

基調講演

Travelling People and Things:

The Creation of Differentiated Mobilities in a World on the Move

旅する人と事物

——世界の中の差異化された移動性は作られつづける

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To say we live in a mobile world is a truism. It is also clear that if we simply say 'everyone and everything' is on the move then we both evacuate the concept of mobility of most of its conceptual specificity, and we occlude the fact that mobility varies in terms of speed, ease and control – the last in the sense of how much is under the choice of travellers and how much they are constrained. To think about this I suggest we need to attend to the materialities of mobility. That is we need to see how movement is enabled and hindered by a physical objects and indeed by digital flows and objects. There is an all too easy tendency to make a hierarchy of digital flows – perhaps exemplified by the global financial trading system or media images via the Internet as 'real time', 24/7 instantaneously abolishing distance. The friction of distance, that old 'law of geography' is overcome to give what Bill Gates once called 'friction free capitalism'. Somewhere behind this comes the speed of motion enabled by jet aeroplanes enabling same day transcontinental travel. We can immediately see two social hierarchies the moment we think of this aeromobility. The first relates to the comfort of this travel. Here the industry appeals to an ideal type of the unencumbered (by dependents or largely by luggage), male able-bodied business traveller (Small, Harris, and Wilson, 2008). For this passenger

the focus of the industry is upon their comfort, in an almost infantilising way that they are 'looked after' (Rosler, 1998) – and tended to in a heavily gendered and sexualised form of affective labour (Williams, 2003). One might set this free moving globally ranging figure against the actuality of the mass tourist. Most tourists do not experience the world of destinations at global hub airports but instead the directed flows of chartered flights, or budget airlines, from regional airports to resort airports, where the priority of all is to get as many travellers onto planes as possible and move them with the least cost. The second hierarchy relates more directly to income and speed where a 'kinetic elite' can pay for fast travel regularly, joined by occasional honorary members of the club (which might well include academics), followed by those for whom travel is earth bound. There we might look to the car, train and bus in terms of the differential speeds not only from air travel but amongst different forms of land travel (Crang, 2007). If we push beyond the literature on tourism then we find that most of the stuff on the planet moves by ship – it is too easy to forget then that 'Large scale material flows remain intractable. Acceleration is not absolute: the hydrodynamics of large-capacity hulls and the power output of diesel engines set a limit to the speed of cargo ships not far beyond that of the first

quarter of this century... A society of accelerated flows is also in certain key aspects a society of deliberately slow movement' (Sekula, 1995: 51).

This short paper will just try and pick apart a couple of examples to reveal how mobilities are both differentiated and differentiate among people. That is they are both a function of social status but also help enact social status. Slightly against the implication above I will also show that it is not just that digital is fast and moving materials are slow, but rather that all speeds depend upon material things that come to shape them, and that all forms of movement increasingly interact with forms of data and informational realms. For the sake of symmetry the paper will look at two flows of people each of around 220 million persons per year: the movement of the 'floating population' of migrant workers in China, and the mass tourism market of the Mediterranean. In so doing with will ask about how we think about 'dwelling' in a mobile world – what changes with our senses of self and place as the world is on the move. It will look at the assemblage of materials, media and bodies that enables mobility and also comes to define relative subject positions. It will suggest we can see emotional or 'affective unities' grouping travellers together.

Chun Yun Spring Rush: Bodies, Bags and Tickets

My first example is the crowd that marks the Chun Yun or Spring Festival Rush at the Lunar New Year new year in China. There is a great movement of migrant workers from cities of industrial production back to homeland villages that are now marked as sites of leisure and longing, rather than agricultural labour, with adverts such as "A Belated New Sweater" (迟来的新衣) which features migrant workers motorcycling home to rural areas for a warm Spring Festival celebration. And at the end of the advert the strapline is "China. Let your heart go home." Migrancy here is not about a forgotten over and done with movement from one place to another, but about continuing inbetweenness and thus about mobility in the strongest sense, not in an attenuated philosophical sense but the actual practices of being mobile. Second, we highlight for sure

the emergence of a mobile population marked by that very mobility. But this is not a beneficial marking, nor a free floating mobility innocent of status but rather one where the materiality of social reproduction is enacted through, but also constrained by a particular form of mobility. Chinese workers are increasingly produced by mobility, but do not travel in conditions of their own choosing. Third, then we point to the practices of mobility and the sites of travel as very much the crucible forging class identity.

The great movement of bodies of workers from the mighty industrial cities that are the workshops of the globalised world, back to visit their kith and kin in rural heartlands is usually encapsulated in the picture of the massively overcrowded railway station. If, as Bourdieu (1984: 466) suggested, 'one's relationship to the social world and to one's proper place in it is never more clearly expressed than in the space and time one feels entitled to take from others; more precisely, in the space one claims with one's body in physical space,' then nothing expresses the social status of the floating population as clearly as the stations and the hard seat carriages of the spring festival rush. This is a population born of new-found mobility on a massive scale, yet their mobility is disadvantaged, confined, and comes at a high price for their dignity.

