempting to connect notions (Povrzanovic Frykman, 2003) of place by engaging in a variety of different forms of mobility. Malmö residents, in keeping regular contact with visitors and delivering stories of their local lives provide the scripts (Appadurai, 1996) of notions of place that reach friends and family in their local context, ignite the fires of the imagination and spur a desire to put the imagination into action. In other words, informants can be said to be attempting to connect situated imaginations of the local between themselves in order to maintain meaningful relationships.

Because residents have moved, they themselves and friends and family are attempting to create new connections through travel in order to maintain relationships. One might say that, "their lives are intimately globalized through family ties, transnationally networked communities of acquaintances, and a wide array of regularly used bus, plane, train and car routes that continuously bring people together" (O'Dell, 2004, p.121). A good example of how visits are

connecting flows of globalized relationships is from Anis, a woman who moved to a small city in central Sweden from Lebanon when she was in her teens, and then to Malmö some years later. Her mother lives in a small city in eastern Sweden, her father in an other city in south central Sweden, she has cousins in yet another city in eastern Sweden, other cousins in Germany, and yet more family in several places in Lebanon. Anis regularly has visitors that make up a network of family and friends spread across geographical distances. During an interview she explained to me what visits could be like when her mother comes to visits,

> When she comes, you know people come people go we sit outside, we smoke water pipe outside my store, we have coffee and this is cozy. She would sit outside and smoke and drink coffee and she likes that because it reminds her a little bit about home in Lebanon. (Anis, October 15th, 2011).

Anis and her mother are engaging in practices of connecting places that imbue their lives with a sense of place based on mobility. Anis has visitors from domestic locations and locations from abroad. What's more, she her self returns to Lebanon once a year to visit friends and family in different locations. Her mobility follows a series of routes that keeps her and others on the move; and that at each encounter requires translations and contextualizations. In order to help better analyze the material presented thus far a further explanation of the notion of place that this thesis is arguing is required.

The sense of place this thesis is arguing is not one based on a holistic or encompassing notion of place. This thesis does not view places as bounded sites with single or essential identities (Massey, 1994) but locations of interconnectivity where mobility plays a key role in defining subjective interpretations of place. A view of place very much connected to mobility, that "keeps the ground we have traditionally called the "local" shifting and rolling around us" (O'Dell, 2004, p.109). I argue that place should not be viewed as something static or fixed, but is instead relational and every changing. What follows in this paper is an anthropological idea of the local that anthropologist James Clifford has argued is based on *routes* more than *roots*. Clifford outlines an idea of understanding the world through a multitude of travel itineraries and travel encounters, not based on localized dwelling, but dwelling-in-travel, and travel-in-dwelling (Clifford, 1997, p.6). Intrinsic to encounters and routes is translation. Clifford (1997) argues that:

All broadly meaningful concepts, terms such as "travel," are translations, built from imperfect equivalences. To use comparative concepts in a situated way means to become aware, always belatedly, of limits, sedimented meanings, tendencies to gloss over differences. Comparative concepts-translation-terms-are approximations, privileging certain "originals" and made for specific audiences (p.10).

Visits can be said to be travel encounters that are made up of practices of translation and connecting places between networks of globalized ties of family and friends. Malmö residents and visitors are embarking on a project of translation between contexts; with the explicit idea of constructing new itineraries that mitigate a view of the world based on how encounters are managed in different contexts and translations are made between those encounters. In other words, this thesis argues that Malmo residents and their friends and family use the context of the visit to construct a sense of place based on mobility by engaging in a variety of forms of mobility.

4.2 Problems Connecting

Making connections that enable a mobile sense of place does not however, come without difficulties. A common theme that came up during fieldwork was a search for continuity between relationships of friends and family. Many informants described that there were very few problems with visits and that the relationships between themselves and guests was often a sign of the quality of those relationships. Janet from USA was one informant who described this to me. Janet has been living in Malmö for a couple of years and recently had a friend from the US come and visit her. During the interview Janet spoke to me about the connection between the visit and her friendship, she said that that visit was,

Very good. We have the kind of friendship that happens with a lot of fun and dramatic experiences, usually over a few drinks, and this year we added couple more. It didn't need renewing. We have the kind of friendship that we don't talk a lot, but when we see each other it's like it always was. It reinforces the friendship in a different way, because it is a big deal to travel that far and to show them around. I think it was a big deal because we both had a way to appreciate each other (Janet, October 21st, 2011).

Many informants paralleled Janet's description. Relationships were as they always had been, with a sense of continuity that was uninterrupted by the fact that Malmö residents had moved away and in many ways had been strengthened. Many informants insisted that there were not any problems, or if there were, they were of little consequence. While it may be that some relationships are strengthened by the visit, descriptions of problem free visits and relationships that didn't experience change stands in direct opposition to what informants did during visits. When describing what happens during visits informants demonstrated that a number of problems occur during visits. Understandably, informant's descriptions of continuity most likely relate to a desire to maintain relationships and anxieties about losing touch, or worse, losing relationships all together. In addition, problems can often seem insignificant, but are in fact the micro-translations between contexts that reveal inner tensions between identities and cultural understandings embedded in different local contexts that are part and parcel of lives defined by travel and translation.

The point here is that visits are not a result of a cultural vacuum born out of globalized networks of family and friends acting like a magnet pushing and pulling visitors to Malmö. There are a number of cultural, mental, political, and physical barriers that need to be crossed in order for residents and visitors to participate in each other's lives. We have to understand and respect the role played by gender, ethnicity, race, and class, among other things, in structuring, enabling, and limiting various forms of mobility (O'Dell, 2004). Of utmost importance to point out is that visits are configured by both those who succeed in participating as well as by those who do not succeed in participating in visits. When interviewing informants it became clear that residents were happy to talk about what happened during visits, what they did, the fun they had, the places they went, but in most cases when the subject came up of those who do not visit many often remained silent. Even when pushed, some would respond with a simple explanation, and move on to another topic. Adonis and Alara are a good example of the barriers that can articulate family life and visits. Adonis is from Greece and his wife Alara is from Turkey. Adonis's parents visit between one and two times a year and have been visiting for the past eight. Alara's family, however, is not able to visit with such ease. In the first year that Adonis and Alara moved to Sweden, Alara's parents and brother visited Sweden. Because they are from outside the EU, and Turkey does not have a treaty that eases travel restrictions, Alara had to request a tourist visa for her family. The process can be lengthy, requires money, several often-complicated forms of

documentation, and has no guarantee of success. The process was difficult enough that Alara's brother and father decided not return for another visit. Since the first visit only Alara's mother has returned but does so with limited frequency. For Alara and Adonis's, there are indications that barriers of Nationality and gender influence visits and their family relationships. Here, as with other family and friends who do not participate, this thesis can only offer conjecture. The reasons for why friends and family do not participate in visits would require further research and is beyond the scope of this paper. With this in mind however, it is never the less important to point out that all informants had friends and family who do not visit for reasons that point to barriers inhibiting mobility. Their lack of participation contributes to the definition of the visit simply in the fact that they are excluded from practices and acts of translation, and work done by the imagination that connects and informs common understandings of place. Visits are laced with inherent tensions and anxieties simply because the context of the visit is being created with some loved ones present, and others are not. The point being that the meaning attributed to mobility is as much a result of the actions taken by those who participate as those who do not participate. The sense of place being argued in this thesis is one in which some are excluded.

