



### Abstract

This thesis is an attempt to dive beneath the surface of airspace and map how the space is produced, in a fashion, which stratifies aeromobilities. Drawing mainly on dialectical thinking and relational concepts of space as offered by David Harvey and Henry Lefebvre as well as aeromobilities inspired from the 'new mobilities paradigme' an ensemble of methods and concepts is constituted. This 'conceptual apparatus' enables understanding how space, travellers and mobilities can be stratified spatially.

And the apparatus enables understanding mapping as a methodology of spatial enquiry and representation of space. The mapping is done from conducted field observations, the latest conducted by being a passenger/travelling researcher on the journey through Schiphol airport-seated in SAS airbus aeroplane-through Copenhagen Airport. And from interview conducted in 2008 and 2009.

Title 'You may board at your convenience': Mapping spatial stratification of aeromobilities

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Made by Morten Frølund

Supervisor Claus Lassen

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Figure 1: Stratification map



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The aim of this thesis is to produce a map, which visualises how space is produced by processes of capitalisation and border control in a manner, which stratifies aeromobilities.

This thesis has caused me considerable thought on what to include in the text and what to leave to the mapping. The map should be self-explaining. However to include the considerable thoughts of mapping, space and aeromobilities on the mapping would complicate it to a level that could render it useless. Instead the thesis is divided into two overall parts. Part #1 is textual and addresses what lies behind the mapping. Part #2 is the map.

The textual part of the thesis is mainly focussed at laying out the conceptual apparatus guiding the mapping. But some findings (of empirical as well as abstracted character) are aspects of the text. However they serve mainly the purposes to explain conceptual understanding and to illustrate how the mapping can be read. This means that the findings represented on the map is not throughout accounted for in the text.

Throughout the text I will repeatedly refer to this map (Figure 1) as 'stratification mapping'. It is useful to read the map along the text.



### Acknowledments

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# 1 Introduction

I have on my smartphone an app from Copenhagen Airport, which holds a map of the terminals. This map can help me navigate the airport as visitor and passenger. I can instantly see if I am before of after security check and I can spot where I can eat- it even delivers some restaurant reviews - and I am updated of the time remaining in terms of minutes to my departure gate. What I can't seem to find is where the additional security checking of arriving or departing migrants are done, how surveillance more in general is performed or what economic role I play. I get a hint of course - they really want me to buy that sandwich and I am a passenger.

The map represents the space of Copenhagen Airport as a common space, with common travel times, and free possibilities of movement. This is not the real space of the airport that is mapped I claim. It is rather a reduction of a space, which stratifies. This is regrettable, as mapping can be an important tool to understand and visualise what goes on and goes around spatially. Both what can be perceived and what is hidden. The map of Copenhagen Airport must rather be conceived as an expression of what the airport finds important of the spatial order. Here lies the inherent power nature of maps, as critical cartographers long have pointed out (Crampton, 2010). Maps produce knowledge of the world in particular fashions serving particular interests. Still, how would a more accurate mapping of airport space and the possible mobilities of travellers be, I wonder - what would the airport look like if one had the interest in considering how border control and capitalisation influenced the space? I have that interest.

#### 1.1 Interesting processes of the spatial order

If one considers border control in the airport (this was the perspective, which led me to my first airport study) it becomes quite clear that citizenship, immigration policy and borders affect mobilities of travellers in quite different ways. One could actually say that different travellers had different spaces. Through former studies also other processes caught my attention, processes, which influence the control of mobilities beyond what border control does. By this influence passengers come to play a particular economic role to the airport, as they are moulded by mobility control. They come to be commodity capital to the airport as they represent some value to the airport, which bring about an economic circulation of earning and value. This is what I mean by capitalisation. And in both cases it seems as mobilities, or better the *ease of mobilities*, of travellers remain stratified due to some order of airport space.

Interestingly it seemed to me that the processes of mobility control, some related to border control others to capitalisation, functioned in airspace beyond the located passport control and the shopping areas of the airports. And it became clear that considering the airport was not enough. Control of mobilities is performed along the entire journey. Visa policies are for example effectuated in airports both at checkin before departure, when airlines make sure they do not transport 'illegal' travellers, and at passport control at the formal border. This implies at least two airports and an aeroplane. And capitalisation seems to apply to consuming as well as to the efficiency of boarding aeroplanes and the experiences of travel. Furthermore control reaches beyond airports by the legislation and assumptions it implies. Visa policies are not decided at the airport and the assumptions of belonging and inclusion, as visa-check comes to express, cover certainly more than the airport. And capitalisation certainly relates to wider economic relations. In fact border control seems to be constituted of a whole complex of different practices with related documents and legislation. It appears quite similar to what the Marxist thinker on nations and borders Étienne Baliber (1993) termed 'a new ubiquity of borders' were a border is constituted wherever a selective control is performed. This is what is meant by border control.

#### 1.2 Why aeromobility space must be considered

'What happens in airports does not stay in airports' could indeed be a describing phrase. Airports are by researchers on airports considered laboratories to '...analyse the global interconnections of life in the information age...' as Gillian Fuller and Ross R. Harley with their cultural approach argues (2004, 11). And as Mark Salter, with his political science approach, (2008a, 23) argues the '...airport is an exception to normal urban spaces and a laboratory for testing wider schemes of social control...'. Airports can be laboratories because they are 'exceptions' to normal urban spaces. Nevertheless airports are also urban spaces, they are in fact considered cities: '...small scale global cities in their-own right' as argued by the distinguished researcher of (aero)mobilities John Urry (2009, 27). When cities in turn also become airport-like (Sheller and Urry, 2006), it seems relevant to view relations between the two dialectically.

It could be stated that airports are special urban spaces, which forefrontcharacters, are spreading beyond the frames of the airport. And beyond the airspace which includes both airports and aeroplanes. Airspaces are indeed particular spaces and the related mobilities are also particular. They are *aeromobilities* (Cwerner, 2009). This is the mobility form, which I ascribe to airspace with the particular space characteristics, including ticketing, passenger logistics, security, boarding calls, aeroplane handling, passport control, just to mention a few and obvious ones. It seems reasonable to talk about aeromobilities rather than mobilities, as this is after all *airspace* and *aeromobilities* of travellers<sup>1</sup>, which are of particular focus here.

However if the control and stratification of *aero*mobilities, as it performs in airspace, influences urban mobilities in general, it is downright scaring. It is scaring both because control is severe in airspace, but also because of the status mobility has in contemporary life. Mobility is, as the distinguished sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1998) states, becoming the substantial strata. It is the *freedom to be mobile* that stratifies people and determines their position in hierarchy. Mobility is a capital, which can be exchanged in order to achieve other values: jobs, social status, or economic gains to mention some (Kaufmann et al., 2004). When mobilities are stratified, then access to other forms of value could be stratified as well. This inheres a great risk for inequalities rising beyond the inequalities of mobilities themselves.

Stratification of airspace and aeromobilities are in it self quite problematic. Airports and airlines have an immense role to play on the structure of global networked society including global cities and global business sites. The linking of airports by airline routes creates an international infrastructure (Kesselring, 2009) of hubs and corridors, which hold a significant role of the emerging network-based empire (Urry, 2009). An enquiry into the stratification of aeromobilities would also be an exploration of the elements, by which aeromobilities are controlled, ordered and included into this network. All in all airspace seems quite an interesting site for critical research. It can in fact, by the case of airport space, illuminate how a spatial order can stratify aeromobilities. This is what seems far most interesting to me.

#### 1.3 The need for relational space

To accomplish this, two elements are vital. One is dialectical thinking, without which the complexity of processes and relations of airspace, some pointing in different directions, could not be grasped, as that whole I think it is. This thinking inherently link to the other element. This is a dynamic understanding of space, which can grasp relations between stratification, space and aeromobilities. I find these qualities in the relational concept of space, as it is conceptualised by the important theoreticians of space and radical scholars David Harvey (2009; 1996) and Henri Lefebvre (1991). This understanding of space emphasises processes as the constitutive element of space. Space is here not understood as a thing or a container of things. Such understanding would place aeromobilities *in* some separate space, not really able to grasp how space and aeromobilities are influenced by each other. It is exactly this dialectical influence that must be grasped when stratification by space is considered. Space must instead be understood as produced by processes, as Lefebvre shows (1991). Space is what emerges from processes in particular relations. Some of these processes can be the processes of aeromobilities and of stratification. However this argument should not be taken as merely an argument for the methodological strength of relational space to understand aeromobilities. It should rather be read as an ontological argument for the real spatial basis for stratified aeromobilities come into being. This basis is what should be mapped.

#### 1.4 Why mapping matter

The strength of mapping is that it can 'catch' this dynamic and become a tool to analyse how stratification by space, spatial stratification, works. Mapping can by visualising the processes and relations of the production of space, create some relative stability in the rather fluctuant space, which airspace is and become a tool of navigation. Such a mapping-tool facilitates understanding on where to interfere to promote desirable developments if the focus was a planning project. Here the focus is rather a critical enquiry of a production of space. To this mapping is equally useful.

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Mapping holds another strength to dialectical thinking. Mapping inhere something intuitively relational: elements are placed and read in a whole, it can be read from any point and all elements are present simultaneously. Written text on the other hand seems to impose a hierarchy where non is, because of its linear arrangement of elements.

The interesting question them becomes:

How can a production of space, which stratifies aeromobilities of travellers, be mapped, when processes of capitalisation and border control are at focus?

This question formulates the problem, which this study aims to grasp conceptually and materially.



# 2 Getting started

The overall aim of this thesis is to produce a map, which visualises how space is produced by processes of capitalisation and border control in a fashion, which stratify aeromobilities. This requires knowledge production on processes that relates to capitalisation and border control and how they relate. Mapping is the methodology to accomplish this. It is a way to perform a spatial enquiry as well as to represent the production of spaces. Such methodology however inhere a complex of concepts, theories and methods. Together they constitute what I call a *conceptual apparatus*. This is what the written part of the thesis addresses, so the assumptions which the map tend to hide, are laid out in the open.

#### 2.1 Elements of the conceptual apparatus

This conceptual apparatus must address several conceptual elements. The main elements are: 'mapping', 'space produced of processes', 'spatial stratification', 'capitalisation as process', 'border control as process', and 'aeromobilities'. They are related and are in themselves complexities of different elements (Figure 2). Take 'aeromobilities' for instance. Cwerner (2009, 4) have warned us of its complexity: '...the analysis of aeromobilities must account for the complex interdependencies between different mobilities, networks, systems, institutions, risks, cultures and territories.' If one, as the scope of this thesis implies, attach 'space produced of processes' and 'spatial stratification' to this understanding of aeromobility the complexity appears to expand. In certain ways it does since the possible range of relevant elements expands. But

I find that including these concepts also facilitate understanding. Orientation in the complex of aeromobility is facilitated by a particular perspective on aeromobility. This perspective can become *stratification of aeromobilities by space*. But more importantly the inclusion of 'productions of space' in the apparatus enables understanding the complex of different conceptual elements as related and as a whole. Or better as an ensemble of elements. This also includes the processes of capitalisation and border control. This ensemble brings together elements from political economic thinking when structures or capital are emphasised (Harvey, 2006b; Lefebvre, 1991), phenomenological thinking when experience is emphasised (Allan, 2006) and post-modernist thinking on aeromobility, with ist emphasises of becoming, modulation, differences and cultural approaches(Adey 2009, Fuller, 2003; Salter, 2008b; Sheller and Urry, 2006). This is not to bring the 'post-disciplinary' approach emphasised by aeromobilities research (Cwerner, 2009) out of bounds. It is exactly to acknowledging that quite different elements are necessary to capture the complexity.