Business people can afford the so-called 'soft-sleeper' berths on bullet and express trains, with two or four sharing a lockable compartment, even with TV in luxury classes; middling sorts travel on 'hard' sleepers, that is bunks in open plan carriages, on special express trains or second-class seats on bullet trains; all are set above 'hard seats' on slow trains that are the lot of most rural migrant laborers. The 1,463 mile Beijing to Shanghai route, a common one for migrants, takes just under 5 hours on the bullet train costing ¥1,870 (\$297) for a soft seat return, or for a 13 hour trip on the 'fast' service, with a 'soft sleeper' cabin it costs ¥499 (\$79), whilst a hard sleeper comes in from ¥306 (\$49) up to ¥327 (\$52; for the lower bunk). The slow service on that route takes more than 22 hours with a hard seat costing ¥158 (\$25). The kinetic elite thus travels in comfort and speed for 12 times the cost of the hard seats on the slow train. Or the 2,153 mile Shanghai to Chengdu

(Sichuan) route, the largest source region for migrants from Western China, the distance can be covered in 15 h in a luxury soft sleeper for ¥2,075 (\$329), on a train with no hard seats. The slow train takes 38 hours with hard seats costing ¥281 (\$45).

This train type links to the absence of electronic flows too, since there are two main ways of booking tickets on Chinese railways—advance telephone booking with an identity card number and buying tickets in person. Online booking is mostly confined to bullet trains. Telephone booking has problems due to suspicions about fraudulent identity cards. So buying tickets in the station ticket hall or at ticket agencies is still the most prevalent and reliable way, and so to ensure they get one of the limited number of seats, rural migrant workers have to queue at railway stations overnight before the tickets are officially on sale.

And yet to describe the festival travel requires us to look to how people actually inhabit these trains. Beyond the hold ups and queues beyond the station, then further queues within there is the actual inhabitation of the trains. Travellers rush and compete to secure space, and they learn the tactics of inhabiting these spaces standing in passageways and toilets, or precariously perched on hand basins, the backs of seats, or even the luggage rack. These are then close the 'desperate passages' rather than leisurely travel so often imagined in tourism (Martin, 2011). There are advice manuals and products, such as anti-theft trousers/pants to enable the carrying of cash remittances home. But remittances and memories are the only things being carried. The swift bullet trains have prescribed slots for luggage – anticipated in the form of suitcases with rollers. And yet this is not the luggage of these migrants – even if the luggage racks are not being used by people – who repurpose checked, robust plastic bags – known as snakeskin bags. The relationship of traveller and plastic bag is neatly encapsulated in Wan Jianping's *My Woven Bag*

the cumbersome bag becomes a sentimental image, a loyal traveling companion:

I carry a snow-white woven bag on my back
To leave my hometown and work in the city

This bulging bag
Filled with spring blessings from countryside and my dreams
In this strange city
It is my stool when I am tired
My pillow when I am sleepy
My comfort when I am sick
I carry a woven bag which is no longer white
Wading on my working journey
This bulging bag
Now has added to it so much joy, sorrow, snow, rain, wind and frost
In these drifting days
Hardships are my instant noodles when I am hungry
Grievance is my tap water when I am thirsty
Humiliation is my wine to numb my soul
A new year is coming; I carry a woven bag which is so anxious to go home
Squeezed myself into a returning train
This bulging bag
Filled with happiness without any hint of sorrow
Thinking of the surprise that my family has always been longing for
Will overflow from this woven bag
I wave to the city out of the train window
While those resentments in former days vanish from my fingers

The bag becomes the holder of not only possessions but emotions. We might see the migrant as a person-bag assemblage. The bag imposes a characteristic gait on the traveller stooping forward to carry it. As the spring festival has become a visible phenomena then bodies bearing bags become faceless; it is not faces but bags that identify them. The affective unity binds material, body and emotion into one of hope yet suffering, discomfort along with an intense mixture of joy and sadness.

The Mediterranean summer rush: beaches, bikinis and bodies.

The flip side of the desire form home by industrial workers in China, is a desire to be elsewhere by

post-industrial societies in Europe. If there is a 'global factory' of linked production, then one might see a 'global resort' of stratified destinations: where 'Capitalist production has unified space, which is no longer bounded by external societies. This unification is at the same time an extensive and intensive process of banalization. The accumulation of commodities produced in mass for the abstract space of the market, which had ... destroy the autonomy and quality of places' (Debord 1969/1983: 165). Each of these banalized places is ascribed a niche in the tourist market, where somewhat facetiously MVRDV thus predict a Norway turned from a forest to a super-village, the Alps becoming a park with hotel cities, France changing into a "Guide du Routard' landscape, in which the agricultural products became the instrument for a gastronomically oriented zone penetrated by hotels and restaurants according to special nostalgic rules," and Tuscany as an "international villa park" where "gigantic private gardens are maintained by the former farmers" (MVRDV, 2000: 57) other places become set up for 'territorialised hedonism' (Löfgren, 1999) with MVRDV suggesting the Iberian coast becomes 'a space that has become the most effective substitute for the time of the breaking-up party, that countryside festival that industrialisation eliminated from the calendar of Europeans" (page 107).