To summarize this chapter, Malmö residents and visitors create visits to have greater participation in each other's lives. This entails engaging in a variety of different forms of mobility that constructs a shared sense of place based on that mobility. Attempts to attribute mobility with a new sense of place are not however produced in a vacuum and a number of issues must be contemplated and managed in order to construct the visit. In addition, it must also be recognized that visits, and attempts to construct a sense of place that both residents and visitors can share, come at the expense of many who are excluded. There are however, a number of problems for those who do participate in visits as well. The rest of this paper is dedicated to this pursuit.

5. Re-Framing Place with Hospitality

One of the first problems for Malmö residents to ensure a positive trip is understanding ways to welcome visitors. Planning and thinking about how to welcome visitors often sets the stage for the kind of interactions between residents and visitors. Interactions that are best characterized as residents and visitors engaging in acts and relations implicitly steered by the

rules of hospitality. The objective of this chapter is to understand how these interactions of hospitality are involved in attributing meaning to mobilities during visits.

5.1 Articulating Selves and Place

A key component of conditional hospitality is that in order to make visitors feel welcome hosts have to understand who are they and what they have to offer. Almost all residents described trying to think about where visitors could sleep, what food to cook, what to see in Malmö, whether or not to go outside of Malmö in the region or even around Sweden and Europe, where to borrow or rent bicycles, and many more. What also became clear during interviews was the extent to which deciding what to offer forced Malmö residents to reflect on themselves and Malmö. This entailed understanding how to approach hosting and forced hosts to question who they are they as hosts, where they are hosting, and what kind of lives do they have to host with. An example Adonis, during an interview Adonis spoke about what he tries to present to his friends and family when they come to visit him. He said,

> I think I try at least focus much more on how life is in Sweden, and benefits of living in a social system of this caliber. A little bit of discussion of how things work with bureaucracy and how the economy and the availability of the services (Adonis, December 11, 2011).

Adonis is forced into subjective interpretations of place that frame where he lives. In order for hosts to offer hospitality they have to have some kind of mastery over what they have, because hospitality "requires that the host be the sovereign authority of his/her house, defining the conditions of hospitality, to be able to offer hospitality to the guest." (Dikec, 2002, p.229). He explained that for him hosting is often about conjuring the knowledge he has about Sweden and trying to present as much of it as he can in order to craft a positive image of Sweden and his life of living abroad. He does so by taking friends and family on tours of parts of the city that represent Sweden and his daily life.

Generally, informants tended to frame the city in a positive light. One example is from Maria, a woman from Italy who has been living in Malmö with her Swedish husband Lennart for four years. Maria informed me that they take guests to a "modern" neighborhood in Malmö, called the western harbor, where she and her husband spend time during summers. She said,

That's one of my favorite parts. Because it's ah, it's beautiful I think. (unclear) used to do, we when we have guests to go there and tell them, ah, that we live in such a nice city where we have this kind of part of the city which is uh, so well developed, avant-guard in Europe (Maria, December, 14, 2011).

Maria is attempting to sculpt a new image of the city for visitors based on how she views the good status of the city in Europe. This also means trying to focus on the high quality of life in Sweden, such as frequent biking, and parts of the Swedish government that offer good care for citizens.

The experiences of Adonis of Maria are examples of a common theme among informants; that hosting compels reflexivity of self among Malmö residents. In other words, hosting forces residents to articulate and conceptualize notions of place and their relationship to place. Reflexivity is an important feature of the nature of modern subjectivity. Sociologists Scott Lash and John Urry have explained how reflexivity is an important facet of modern society. They have challenged scholars who assert that modern subjects and objects are increasingly depleted of meaning by increased turnover time, speed of circulation, and constant bombardment of signifiers (Lash and Urry, 1994, p.3). They argue that while these assertions hold some truth there is also a parallel process where economies of signs and space lead to a heterogeneous recasting of meaning in several areas of daily life (Lash and Urry, 1994). To sustain their claims they point to the rise of reflexive subjectivity that they call 'reflexive modernization'. Urry (1995) explained reflexivity as,

A key aspect of modern societies is that people are able to monitor and evaluate their society and its place with in the world, both historically and geographically. The more that societies modernize, the greater the ability of increasingly knowledgeable subject to reflect upon their social conditions of existence (p.145).

What Lash and Urry are arguing for here is not a self that is constantly emptied of meaning but a self that is deepened through reflexivity. Their argument goes a step further by also adding that there can be an aesthetic form of reflexivity. This involves the diffusion of, "images and symbols operating at the level of feeling and consolidated around judgments of taste and distinction about different natures and different societies. Such distinctions presuppose the

extra ordinary growth of mobility, both within and between nation-states" (Urry, 1995, p.145). Lash and Urry point out how reflexive modernization entails the growth of self-monitoring, that goes even further with aesthetic reflexivity that entails self-interpretation. Reflexivity then becomes an important component of constructing a mobile sense of place with hospitality. Hosting spurs a process of reflexive modernization where they are forced to interpret themselves and notions of place that make up their surroundings. This is a process of deepening of self and points to how hosts are interpreting their surroundings for their guests that subjectively signifies themselves and the city.

Interpretations however are by no means reserved to a view of hosts and their surroundings but also towards who is coming to visit. An important aspect of articulating notions of place is to articulate place based interpretations of guests. Hosts spoke of understanding how to host based on differences between a wide variety of identities like friends and family, mothers and fathers, families with children and without, or based on individual preferences for food, leisure activities or aspects like travel habits, sleep habits, and many other individual idiosyncrasies in order to provide a pleasant stay in Malmö. Importantly, hosts also hosted according to notions of ethnicity, class, and gender. One informant, Tara from Iran, described differences in engaging in hospitality between Iranian guests and other guests who where not Iranian. She said that hosting Iranian guests is different from other guests because "In Iranian culture you are expected to take care of everything, it's not fun. All the expenses are on you. You are expected to make food and pay for everything" (Tara, October 17, 2011). Tara described how Iranian traditions of hospitality required her to manage several difficulties: like having to prepare three meals a day for guests, sleeping on the floor because the host should always have to give up the bed for the guests, and taking time off work to guide guests around the city. While with other guests she has met since living in Sweden she did not have these obligations to fulfill and was therefore much happier to host people not from Iran. This means that inter-connecting interpretations of guests put visits on particular trajectories that also play a role in framing place.

5.2 Creating a Moral Universe

Interpreting guests has, however, another important component as well. For hosts during visits there is a risk that the guest conquers the host. A clear example comes from Adonis and his wife Alara. The couple spoke about how they believe their parents want them to move back to

Greece or Turkey, and how they worry about their parents trying to convince them of this during visits, Alara said that,

> So when my mother is here I feel like I owe her something, I have to prove that I'm happy I have prove that everything is okay so she shouldn't expect that one day I will go back or this kind of thing. I'm all the time in this defensing everything" (Alara, December 11, 2011).

Alara informed me that she becomes defensive when talking about Sweden or aspects of her life in Sweden because she believes her mother is trying to find reasons for her to move back. Similar with Adonis, he explained that his mother wishes for him to move to Istanbul, a place close to both her and Alara's family. He said he wishes to avoid problems revolving around him and Alara moving abroad, he said,

> I just hope that it goes smoothly, and at least with my parents they can spend the time they want with. …(the baby) and that they don't bring their troubles here, in a distorted way. You know everybody has troubles, and uh, I try also this time to talk to my mother and relax and you're on vacation. (Adonis, December 11, 2011).

For Adonis and Alara, visitors bringing issues related to their mobility is bad guesting. Adonis does not want to be convinced to move back, so when he presents aspects of his life in Sweden to his family he does so trying to show them why he will not move to Greece or Turkey. Alara and Adonis's explanations reflected a common theme amongst residents. While residents want visitors want to have more participation in each other's lives, residents do not want participation to come at the expense of who they are as mobile people. Meaning that hosts acts of hospitality, of presenting Malmö, Sweden, and their daily lives is an expression of an identity grounded in having built lives from moving abroad, an identity they don't wish to lose.

