PRODUCTION OF STRATIFYING AEROMOBILITY SPACE
BY BORDER CONTROL & CAPITALISATION

1 When I booked my ticket data was stored in the airlines booking lists. This is used to passenger profiling by airport police (Frølund, 2008).

2 Self-service check-in is a mean to produce efficient passenger flows and much effort is put into enhancing the usage of these by passengers.

Self-service check-in is also a technical mean to control passengers and filter risk. That is what happened two passengers, who's attempt to use this were rejected. They were called to additional checks by SAS personnel, because of their 'non-Scandinavian' names. This was judged 'ethnic discrimination' (Complaint Committee, 2008; 2007). These examples could be the 'unwanted dramas of the Airport', to paraphrase Fuller and Harley (2004), as it could effect the experienced atmosphere of the airport and influence passengers beyond those being directly implicated. Passengers experiences of ease is important both to passenger ranking of the airport and to route consumption (Holm, 2004). The self-service check-in hides the most visual stratification, no ones sees my boarding card and still those being 'elite-travellers' knows their place in hierarchy. And only the staff hears the checking of travelling reasons and the Danish language skills of the excluded self-service travellers. The passenger not being that visual was actually an explanation from SAS on the practice of this incident (Complaint Committee, 2008).

3 [no text]

4 At the check-in counter quite different experiences are possible. It was actually almost empty of passengers when we arrived. I felt mostly relieved that we found the counter. But at the same time we were checked for passport, visa if that was a necessary by ticket. If we had fitted the profile of a risk passenger (what that is difficult to tell), or if the airline was not sure, we could be excluded from further travel. Airlines face heavy fines and expenses due to EU visa policy of carrier sanctions, by which airlines are responsible for return of passengers who travel without the needed documents (Frølund, 2008; Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2006). If I on the other hand had been business traveller or holder of a Schiphol Privium Card (Schiphol, 2012b) I would had used another counter and moved easily forward, even if passenger traffic were intense.

5 I felt a bit intimidated by the presence of 4 security personnel when my courier bag (which became and object for control and 'hand baggage' as its dimensions fitted the permitted 55×40×23 cm). And I felt a little ashamed that I forgot to empty my bottle from water as I was expected to. I had clearly an expectation to what this space was about, and the way space was conceived co-produced space as a control space.

If I had been a passenger travelling with a Privium Card to a non-schengen county, I would had the privilege to use a Iris scan, which could have brought me faster through this security check and have less unease experienced. Perhaps (with strong inspiration from Bauman, 1999) even relieved that I belonged to the mobile elite and not being a subject of imposed immobility.

6 After a little too long toilet visit (were even the toilets flush has a timely rhythm) and with the stress following from discovering that there was an hour less to boarding than thought, we were hurrying towards the right gate. The space was most of all of time and flow. Still one shop with KLM merchandise caught my attention, and I remembered briefly that I as a child got a model KLM aeroplane from my farther and felt that maybe I should buy one to my children. Had I not been in an airport I would not had considered this. If I in fact should stroll for an hour in this shopping site, it is quite certain, that I would have bought that aeroplane. That was seduction of space and emotions of lived space working.

7 Boarding was mainly an experience of waiting for further movement. Seating was not possible because of other passengers, and the only amusement was watching aeroplanes moving slowly around. I was quite annoyed when we were called to check before boarding and business travellers (and some other categories of higher ranking travellers) were invited to board first or at their convenience' (if I got the wording correct). That was clearly communicated hierarchy.

8 The smiling welcome and the handshake from SAS personnel when we entered the aeroplane, felt comforting. My journey became much nicer and the ambience of airspace was of ease. This felt attachment to SAS personnel, certainly made the later information about the possibility to consume in the SAS 'cloudshop' more attractive. At the same time the welcoming enables a further check of passengers.

9 Moving to my seat the annoyance returned for a moment, when reading a sign announcing a seat 'booked for convenience' in the business part of the plane. This was the part of the aeroplane, which on the remaining flight was hidden behind a blue curtain (except for some small chink which allowed peeps). Though such blockage seemed rather symbolic and almost comic, it was still very real and established a border, which segregated classes of passengers. A hierarchy was certainly produced.

10 After the pain in my back, which started at departure, was decreasing I started to feel relaxed and as comfortable that the narrow seating allowed. But also a bid bored, so out of a wish for entertainment I read the advertising magazine placed in front of me.