As such the 220 million visitors or so mean that the 'Mediterranean is a major cultural laboratory for the production of bodies, feelings and subjectivities in Western Europe [playing a critical role in] the formation of postmodern consumer sensibilities' (Obrador, Crang & Travlou 2009 -b: 7). A part of this is playing across the North African littoral and the 'Near East' where Orientalists fantasies are restaged and recommercialised. Part of it plays across the notion of collectivity. In mass beach resorts, like Benidorm, density and proximity produce an affective charge. In short crowding together here too has an emotional productivity. Academics may highlight the out the horrors and boredom of actually existing tightly packaged trips, the mutual exploitation of tourist and native' (Inglis, 2000: 5) but that tight packaging and crowding is much of the appeal as Urry (1990) noted for mass tourism. There is then the culture

of the beach such as:

'[t]he carefully curated resorts of the French and Italian Riviera [which] parcel out the beach with the precision of Mondrian painting. [Where] in tiny plots staked out by private clubs and hotels, paying guests recline on color-coded chairs laid out with graph-paper rectilinearity in front of brilliantly painted cabanas. The beach fairly sizzles with the erotic voltage of bare-breasted, bare-buttocked beauties and virile stalwarts, but strict decorum the sensual stew at a steady, socially acceptable simmer' (Lencek & Bosker, 1998: xxiii).

But this beach culture is not always benign, with ambient forms of power and norms Martina Löw unpicks an economy of sly glances at exposed flesh, arguing that 'The price paid for the naked bosom in our cultural context is the body's immobility. Without the stabilizing effect of a bra the entire body is brought into a state of rigidity' (Löw, 2006: 130). Women she argues end up fixed and trapped, desperately avoiding moving that might create attract sexualised attention to their more exposed anatomy. Sun-beds, parasols and bikini bottoms come together to form an assemblage along with heightened emotions.

More broadly then if the great historian Braudel argued for the Mediterranean as 'an ecological unit', and anthropology has seen it as a unified 'cultural region' area, one might argue that in the current era it has a renewed unifying element. It is now less united by rhythms of olive, grain and wine cultivation, shared trade and Roman legacies than the fortnightly pulse of the package tour, the circulation of resort types and the shared culture of sunseeking tourism: the same hotels, the same golf courses, the same marinas, the same low quality foods, the same disputes for sun beds, the same 1.5 litre plastic bottles of still water buried in the sand, the same smell of sun cream (Obrador, Crang & Travlou, 2009 a). Tourists learn how to fit families and selves into standardised hotel rooms, they learn the rituals of beach life, they learn the fine distinctions of clothing and resort types, there are crazes and activities that sweep across the Mediterranean basin (be they novel

water sports or that season's favourite music).

Conclusion

There are four points of conclusion to draw from the preceding examples. First, both these examples of travel are Mass tourism that is thin on meaning and ideological narratives and very dense on physicality and sensuality; and yet scholars with an interest in cultures of tourism have chosen overwhelmingly to examine discourses, meaning and ideological structures at the cost of physicality. It is in many ways easier to turn to the poems of migrant labourer literature than the actual ways of being in transit.

Second, both these examples are about a social formation born out of shared experiences of and relationships to mobility. There is the production of shared feelings and relationships – which is not to say they are about equality or without exploitation, or antagonisms. In this sense one might start with the unity of emotions rather than the individual figures of the travellers.

Third, the term figure I have used to highlight how much critical analysis of travel has used the ideal type of the individual be they traveller or tourist to look at the experience of mobility. But much work on mass travel focuses of figures – as in the numerical scale of mobility. We surely need a language that can speak to the productivity of 'quantity' into experience without reducing it to ideal types or opposing it to the variation of individuals.

Fourthly, each example ties forms of mobility to relationships with material artefacts and imaginings. After Deleuze and Guattari (1987) who unpick the Mongolian Empire's rise through the coming together of forms of technology round mobility (the humble stirrup), alongside governance, and types of social ordering, might we look at the assemblage of things creating a world in motion. These forms of mobility rely on mutually supporting configurations of bodies, technologies, things, media, imaginaries and places. Rather than seeing mass tourism as exemplifying an abstract rationality capitalising upon social desires, might we see an 'abstract machine' that combines economic, technological, symbolic, emotive and bodily registers to produce and

regulate spaces, affects and practices. Material objects are pressed into service to form assemblages for a form of transient dwelling.

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