Interpreting however, is not reserved only for hosts, guests also interpret hosts because for them there is the risk that the host refuses hospitality or assimilates the guest. As with hosts, visitors demonstrated a clear desire to spend time with residents and have better participation in the lives of hosts but not at the expense of their own travel identities. An example comes form Maria and her sister's family. Maria and Anna (Maria's sister) and Anna's husband Lorenzo all described problems they had in deciding how much time to spend in Malmö and what to do.

Maria had wished that Anna and her family would come and spend a lot of time with her and do things that show how Maria lives her life in Malmö. However, Maria described that she had difficulties convincing Lorenzo of her ideas. She said, "He's very interested in tourism. And I knew we had to think about things to do just because of him. He wanted to meet us, but he was also interested in tourism" (Maria, December 14th, 2011). She explained that Lorenzo wanted to have a trip that was more touristic while she had wanted to do more presenting her life and for the family to stay longer. When Lorenzo was asked about how traveling with Maria could be he said, "as much as I love her, we have characters that tend to spark when to close," going on to say, "on a long trip we, I don't know, we have rhythms that are different" (Lorenzo, my translation, January 5th, 20012). Here, the problems over planning revolved around Maria and Lorenzo interpreting each other's travel identities. Anna and Lorenzo described that they are very fond of traveling to far away places and have a limited amount of time to take from work for travel. In organizing the trip Anna and her husband Lorenzo wanted to keep with their travel habits by visiting many touristic sites and seeing as much of northern Europe as possible. The goals of the trip were to visit Maria for a about five days, see some of her life as well visits touristic sites in Malmö, and then to spend several weeks traveling Northern Europe to visit a predetermined list of tourist sites. For Anna and Lorenzo, attempting to convince them not to engage in the kind of travel practices they are used to is bad hosting. As before with hosts, guests want to participate in the lives of residents but not at the expense of who they are as mobile people.

What the empirical evidence in this section is indicating is that there are important constitutive identity politics at work behind visits. This identity politics is not a politics where pre-conceived identities are re-affirmed but where the ground both identities stand on is shaken. Hosts and Guests act as mirrors for each other that reflect and inflect how they view themselves situated in places and as mobile beings. As Dikec has argued, "hospitality is founded on the relation to/with the different' (Gotman, 1997: 15), the different being not simply different form us, but the different that 'troubles identity' and the order within (Honig as quoted by Dikec, 2002, p.229). Perceiving difference between each other, and realizing the danger of either being conquered or assimilated, indicates that both hosts and guests are engaging in a process where they constitute each other's identities. Built into hospitality no doubt is a process of generating some form of solidarity (Dikec, 2002) but also an ambiguity about the guests as potential friends

or enemies. In many Anthropology studies, guests represent the potential of both a friend and an enemy, for example "In both the highlands and the Amazon, hospitality is found at one pole of a continuum at the other end of which is warfare. Feasts can sometimes turn into fights" (Selwyn, 2000 p.20). In order to control risks hosts and guests set ethical conditions of hospitality that emphasize being able to better participate in each other's lives while also maintaining who they are as mobile people.

There are two conditions that are similar for both hosts and guests. The first is, that both expect to be able to have better participation in the lives of hosts. For hosts, this means that guests see Malmö (and often around Malmö) in order to gain an understanding of who they are as mobile people. Kirsten explained this whens he talked about where she takes guests, she said,

> Museums, go to the opera, maybe do an outing, I would introduce my friends and have a dinner party together, yeah. I have a schedule because when somebody comes to visit they should have a good time and experience and to see as much as possible but I also want them to see my side of what I do. (Kirstin, November 28th, 2011).

Kirstin is explaining her desire for guests to gain an understanding of the life she has built since moving to a new place. For many hosts this condition included things like taking tours around the city and Skåne, going to hosts favorite restaurants, to the work place of hosts, and meeting new friends or colleagues.

Guests also expect to participate in the lives of hosts but this expectation is formulated in a different way. For guests, going around seeing Malmö and areas close to Malmö is important to build an understanding of host's lives. For guests however, this condition also meant engaging in preferred travel practices that were often related to tourism. As with Anna and Stefano above, guests spoke about preferences like going to cultural events, shopping, sporting activities, or museums. Kirstin's father Brent from Region Kalmar (a rural region north of Skåne) spoke about how he likes to travel with as few comforts as possible, to go speak a few words of Arabic to local Arabic speakers, and to visit nature. He also spoke about the importance of travel for him when he said, "the secret to 30 years of marriage is separate vacations" (Brent, November 21, 2011). He explained that he and his wife travel separately because they have different preferences in how to travel. He goes to Crete every year by him-self while his wife usually goes

to an island off the coast of eastern Sweden. Both he and his wife explained that they are interested in doing different activities when they visit Kirstin so they always go to Malmö separately, and expect to engage in their preferred travel practices while in Malmö.

Another important aspect of this first condition, for both hosts and guests, is being able to act like family. Hosts and guests want to participate in each other's lives by being allowed to enact who they are parents, friends, sons and daughters, sisters or brothers, and many others. This insight became clear when talking to Adonis's father Angelo. He spoke about how important visits are for him because they are a chance for him to see his only grandchild (Adonis's daughter), and what it can be like for him to be a grandfather during visits. He explained that,

> I wasn't expecting that for me it would be so different to have a grandchild than to have a son. I imagined it would be like having another son, let's say in a big way. But the feeling is different, maybe even stronger. Even if in a different way. I remember that some time ago I read and interview by an Italian writer, De Crescenzo, and he said, "I loved my son when he put his daughter in my arms, I found something that I never found with my son." It's something different, I don't know how to explain it. The grandchild is a love, in a certain way, different that with a son. It's not the same thing, it's not like having a son. But I don't know how to explain it (Angelo, my translation, December 3, 2011).

Angelo is expressing that a condition of visits for him is to be a grandfather. Enacting family identity is thus an important condition that configures visits. Both hosts and guests expect to be able to constitute identities of who they are as members of a family and as friends.

The second condition that becomes important for visits is that they do not last too long. Even visitors, there was a common belief that being too close can be harmful for a family. A certain amount of distance was deemed healthy for the relationships of both friends and family. Hosts, also unanimously agreed that there is a time limit for which their guests can stay. While no one was unanimous about what that time was, all agreed that there must be a time limit because after a while guests begin to disrupt the daily lives of hosts and violate privacy. Thus, bad hosting is asking guests to stay too long, and bad guesting is not leaving.

The ethical conditions of hospitality set by hosts and guests signify a move towards social understandings where both are attempting to participate in a mobile sense of place. Both hosts and guests are creating conditions that link their mobility to lines between intimacy and hospitality, of conquest and isolation. These conditions set the stage for interactions that occur during visits and give us a framework with which to understand how hosts and guests cast mobile identities. Hosts and guests are attempting to construct a moral universe to which both can belong (Selwyn, 2000). The difficulty here though for hosts and guests is not learning how to tolerate the conditions of others but to instead learning to deal with processes where differences are made. Dikec explained this notion (2002) when quoting Honig,

> The real challenge posed by the other, Honig states, is not whether or how to convert, tolerate, protect, or reject those who are not the same, but how to deal with difference, with those who resist categorization as same or other. (Dikec, p.240)

This is a universe in which openness and recognition (Dikec, 2002, p.229) of each other's ethical conditions becomes essential to navigate boundaries of mobile identities, barriers that can be negotiated and sometimes contested without being abolished. There is not simply a paradigm between hosts and guests but a notion of hospitality in which the guest is as hospitable as the host, that guests engage with hosts while the host also recognizes the specificities of the guest (Dikec, 2002). The conditions being argued in this thesis are about the cultivation of ethics and politics of engagements (Dikec, 2002). Ethics and politics that help understand how the identities of Malmö residents and visitors are constituted during visits and imbue their mobility with meaning.