#### 2.2 The gravity of the conceptual apparatus

It is however necessary to add some centre of gravity to such ensample, by which coherence can be achieved. Here are two conceptual elements vital, as I mentioned above. This is dialectical and materialist thinking, with its emphasis on relations, processes, change and contradictions (Harvey, 1996). And it is the dynamic notion of space. These merge in a relational notion of space as expressed by David Harvey (1996; 2009) and Henri Lefebvre (1991). Such notion enables understanding mapping as *relational mapping*, an understanding, which will be the gravity of the ensemble and can serve as a guideline throughout this text.

Main conceptual frame

Relations of concepts



FIGURE 2: Conceptual apparatus. Main conceptual frames & relations of concepts.

SPHERES OF CO-EVOLUTION	Reproduction and daily life Relation to nature	organisational forms Production and labour processes Social relations	Institutional and administrative organisation Technology and			Ambient power	Motility	Movement	AEROMOBILITIES		DIALECTICS
				SPACE AS CONCRETE ABSTRACTION	Permanences	Body	Mobility as capital				
MAPPING A REPRESEN OF SPACE	MAPPING AS SPATIAL ENQUIRY		COGREDIENCE OF PROCESSES				EASE OF MOBILITY	MOBILITY AS STRATA			
TATION	Mapping as RELA	Dimensions of space	OF PROCESSES	SPACE					L	Boarding card Passport	Visa Dick Eithoring
Сол	PING	SPATIAL STRATIFICATION	HOMOGENISATION strata HIERARCHISATION FRAGMENTATION function of space				FORMS		CAPI		BISK PRODUCTION
NTRADICTIONS	PROCESSES						S OF Exchange value AL Value	Use value	TALISATION	CHANGE	RELATIONS

# 3 Relational mapping

Attaching *relational* to mapping is primarily done to relate the understanding of mapping to a particular view on space. That is space as relational and produced. But mapping in itself should be conceived as relational. Such understanding requires some preliminary considerations on maps and mapping. This will not be a throughout discussion of the ontology of maps, but merely a way of setting the theoretical frame of mapping and relating it to space. In this regard mapping is to be understood as method of spatial enquiry and a method of representing space.

#### 3.1 Mapping - knowledge production with a stand

'Mapping is epistemological but also deeply ontological – it is both a way of thinking about the world, offering a framework for knowledge, and a set of assertions about the world itself.'

(Kitchin et al., 2009, 1)

"The discursive activity of 'mapping space' is a fundamental prerequisite to the structuring of any kind of knowledge. All talk about "situatedness," "location" and "positionality" is meaningless without a mapping of the space in which those situations, locations, and positions occur. And this is equally true no matter whether the space being mapped is metaphorical or real [...] Mapping is a discursive activity that incorporates power. The power to map the world in one way or another is a crucial tool in political struggles."

#### (Harvey, 1996, 111)

Mapping is about knowledge production. 'Mapping space' is as argued by Harvey necessary to it. That is whether or not mapping is discussed as cognitive practice,

as Harvey seems to do, or a material product is intended as in this case. Maps are, as Crampton argues '... incredibly useful ways of organizing and producing knowledge about the world.' (2010, 17). Mapping should be understood as spatial enquiry.

But mapping is not objective knowledge production. It is discursive and inherently political. Maps '...incorporate unexamined assumptions which act as limits which deserve to be challenged.' (Ibid.) Mapping is a way of representing space in a particular way. Alternative views of space could be left out or a reduced version of space could be represented. This is a risk with a discursive practice. But the powerladen and discursive character of mapping should not lead to abandonment of mapping. After all knowledge production in general, share similar characteristics. It is quite impossible to imagine any research without discursive aspects and hence some interest or political character intended or not. The problems of research lie not with it having particular stands. From a critical and radical scientific stand I would argue that it ought to have one. The potential risks of research and mapping lie elsewhere. This has to do with the coherency of the theoretical and methodological apparatus along with the transparency of methodology and of course with conscious exclusion of divergent knowledge. A particular stand must be stated clearly though. In this regard mapping faces a particular problem. Being '... compelling visual images with rhetorical power' (Kitchin et al., 2009, 2) and cartography usually conceived as truthfully as possible representing the world as it is (Ibid.), maps become strong visual statements which appear objective. This is as argued not true and any claiming that it was, is not scientific ethical. This problem is sought managed with an abstract graphic style of the map, which does not imitate real materiality (Figure 1).

Perhaps this could remind the map-reader of the maps subjective dimension and its relational character. A map relates to the mapmaker by the belief systems, discourses and practise, which guide the mapmaking. But the map also relates to the map-reader, when his or her theoretical apparatus is used to interpret the map. One

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could argue that the map then relates to two different theoretical apparatuses and what is important here is the relational and processual character of maps. The map becomes a map in the process of making it as well as in the process of interpreting it. It follows that one should actually rather talk about mappings than maps in order to emphasise the processual character of maps. This will not be done completely in this text though, alone because the term 'map' is widely used in literature and references to such would become rather awkward. Still it should be recalled that maps are actually outcomes of processes and processual in themselves.

#### 3.2 Mapping as representation of space?

However the relation between mapping and space, is not explained yet. When mapping is relational and a discursive practice, which expresses power, is maps merely ideological constructs, which transform their subject into ideology, as Wood & Fels (2008) argues? How can mapping be actual representation of space? A look on different understandings of maps is useful: 'Maps are graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world.' (Harley & Woodward, 1987, xvi)

This broad understanding of maps is important. Mapping is then much more than (airport)city maps or topological maps of (airline) routes. Still important characteristic elements are emphasised: The facilitation of spatial thinking and the representational aspect. The latter must not be conceived in a naïve manner. That would be an unfortunate positivist mode of cartographic thinking with its understanding of objective and value free knowledge concerning capital-R Reality (Kitchin et al., 2009), which would fail to capture the discursive-power aspect of mapping.



With Herb et al. (2009, 334) it is possible to make some steps toward combining the discursive and the representational aspects of mapping. They write:

'Mapmaking requires authors to specify points and areas, and to give some indication of the course of a line. While this invariably reduces the complexity of human and physical world, it offers the chance to see fundamental spatial relationships.'

Following such understanding, mapping is certainly discursive, but it inhere also the possibility of representing at least how elements are ordered spatially. However, without a clear understanding, and a relational one, of space this understanding of mapmaking does not in itself deliver an argument for the usability of mapping. Harvey (1996, 4) could therefore be quite right when he, without dismissing mapping, poses a problem of mapping:

'...that mapping requires a map and that maps are typically totalizing, usually twodimensional, Cartesian, and very undialectical devices with which it is possible to propound any mixture of extraordinary insights and monstrous lies.'

This problem of mapping however is more related to the understanding of space than it is to the usability of mapping in general. Maps are as already argued relational in character by relating mapmaker, map-reader and their respective conceptual apparatuses. But there is a great difference in mapping with a Cartesian notion of space, as a container of 'things' and the processes of the 'human and physical world' (Harvey, 2006a) and mapping with a notion of space as produced of social processes, as conceptualised in Lefebvre's theory of 'the Production of Space' (1991) and Harvey's 'Relational Theory of Space' (1996, 2009). Using either of the concepts of space will impose particular orientations in the mapping. Mapping with a Cartesian approach will investigate and represent space as consisting of things or territories with exact borders. For example like a topographical mapping or a political world map. Mapping with a relational approach to space and mapping will emphasise quite different 'things' in enquiries into space and representations of it. It is time to illuminate such approach.

# 4 Mapping and relational space

Mapping must be able to deliver some 'truth' of space in order to be interesting as enquiry as well as representation of spatial stratification of aeromobilities. Even though mapping is a discursive practise, which causes some kind of filter in the knowledge production, it must enable knowledge about more than the assumptions of the map itself. Otherwise mapping would stay with the ideological world and the world of concrete material conditions would not be grasped. It follows that space produced of processes must be concrete and objective in some sense. How this can be can be grasped by turning to Harvey:

'If space and time are both social and objective, then it follows that social processes (often conflictual) define their objectification. How, then, can these processes be studied? In the first instance, objectification of space and time must be understood, not by appeal to the world of thoughts, ideas and beliefs (though study of these is always rewarding) but from the study of material processes of social reproduction.' (1996, 231)

It is the same material processes that objectify space and makes it concrete, which should be the focus for spatial enquiry. This does not mean that mental conceptions or discourses are not important, but it is with the material processes it is possible to find a departure point as well as a material grounding for spatial stratification of aeromobilities. Here it is the processes of, and related to, capitalisation and border control which are of interest to mapping.

This approach inhere an epistemological problem. Can a mapping, which is directed by certain views, represent actual space? The answer must be yes and no: It depends on how space is conceived. Space should be understood as *spaces*. That is an important assumption in a relational conceptualisation of space(s). If space were conceived as an all-inclusive space the answer would be 'no': the mapping would be a reduction of complexity, which would leave out too much to be useable. Though the reduction is not avoided (and I shall later on argue why it should not) the understanding of spaces as diverse makes particular views on the spatial production possible. But even when space is conceived diverse it can also be conceived as having common ground. These two aspects of space could be captured in the notions 'diversity of space' and 'cogredience of space'. I shall argue that it is the 'common ground' approach, which is interesting when mapping the produced space and related spatial stratification of aeromobilities. But this cannot be understood without understanding how space is also diverse. It seems reasonable to start with this. Two relevant ways of illuminate the diversity of space is possible. One is by considering the relation between the produced space, the body of a traveller and aeromobility. The other is by addressing space as inhering multiple dimensions.

#### 4.1 Diversity of space - space, body and aeromobilities

Lefebvre (1991, 171) offers an interesting point of departure, when he states: Bodies - deployments of energy - produce space and produce themselves, along with their motions, according to the laws of space.' Space becomes very dynamic in this understanding and very diverse, since every travelling body will produce different spaces. But something is also influencing the bodies in space, or more accurately the spatial bodies: 'the laws of space'. Spatial bodies, in their materiality, must be understood in relation to the space in which they move, and hereby in relation to '…the determinants of that space...' (Lefebvre, 1991, 195). The moving body internalises the external influences of space and co-produces space in turn. Such dialectical view on space-body relations is found similar with Harvey (1996, 2000). With his concretisation of the

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influences on the body the relations between space, body and aeromobility becomes

more easily established. He writes:

"The body is not monadic, nor does it float freely in some ether of culture, discourses and representations, however important these may be in materializations of the body. The study of the body has to be grounded in an understanding of real spatio-temporal relations between material practices, representations, imaginaries, institutions, social relations, and the prevailing structures of political-economic power."

(Harvey, 2000, 130)

The travelling body is not something that just is. One is not simply *being* a passenger, a risky passenger, or a business passenger. It is something one *becomes by relating* to the real processes of a space production. It is the complex in which bodies are producing themselves. But it is also in which different aeromobilities are produced.