11 Leaving the aeroplane and entering finger B, I quickly observed the signposting, which directed us toward the transit zone. There were neither many passengers nor airport police present. However had my profile fitted that of the risky traveller, airport police could certainly have waited. They relate certain criteria or strata deriving from former experiences or conceived risk both regarding country origin, airport of departure, ticket-information from the airlines booking lists or concrete information. By this profiles is produced with an anticipated 'irregular' behavior from the traveller. By performing control at the gate it becomes possible to confirm the airline carrier. Though the control is conceived as a control of criminal actions (Frølund, 2008), the practise produces a border associated with Danish territory.

12 Coming from finger B with its stone flooring to the shopping areas of transit with its wooden floor, the ambience changed in a much warmer and comfortable manner. Though the location was quite noisy and the movement quite intense, the lightning was pleasant and the odours were seducing. Seducing in a manner that our first impulse was to sit and drink coffee. We did not though. Instead, while waiting, I found my self after a few minutes of waiting, looking at men's wear I really had little interest in. There was something about the space, an atmosphere, which incited consuming - A mixture of seduction and a wish for entertainment perhaps.

13 While waiting for the return of my fellow traveller I noticed the surveillance cameras in the ceiling. Looking well designed and fitting quite well into the architecture I thought. But I also felt rather intimidated. In fact I began to wonder if my standing and the looking at the cameras was suspicious behavior. So a moved a little around and tried not to look.

14 Placed above the café, segregated by glass, the prime class travellers could stay in comfort from noise and movement. They could sit there and watch the life of the airport and be watched by the travellers who looked up. These different spaces were literally placed in a hierarchy of up and down. Where the level of ease of travelling became spectacle to other.

15 Walking through the shopping and baggage areas, preoccupied by talking we paid little attention to the signposting, and missed the right corridor. Twice. It seems as signposting has great importance for how control in the airport. The right passage toward baggage let us to what seemed behind the shops and somewhat a back stairway and when arriving at baggage areas our only wish was to leave it as quickly as possible. It felt cold and unwelcoming. The material architecture of the airport indeed incited flow.

16 Custom was empty when we arrived. It felt somehow out of place that we could just pass, but we were obviously not considered a risk. But some are. Custom are also profiling from airline booking lists. And a small hint of who are at focus for control could be given from some undergraduate sociology student who conducting a two days field observation here. They observed that customs officers mentioned dark skin colour as a way to select passengers to control (Nielsen, 2003: 10). Obviously strong statement on this grounding should be avoided, still the observation is important and not easily got. One only begin to imagine the feeling of unease associated with this kind of selection.

Figure 1: Space produced by processes of capitalisation and risk production

'The social processes that define a hegemonic form of spatio-temporality under conditions of continuous capital accumulation therefore provide one common frame - like that of the Mercator map - within and through which other cartographic perspectives get represented, communicated and contested.'
(Harvey, 1996, 286)

'When capital is held in commodity form it exists as *commodity capital*. But since capital remains capital only as value in motion, it follows that commodity capital must continually be transformed into money capital if it is to retain its character as capital. The speed and efficiency of this transformation is of great importance to the capitalist. The circulation time (the time during which capital assumes the commodity form) affects the turnovertime and thereby the rate of profit'
(Harvey, 2006b, 71)

'Abstract space is thus repressive in essence and *par exellence* - but thanks to its versatility it is repressive in a peculiarly artful way: its intrinsic repressiveness may be manifested alternately through reduction, through (functional) localization, through the imposition of hierarchy and segregation - or through art.'
(Lefebvre, 1991, 318)

'... some borders are no longer situated at the borders at all, in the geografico-politico-administrative some of the term. They are in fact elsewhere, wherever selective controls are to be found, such as, for example, health or security check [...] The concentration of these functions (for example, the control of goods and people - not to mention microbes and viruses – administrative and cultural separation, etc.) at a single point – along a single line which was simultaneously refined and densified, opacified – was a dominant during a particular period, the period of 'the nation-state (when it really existed in a form close to its ideal type), but not an irreversible historical necessity. For quite some time now, it has been given way, before our very eyes, to a new ubiquity of borders'
(Balibar, 1993)

Figure 1.1: Reduction of space to relative space - Aeromobilities relative to imposed friction