To conclude this chapter, hospitality plays an important role in framing attempts to construct a mobile sense of place. For hosts, planning and welcoming guests is way of retraining notions of place. Meaning that hosts reflexively interpret their own lives and the lives of visitors, that then carries guests through the city and region on particular trajectories that frame notions of place and the images of place in very specific ways. Interpreting selves however, is not limited to hosts. Both hosts and guests perceive differences between each other that spur the need to form a moral universe in which both can participate. In other words, hosts and guests frame place with a politics of conditional hospitality, linked to who they are as mobile people, that provides guidelines for social cohesion during visits. This thesis argues that in attempting to construct a

mobile sense of place hosts and guests attribute to mobility a politics and ethics of hospitality that frames notions of place and constitutes mobile identities. What needs to be explored in the next chapter is how hosts and guests recognize differences between each other, mobilize differences, and give them form.

6. Re-Experiencing Place with the Body

Politics and ethics during visits are important components that help explain the cultural processes at work during visits. How hosts and guests attribute meaning to mobility, attempting to create a mobile sense of place, cannot however only be explained by the politics and ethics of hospitality. A key element in creating a mobile sense of place is in understanding how hosts and guests mobilize and give form to the politics and ethics of hospitality. Furthermore, as part of mobilization, emotions come to signify that the body is very much involved in how visits are apprehended. This thesis argues that as hosts and guests develop a mobile sense of place embodied perceptions and experience come to play an important role in how that sense of place ultimately comes into formation. The goal for this chapter is to investigate how this is done.

6.1 Emotionally Charged Visits

During fieldwork, informants both guests and hosts demonstrated that visits could be very emotionally charged. The fact that there is emotion during visits is not surprising considering the often-long periods of time between visits or between when Malmö residents and friends and family see each other. The length of time between visits varied amongst informants and had various reasons for why some were greater than others, but none of the informants spoke about seeing family or friends more than two to three times a year. Many spoke of seeing their family members only once in a two to three year time span. Tara explained to me that she has seen her mother three times, and her father only once, in the three years since moving to Sweden from Tehran. She spoke at length about her father and how much she missed him. During the interview she was almost in tears when she said that, "oh my gosh I miss my dad" and that "when my dad is around I feel very comfortable" (Tara, October, 17 2011). She explained feelings of safety and happiness she experienced during her fathers visit and then became uncomfortable and asked to change topic, but not before she explained to me how important the visit from her father was. Another example comes from Angelo, Adonis's father, who explained

when asked how he would compare spending time with his daughter who lives in the same city in Greece to spending time with Adonis and his family in Malmö, he responded that, "I think it's the distance. Being that there is this distance there is more nostalgia for them. Our daughter, whenever we want we can go and see her" (Angelo, my translation, November 29th, 2011). Time between visits and distance from loved ones has the affect of charging the visit with feelings like happiness, sadness, guilt, anger, laughter, comfort, awkwardness, excitement, embarrassment or pride.

Emotions often cause hosts and guests to frame the visit as a time that must be taken advantage of for there are not many opportunities see each other. Adonis explained this when he said, "You have to make up for lost time. With my family we have to anyway compensate for the fact that we haven't seen each other for a year. So, we have to make up for this past time" (Adonis, 11 December, 2011). Understanding the emotion behind visits can help us understand how hosts and guests build a mobile sense of place. Before going further we need to better understand the general significance of emotion and the importance that lay behind how hosts aim to take advantage of the visit as a moment to spend time with friends and family.

Emotions and their relationship to culture is a difficult subject to tackle. One of the more important arguments from research into the link between the two argues that emotions are more than just a biological affect detached from any notions of cultural process. Emotions and senses are in fact connected to how we understand the world and how we make sense of it. Emotions are said to be more and more entwined in how we understand cities, notions of place, and that more and more affect is being utilized in political and social interaction (Thrift, 2004). As people interact with each other the emotional impact of that interaction is registered and understood with both the mind and the body; and based on that registration we also learn to interact with the world. As people move through the world their emotions and senses are stimulated in a manner that allows them qualify what's happening. Understanding emotion in this way destabilizes Cartesian understandings of culture and instead puts forth an understanding of mind and body as linked, not divided. Emotions are more than a biological phenomenon; they have social and cultural roots that frame and produce affect. There is also however, importance in how emotions come to expression. It is not just that people understand the world with emotions and the senses but also that people predict, or anticipate social situations by using emotions, and then

responding. Human Geographer Nigel Thrift articulated these ideas by saying that, "affect is understood as a form of thinking, often indirect and non-reflective, it is true, but thinking all the same" (Thrift, 2004). Thus, people think with their bodies and emotions. A conscious construction however, of what the body and emotions understand comes a moment later; meaning that what we are about to do is set in motion a fraction of a second before we decide to actually do it (Thrift, 2004). The practices that make up daily life then are already being anticipated by our emotions before we carry them carry them out. Thrift (2004) explained this when he said,

> These body practices rely on the emotions as a crucial element of the body's apprehension of the world; emotions are a vital part of the body's anticipation of the moment. Thus we can now understand emotions as a kind of corporeal thinking (Le Douz, 1997, Damasio, 1999, 2003); through our emotion, we reach back sensually to grasp the tacit, embodied foundations of ourselves' (Katz, 1999 p.7) (Thrift, p.67, 2004).

Affect is a form of culturally embodied knowledge that people use to understand the world, but that is also used to interact with the world and give it shape (O'Dell, 2010). For the purposes of this thesis, affect helps us to build on explaining the ways in which forming a mobile sense of place is realized. During interviews hosts explained various strategies they employed that allows hosts to present their lives while also recognizing guest's expectations to enact mobile identities, identities that are often shaped with tourism. In recognizing this ethical condition of guests, hosts are mobilizing the politics and ethics of hospitality spelled out in chapter two and giving them form. In other words, hosts are ordering and making guests mobility legible (Cresswell, 2006). An important part of mobilization is creating an embodied emotional register, framed by tourism, to eventually arrive at some form of normalcy when guests come to Malmö.

6.2 Mobilizing Difference and Memorizing Experiences with the Body

A common example of strategies that present hosts lives, manage the mobility of guests, and recognize guest's condition was daily life tours. Hosts taking guests by bus, car, or bike from place to place around Skåne showing them aspects of their daily lives. A good example is the trip that Tara took with her father around Lund. As was mentioned earlier, Tara's father visited her only once in the three years she has been in Sweden. When he did visit, Tara took her father

around Malmö, ate in Swedish restaurants, went to Turning Torso, a skyscraper in Malmo, but also to Lund where she used to live and go to university. This is how she described that leg their trip,

> I had only told my dad about the difficult parts of this whole three-year journey. And things I have been through. I've been moving around like 7, 8 times since living here. It's crazy oh my god, especially in Lund. So I took him to Lund and we went to see the university. And then we started taking bus trips to all the places I have lived in. And he wanted to see them, and that was the only thing he didn't like and was a little worried and upset about. (Tara, October 17, 2011).