Aeromobilities are as already argued a complexity constituted of different elements as also space and the body. Aeromobility, that specific form of mobility related to airtravel, airports and airspace (Cwerner, 2009), is not caught with the 'motion' of Lefebvre's statement above. Mobilities are outcomes of movement as well as the capacity to be mobile (Adey, 2010). The latter is in Kaufmann's conceptualisation 'motility' and this implies '...not only a propensity for mobility in terms of intensity, but also a propensity to realise certain forms of mobility instead of others... '(Kaufmann, 2002, 44). There are three important implications of this. One is that mobilities cannot be understood without including movement and motility. That is why the term aeromobilities is used here. The second implication is that a conceptual understanding of the relation space-body-aeromobility can be reached. It is bodies of travellers who moves and at the same time produce spaces along their propensity for certain mobilities. And the spatial determinants will influence their propensities. This will on the one hand produce a multitude of aeromobilities depending on a particular traveller and this particular combination of the spatial dimensions. On the other hand something common between aeromobilities must exist by virtue of the spatial determinants and the spatial order. The third implication is that spatial power becomes an inherent part of relation space-body-aeromobility.

Exploring the aspects of power and 'common ground' of space has to wait a little. First it is useful to consider the dimensions of space in relation to which productions of space and aeromobilities occur.

#### 4.2 Diversity by spatial dimensions

Understanding the dimensions of space is important in two ways, besides being a step toward grasping how mapping can be done from certain perspective and still represents actual space. Understanding dimensions of space makes it possible to acknowledge what to enquire and map in order to comprehend what space in fact is. And it makes it possible to understand, in spatial terms, how mapping is part of the production of space.

The dimensions of space are an important part of the 'Relational theory of space'. Here Harvey (2009) creates a 3x3 matrix (Figure 3) by combining the three dimensions 'experienced space', 'conceived space', and 'lived space' offered by Lefebvre, with his own dimensions of 'absolute space', 'relative space', and 'relational space'. This spatial matrix is constituted of distinct but interrelated dimensions and offers a framework for spatial analysis. By investigating different elements and processes due to their spatial dimensions it becomes possible, in a quite dynamic fashion, to

understand productions of space in their complexity and diversity. What the more practical implications are to mapping can be shown through the 'stratification mapping' (Figure 1). This will not be an in-depth comprehensive analysis of the mapping but merely a few examples to illustrate this mode





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of thinking.

4.2.1 Space and time as absolute and relative

The locations of the check-in counters or the security checks are certainly experienced control while moving and adhering to the experienced and absolute dimension of space. So does movement in itself as a particular route through the material airport (Figure 1.3). These are important aspects of the produced space exactly because they are experienced by the traveller and impact the travelling. It is also to this spatial dimension that seating adheres, as this is the particular location of seats, pointed out by Adey (2007) to actually be modes of controlling mobilities in the airport. By their direction seats face certain 'spectacles' and certain behavior is incited, such as consuming. A quote by the Copenhagen Airport director of the Terminal Product illustrates this point:

"There is of course a relation between the number of seats you made publically available, and that in the restaurants. This is obvious. It is not defined as such, not the exact relation between them, that it is not. But of course, if one wants to take a seat somewhere, then it could easily be that you go to buy yourself a cup of coffee." (Frølund, 2009, my translation)

In that way elements of the experienced-absolute space influence actual behavior and wants of travellers, something, which adheres to the lived-relational dimension of space.

But mapping this does certainly not represent the produced space: Only one dimension of it. Here mapping faces a problem. By locating routes of movement through various kinds of control as the stratification map does, it actually represents space quite static and independent of the time dimension. In the reality of moving through airspace time plays a great part. Peters (2009) shows how time of boarding or loading a plane relates to times of arrival and departure and how this is strictly sought coordinated. And according to Fuller & Harley (2004, 39): 'Distance is a temporal

rather than a spatial issue'. Interestingly the map of Copenhagen Airport (Cph, 2012a) emphasises time by drawing intervals of minutes as lines. Eventhough with such an approach to time one might map where the various modes of control was experienced and when due to the time-intervals, it would actually misrepresents time, because it appears absolute. This is not the case. Neither in the sense that it is uniform, since time of travel in airspace is diverse and differentiated (Adey, 2004; Urry, 2009). Nor in the sense of time being absolute in that it exists independently. Time and space are inherently interrelated and should accurately be regarded as space-time. That is what the dimension of 'relative space' implies. This could be the view of Fuller & Harley. But operating with a relational understanding of space implies that space and time '...fuse into spacetime' (Harvey, 2009), since external influences of space are internalized through time in the moving body, which produces a spacetime. In this conceptualisation it makes no sense to emphasise time over space or space over time.

#### 4.2.2 Mapping relative space

However this does not mean that relative space-time is not important. Those travellers who are addressed by airport police when arriving at the gates of Copenhagen Airport (Frølund, 2008) will experience quite a different travel time, than myself, not even seeing a single officer. In fact we will produce different space-times in relative space. This addresses the relative-experienced dimension of space. Mapping such a relation could result in a series of different maps of relative space-times. Some could map the experienced-relative dimensions of space by focusing on differences in travel time. Others might focus on lived-relative dimensions by mapping the emotions associated with travel times.

Interesting as it is to spatially stratified aeromobilities, it is not the focus here. Even though these effects of space-time become part of the production of spaces. Still relative space is quite relevant. The differences imposed on aeromobilities by access to visa (Figure 1.1) or the effects of control in practice, can be considered ways

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of putting friction on travel. That be by categories, as it is the case with visa country categories (Ministry of Justice, 2011) and hence the easiness by which one gets visa and access to Schiphol Airport, Copenhagen Airport or the State of Denmark. Or by police practice addressing certain travellers, as it is the case with the mentioned police control at the gates of arrival (Figure 1.3). In both examples the relative dimension of space is quite important and they imply spatial hierarchisation of some sort.

#### 4.2.3 Relationality of space-time

Relative space-time is however not enough to comprehend what really takes place in the production of space. It is only possible to understand such hierarchisation or different friction on travelling by investigating how the categories or practices, which produce this relativity, relate to other processes. By this the dimension of 'relational space' becomes a necessity to mapping. This is the dimension of spacetimes, which are produced by the relatedness of processes (Figure 1.3). It is for instance how processes of hierarchisation relate to passport control, profiling, inclusion, risk filtering or risk production. Or how they relate to business relations, mobilities of labour or capitalisation.

The relational spatial dimension relates, as relative and absolute dimensions do, to 'lived space'. It follows that the production of space, and the mapping of it, cannot be understood without considering the thoughts, feelings, emotions, propensities or motives of the travelling bodies. These can obviously be quite different. The unease, I felt hasting through Schiphol trying to find the check-in counter, would perhaps not be felt by a more experienced traveller. And when I felt a little ashamed that I forgot to empty my bottle at security, one can only begin to image what an asylum seeker-to-be would feel. Or what the emotions are at those travellers who face additional security checks. This could either be them getting a 'SSSS' code marked on their tickets on flights to US airports and apparently end up on the 'selectee list' in US 'Terrorist Screening Database' (FBI, 2012). That could be WikiLeaks volunteer

Jacob Appelbaum (Appelbaum, 2011) or Sein Fein President Gerry Adams (Adams, 2007). Or it could be those travellers, who were denied self-service check-in due to ethnic profiling by Scandinavian Airlines (SAS) on their flight respectively to England (Complaint Committee, 2008) and to London (Complaint Committee, 2007). These different circumstances of aeromobilities will lead to different produced spaces. That there may be something in common also, will be elaborated subsequently.

#### 4.2.4 Mapping and conceived space

Spatial production can neither be understood without considering the dimension of 'conceived space'. The implication of this is that concepts of space or control, discourses on risk, pictures of airplanes, pictograms and particular words themselves (to mention some) will all play their part. And so will maps. Maps as physical objects adhere to the absolute-experienced dimension. But mappings considered of their representational or discursive aspects adhere to 'conceived space'. Some mapping, as the already mentioned map of Copenhagen Airport, relate to the absolute-experiences dimension by representing space as absolute and perceivable alone. This could seduce one to forget the difference imposed on travel times. Other maps, as it the case with the mapping here, tries to bring relative and relational dimensions into the map. This is possible to a certain extend. But since mapping must be part of the production of space, the actually produced space cannot be mapped. A few examples can illustrate the point. Mappings will influence and involve map-readers and thus bring their reactions to the map, their conceptual apparatus or behavior into the actual spatial production. Or the range of methods and techniques offered by mapping will influence mapmakers view on and understanding of the space. Operating with highly quantifiable data as GISmapping does facilitates a quite different view on space, than working with figurative mapping does. The mapping will, to a certain extend, transform the spacetime, which is sought mapped. The diversity of spacetime is thus linked to the process of mapping.

It could appear as the dynamic interplay between mapping, mapmaker, map-

reader and produced space would render mapping useless, since the mapping exercise would be a historical relic or artifact within a climps of time due to the moment having passed, the production of space having moved on. But this is not so.. Dialectic enquiries will always inhere a dynamic relation between the researcher and the subject of research, each internalising something from each other (Harvey, 1996). This simply seems to be a conditionality upon research. That is why representation of space must not be understood in a naïve manner as discussed above. What mapping can do is creating something relative fixed, a materialisation of discourse, grounded in material and concrete space, by which the complexity of space can be understood. How this can be cannot be answered without addressing 'cogredience of space'.

However where does this leave mapping space production from a particular point of view? Because productions of space are multifaceted and diverse, mapping inhere the possibility of a particular view, as specific combinations of the dimensions of space. Mapping is not the reduction of an all-inclusive space as one could fear it was. But this is as much one can conclude from considering diversity of spaces alone. And it does really not perform a strong argument for the usability of mapping. Multiple spaces are still produced in relation to the processes of capitalisation and border control in focus. That is the multiple spaces produced by different bodies travelling airspace. Mapping all these or the sum of these - what could be called 'space of spaces' - seems an impossible task. It would certainly demand some reduction into categories of bodyspaces. From the point of view of spatial stratification these different spaces are certainly interesting to map.

Here is the focus different though. It lies on what makes the stratification occur. Hence what is common rather than different in the production of multiple spaces. This approach implies understanding how spaces can be 'cogredient'.

#### 4.3 Mapping 'cogredience of space'

An enquiry into the complex of spaces with the aim of finding common ground, must necessary imply some sort of reduction. But it is reduction in a particular manner. In the words of Harvey (1996, 58) it is:

"...to try to identify a restricted number of very general underlying processes which simultaneously unify and differentiate the phenomena we see in the world around us. [...] In this sense, dialectics does seek a path towards a certain kind of ontological security, or reductionism – not a reductionism to "things" but to an understanding of common generative processes and relations."

By the enquiry and representation of such it becomes possible to understand how multiple and different processes are producing a coherent ensemble by their relation to these general processes. In short how a coherent and multifaceted space is produced by unification. That is 'cogredience' of processes to use a term integral to Harvey's Relational Theory of space, but coined by A.N. Whitehead (Harvey, 1996).

With this 'cogredience of processes' in mind it is possible to answer 'yes' to the question 'Can a mapping which is directed by a certain optic actually represent space?'.

'If there is "cogredience" between processes then there must be "cogredience" ... between the different spatiotemporalities and cartographies produced. On the one hand, the radically different cartographies have to be respected since they have a real foundation in highly differentiated socio-ecological processes, but on the other it is erroneous to regard them as totally disconnected. Spatiality, however constructed, simultaneously unifies and separates. Working out what the connections (the "cogrediences") are, is crucial politically (it grounds any sense of militant particularism, for example) as it is to social-scientific and literature theory.'