TRAVEL BETWEEN AIRPORTS
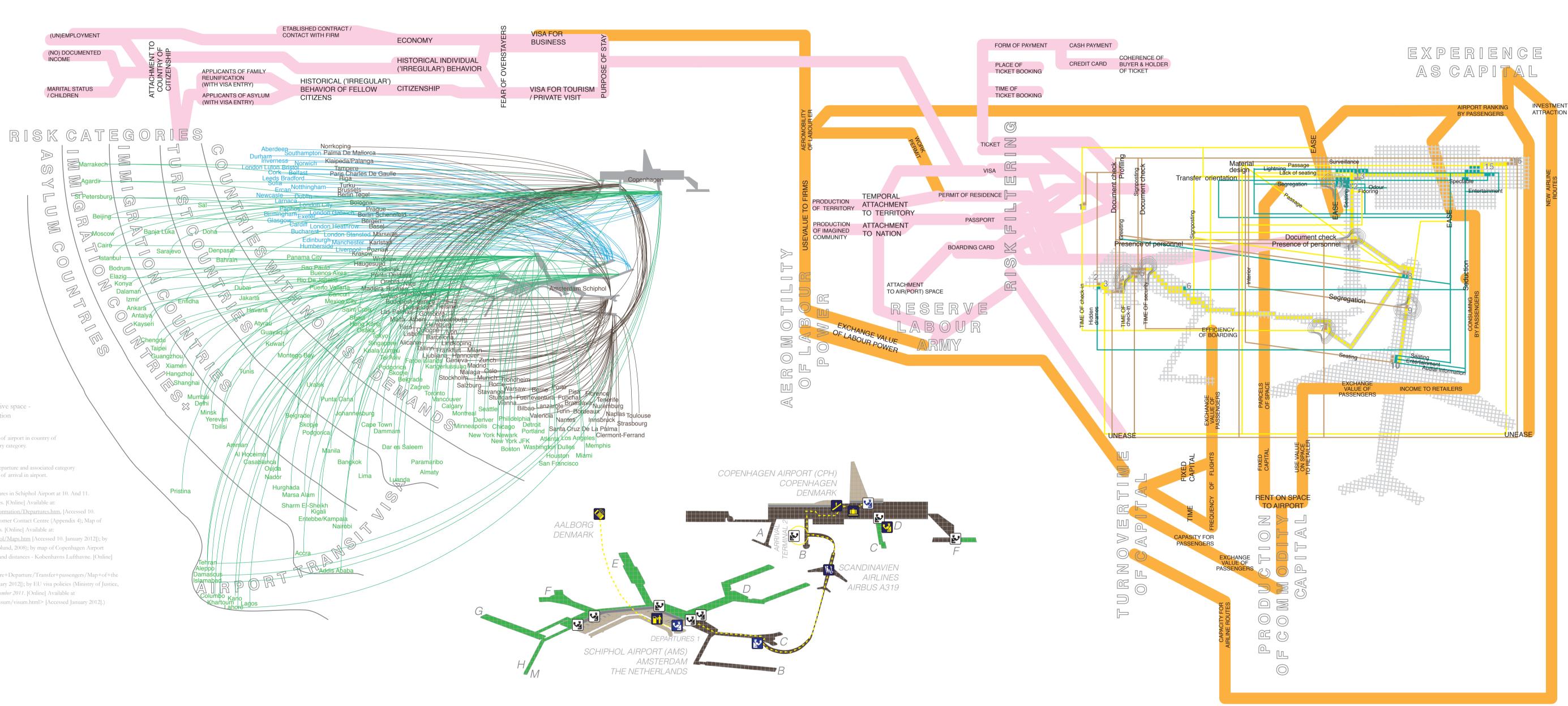Stratification of aeromobilities, due to residence of airport in country of citizenship of traveller and associated visa country category.

ARRIVAL IN AIRPORTS
Segregation of airport space due to report of departure and associated category of schengen / non-schengen, as well as location of arrival in airport.

Map made by comparing gates of airline departures in Schiphol Airport at 10. And 11. January 2012 (Schiphol Airport, 2012). Departures. [Online] Available at: http://www.schiphol.com/Travellers/FlightInformation/Departures.htm. [Accessed 10. January 2012]; by mail contact to Schiphol Customer Contact Centre (Appendix 4); Map of Schiphol Airport (Schiphol Airport, 2012b). Maps. [Online] Available at: http://www.schiphol.com/Travellers/AtSchiphol/Maps.htm [Accessed 10. January 2012]; by interview which Copenhagen Airport police (Frølund, 2008); by map of Copenhagen Airport (Copenhagen Airport, 2012, Map of the airport and distances - Kobenhavns Lufthavne. [Online] Available
at:http://www.cph.dk/CPH/UK/MAIN/Before+Departure/Transfer+passenger/Map+of+the+airport+and+distances.htm [Accessed 10. January 2012]; by EU visa policies (Ministry of Justice, 2011. *Notat om visumpolice.gældandt fra den 15. november 2011.* [Online] Available at <http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/visum/visum.html> [Accessed January 2012].]