Tara said they saw every apartment she had lived in. In the process she explained to her father her understanding of Swedish housing problems and how because of it she had been forced to move quite often. She explained that her father had had a good impression of Sweden but was a little angry that she wasn't able to find stable housing. Tara created a daily life tour for her father complete with a personal narrative that simultaneously recognized the condition of engaging in tourist practices while also imbuing material space with meaning. There is a marrying here of tourism framing and personal narrative that is attached onto the material landscape that make's up Tara's daily life. In the process, emotion becomes an important aspect of making sense of place. As Tara's father moves through and interacts with the local landscape emotions like the bits of anger felt about housing become a way of memorizing notions of place at the level of the body. The point here is that tourism is a technology of knowing the world that frames embodied perceptions through the politics and ethics of hospitality. David Crouch (2002) has linked the body, knowledge, and tourism when he said,

> The world is grasped through the body and the world is mediated through the body. Our bodies are important in the ways in which we grasp and make sense of the world. Tourism is a practice through which we make this grasp (p.216).

As hosts recognize the condition of guests to participate in their lives through tourism, hosts' lives are in part grasped through tourism. Hosts recognition of guest's expectations cannot however, simply be explained in terms of tourism, but as an assemblage of many forms of mobility coming from tourism, migration, material culture, and everyday life. This thesis argues

that hosts are in fact engineering place experiences for their guests that are apprehended through the body.

Experiences are more and more becoming the commodities that drive economies around the world (Pine and Gilmore, 1995). Economies where consumers "unquestionably desire experiences, and more and more businesses are responding by explicitly designing and promoting them." Furthermore that, "As services, like goods before them, increasingly become commoditized…experiences have emerged as the next step in what we call the progression of economic value" (Pine and Gilmore, 1995, p.97). While some might be quick to criticize the relevance of experiences in economies due to their subjective and fleeting nature, scholars Tom O'Dell and Peter Billing have argued that while experiences are subjective, and can be quick to dissipate, they are very real, composed in part of the materials that are located in the places and spaces that surround us (O'Dell and Billing, 2010). O'Dell and Billing have linked economies of experiences to tourism by coining the concept of experiencescape to illustrate how experiences are produced and consumed in tourism. O'Dell and Billing (2010) have defined experiencescapes as:

> The spaces in which experiences are stages and consumed can be likened to stylized landscapes that are strategically planned, laid out and designed. They are, in this sense, landscapes of experience – experiencescapes – that are not only organized by producer (from place marketers and city planners to local private enterprises) but are also actively sought after by consumers. (P.16)

The spaces of Experiencescapes are crafted on many different scales; they can be as small as a countryside inn (Gyimothy, 2010) or as large as an entire region (Ek, 2010). Expereincescapes can consist of a wide variety of material and sensual properties that feed off of the tourists desire for the new, the different, and a desire interact with surroundings. While tourists can be seen to making their own experiences they require people working in the tourist industry to frame and provide the environment, offer information, and manage what they do (Can-Seng Ooi, 2010).

What is being described in this thesis, however, differs somewhat from what has been argued previously. I am arguing that not only those in the tourism industry but also Malmö

residents produce experiences during visits. Those in the tourism industry and Malmö residents who host friends and families are co-creating experiences (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004) for visitors. What's more, visitors also play a large role in creating the experiences that they themselves consume. In order to further understand how hosts construct experiences we turn back to the empirical material.

Firstly, hosts tended to take a very comprehensive view of hosting. Hosting strategies cannot simply be described as taking guests around and engaging in tourist practices. To deliver and embody knowledge about Sweden and Malmö through experiences requires hosts to posses a comprehensive toolbox that can be used to engage guests in a wide variety of ways. Lennart, Maria's husband, described how he thinks of hosting when his wife's friends and family come from Italy to visit. He said that,

> When your taking care of Italian guests, I think it's quite a holistic concept. Because it's everything it's the weather, politics, food, social security system, work, whatever, I mean everything is new and I think it so curious when you come to a different culture if you don't have people living there I mean you see only quite shallowly but I mean when you come to visit us, I mean it could be a bit like tourism, but you really enter in the society for a day or five perhaps. And ah, that makes it really holistic experience (Lennart, December 14, 2011).

Hosts have to think about more than just sight-seeing. While they do go site-seeing hosts have a wide variety of aspects of Malmö to represent, activities to organize, food and information to present, and potential problems to think about. In essence, hosts have to package and offer Malmö, and the surrounding area, just as a tourism operator would have to. To do so takes time, skill, and often a lot of effort. Some hosts form schedules and strict itineraries suited to maximize what guests can get out of a trip. Others take a more relaxed approach and use the strategy of creating options that guest's can choose from, and making suggestions based on how they interpret needs and wants. In an interview with Lisa from Barcelona, who has been living in Skåne for five years, she explained how adept she is at providing options. After describing that she prefers to provide information and let guests choose, she said that,

> Yeah, I tell them, and then I show them, I have at home tourist guides and a lot of papers in two big binders, from Skåne, from Sweden, from Denmark. And when they come (laughing), because I have so many visitors over time of friends and family that it's easier (Lisa, November 4th, 2011).

Lisa spoke about the fact that over the years she has had to develop a large collection of tourist information in order to provide a wide variety of possible choices for a wide variety of different guests. Providing choices for people of all ages, lifestyles, speeds of pace, tastes in food, people who want to go out or not go out, and people who prefer the outdoors or the city. In essence, she has become a quasi-tourism information center creating flexible, personalized, on the spot itineraries. This is how hosts begin to produce the commodities to be consumed during visits. Ethnologist Ovar Löfgren described this step saying, "the first step in this commodification is the itemization: the selection and framing of possible ingredients in a vacation package" (Löfgren, 1999, p.275). In preparing, organizing, and individualizing the components of the visit hosts are also itemizing the visit into commodities.

Itemizing came in the form of site seeing, taking guests around to tourist attractions in Malmö, Skåne, or day-trips over to Copenhagen. Common amongst hosts was that many have become highly skilled tour guides capable of providing information and personalizing tours to individual guests. One aspect of tours that was always important was taking guests to sample local food. Lennart spoke about how he tries to create food experiences, for his Italian guests and he does so,

> To surprise them with, regarding Swedish cuisine. Because usually they don't have a good perceptions about what we eat in Sweden. Ah, and just to conquer that idea, we usually bring them out and try to eat some good Swedish food to surprise them. (Lennart, December 14, 2011)

Important to note here is that Lennart is linking sensory experiences like food, to how guests perceive place. Food becomes an important tool in how hosts affect perception of place through creating positive emotions. Lennart and Maria did more, however, than bring people out. They also spoke about going to great lengths to think about preparing meals at home. For them this meant creating the right atmosphere depending on if Swedes or Italians are coming to visit.

With Italians you have to eat good food and touch glasses for cheers, while with Swedes food is not so important, but you start a meal with a good toast. In order to satisfy guests Lennart and Maria do more than offer their guests meals, they create a food experience by combining restaurants, their home cooking, and cultural and personal knowledge about guests so guests retain a taste of place. This is sensory experience they can take back with them.

Another aspect of creating experiences is solving problems for guests and teaching guests important aspects of travel and local life. One way of doing so was with material objects. Hosts often had to find, organize, collect, and teach guests how to use material objects. At a very basic level, that could mean helping parents get passports for the first time, as was the case with Lisa. In other cases it means obtaining tourist visas for family and friends outside of Europe. Another example was hosts with guests from cold weather countries were often forced to find and stockpile cold weather clothing due to difficulties of finding such clothing in countries of origin. Agnes, Adonis's mother, spoke of another example. She described having problems with the train ticket machines on their first visit to Oresund. To solve this problem she asked for Adonis's help to learn how to use them. She said that,

> The only problem we had was that we wanted them to come get us in Denmark because the first time they came and got us, but they next time they couldn't, so to get a ticket for the train Adonis had to record a video of the ticket machines and all the buttons you have to push to get a ticket and then he sent it to us via e-mail. Like this we knew how to do it. (Agnes, my translation, December 3, 2011).