(Harvey, 1996, 285)

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The particular relational ensemble occurring around these general processes is a produced space, which can be mapped. It is not an ensemble of spaces in the understanding of 'space of spaces', but rather the *space connecting them*. To be specific: this does not mean that the diverse spaces are not important. The space of connection, of 'cogredience', could be mapped along diverse specific spaces. In fact the stratification mapping (Figure 1) does include aspects of that produced along my travelling. Simply due to the epistemology of knowledge production on space, as I shall return to, it is difficult not to include specific spaces in some way. But the root of spatial stratification lies with the production of cogredient space, with its simultaneously unification and differentiation. That is why the 'reductions' of the complex of related processes to the general processes of 'capitalisation' and 'risk production by border control' are so central to the stratification mapping (figure 1).

The focus on general processes and reduction inhere some significant ontological and epistemological understandings, which must be clarified since they guide the spatial enquiry so vital to mapping.



# 5 Spatial enquiry

The central question to the spatial enquiry is how the produced airspace can be grasped. Any answer to such question will inhere some ontological and epistemological assumptions. These assumptions are of a general nature and are equally relevant to the two general processes that are central to the production of space: 'capitalisation' and 'risk production by border control'. Consideration of the latter can illuminate the inherent assumptions and clear the way for more detailed considerations on methodology. Or put more precisely consideration of 'risk production' in relation to 'border control' can.

#### 5.1 Relational 'things' of airspace

Border control is quite perceivable (and it does adhere to the experienced-material dimension of space) but it should not be considered a 'thing' in the absolute sense. For one border control is actually quite multifaceted as it consist of different elements such as checks, documents, and other events, exchanges etc occurring at multiple locations. It could with Balibars (1993) notion 'ubiquity of borders' be argued that border control is 'wherever selective control' is performed. But neither a particular element of border control should be understood as an absolute 'thing'. Border control as well as the elements of border control, should rather be understood as concrete and quite stable outcomes of a particular ensemble of processes. This is an implication of thinking dialectically. In this thinking every element is related to other elements and they internalise something from each other. And every element always consists of

more elements.

Such relative stabile and relational elements is a 'permanence' using a concept (coined by Whitehead) important to the Relational Theory of Space (Harvey, 1996). The processes and elements of border control are *permanences* constituted from processes of agents performing control, processes of legislation related to different documents (passport, visa, ticket, boarding card or permits of residence), technical means, discourses, or the physical divisions in the airports, to mention some (Figure 1.3). But what relates and unifies these different processes is a general and underlying process of 'risk production'. This general process facilitates the production of a control space. That is why 'risk production' holds centrality over border control in the mapping and it is in this understanding that the elements of the stratification mapping should be read (Figure 1).

Similar arguments could be made for the process of capitalisation, which facilitates cogredience of processes. Processes such as the efficiency of flow, experienced ease of flow, the feeling of ease and the production of consumers, just to mention the main processes.

#### 5.2 A dialectic-materialist enquiry

This ontological understanding has some epistemological and methodological implications. Neither 'risk production', 'border control' or 'capitalisation' - per se - can be perceived or empirically investigated. Only the permanences of these can. But without understanding their relations they cannot be understood. That is really what the interrelatedness of the spatial dimensions implies, by insisting that neither materiality, experience, abstractions, nor emotions can account for spacetime alone.

The methodological implication is that empirical investigation must be accompanied by abstraction to perform a spatial enquiry.
A methodology to grasp such space can, in general terms, be found with Marx, as interpreted by Harvey (2008, 30):

"...historical materialist enquiry has to begin with a moment of descent: you start with the surface appearance, dive deep down beneath the fetishism to uncover a theoretical conceptual apparatus that can capture the underlying motion of social processes. That theoretical apparatus is then brought step-by-step back to the surface to interpret the dynamics of daily life in new ways."

The distinction between the surface appearance, which can empirically be investigated and the underlying motion of social processes, which only can be abstracted, implies, when space is enquired, an understanding of space as something simultaneously very concrete and very abstract. This understanding can be expressed with Lefebvre (1991) with the reference to space as a 'concrete abstraction'. Space is abstract as it exists due to its relations, its cogredience of processes and it becomes concrete as it is experienced. And it can be experienced because it inheres a material dimension.

Related to mapping the general methodology can enable a conceptual distinction of three methodical aspects. Two concerning spatial enquiry and one concerning representation of space. The latter concerns the usage of such representation of space, when the mapping is used to interpret the dynamics of aeromobilities. The former two aspects concern the 'uncovering of the theoretical conceptual apparatus'. Where one is concerned with the different elements of the spatial production (the permances), the other is concerned with the relatedness of these (the cogrediences). In practice the different methodical aspects are performed along each other.



Understanding permanences as well as cogrediences of airspace implies that different permanences (or 'events' as Whitehead call such below) must be compared in order to find something common with them. Whitehead (2004, 144) can be of help here:

'Events are only comparable because they body forth permanences. We are comparing objects in events whenever we can say. "There it is again." Objects are the elements in nature which can be again'

His focus is of course different from discussing airspace, as he discusses the nature of nature, but with his statement it is possible to close in on understanding of the permanences of airspace. Here the common 'objects' must be understood as *that aspect* of the general process internalised in the permanence. It is this aspect of 'sameness', which is necessary to comparing and understanding permanences (Whitehead, 2004) alone and as related.

## 5.3 The conceptual apparatus in effect

Actually a further *necessary* function of the theoretical apparatus should be added to the description of the general methodology. When the theoretical apparatus, with its inherent concepts, directs our view to particular surface appearances and to certain guesses of coherences it inheres a risk: That certain knowledge is excluded. That is exclusion in triple sense, which follows from the abstraction that conceptualisation implies: From the fact that abstraction inheres violence by reducing complexity or hiding differences (Lefebvre, 1991). When preliminary concepts are necessary to perform spatial enquiry, certain tendencies are inherent when perceiving airspace. This tendency is related to the particular view in mapping space (on 'capitalisation' and 'risk production' as discussed above) and to the notions used. Or put more precisely: the particular combination of notions (Figure 2). This is when the notions of aeromobilities is inspired from 'the new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006) conceived as a strata (Baumann, 1999) and related to the understanding of the airports as sites of mobility control and filtering (Adey, 2008; Fuller, 2003; Lyon, 2008). And when aeromobility is understood as related to notions of 'risk' and 'filtering' associated with borders control (Balibar, 1993; Gammentoft-Hansen, 2006 and to the notion of spatial stratification (Lefebvre, 1980). It is when capital is understood as an inherent aspect of the social world, which produces it own space (Harvey, 2006b) and thus influence control and spatial stratification of aeromobilities. Not to forget the understandings of space and mapping. The inherent tendencies of these understandings could certainly exclude alternative knowledge. The same could happen when concepts are used to grasp what was perceived. And concepts are in themselves abstractions, which stem from processes of investigation where knowledge is also excludes. Spatial enquiry will inhere parallel processes of inclusion and exclusion of knowledge (Sibley, 1995).

Nevertheless conceptualisation and abstraction are necessary to grasp airspace as already argued and in general:

"The formation of concepts and the construction of theories have always been vital aspects of human activity. It is through such practices that we grasp who, what, where and (sometimes) why we are in the world. Theories provide cognitive maps for finding our way in a complex and changeable environment. The cognitive map may not be stable or even coherent."

(Harvey, 1989, 2)

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It appears that it is impossible to understand knowledge production without understanding empirical investigation, conceptualisation and presentation of knowledge as related. Also because the very empirical investigation of a spatial production will intervene in this spatial production and as such alter the object of enquiry (to some extend). The strength of a historical-geographical-materialist methodology is precisely its insistence on the material grounding as well as the importance of abstractions to knowledge production, and that it emphasises the 'triumvirate of space-time-process' as a ontological unity (Harvey, 2006b, xix). The methods of the spatial enquiry must take their departure in this general methodology of historical-geographical-materialist research in combination with the actual circumstances of airspace. And these circumstances cause the performance of field observations in airports to face a particular set of difficulties.

### 5.4 Field observation in airspace

Airspace is not public space though it may appear so. Airports are highly controlled and often privatised spaces. Privatisation of airports and aviation is a wordwide phenomena (Salter, 2008a), though the organisations of airports are different (Urry, 2009). Schiphol Airport and Copenhagen Airport as well as Scandinavian Airlines are owned and operated by private companies, respectively the Schiphol Group, Copenhagen Airports A/S, and the SAS Group. The companies are all owned by shareholders, of which, national governments hold large shares. (Cph, 2012; SAS, 2012; Schiphol, 2012). They are as important sites of entry and carriers of persons met with security regulation imposed by State and Schengen legislation. This could be regulation on passport, visa or carrier sanctions. It is in relation to this mix of control and private as well as public ownership the general methodology of spatial enquiry must find its concrete forms of empirical and abstracted research. And this seems to limit accessability of independent research.

The following discussion on the limits to research departures from my experiences of conducting field studies in Copenhagen Airport. Whether or not it is representational for general conditions is hard to tell. The field of aeromobilities and airports studies are generally associated with some difficulty. But either way such understanding of the field is part of my conceptual apparatus and has influenced my approach. Here are two (related) facets interesting to consider. They are the 'access to conduction field observation' and the other is 'the influence of conceived airspace on methods'

#### 5.4.1 Access to field observation

The field studies I have conducted, which are relevant to the present study are conducted in Copenhagen Airport on four occasions: In the fall of 2008, winter of 2009, in the spring of 2010 and finally in the present thesis period in winter 2011. The experiences with the former three have certainly influences my approach to the latter field observation. During this period there have been restrictions imposed in terms of access to the terminals of Copenhagen Airport. Perhaps more precisely the change happened between the latter two occasions.

In 2008 it was possible, escorted by two police officers I interviewed, to access landside and airside areas of the airport as well as backstage areas such as the police station and offices and corridors. Furthermore I was shown how fictive objects were made visible on the screens watched by security staff at the security check, in order to keep staff alert. In 2009 my application to conduct field observation in transit areas was rejected. The reason was that no staff member could escort me and that was required due to security legislation. In 2010 it was rejected because of a more restrictive reason: Now only persons with an official reason were allowed to enter transit (Appendix 1). Apparently this did not apply to me. Luckily it does to passengers. However at both occasions I was permitted to conduct a study landside in terminal 3 – in a particular area and on particular dates and time intervals (Appendix 2). To be honest, I was surprised that permission was necessary.

The correspondence with the airport officials deserves a short notice. It strictly regards the permissions to conduct field observations. In the two occasions I have had contact with the airport and airport police to get interviews, it has been quite uncomplicated. I will not account in detail for the process of reaching the right authority, which could grant the permission. But I was informed of different procedures and different persons to contact, both at different airport department and at airport police - and some more than once. This indicates at best a lack of knowledge on procedure and at worst an unwillingness to include outside researchers. All in all it demonstrates that the airport certainly does not count as public space.

#### 5.4.2 Access as passenger and researcher

Here in 2011 applying for access to field observation was not considered an option. Instead I decided to take a journey and 'become' a passenger, the only legal reason to stay I could imagine. The method used to conduct empirical research could be considered some sort of participant research, by travelling, observing, and recording in the journey from Schiphol Airport Amsterdam to Copenhagen Airport. Such approach enabled what Adey (2009, 203) describes as '...performing the practice of the airport journey – where one can experience the stresses and strains of being processed. To get into the flow could mean practising a form of self-reflecting flânerie...'. The body-experience as a passenger is interesting methodically because the body internalises aspects of spaces: 'Its spatial properties and determinants are contained within it.' (Lefebvre, 1991, 199). And with reflection and abstraction it becomes possible to grasp the space that was experienced as well as digging out the constituting and general processes. The method implies that the researcher is both a passenger as well as a travelling researcher.