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 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 at once are inscribed into a pre-existing space and are producing their own space by internalising the determinators of space. Such notion enables understanding space productions as diverse and multi dimensional.

• Emphasise that mapping can represent space, by visualisation, as well as co-produce space by its discursive aspects as a conceived spatial dimension. And that mapping this inhere assumptions and frame knowledge.

• Emphasise and represent processes in their particular relations ('cogredience') since they 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 spaces, 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.
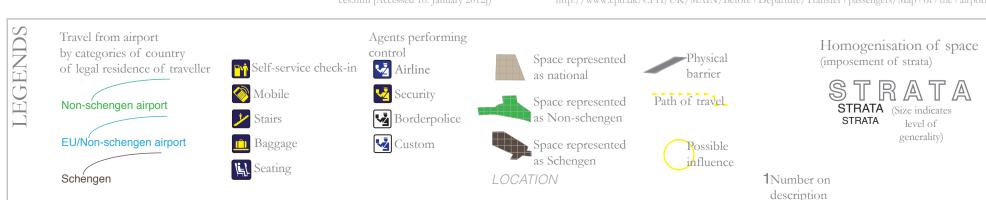

COPENHAGEN AIRPORT (CPH)
COPENHAGEN
DENMARK

AALBORG
DENMARK

SCANDINAVIEN AIRLINES
AIRBUS A319

SCHIPHOL AIRPORT (AMS)
AMSTERDAM
THE NETHERLANDS

DEPARTURES 1

Figure 1.2: Reduction of space to absolute space
- Travel through airports and aeroplane + experienced and possible control

Map made from experience of travel and field observation; Map of Schiphol Airport (Schiphol Airport, 2012b). Maps. [Online] Available at: http://www.schiphol.com/Travellers/AtSchiphol/Maps.htm [Accessed 10. January 2012b]; by interview which Copenhagen Airport police (Frølund, 2008); by map of Copenhagen Airport (Copenhagen Airport, 2012, Map of the airport and distances - Kobenhavns Lufthavne. [Online] Available at: http://www.cph.dk/CPH/UK/MAIN/Before+Departure/Transfer+passengers/Map+of+the+airport+and+distances.htm [Accessed 10. January 2012]

Figure 1.3: Relational space as produced by homogenisation, hierarchisation and fragmentation

Space as it is produced by the relatednes of the 3 processes of homogenisation-hierarchisation-fragmentation. The production inhere multiple processes and strata and links them together by a particular fashion into a coherent spacetime system. 'Where' the 3 processes flow together an there produced 'hubs of aeromobilityspaces' where stratisfied spaces can rise.

Made from experience of travel and field observation, and abstraction of these (see #1); from conceptualisation of ; Map of Schiphol Airport (Schiphol Airport, 2012b). [Online]. Available at: http://www.schiphol.com/Travellers/AtSchiphol/Maps.htm [Accessed 10. January 2012]; by interview which Copenhagen Airport police (Frølund, 2008); by map of Copenhagen Airport (Copenhagen Airport, 2012, Map of the airport and distances - Kobenhavns Lufthavne. [Online]. Available at: http://www.cph.dk/CPH/UK/MAIN/Before+Departure/Transfer+passengers/Map+of+the+airport+and+distances.htm [Accessed 10. January 2012]

LEGENDS

Travel from airport by categories of country of legal residence of traveller

Non-schengen airport
EU/Non-schengen airport
Schengen

Self-service check-in
Mobile
Stairs
Baggage
Seating

Agents performing control
Airline
Security
Borderpolice
Custom

LOCATION

Space represented as national
Space represented as Non-schengen
Space represented as Schengen

Physical barrier
Path of travel
Possible influence

Homogenisation of space (imposition of strata)
STRATA
STRATA
STRATA
(Size indicates level of generality)

Hierarchisation of space (experienced)
Process/STRATA influencing
Process/STRATA influencing
Process/STRATA influencing

Fragmentation of space (imposition of function)
Process (Size indicates level of generality)
Process

Relatedness producing:
Consumption
Bordering
Flow
Risk
Capitalisation

1 Number on description