Hosts like Adonis clearly demonstrated an articulate and creative flair for solving problems to ensure a smooth flowing visit. Hosts were very much aware of some of the potential problems that guests could face with local material objects that could block guest's mobility, or hinder their ability to appropriate local knowledges. To solve problems hosts continually taught guests local ways of life as a part of their tourist experience. Learning to use the ticket machine means obtaining local knowledge that is important for guests to know if they are going to be able to come back.

Material objects form a part of the local landscape that guests need to experience in order to understand host's local life Many hosts organized bikes so guests could experience what

hosts' perceive as a very local method of transportation. Hosts rented and borrowed bikes, organized trips by bike into Skåne, and had to teach guests the rules of the road for biking. In some cases that meant trying to teach some guests how to ride a bike for the first time. Another example is from Janet who organized a bike trip through the city as one of the activities of the visit. When Janet was describing the highlights of the trip she said this,

> Janet: I think the most fun was riding a bike.
>
> Interviewer: why do you think that?
>
> Janet: well we do it so much here, and she didn't have a bike in Utah, she doesn't have a bike in Texas, I think she had a bike in Montana, she did her masters in Montana and I think that it just brought back fun memories for her, and also everyone is on bikes and I think it's a little scary so it's kind of a thrill of like uhhh, oh my god okay. She named her bike and she was just really thrilled with it. (Janet, October 21st, 2011)

Here Janet is mobilizing her guests with a material object that simultaneously allows the guest to engage with the local environment and Janet to construct an experience for the body and senses that is both thrilling and memorable. As she and her guests move through local spaces the world is apprehended and known through the body. Hosts are leaning to use tourism to manage the mobility of guests, that also recognizes the differences between them, and embodies those differences by allowing guests to create an emotional register that can be used know local spaces and social landscapes.

Other examples of teaching guests to adapt to local life were introducing a few words of Swedish, buying alcohol at the state run liqueur store, or dealing with a lack of daylight in the winter and too much daylight in the summer. A good example is from Julie, she spoke about some of the first problems she had in helping her family from Romania adapt to life in Malmö, she said that,

> Of course I have to show them in the beginning when it comes to the practical life. Where they have to buy their food, and where they have to take the bus, and how to take the bus, and how buy the food. Because, it's nothing, so international. So I took them by the hand and I showed them ICA (a local supermarket), and where to find the products, and what

kind of products they are, because they have some similar things but of course they have some different things that they don't have in Romania which you can buy. And I remember that they had very big problems with bread. Because here in Sweden they don't have this normal bread which is not sweet bread. (Julie, November 3rd, 2011)

Julie is doing more than just taking guests around, showing them parts of the city, and having them interact with the local environment. She as with many hosts, is teaching them how to contextualize themselves in the local environment based on her own experiences. As someone who has had to adapt to life in Sweden, she is effectively training them in local practices and understandings that will help them to negotiate the social landscape.

In creating experiences, what is interesting to point out is that hosts create tourist experiences for guests using their own daily lives as the raw material. Hosts draw on a number of components of daily life, from restaurants and supermarkets, to aspects that are very personal. For example, hosts recognized guest's condition to enact family identities. Adonis spoke about always making sure to secure time during visits for his parents to spend time with his baby daughter. In this way, Adonis is recognizing his parents need to be grandparents during visits. Malmö residents also had guests stay in their homes, took guests to their favorite restaurants and cafes, introduced guests to friends and colleagues, and organized dinner parties. Hosts also took guests to places of work and study. Maria, for example, when her sister and family visited from Italy, took her guests to her place of work, gave them a tour and introduced Anna's family to colleagues and friends. During the interview with Anna, she talked about the tour of Maria's work place saying that she took photos with her family, Maria, and Maria's friends and colleagues. She also spoke about going to buy a piece of pottery from Maria's favorite pottery shop as a souvenir so that in a way she could take a memory of her trip with Maria back home. In these examples with Maria and Anna you see how hosts and guests are also producing travel narratives and memories through documentation, collection, and memorization (Lofgren, 1999) of visits that utilizes daily life environments of hosts. In a sense, the daily life of hosts becomes the picturesque and the exotic landscape that needs to be remembered.

Guests were not however, the only ones being trained in how to perceive local culture and practices; hosts were also being trained, or better, retrained in how to perceive their local environment. By creating tourist experiences for guests, hosts also become tourists in their own

city. Hosts engage in tourists practices with guests, visit sites that take them out of their daily routines, go on bike trips that they have never done before, or even just go out to clubs and bars for the sake of recognizing guest's expectation. Hosts described making many discoveries in Malmö they had never known. One informant, Ekard from Namibia, said that he and his girlfriend felt unsure about their knowledge of Malmö and what to show their guests. Therefore, in the days before the visit they took a bus they had never taken and rode around trying to get a new understanding of the city. Other hosts described similar encounters, such as parks, restaurants, museums, and many attractions that hosts had never been to. In addition, new perceptions were generated from visits that come from guests reacting to the local environment and hosts and guests evaluating those perceptions together. Guests constantly made note of interesting or strange facets of local life that hosts had not considered. Hosts and guests then often reflected on, and in some cases debated those facets. Janet told me about an experience that makes this point clear. While her friend from the US was visiting, Janet placed a half full cup of coffee in a shallow waste bin. Moments later a man walked by and took the coffee and began drinking it. Both Janet and her friend were surprised, and tried to make sense of the man's actions. Janet told me about the discussion with her friend saying that,

> We spent quite sometime debriefing it and then retelling the story. She (the friend) asked me is this something that Swedes do? Is this some kind of uber recycling mindset and I was like I don't think so. And so she thought he was homeless, and then we talked about how he was dressed and how he looked, and we were like he doesn't look American homeless. He looked clean and well kept and so on, but the behavior didn't make sense. And then we started talking about the fact that you don't see anyone on the streets here, I mean homeless people. And that lead into that conversation (Janet, October 21st, 2011)

Janet went on to say that she and her friend talked about what they know of the welfare system in Sweden and if it was even possible to be homeless. They then compared homelessness in the US to Sweden and concluded that Sweden was a privileged nation. What Janet is describing was a common thread through interviews with residents and visitors. It cannot be argued that guests are alone in learning and embodying new knowledge. As hosts and guests negotiate the material and social landscapes they are also interacting with the environment

together, assessing it, evaluating it, debating it, feeling surprising, marking differences, and generating new knowledge that makes up the repertoire of how to frame and understand place.

This knowledge makes up a part of an emotionally registered knowledge that is trained into the body during visits as a result of hosts attempting to manage the mobility of guests by mobilizing the politics of conditional hospitality. The chosen management technique used by hosts is comprised of strategies that attempt to produce tourist place experiences for guests. In giving form to the politics of the visit as tourist experiences, hosts are recognizing the ethical conditions laid out by guests; recognition that allows guests to participate in visits without being cast out, and experiences that hosts also experience themselves.

To summarize, for a mobile sense of place to come into formation, hosts manage the mobility of guests by packaging daily life so that guests might apprehend daily life through the body. To package daily life, hosts use a variety of strategies that makes them into problem managers, creators and managers of atmosphere and mood, administrators that mobilize material culture and bodies, and instructors in the daily life of Malmö and surrounding areas. In many ways, hosts are packaging culture to be consumed by guests. This is a process familiar to tourism in that, as O'Dell (2005) had said,

> As tourism continues to grow and people search to find ever more exotic and "experience-rich" places, it becomes increasingly apparent that "culture" (and the experiencing of "culture") is itself an enormous commodity for sale in different forms in the global market (Ooi, 2002;Urry, 1995; 154ff). (P.19).