#### 5.4.3 Conceived airspace and methods

This double role relate to the other important aspect of field observation in airports. That is how observation in practice is influenced by the way airport space is conceived. As my fellow traveller pointed out in the bus towards Schiphol Airport and field observation, *it felt as we where on our way to do something criminal*. Since I in practice seemed unable to ignore this conceived-lived dimension of airspace, it actually led me to drop my intention of filming while moving. I feared having too much focus on this 'feeling criminal' instead of on what should be observed. And I feared to get caught and have my recordings deleted.

That airport security staff is aware of filming is something I have experienced

while shooting photos doing field observation in the landside areas of Copenhagen Airport in 2010. Then I was addressed by security personal and questioned about my actions and intentions. As I had a permit to conduct such observation, I lost no material. But obviously I have heard stories of passengers ordered to delete their shots. Admittedly I actually do not know how widespread such practice is and if it is restricted to certain occasions as during the UN Climate Change Conference in 2009 (Appendix 3) or to particular areas such as security (Appendix 2). Though the interest in me photographing could indicate that it is not. The point is that the field observation is approached with certain ways of conceiving space: A way, which in effect, has narrowed the possibilities of research in a very concrete manner.

Filming or photographing would have been a great help in remembering the journey and making it possible to 'return' to it several times over when watching the shots again. This has been an important method in my former field studies of Copenhagen Airport landside. It facilitated both new insights and cleared up misunderstandings or 'false' mental conceptions. Certainly this relates to how airspace becomes conceived and especially the latter could indeed be interesting to investigate.

Instead different methods were used in different parts of the journey. The field observation was originally planned only to take place in Copenhagen Airport, due to the slight change of focus in this thesis compared to previous studies. The field notes taken in Schiphol and on the aeroplane were more a precaution. Field notes from Schiphol were taken when seated in the aeroplane, since following the flow left no time to break. The notes of the plane-part of the journey were taken on spot relaxed and seated. In Copenhagen Airport the method was walking with my fellow traveller, recording our talk about where we were in the airport and what immediately was perceived, felt and observed. Furthermore notes were taken and some sketches were drawn after leaving the airport. Some notes were taken days after, when remembering some detail of the journey. These empirical findings are mapped and have been necessary to add a lived space dimension to the map, as short stories or anecdotes on the travel.

#### 5.4.4 Passenger and/or researcher?

An additional methodical aspect must be considered. This relates to the double role as passenger/travelling researcher. It seemed that how I conceived airspace even influenced the manner of my movement in the airport. During the field observation I caught myself watching the surveillance cameras and considering where to stand and move in order not to behave suspiciously. This indicates the problem of being a passenger when in fact being a travelling researcher performing passenger as well. The problem lies in the uncertainty of how different my journey is to other journeys because of how I conceived space due to my double role.

One way to manage this problem could be by comparing the experiences of my journey to other journey experiences. Though collected journey experiences ordered by categories of passenger types could be relevant, is it not something I have done. Only to the extent that we in fact were two persons experiencing the journey: My fellow traveller and I. This choice is done mostly because of time and due to my focus here, which in practice sets mapmaking over empirical research (to the extent such differentiation is possible). Instead I have sought to triangulate observations from my travel through literature, former field observation, and interviews on general aspects of airspace, these are flow management and border control. However while acknowledging that difference in experiences can influence the results of the research, the focus on the general processes and the cogredience of spaces and my attempt of triangulation all in all makes this lack less problematic.

# 5.5 The power of airspace ambience

However one could claim that having the fear of being suspicious-looking is not limited to the field researcher, but indicate a more general paranoia feature of aeromobility; something Fuller (2003, 16) seems to indicate when she writes:

'The airport constitutes a space where a series of contractual declarations (I am Australian, I have nothing to declare, I packed these bags myself) accumulate into a password where I am free to deterritorialise on a literal level — I take flight, but not without a 'cost'. I have been scanned, checked and made to feel guilty.'

The only reasonable explanation on changing of my practice of field observation seems to be that it did not seem to fit the practice of travelling. Somehow it felt wrong.

This feeling could very well be the outcome of my habitus, conceptual apparatus and the ambience of airports and airspace as experienced. However ambience of the airport should not be considered for its effect on individuals alone. Rather its more general character should be considered. Ambience should be considered a power as John Allan (2006) learns us. That is a power, which works through seduction and partial inclusion by creating certain feeling or atmosphere of a particular setting and manifest itself in the experience of the space.

"There is a certain quality about such settings, or qualities, which show themselves in such a way as both to encourage and to inhibit how we move around, use and act within them."

(Allan, 2006, 445)

That is why we can be 'made to feel guilty', limit our behavior, and most likely why I, after few minutes of waiting, suddenly found myself looking at men's wear I really had little interest in. Ambient power affects how space is actually lived by elements of experienced and conceived space are working together. This could be the airport's floor materials, lightning, smells, sounds, stories, spectacles, signs or surveillance cameras, which all fuse into a certain atmosphere of airport space. An atmosphere where for example accepting quite severe control seems natural and where passengers are seduced to consume. Ambient power should certainly be considered a spatial power. Since such power is foremost felt, it takes a passenger to experience it and a researcher to grasp it. Ambient power delivers yet another argument of using the passenger/ travelling researcher method.

This is of course only one form of spatial power influencing how space is produced and aeromobilities stratified. In order to grasp other forms the spatial enquiry must create some order in the rather complex production of airspace. Some categories for mapping is quite helpful here.



# 6 Categories for mapping

Until now space production has been considered of its relevance -its necessity- to understanding and mapping phenomena and their relations. It has been argued that 'things' in fact are permanences of space, constituted from particular and stabile relations of processes. And furthermore that permanences must be understood not in themselves but in their relations to other permanences. Such understanding can be reached by investigating general processes, due to which, permanences and spaces are united and separated. This in turn will facilitate understanding how spaces are cogredient and share common ground. Something, which is necessary when trying to understand how spaces, that are produced, can stratify aeromobilities.

However no way has really been offered to deal with the multitude of dialectically related processes, which all, in some way, are relevant to the production of space and the topic attempted to understand. This actually reflects a general epistemological problem of dialectic enquiry: It is very hard to separate relevant processes from irrelevant, since all, in principle, are relevant. Even the preliminary enclosure set by the focus on stratification of aeromobilities, as discussed above, is not enough. What is needed is on the one hand some conceptual categories to take as a point of departure when seeking to understand the complex, as they are useful in creating an order of the enquiry by offering means of relevance. On the other hand some way to enclose the complexity must be found. The latter must be accomplished with a practical approach to enclosure, asking oneself what is needed in order to understand or communicate properly, and stop with this. After all, the body does not internalise 'everything in the universe', but mainly what is relevant due to its spatial relations (Harvey, 1996, 53). Though difficultly found, there are some flexible boundaries of productions of space. The order of the enquiry however can be achieved through the theory of 'co-evolution' and a conceptualisation of spatial stratification, both inhering useful categories.

# 6.1 Co-evolutionary spheres of airspace

The theory of 'co-evolution' inhere some 'spheres' in relation to which stratification can occur. Again Harvey builds on something learned from Marx, in this case a particular footnote from Marx (Harvey, 2008). It is a theory developed to grasp the evolution of capitalism by emphasising seven distinct, but related, 'activity spheres' in relation to which change occurs and capitalism has evolved (Harvey, 2010). Nevertheless these spheres are equally important when investigating a production of space or for that matter planning a production of space (to the extent this is possible given the diversity of space). In both cases the spheres offer some kind of categories to understand and map from, though they are not mapped.

As distinct categories they work mainly to guide the view looking for important processes and permanences of airspace. But as related they enable understanding which processes have produced the permanences and how such processes become cogredient. The influences are not equal from all spheres and admittedly not all have been considered for every process or permanence of the mapping, the influence of some does at times seem rather constructed. Nevertheless they are important categories to grasp how space is produced.

#### 6.1.1 Considering the spheres of risk production

Consider 'EASE' for example (Figure 1). Ease of travel –or better of aeromobility holds quite a centrality to the production of airspace, and hence to the mapping. It can serve as an example since it inhere elements from all seven spheres. Ease is foremost felt or experienced while being mobile. It is thus associated with how people actually perform, address and experience aeromobility. This makes it related to the *sphere of reproduction and daily life*. But not all mobilities hold the same grade of ease. There is a difference of ease between the business class and economy class. The former with their security fast tracks, lounges and status of first-in/first-out of the aeroplane, when they are invited to boarder first 'or at their convenience' (if I got the wording correct of the call at boarding in Schiphol). The latter with the normal procedures followed in the economic-class flow, having to wait to their turn in line.

In other cases it is rather 'unease' such as the mentioned traveller faced with ethnic profiling. As such also the *sphere of social relations* are important. Profiling is a control-technique, which works by collecting data in order to ascribe possible behavior to bodies for example to preempt risk (Adey, 2004). This certainly relates the 'ease' of travelling to the *sphere of technology and organisational forms* whether or not the traveller is aware of the profiling. As in the case of the ethnic profiling the passenger was confronted with airline personnel, both in terms of the actual person questioning him and with the superior giving orders by the phone (Complaint committee, 2008). This certainly involves the organisation of that airline by their chain of command. But it also addresses the *sphere of institutional and administrative organisation*, both regarding the intern order of authority in SAS and regarding the legal role the airline gets with the legislation on carrier sanctions as discussed above. By this the institutional frame of Schengen becomes relevant.

A further interesting example on the relation of spheres is found with the profiling done through the use of airline ticket databases to filter the passengers, travelling on false documents (Frølund, 2008). Airport police in Copenhagen Airport can perform such profiling (or customs as was the case in 2008), with their state sanctioned authority adhering to the *sphere of institutional and administrative organisation*. But when they acted on the profiles and addressed passengers in the gates of arrival, it was not clear on the face of it if they were indeed performing criminal control, as

the police stated, or they in fact were performing border control - even when this was performed in the Schengen areas of the airport (Figure 1.2). One could argue that their practice in fact produced a 'dislocated' border, to borrow a term from Balibar (2004). This example as well as the understanding of 'risk' and the process of profiling itself, makes the *sphere of mental conceptions* quite relevant to the ease of travel. So does the travellers own expectations and ideas of airline flight. One could guess that the mentioned traveller who filed a complaint on ethnic discrimination by SAS had quite different ideas of what travel should be.

However 'ease' is also related to the *sphere of production and labour processes*, in several ways in fact. One way is by the greater ease with which visa is granted if the purpose of stay is business visit. Here the normal risk assessment does not apply (Ministry of Justice, 2011). Visa relates to the *sphere of institutional and administrative organisation*, but it is due to its importance to economy and production business visa makes most sense.

The relation of ease to these spheres is also found in another ways, which also include the *sphere of mental conceptions*. By the various means of mobility control related to state power (Figure 1), such as 'visa', 'passports' and 'permits of residence' and the different associated practices of control, different grades of mobility are imposed on (would-be) travellers. This is determined by criteria of conceived risk, as it is shown with visa on the stratification mapping, and of conceived attachment to territories and nation-states (Ministry of Justice, 2011). And with the latter an 'imagined communities' between people who really not know each other, which the idea of 'nation' implies (Anderson, 2001). It also produces such attachment – temporary in the case of visa and some permits of residence. What this creates is some 'risk filters' (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2006), which can filter the wanted from the unwanted. If considered in terms of stratification the relation to the *sphere of production and labour processes* is quite important. Capital needs labour supply at different levels and it needs that labour power can be

mobile to fill the need when occuring (Harvey, 2006b). The filters can manage such needs by controlling mobilities. By the filters it is possible to include labour migrant partially. That is inclusion of one aspect of the migrant: as labour power. And it is partial inclusion because of the temporary character of the allowed stay and because of the 'risk' attached to it. That latter is what Balibar (2004, 15) argues:

"There is indeed no question of *suppressing the flows of migrants* towards Europe. These flows are absolutely needed, to reproduce the old "capitalist reserve army" in a period when a significant part of the "national" labor force is still (although less and less effectively) protected by social rights and regulations which have been partly "constitutionalized". But this means that the new proletarians (in the original sense adopted by Marx: workers without a social "status" or "recognition") must be transformed into subjects and objects of fear, *experiencing fear* of being rejected and eliminated, and *inspiring fear* to the "stable" populations.'

#### (Original emphasis)

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It is by inflicting fear or risk those labourers can be conceived as not really belonging to the territories they enter and be excluded or included as wished. This is what the term 'reserve labour army' implies. Eventhough not all travellers are labour migrants and not all labour migrants travel with aeroplane, the controlling of such mobilities come to control aeromobilities more generally and influence the experiences of ease or unease. The processes of visa, passport or permits of residence are means that effect aeromobilities in general, though to a different extent. When policies becomes inseparable from security policy, dealing with fears, risk or 'essential threats', rather than merely policy issues concerning on mobilities, it enables the use of using methods beyond what is normally accepted, an implication of security policy Wæver (2012) points out. And anyway it certainly is part of the production of airspace and its spatial stratification.

#### 6.1.2 Considering the spheres of capitalisation

Yet another implication is the relation existing between the felt ease, 'way finding'

and consumption in airports, hence between the spheres of *reproduction and daily life* and *production*. Airports can by facilitating passenger orientation, or 'way finding, by reducing the level of stress among passengers and by lifting the level of ease create an environment for consuming. That is emphasised by an architect designing Terminal 3 in Copenhagen Airport (Smith, 2003), the architect of Cph Masterplanning division (Frølund, 2010) and expressed by design principle for Woodhead International (Holm, 2004) when he lists the elements to address in order to add retail value to airports: 'Above all, the passenger's comfort and amenity is primary, especially to alleviate anxiety, increase comfort, and maximize the propensity to spend.' (Holm, 2004, 13) The design and ambience of the airport is relating ease and consumption.

Also the *sphere of technology and organisational forms* become relevant. This is for example shown when Holm (Ibid) weighs artificial light, at over 1000 lux, over natural light in order to make retail stand out in the terminals - or to seduce to consumption by spectacle of shops to use the terms of Allan (2006) and Adey (2007). However natural lightning is important to the general feeling of ease in the airport (Holm, 2004), something I certainly experienced walking from the artificial light of the shopping areas in Copenhagen Airport to the transfer centre naturally lit through big windows in the ceiling. The ease of travel in the airport must also be understood in relation to the seventh sphere, this is in its *relation to nature*.

Copenhagen Airports, however does not own the retail shops. So why is this particular effort in airport planning and management put into inciting consumption? An answer can be found when relating the *sphere of production and labour processes* and the *sphere of institutional and administrative organisation*. Copenhagen Airports owns the built environment and can rent parcels of space to retailers and hereby receive an income: 543,1 million Danish kroner in 2010 to be exact (Cph, 2010). This could not happen without the economic relations adhering to the *sphere of production* or the right of private ownership adhering to the *sphere of institutional and administrative organisation*.

as it is sustained by the state (Harvey, 2006b). In fact the ease of travelling becomes related to capitalisation: The airport gains, by investing in a consumption friendly environment, a commodity – the consuming passenger- to offer retailers from which the airport receives an income. This is quite literally money set in motion to create more money and what defines capital (Ibid.) whether or not a profit is actually made. Built environment becomes a capital in this regard (fixed capital) (Harvey, 2006b) and so does the passenger (commodity capital).

Ease of travelling is also related to capital, and the implicit spheres, by the use of passenger experiences of travels, though in a more indirect manner than the relation above. And it inhere a relation to the *sphere of technology and organisational forms*. Airports are ranked by the international review site Skytrax according to passenger experiences. Schiphol was in 2011 ranked as the 6th best airport in the world, and Copenhagen the 10th (Skytrax, 2012). This ranking can be used to attract investors and airlines and the additional income. That is what is expressed when Copenhagen Airports in its annual report writes: 'Our plan is simple. Satisfied passengers make the airport the most attractive partner to the airline companies...' (Cph, 2008, 10, *my translation*). Again money put into satisfies passengers, becomes means to produce a profit. The experience of ease by the traveller should then be considered a capital to the airport.

It could very well be in this light some of the experiences associated with unease, should be understood. Unease appear to be bad for economy. Security is the part of the travel associated with greatest unease and the airport is trying to manage such experience, as he architect from Copenhagen Airports master planning division stated in an interview:

"...we have had quite a lot of attention to optimising the process and have become quite good at putting people fast through. And also attention related to culture, how the staff should, I even think, how one should address passengers.

(Frølund, 2009, my translation)

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The airport obviously has little interest in their passengers/costumers/consumers/ capitals experiencing unease.

#### 6.1.3 Intermezzo – hidden control and risk

In this regard it is interesting to observe that security has some hidden character to it. In Schiphol the security check is performed enclosed by walls, a passport control in Copenhagen is placed around a corner from flow. And separate lines in passport control makes it hard to know what really happens, as when a Danish couple first observed a woman with a scarf facing longer check (Appendix 5) and afterward being uncertain of what they in fact saw. And surveillance cameras are well designed and appear almost part of the interior decoration. The hidden character is also found when the travellers experiencing additional are taken to other locations (Appelbaum, 2011). In any case the effects will be that the unease experienced are not shared by a lot of other passengers experiencing it indirectly. This could be an important point. Bauman (1994) argues that exactly the 'making invisible' of victims inhere the risk that morally conflicts are made irrelevant. The victims of control are moved beyond the boundary where protest seems appropriate and moral judgement is meaningful. This is quite problematic if, as Urry (2009, 31) argues:

"...airspaces teach people through contemporary "morality plays" the appropriate categories by which to navigate the conflicts and dilemmas of the contemporary word. These categories include business-class male, terrorist, Third-Worlder, suspect Arab, Westerner, budget traveller, female service worker, illegal migrant and so on."

This could very well make the attachment of 'threat' and 'risk' to some categories of travellers, as Balibar (2004) point out, reach beyond airspace. And it would indeed be a way risk was produced in airspace. However to state something certain of this requires further enquiry. Still it certainly indicates that ease and security cannot be understood from a single sphere alone.

#### 6.1.4 Considering airports/airlines capital interests

Leaving the discussion of ease a further comment on the usability of thinking in spheres is interesting. By considering the activity spheres in their dialectical tension it can be argued that a splitting of the interests in flow of passenger on the one hand and the interest in having passenger stay in order to consume, which Adey (2007) ascribe to respectively airlines and airports, are in fact too simple. The airport has as shown interest in both. But airlines are indeed interested in efficient flows. They are, as Adey (Ibid.) argues, interested in passengers arriving at time and avoiding delays, as delays mean loss of money (Peters, 2009). Here *technology and organisational forms* are of great importance something, which is shown by Peters (Ibid.). However the efficiency of flows also relate to capitalisation, and hence to the *sphere of production* (Figure 1.3).

To airlines aeroplanes must be considered fixed capital since they express some value, which is used as a mean to gain a profit. By effecting processes of flow in the airport these fixed capitals can produce greater value by being as much in the air as possible. They can achieve better 'turnover-time of capital' (Harvey, 2006b). Security might be considered a necessity, but like it has unwanted effect on passenger experiences, it must also be considered an obstacle to the flow and hence to capital.

The airport's interest with efficient flows, when considering capital and airlines, must lie with the airport being attractive to airlines and with the possibility of housing more airline routes. The airport can with certain technical means enhance efficiency of processing passengers. These means includes broadening areal for movement, having high ceilings, signposting (Frølund, 2009) as well as the usage of glass, transparency and sequence (Fuller, 2008). And a mean is what Cph-director of the terminal product calls the 'check-in product'. Something Copenhagen Airports has put much effort into learning passengers to use (Frølund, 2009). The fast passenger flow created, should be understood as a commodity offered by the Airport to the Airlines. The Cph-director expresses this relation when stated: 'We are selling it to the airlines, you know. We offer it to the passengers, of course, but via the airlines' (Frølund 2009, *my translation*). When such passenger flows become quantified into minutes and different mobilities becomes a matter of numbers of passengers per minute, then the mobilities can become a commodity. Because this quantified mobility is satisfying a want of a given number of passengers at a particular time, it becomes use-value to both the airlines and the airport. With this quantification it becomes possible to attach an exchange value to it. This makes selling possible. This is selling to airlines as well as to retailers as respectively a 'passengerflow-commodity' and a 'consumer capital'. This quantification is precisely a feature of capitalist space (Lefebvre, 2009). And it affects the ease of movement by framing it in a particular fashion. It make the *sphere of daily life* in the airport relate to *the sphere of production*.

Summing up: Thinking along the seven activity spheres emphasise that elements must be considered from different angels and deliver these angels. They deliver the categories, which can create some order in an enquiry of a quite complex space. This enables understanding, *which processes* produce the important 'permanences' of the space and *how* these processes relate and become spaces of cogredience.

But they cannot account of how spatial stratification occurs, even when it is related to the different spheres. This requires understanding spatial stratification as constituted of the processes of homogenisation-fragmentation-hierarchisation.

# 6.2 Spatial stratification

Spatial stratification is first of all a process of spatial power. It is at one and the same time an expression of and a function of spatial power. Spatial stratification expresses social differences and conflicts of interest as they are inscribed in space, '...it is only *in* space that such conflicts come effectively into play, and in so doing they become contradictions *of* space.' (Lefebvre, 1991, 365, *original emphasis*).

As a function of spatial power, spatial stratification is actually processes, which

stratifies spaces due to some order of power. The processes of spatial stratification constitute a particular mode of space production. So that '...space produced by the current relations of production, reproduction, and domination, [this space] falls under the schema of "homogeneity-fragmentation-hierarchization".' (Lefebvre, 1980, 212). This is the space Lefebvre (1991) terms 'abstract space'. Spatial stratification occurs by these processes of fragmentation, homogenisation and hierarchisation - in relation.

#### 6.2.1 Mapping homogenisation-fragmentation-hierarchisation

Considering the stratification mapping (Figure 1.3) can illuminate how these processes work. Spatial stratification implies that some hierarchy is imposed on the production of space. This is for example when businesses staying in Denmark are more easily accessed than other purposes of stays, because of visa policies. That is what processes of hierarchisation do.

However this cannot happen without some criteria or strata being imposed on the production of space. Visa policies are operated by such criteria. Homogenisation is the process that makes this happen. Or more precisely put, homogenising processes inhere certain strata. They reduce different spaces or permanences of space to these certain strata. This could be strata of 'EASE' or 'UNEASE' of travelling, the 'USEVALUE TO FIRMS' or 'PURPOSE OF STAY' when applying for a 'VISA FOR BUSINESS' travel. These are strata related to the general stratum 'AEROMOBILITY OF LABOUR POWER.