This kind of cultural packaging also includes however, hosts own daily personal lives in addition to more generalized notions of place. In this way, hosts engage in a process of distancing themselves from daily life. This process turns aspects of daily life into a commodity that shapes and infuses local landscapes with meaning. Landscapes that are re-produced as meaning is attributed to mobility through the body and senses (Löfgren, 1999). Hosts are thus reproducing their daily lives, and the social and physical landscapes in which they live, into a commoditized form to be experienced. An experience that hosts also partake in themselves.

Furthermore, hosts are not alone in creating this package: Malmö Tourism and the city of Malmö quite obviously play a large role in what is experienced during visits. Malmö has been

made into stylized a landscape by the city of Malmö to actively cultivate a more unified identity for the city that offers visitors a wealth of activities and entertainment possibilities. It is thus important to point out that Malmö Tourism and the city are producing experiences for guests together with hosts. Scholars C. K. Prahalad and Venkat Ramaswamy have labeled the economic market of today as "a space of potential co-creation experiences" (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004, p. 12). This is a model that sees the paradigm of firms and organizations producing products without interaction of customers as being challenged by communities of connected, informed, empowered, and active consumers (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004). This point reveals that Malmö Tourism and hosts are in a process of co-creating experiences together. The city of Malmö is branding and stylizing the city in hopes of attracting visitors. However, Malmö residents make use of and interpret that landscape for their own purposes; doing their own form of cultural packaging that incorporates a more reflexive and individualized package that meets the expectations of guests. There is also, another dimension to this discussion that requires articulation. The role guests' play in this relationship remains under evaluated.

6.3 A Hospitable Space of Tourist Migrants and Migrant Tourists

The aim of this paper in not only to examine the mobility of Malmö residents who have moved to Malmo from other places, but also to examine the role friends and relatives play in attributing meaning to the mobility of Malmö residents and visa-versa. During fieldwork the question of who is more similar to a migrant and who is more similar to a tourist during visits began to arise. As was explained above, hosts engaged in tourist practices as much as guests. It became clear that visits could be as much a vacation for hosts as for guests. Hosts engaged in tourist practices, experienced their local environment in new ways, took trips with guests to locations around Sweden, Denmark, and to other European cities like Paris and Prague. Guests however, also demonstrated recognition of the ethical conditions of hosts. To participate in host's lives, visitors would often try to help their hosts in as many ways as possible. This came in the form of babysitting children, paying for dinners or new clothes, cooking, cleaning, or simply offering a sympathetic ear to listen to some of the difficulties of adapting to life in Malmö. Hosts often spoke about the joy and relief of having loved ones visit who can understand them in ways local friends cannot. As hosts and guests toured around together some hosts spoke about the comfort they felt at seeing guests react to the local environment in much the same way they did.

In a sense, guests trying to get know host's lives offered hosts a short break from some of the pressures of living abroad.

Guests trying to get to know and participate in host's lives also lead to trying to adapt to those lives. Adapting to host's local environments demonstrated that guests are trying to recognize host's mobile identities. What's more, their adaptation took on a form that resembled not tourism, but migration. The first indicator was in guests establishing sensations and understandings for the travel routes necessary to reach Malmö residents. Guests talked at length about travel routes and what it meant to undertake those routes. Distances for guests varied, but most guests displayed some form of adapting to trips. Whether coming from different parts of Sweden, or coming from abroad, guests that came from smaller cities that lack major transportation hubs appeared to have the most difficulties completing the journeys. From my own experiences during fieldwork of reaching small towns in central Sweden and northern Italy, I also experienced difficulties in arranging the trips. During my trip to central Sweden, following the same route of Kristin's parents, I had to make several connections by train and by bus, and missed the final bus forcing me to call Kristin's father to be picked up. For my trip to the small town in the Italian countryside, myself and Anna (Maria's sister) spent a considerable amount of time planning both my trip to her house from Milan where I was staying, and the trip back to make sure she could pick me up and take me to her house and back to the train station to catch the right train. While this might seem insignificant, this is evidence of similar trend amongst guests of micro-happenings and the detailed planning that goes into guests making visits happen. During the interview, Maria spent some time telling me of some of the difficulties she had in reaching Malmö, such as late flights and costly tickets, but overall that going from her house to Malmö involved a lot of time and planning.

What came up during fieldwork that proved most interesting however, was related to guests' adaptations to local life in Malmö. Guests learned common practices like using ticket machines at the train station, and acquiring local bus and train passes. Guests developed favorite restaurants and areas of the city, and one family even had the permission of a friend to stay at their summerhouse just outside of Malmö any time they came to visit, giving them a kind of home away from home. Many guests learned to make themselves at home in Malmö. Some guests came for relatively short periods but have been making trips to Sweden and Malmö for up

to eight years. Others, while maybe only having been to Malmö two to three times, took advantage of the opportunity and stayed for three months. In both cases spending time in Malmö lead guests to adapt themselves to local ways of life. A good example of this experience is from Adela's mom. Adela is from Costa Rica and has been living in Malmö for three years. Adela explained that when her mother comes to Malmö she takes over the cooking responsibilities for Adela. In so doing so however, her mother had problems understanding what to cook, as she perceives the food as different and was unsure of what to buy or prepare. Adela described how her mother adapted when she said,

> When she comes here she tries to prepare the same food as she does there but she also prepares food from everywhere. Because here, they have a lot of, spice, it is spicy; there is a lot of eastern influence here. So she is used to prepare a lot of Indian food when she is here. In Costa Rica we are not available to get those kind of food. So she doesn't do that in Costa Rica but she does that here. (Adela, November 14th, 2011).

Adela explained that her mother began going to areas of the city with high concentrations of immigrant supermarkets so she could find food that had more spice, and learned to cook with those foods. Adela's mom is recognizing the ethical condition of her daughter by learning to develop an understanding of herself in a new context that will make it possible for her to participate in the life of her daughter and respect the decision of her daughter to live abroad. Other guests also spoke about developing favorite foods and taking them home when leaving Malmö, going to the gym, studying, and developing practices that often resembled host's lives. Guests are engaging in practices that make connections between their places of origin and Malmö. As scholar Maja Povrzanovik has pointed out, "it is in the very practices of connecting distant places where trans-migrant identities are entrenched" (Povrzanovik, 2003, p.68). Also, in the ways migrants connect places has the effect of leaving bodily memories (Povrzanovik, 2003). Guests are attributing meanings of migration and embodied knowledge as guests engage in practices that develop temporary migrant identities.