Homogenisation is a way of imposing certain value to diverse spaces of aeromobilities and making hierarchisation possible. It is in this regard space can be abstract and concrete at the same time, '...abstract inasmuch as it has no existence save by virtue of the exchange-ability of its component parts, and concrete inasmuch as it is socially real as such localized.' (Lefebvre, 1991, 341). 'Exchange-ability' should be considered in two ways, which are interesting here. One being that it is the process of homogenisations which facilitates the recognisability of (air)spaces (Lefebvre,

1980) – 'exchangeable' as they share something common - much like the 'sameness' emphasised by Whitehead when he addresses how permanences can be compared, as discussed above.

Furthermore the 'sameness' of spaces brought forward by the process of homogenisation also promotes 'exchange-ability' in the other fashion. If viewed in relation to capitalisation it is this function of space that enables imposing value and exchange-value to space. It brings that necessary 'equivalent' (Harvey, 2006b) to spaces that make comparison and exchange possible. This however is not possible without certain hierarchy existing, giving some more value than other, or without some kind of individual and distinct character of spaces (and inhering an use-value) so they can be used as objects-or commodities- to exchange. The distinctness of spaces is achieved through the processes of fragmentation.

The processes of fragmentation separate space into spaces associated with particular dominating function. Space must have some kind of identity in order to be hierarchised as well as stratified, since strata cannot come into play, without being inscribed into actual space production. This is what the processes of fragmentation does. However this cannot be without homogenisation imposing a particular sameness to such spaces. But it is the processes of fragmentation, which are facilitating functional localisation of space (Lefebvre, 1980). Processes of fragmentation are for example 'profiling', 'document control', and 'presence of personnel'. It is by such processes space can be produced as a 'border space' (Figure 1.3). However this cannot be without the processes of homogenisation imposing the strata of 'TEMPORAL ATTACHMENT TO TERRITORY' influencing the visa checked. Or without how 'FORM OF PAYMENT', 'TIME OF TICKET BOOKING' or 'PLACE OF TICKET BOOKING' in fact are strata, which influence profiling of passengers (Frølund, 2008).

To take another example: fragmentation is producing spaces where 'flow' is the dominant function when processes of 'transfer orientation', 'signposting' and 'checkin' are accompanied by strata of 'RECOGNISABILITY', 'TIME', and 'EFFICIENCY OF BOARDING'. It is for instance interesting that when my fellow traveller and I were preoccupied talking about and observing on our way through the shopping and baggage areas, we paid little attention to the signposting, and missed the right corridor. Twice. It seems as signposting co-produces flow in the airport.

# 6.3 Importance of the categories to mapping

Where homogenisation is concerned with imposing sameness by strata to the production of space, fragmentation is concerned with the functional separation of space, and hierarchisation is concerned with the arrangement of (aeromobility)spaces or elements of space in a hierarchy. They are all necessary spatial elements, since without the fragmentation and sameness imposed by these, permanences and cogrediences of space would not be produced and without hierarchisation, stratification would not be. It is after all by the influence of hierarchisation that certain strata rather than others come to dominate. The processes of homogenisation, fragmentation, and hierarchisation must be kept in their dialectical tension, since it exactly is by *their dialectical relation they become spatial stratification*.

The mapping of a production of space, which stratifies aeromobilities has to grasp the way processes relate to both the seven activity spheres of co-evolution and the schema of homogenisation-fragmentation-hierarchisation which enables spatial stratification. The schema as well as the spheres offers necessary conceptual categories when the empirical founds of the airspace journey are abstracted. This is necessary in order to understand such founds, since the 'things' ('permanences') which, can be perceived, are in fact constituted of different processes in a particular combination (their 'cogredience'). The spheres can help clarify which are the important permanences and processes of airspace by offering categories to think through. And they can clarify how permanences are produced by offering a conceptual frame to understand how processes flow together and become cogredient. A cogredience, which is necessary if permanences shall be produced. The schema facilitates the understanding of how such permanences and cogrediences are stratifying, by clarifying the stratifying aspects of these. It is by these conceptual categories it is possible to grasp the general processes to which, spatial stratification occurs.



# Concluding + some departure

It is now possible to answer the question, which started this journey:

How can a production of space, which stratifies aeromobilities of travellers, be mapped, when processes of capitalisation and border control are at focus?

The answer has become possible by combining the thinking of relational space, offered by the 'relational theory of space' and the theory of 'production of space' with an understanding of spatial stratification highly inspired by Lefebvre as well as with an understanding of aeromobilities inspired from the 'new mobilities paradigm'. With these theoretical elements has become possible to produce as set of guidelines, which expresses the conceptual apparatus, which is, and ought to be, guiding the mapmaking. The main elements of the apparatus are: *relational mapping as spatial enquiry and representation; space produced of processes; spatial stratification as homogenisation-fragmentation-bierarchisation; capitalisation as processes of values in circulation; risk production by border control;* and *spatial stratification of travellers aeromobilities.* The conceptual apparatus inhere inspiration from different scientific traditions but is linked together by the dialectic thinking of historical-geographical-materialism, which is inherently the 'relational theory of space'. This flow trough the different guidelines and though they are different guidelines, they should rather be comprehended as related and overlapping than distinct and separated.

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# 7.1 Guidelines for a relational mapping

A relational mapping of a production of space, which stratifies aeromobilities must:

- Emphasise mapping as a method of spatial enquiry and of spatial visualisation
- Emphasise processes as focus of mapping (rather than merely objects, location and territory). Since space is produced of social processes, the process part of mapping (the spatial enquiry) must comprehend the constitutive processes and the product part (the visual map) must represent them.
- Emphasise dynamic notion of space and consider and represent the influences of all dimensions of space. This implies absolute as well as relative and relational dimensions. And it implies the perceived, conceived and lived dimensions of space. Furthermore emphasise a notion of space, which acknowledges the dialectical relation between body and space, where the bodies of travellers are at once inscribed into a pre-existing space and are producing their own space by internalising the determinants of space. Such notions enables understanding space productions as diverse and multi dimensional.
- Emphasise that mapping can represent space, by visualisation, as well as coproduce space by its discursive aspects as a conceived spatial dimension. And that mapping thus inhere assumptions and frame knowledge.
- Emphasise and represent processes in their particular relations ('cogredience') since this produce particular spaces and relative stable 'things' ('permanences'), which constitute the perceivable elements of airport space.
- ☐ In the spatial enquiry part of mapping, emphasise how processes and 'permanences' relate to different spheres in relation to which stratification occurs. They are: the sphere of technology and organisational forms; the sphere

of institutional and administrative organisation; the sphere of production and labour processes; the sphere of social relations; the sphere of reproduction and daily life; the sphere of mental conceptions; the relation to nature. This enables understanding, *which processes* produce the important 'permanences' and *how* these processes relate ('cogredience'). By this it becomes possible to understand how present, and dominant, spaces are being produced and reproduced, which is necessary to understand the different processes of spatial stratification.

- Represent the unity in the space production, by considering the 'cogredience' between spaces. This can be achieved by focusing on general processes, which simultaneously unify and separate space, as their effects will be different due to the diversity of spaces, but common to all. It is with these general processes strata can be found and it is necessary to grasp spatial stratification.
- Represent how spatial stratification is constituted by the dialectical tension of the processes of homogenisation, fragmentation and hierarchisation. The processes are necessary spatial elements, since without the functional separation imposed by fragmentation and sameness imposed by homogenisation, permanences and cogrediences of space would not be produced. And hierarchisation enables that particular strata come to dominate.

## 7.2 Reflections on what is done

The mapping has been possible because of the spatial enquiries (which are to be considered part of the mapping process) conducted both during the present thesis period and in former project periods. Without these the difficultly accessed field of airspace would be far too unknown a territory to me to map. The enquiries and the time span of these (3 years and 5 project periods) has enabled consideration and

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reconsideration on *empirical findings* and made possible *the needed abstraction* to grasp what is perceived - the surface phenomena of absolute airspace. It has made it possible to be both *in and out of the flow* as Adey (2009) points out to be necessary: Both taken the role of an observer and a passenger. In the present period it has been the double role a passenger/travelling researcher, which has been the method to conduct the field observation.

However it should be noted that additional passenger stories conducted as interviews ordered by some kind of passenger-categories, would certainly have supplemented the enquiry. The above mentioned passenger categories (offered by Urry) could be a point to begin. Or as short interviews conducted on spot in the airport, following from observation of particular control of passengers. Though the methodology of spatial enquiry by mapping, as it is performed here, certainly has grounded the mapmaking, the inclusion of actual passenger experiences of spatial stratification, would had strengthened the abstraction of empirical findings into the general stratifying processes of homogenisation-fragmentation-hierarchisation.

It should however be noted that the aim of this thesis has not been a mapping of the different stratified aeromobilities, but mapping the processes, which makes such stratification occur. But also in this regard something could have expanded the empirical enquiry: The journey I took could have been accompanied by others both following the same route and adding perspectives along different routes.

## 7.3 ... and related to aeromobilities research

Leaving such concerns aside, the method of passenger/travelling researcher seems useful. And useful when it is acknowledged that space and the body are influencing each other in the production of space, where the internalised elements of space in the body expressing spatial stratification. Then the experiences of space and the (self) reflection on these, are important to understanding. This is implied by the passenger/ travelling researcher method.

This method enables uniting perceivable aspects of experienced space with the necessary abstractions. It is by abstraction it becomes possible to dive beneath the surface appearance of airspace and consider the constitutive and general processes, which are grounding production of aeromobility spaces. And in this regard is considering capitalisation and risk production vital. It brings a needed political economic and a historical-geographical-materialist thinking into aeromobility/airport research. This is a aeromobility/airport research (Adey, 2009; 2008; 2007; 2004; Fuller, 2008; 2003; Salter, 2008; Urry 2009), which seems to pay too much attention the effects or *(near) perceivable processes* of space productions on account of the general processes. Important as knowledge of (near) surface phenomena is, it is not enough. These can only really be graphed by their relations to the general processes, to which different aeromobilities are united and stratified. This could be why Adey (2007) comes to simplify the interest of airports by claiming that it is on immobility of passengers so they will consume. In order to make critical, or better, radical research knowledge on is needed. Only then can the forefront-character of airspace be understood properly and change become possible.

# 7.4 Taking the method to 'corridors'

Furthermore the passenger/travelling researcher method enables understanding control as inherent the entire journey in airspace, and not limited by the absolute space of the airport. This I believe is a necessary approach, which, with its inspiration from migration research, could tribute to the development of aeromobilities/airport research. It makes possible considering space - airspace or aeromobilities space – as produced by aeromobilities in their relations to a dominant spatial order. This

enables conceiving space produced as a complex of different and stratified 'corridors'. Corridors which are equally actual and different space productions and which are inhering a particular 'logic' (Lassen, 2009) or set of spatial determinant to use the vocabulary of Lefebvre (1991). This would be an obvious and interesting step forward of this analytical journey, set out by the present enquiry of *how* spatial stratification works – or what makes corridors - to mapping different produced corridors. It could indeed be interesting to enquire the corridors produced in the spectrum of travellers between 'the reserve labour' migrant to the high class business traveller.

These stratified corridors could be mapped accordingly to *ease of aeromobility*. This seems to be the strata, which could unite many of the stratifying elements. It unites experiences of comfort, of stress, and of obstacles to the free flow of a passenger. 'Ease' seems to play a great role in airspace. This is both in the sense of the level of ease - ranging from the experiences of unease felt by some passenger to the case felt by 'elite travellers'. And 'ease' seems to play a great role when passengers are becoming capital to the airport - In the ranking of airports and attraction of investment, by inciting consumption and making passengers into commodity capital and by producing efficient flows and hence strengthening the turnovertime of the aeroplane-capitals. It is with this space inequalities of freedom to be mobile rise and where passengers simultaneously are reduced after certain strata to fit the dominant order.

# 7.5 The utility of mapping

The stratification map made here is useful when corridors are considered. The map visualises, by the intersection of lines and coloured squares (representing influence of fragmentation and homogenisation of space) and contour lines (representing hierarchisation) (Figure 1.3), concrete and abstract hubs were corridors are stratified so to speak. From this further mapping can be done.

Though the guidelines of relational mapping are intended to map the production of airspace, which stratifies aeromobilities, they have a more general character. For one thing it is because mentioning all the elements the mapping should include, seems pointless. They can be read on the map. Still they must be able to address the relevant processes, which are producing space. The main processes being: The risk filters, the risk categories, the capital forms of labour power aeromobility, commodity and experience as well as the turnovertime of capital. Furthermore the processes of stratification generalised into fragmentation-hierarchisation-homogenisation must be addressed (Figure 1.3). But also the way space, which actually is relational, somehow is reduced so only relative or absolute space seems to matter (Figure 1.1 and 1.2) must be part of the guidelines framing of knowledge.

But the generality of the guidelines also has another reason. It makes them possibly to be ascribed to mapping spatial stratification more generally. Something I believe they can. If not for the influence airspace has on other spaces, then for the generality of the processes producing stratification. The mapping of the productions of such stratifying spaces (airspace or others) can become a navigating tool in the complex space of processes. Such map can visualise hidden relations and deliver departure points for changing the present dominant order, in this regard the power of mapping can become a counter power. It is here critical research become really interesting and becomes radical. This of course requires that the map is taken into use...



# Endnote

<sup>1</sup>When I discuss aeromobilities it could rightfully be argued that I most of the time actually discuss aeromotilities. Urban sociologist Vincent Kaufmann (2002) invented the concept 'motility' in order to unite 'social mobility' and 'spatial mobility' and to emphasise the *potential to be mobile and tendencies to particular mobilities*. And it is really that potential and that tendency I address when investigating how space can stratify aeromobilities. Nevertheless I will continue using the term 'aero*mobilities*'. 'Mobilities' inhere the motility aspect, if used accordingly to 'the new motilities paradigm' as expressed by Sheller and Urry (2006). Furthermore when mobilities are conceived as inherently related to the production of space, the separation of social and geographical mobilities are not really meaningful, though perhaps in some abstract use. And the potential to be mobile inherent space and the actual mobilities will influence each other.







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## Appendix 1 Email correspondence with the Copenhagen Airport

(The corresondence has been anonymised, due to no agreement on publication has not been

attempted)

15. March 2010

Hej Xxxx

Jeg fik i efteråret tilladelse til at lave et felt-studie i terminal 3 landside, som en del af mit universitetsprojekt om designet af terminalen og håndtering/styring af passagerer. Jeg har imidlertid brug for igen at kunne observere i terminal 3.

Sidste gang ville jeg ikke gå op på området over ankomst, da det er afmærket som kun for passagerer. Det har dog vist sig at det ville være godt for mit projekt, at have denne sidste del af flowet gennem terminal 3 med.

Jeg ansøger derfor om tilladelse til at kunne fotografere, tegne skitser og tage notater i Terminal 3 landside, samt på platformen over ankomstområdet og hen til security-området.

Jeg vil gerne kunne foretage denne observation fredag den 26. marts 2010 eller alternativt mandag den 29. I tidsrummet 10-18.

Jeg håber at det er i orden at jeg kontakter dig direkte i denne sammenhæng.

Med venlig hilsen

Morten Frølund

16. March 2010

Kære Morten

Jeg husker godt, at du var på besøg. Men jeg kan desværre ikke hjælpe dig. Der er komme nye regler per 15 marts 2010, som siger, at man kun kan komme ind i transitområdet, hvis de er tjenstligt – og jeg har desværre ikke mulighed for at få dit besøg ind under denne kategori.

Med venlig hilsen

Xxxx VIP- & kundeservice Københavns Lufthavne A/S



(My setting of font)

(The corresondence has been anonymised, due to no agreement on publication has not been attempted)

#### Photo/filming permission for Copenhagen Airport

#### Foto/film tilladelse til Københavns Lufthavne A/S

Dato: 28. marts 2010

Tidsrum: mellem 10.00 & 18.00

Navn: Morten Frølund

Adresse:

Område: fra Metroen, overgangsbroen til Hilton og Afgangshal T3 op til pigerne på "broen".

Antal personer: Morten

Assistance: Nej

Oplysninger til SEC:

Det er oplyst, at det ligeledes kræver tilladelse fra Metro Selskabet, at filme på deres område.

#### Generelle Bestemmelser

- Du bedes venligst inden optagelsens begyndelse/afslutning henvende sig på Adgangsregistreringen, Terminal 2.
- Det er ikke tilladt at medbringe våben, knive af enhver art eller andre effekter, der må formodes at kunne anvendes til en ulovlig handling mod den civile luftfart.
- Stiller CPH mandskab til rådighed for ledsagelse, opkræves der 600,00 kr. + moms per påbegyndt time per mand. Kræver optagelsen kørsel i CPH bil opkræves der yderligere 400,00 kr. + moms per påbegyndt time.
- Optagelser i eller i mod følgende Toldfilteret,- kræver ekstra godkendelse, hvorfor De bedes kontakte henholdsvis SKAT for at få tilladelsen.
- Der må ikke filmes i eller imod sikkerhedskontrollen.
- De firmaer og personer fra lufthavnen, der eventuelt vil optræde på billederne skal vide det. Fotografen/filmholdet skal have tilladelse fra dem der optræder på billederne. CPH har intet ansvar herfor.

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Optagelsen må under ingen omstændigheder være til gene for lufthavnens daglige drift,

hvilket bl.a. indebærer, at der ikke må opstilles kamera, lys udstyr m.v. i de gangarealer, som passagererne benytter.

- Lufthavnens bagagevogne og/eller håndbagagevogne må ikke benyttes til udstyr eller lignende. Kræver optagelsen, at der indgår vogne til udstyr, skal disse være forsynet med sorte gummihjul.
- Tilladelsen skal medbringes og forevises på forlangende.
- Færden i Københavns Lufthavne A/S er på eget ansvar.
- Alle henvendelser og påbud fra myndighederne i lufthavnen skal efterkommes.
- Hvis trafikale eller andre forhold gør det nødvendigt, vil optagelserne uden varsel kunne afbrydes af CPH. Ligeledes kan CPH stoppe optagelserne, hvis de generelle bestemmelser ikke overholdes.
- Færden i andre områder end aftalt, kræver tilladelse fra undertegnede på telefon 32 31 28 10.
- I weekend- og helligedage kan personalet på lufthavnens adgangs registreringskontor kontaktes på telefon 32 31 23 89.

Med venlig hilsen,

Xxxx VIP- & Kundeservice Københavns Lufthavne A/S

CC: SVO, Adgangsregistreringen, OC



(The corresondence has been anonymised, due to no agreement on publication has not been

attempted)

### Correspondence with the Copenhagen Airport

3. December

Hej XXXX

Efter vores telefonsamtale sender jeg hermed en ansøgning.

Jeg ansøger om tilladelse til kunne udføre et feltstudie Landside i lufthavnens terminal 2 og 3. Dette er en del af et universitetsprojekt, hvor jeg undersøger hvordan design og arkitektur bruges til at håndtere passager-flows i Københavns Lufthavn. Konkret vil jeg gerne have tilladelse til at kunne fotografere, tegne skitser og skrive notater. Jeg vil ikke henvende mig til hverken personale eller passagerer i den forbindelse.

Jeg vil gerne kunne udføre studiet af området mandag den 7. december og tirsdag den 8. december i tidsrummet 10-18.

Håber det er muligt.

Med venlig hilsen

3. December 2009

Kære Morten

Jeg har desværre ikke mulighed for at tilbyde dig mandag den 7. december, da vi har andre optagelser denne dag.

De kan blive den 8. december 2009 – og så er der desværre lukket for fotografering den 9. december 2009 grundet topmødet.

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Vil du ha en tilladelse til den 8. december 2009 ?

Med venlig hilsen

XXXX VIP- & kunderservice Københavns Lufthavne A/S

#### Correspondence with the Schiphol Airport

(The corresondence has been anonymised, due to no agreement on publication has not been attempted)

Amsterdam Airport Schiphol ccc@schiphol.nl to me. 11. January 2012

Dear Mister Frølund,

Thank you for for your interest in Amsterdam Airport Schiphol. Hereby the anwsers to your questions:

- planes arrive and depart not at/from the same gates everytime. If possible gates are mostly at the same area but this is not standard.

- in Schiphol flights to and from Schengen countries depart and arrive in Lounge 1, in Lounge 2 and 3 are travellers to and from non-Schengen countries. Between Lounge 1 and 2 we have a Schengenborder.

- gates B ans C are at Lounge 1 so at these gate flights to and from Schengen countries depart and arrive.

I hope your questions have been anwsered. Otherwise feel free to respond.

Yours sincerely,

AMSTERDAM AIRPORT SCHIPHOL Business Area Aviation

Xxxx

Customer Contact Centre

(My emphasis, Anonymised by me)

2. feb. til mig Hej Morten,

Spændende om du kan bruge det her til noget - fotos er taget af mig i let rystet tilstand (Anna mente ikke det var tilladt så det sku gå stærkt og under påskud af at tjekke sms)..

Anna har skrevet nogle feltnoter på en Norwegian brækpose - jeg prøver at tyde dem her:

Lige efter døråbning fra flyveren i "tarmen" ind mod gate C10-12 stykker stod en Security mand i gul vest (Airport Sec har Anna noteret)

Derefter passerede vi gaten, glasafskærmet fra venteområdet fuld at afventende passagerer, formentlig på vej sydpå.

Fulgte skilte mod arrival og bagage claim

Og så paskontrol - opdelt i EU/EEA & CH Passports til venstre og All Passports til højre Se evt de første to rystede fotos nedenfor.

Vi blev tjekket og Anna observerede at damen med tørklædet (foto-2) så ud til at følges med en mand med EU pas. Hun fremviste et dokument ud over passet og var noget længe om at komme igennem. Manden ventede på hende og til sidst kom hun igennem.

Paskontrol lige omkring det punkt der er markeret på iphone1 fotoet.

Derefter sådan set bare fremad og ikke rigtig nogen adgang til butiksområde før nedgangen til bagage claim - formentlig kunne man godt fortsætte udenom og op mod Gates A og B hvor hele "storcentret" befinder sig.

Men aflevering af evt små vogne til håndbagage, ned af trappen og igennem en af de to sluser - se foto-3. Dør lukker bag én, før næste slusedør foran én åbner. Kameraer i slusen -

Og så har Anna skrevet at vi passerede en ubemandet Told/Skat bod!

Bagage ventetid, pølsevogn og udgang foto-4.

iphone2 viser punktet ude i "vingen" i Terminal 2, op mod DSB og Metro



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Slut!