As was mentioned in the theoretical framework, hosts and guests are not static categories that visitors and Malmö residents are locked into during the visit. Hospitality during the visit is about mutual recognition and engagement between hosts and guests, of crossing boundaries without abolishing them (Dikec, 2002). Where there is a, "constant process of shifting roles as

hosts and guests. The guest and host are held in this tension" (Dikec, 2002, 237). Interviews demonstrated that hosts and guests continually displayed recognition, engagement, and sometimes contestation of conditional hospitality. During the visit, guests pointing out new finds, asking questions and making comments about life in Sweden, forcing hosts to seek out and explore new aspects of their surroundings, positions guests as a mirror that inflects and reconfigures the social and spatial imagination of hosts, while also fostering a shift in the host-guest paradigm. This shift could best be summarized as the way in which Malmö residents become guests to visitor's ability to provoke new understandings of themselves and their own surroundings. For guests, the material, social and spatial environments of hosts act as a mirror that inflects and reshapes guests imagination of place, and their friends and family situated in place, by putting guests in contexts where they are exposed to and made to interact with new social cues and norms, new practices, and a new language. Where embodiment of place through practices resembling migration also becomes important. In this way, visitors demonstrate hospitality to the mobile lives of Malmö residents by respecting and adapting themselves to Malmö residents' local context. Furthermore, in switching roles hosts and guests are opening a space of recognition, or a hospitable space, in which both can participate in each others lives (Dikec, 2002). A hospitable space that is not diaspora, but may in some cases may be connected to diaspora, that is a space that has resulted from hosts and guests attempts to create a mobile sense of place that links them in commonalities of the social imagination. A space that is also partially commoditized.

In addition, guests also demonstrated they are active in contributing to the process of co-creating place experience during trips. This process however, could better be described as three parallel processes of co-creation, one between the city and hosts, another between hosts and guests, and yet another between guests and the city. This is a process that produces commoditized tourist experiences of the city but that also in many ways resists commodification. Meaning with many informants the desire to go on tours, visit places, and enact tourist practices seemed to slow down through time. All informants still engaged in some form of tourism during visits even after years of coming to Sweden, but informants described visits as being less and less driven to be on the move, and instead desired to simply stay home. Important here is to point out that embodied knowledge is framed, and takes forms, that resemble both tourism and migration. Knowledges, that are both always present, creating tension, that form the emotional

thinking that give shape to visits. In other words, these knowledges appear, and guide the pulse and flow of visits as hosts and guests encounter varying social situations during visits. Here, Thrift can help shed light on what's happening,

> Capitalism does now run in our very neurons and synapses but it is less because it only adds together into new senses and rhythms in brief spasms: holding together a new sense of the world over the long terms is still beyond capitalist's theoreticians and practitioners and, I suspect, will continue to be so. Too many other senses of the world still exist which act as more or less organized forces of opposition and which, like the mandrake root, are still prone to scream when they are uprooted" (Thrift, p.134, 2005).

While embodied knowledge through commoditized experiences becomes important during visits, and continues to be so through time, we might better describe what is happening as visits produce forms of knowledge that are in part commoditized, but that hosts and guests establish new rhythms of oscillating between forms of knowledge in different social contexts. This thesis cannot purport to explain what regulates culminations of different ways of knowing the world in different contexts; such an explanation would require further research. But this thesis can, however, put forth that the hospitable space opened by hosts and guests is a space where rhythms of commoditized and migrant knowledge, rise and fall from appearance, and push and pull between each other. While some in the tourist industry might be quick to point to tourist practices as evidence that visits are about tourism, and some scholars on migration could view practices of connecting places as proof that visits are about migrants creating transnational communities, the evidence in this paper shows that they are clearly both.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Findings Summary

This thesis has attempted to explain some of the cultural processes that make VFR an important social phenomenon. Before concluding with a few final thoughts on why VFR is important for the tourism industry I will briefly summarize the researching findings.

The aims of the paper have been first, to investigate how and why Malmo residents and visitors attribute meaning to different forms of mobility in the context of the visit, and second to

discuss how meanings attributed to mobility during visits could have implications for the tourism industry. I'll begin with the first aim. This thesis has found that Malmö residents and visitors engage in visits to be able to better participate in each other's lives. In doing so, residents and visitors are attempting to attribute a mobile sense of place to different forms of mobility. A sense of place where the social imagination is bounded to particular travel routes of globalized networks of family and friends. Visits to Malmö play a role as travel encounters in those networks; encounters where acts of translation and connecting notions of place become important to building new travel routes. As a part of those encounters and translations, residents and visitors engage in acts and relations that are guided by the rules of hospitality. Planning and attempting to understand visits spurs processes of reflexivity where hosts frame and interpret their local lives and also interpret visitors as mobile people that creates different trajectories for each visitor. As a part of this process, guests also reflexively interpret host's mobile identities, which lead hosts and guests to forming a moral universe of conditional hospitality. The conditions also frame this mobile sense of place and imbue mobilities with identity politics of conditional hospitality that will allow mobile identities to be negotiated through openness and recognition. In order for this mobile sense of place to come into formation however, the politics of conditional hospitality have to be mobilized and given form. As a part of mobilization embodied perceptions and experience come to play an important role in how that sense of place ultimately comes into formation. Hosts recognize guest's condition of being able to enact tourist identities and identities of friends and family by creating tourist experiences that present hosts daily lives, teach local ways of life, and allow interaction with host's lives. Hosts' package their daily lives producing processes where embodied and commodified knowledge facilitates greater participation in host's lives. Guests also however, recognize host's condition of being able to enact mobile identities of people who live abroad by adapting to host's local environment. These adaptations take on a form of embodied perceptions that closely resemble migration. As hosts and guests recognize each other's conditions of hospitality, the host guest paradigm shifts and a hospitable space is opened where hosts and guests oscillate between ways of knowing the world consisting of both tourism and migration.

7.2 Recognizing Hospitable Space

For the second aim, the creation of hospitable space during visits has a few important components that have implications for Malmö tourism and the tourism industry in general. First,

hosts' are learning to manage the mobility of guests by creating tourism experiences. Experiences consist of complex strategies like engaging the senses of guests, managing bureaucratic problems, creating atmosphere, and using material objects. Second, hosts are using their own daily lives as the raw material to create experiences. Third, the tourism industry and hosts and guests are co-creating place experiences that include elements of both tourism and migration. Importantly, the research findings suggest that consumers value creating their own experiences and value experiences that are built from knowledge and practices of local daily lives.

Important to point out though, is that because Malmö tourism has demonstrated little interest in working with VFR the space described in this thesis is only a partial hospitable space. Considering the city government builds and organizes parts of the city that hosts and guests interact with the city does play a role. Without however, the city's recognition and engagement with residents and their visitors this hospitable space is very much being developed without the city's interaction. This represents a missed opportunity for Malmö tourism and the tourism industry because, "High-quality interactions that enable an individual customer to co-create unique experiences with the company are the key to unlocking new sources of competitive advantage. Value will have to be jointly created by both the firm and the consumer. (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004, p.7,). Residents and visitors co-create experiences by mixing and defining different forms of mobilities. This suggests that those working in the tourist industry could benefit by attempting to understand how they can work with different forms of mobility. In addition, during visits lines between local and tourist are blurred as people build connections between place; which implies the tourism industry might benefit from problematizing their notion of place to be more in sync with the tourists they want to sell their products to. For instance, for Malmö tourism their own statistical research reveals that visiting friends and relatives tourism is the second most common reason for coming to Malmö (Rokotova, Zere, and Wiberg, 2011) and that 30% percent of Malmö's population is born abroad (Wikitravel, 2012). Considering the multi-cultural nature of the city, there is an opportunity to increase the well being of the city by working with both in-coming visitors who generate revenue for the city as well as by creating closer connections with residents. In addition, while VFR may not generate revenue from bed nights, as visitors are constructing travel routes there is potential for return tourism that benefits city initiatives on sustainable tourism. More generally, tourists are very much dependent on some form of mediator in order to function in and enjoy a destination (Can-

Seng Ooi, 2005). Therefore if residents are alone in mediating visitor's stay there is a potential danger for the tourist industry losing some relevance in the lives of consumers. To conclude, the tourism industry could find new advantages and avoid potential problems by recognizing the importance of VFR and engaging with residents and their visitors to co-create tourist experiences.

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