PhD Thesis in
Social and Cultural Geography

Europeans on the move:
Mobilities and identities of truck drivers, musicians and MEPs

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Declaration of Authorship

I <u>Andre Seabra Real Sampaio da Nóvoa</u> hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date: 28th of April

Abstract

This thesis is about people on the move and what types of collective identities and sensations of belonging they produce and reproduce whilst moving. Through three cases of mobile ethnography with different professional groups – lorry drivers, musicians and politicians – I attempt to ascertain what kind of geographies of belonging guide and structure their daily lives. Each one of the empirical chapters focuses on different aspects of the relationship between mobility and identity, which is then linked with a broader problematic on European mobility. This thesis is a contribution to the field of studies on mobility in the European Union, attempting to demonstrate that European mobility may well be too much of an abstract category – a category that operates under the assumption that more mobility equals more cultural proximity and social togetherness amongst euro citizens – which veils many aspects of the quotidian social realities of many Europeans who are constantly mobile. Crisscrossing the data collected with recent insights from the new mobilities paradigm, I intend to show that everyday, large-scale mobilities contain a diverse array of strategies when it comes to producing and reproducing collective identities. Even though in some cases mobility may create proximity and foster deep sensations of belonging to an imagined European community, the contrary is also happening. Mobilities are not all the same. Mobilities follow different logics, different geographies and different schemes of identity reproduction. European mobility, instead of being an abstract category *per se*, is actually grounded in very diverse practices that reproduce forms of spatial injustice, the uneven and unequal distribution of power, and the dynamics of immobility that the Union holds in its territory itself. This is what this thesis is about.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1. Introduction

My thesis is about people on the move and what types of collective identities and sensations of belonging they produce and reproduce whilst moving. Through three cases of mobile ethnography (chapter 3 for methodology) with different professional groups – lorry drivers (chapter 4), musicians (chapter 5) and politicians (chapter 6) – my main line of enquiry is to ascertain what kind of geographies of belonging guide and structure their daily lives. Each one of the empirical chapters presents a self-contained argument, which is then linked to a broader problematic on European mobility (chapter 7). This thesis was designed as a contribution to the field of studies on mobility in the Eurozone (chapter 2), attempting to demonstrate that European mobility may well be too much of an abstract category – a category that operates under the assumption that more mobility equals more cultural proximity and social togetherness amongst euro citizens – which veils many aspects of the quotidian social realities of many Europeans who are constantly mobile. Cross-referencing the data collected with recent theories from the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller & Urry 2006), I intend to show that everyday, large-scale mobilities contain a diverse array of strategies when it comes to producing and reproducing collective identities. Even though in some cases mobility may create proximity and foster deep sensations of belonging to an imagined European community (Anderson 1991), the contrary is also happening. Mobilities are not all the same. Mobilities follow different logics, different geographies and different schemes of identity reproduction. European mobility, instead of being an abstract category *per se*, is actually grounded in very diverse practices that reproduce forms of spatial injustice, the uneven and unequal distribution of power, and the dynamics of immobility that the Union holds within its own territory. This is what this thesis is about.

2. Key concepts and questions

The two fundamental concepts that structure my thesis are the concepts of identity and mobility. This thesis is an enquiry into what types of collective identities arise from practices of intense, large-scale mobility. Cresswell has suggested that "facts in the world – increased levels of mobility, new forms of mobility where the bodies combine with information and different patterns of mobility, for instance – combine

with ways of thinking and theorizing that foreground mobility (of people, of ideas, of things) as a geographical fact that lies at the centre of constellations of power, the creation of identities and the micro-geographies of everyday life" (Cresswell 2010a: 551). Drawing upon these notions, I wish to delve into what forms of identities appear in these mobile micro-geographies of quotidian life. Do people on the move engage with the Other and actively search for cultural proximity? Do they obtain new worldviews and absorb new cultural practices? Or do individuals encapsulate themselves and create safeholds of identity? Which side does the pendulum swing to the most? What is happening on the ground? What types of identities surface with practices of constant, large-scale mobility? Are they all the same? By looking at the impact of mobility on the formation of identities, I not only show how people pin down their spatialities whilst moving, but also how mobility shapes and informs that process. These discussions will then be recalibrated to analyse if – and which – personal mobilities in Europe are indeed contributing to the fabrication of European identity. But let us flesh out these two concepts first.

2.1 Mobility

Mobility has been in the academic spotlight since the 80s. Post-modernist though made use of a lexicon of mobility to create a theoretical rupture with an academia more focused on structures, territory and stasis (see Deleuze & Guattari 1987, de Certeau 1984, Virilio 1986). Ever since then, as Kendal, Woodward and Skrbis explain, "the nomad – whether traveller, refugee, runaway – [became] the symbolic identity of our age" (Kendall *et al.* 2009: 85). In fact, the exponential growth of mobile phenomena in the last quarter of the 20th century drove many academics into seeing social reality as a construction of flows and movements. From the 80s onwards, scholarly semantics has been rife with words and metaphors of mobility. As Sassatelli framed it, "a new spatially conscious sociology stresses mobility and flux over permanence, where notions of borders and structures are substituted by networks and flows. Space and identities are conceptualized as non-essentialist (relational), non-univocal (multiple) and non-fixed (mobile)" (Sassatelli 2010: 71). This was reinforced by the emergence of areas of studies such as migration and transnational studies (Basch, Glick Schiller & Blanc 1994, Castles & Miller 1993, Portes & Bach 1985, Robinson

1996), the reformulation of culture as flows (Appadurai 1996, Clifford 1997, Hannerz 1992) or the reconceptualisation of space as mobile interactions (Augé 1995, Massey 1991, Soja 1989, Thrift 1996), to name but a few. As the world became more mobile, so became the ways through which we apprehended the world.

However, despite this growing interest in mobile phenomena, the concept of mobility remained shady and unclear for many years. As Tim Cresswell put it, "mobility, then, is more central to both the world and our understanding of it than ever before. And yet mobility itself, and what it means, remains unspecified. It is a kind of blank space that stands as an alternative to place, boundedness, foundations, and stability" (Cresswell 2006: 2). The first conceptualisations of mobility as proper theoretical tools of analysis only surfaced with the rise of the "new mobilities paradigm", a term coined by Sheller and Urry (Sheller & Urry 2006). With a set of theoretical approaches, specific methods and particular questions, materialised in new academic journals (*Mobilities*, for example) and centres/networks of research (CeMoRe, Cosmobilities Network, Mobility and Space Research Group, etc.), the paradigm draws upon mobility as a permanent analytical nucleus for a better understanding of human action and thought in the world. Quoting Tim Cresswell, "if nothing else, the 'mobilities' approach brings together a diverse array of forms of movement across scales ranging from the body (or, indeed parts of the body) to the globe" (Cresswell 2010b: 18). Some recent contributions to forming and stabilising this new paradigm include work from anthropology, cultural studies, geography, migration studies, science, technology studies, tourism, transport studies and sociology. Therefore, it is not a field marked by strict disciplinary frontiers but rather a plastic area of studies that revolves around a key theoretical concept – mobility. It is a post-disciplinary field of research, as Urry and Sheller framed it (Sheller & Urry 2006: 214).

Various theories of mobility made their appearance within this framework. Vincent Kaufman, for instance, constructed a theoretical vision of mobility as a form of capital, following Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2001). Kaufmann sought to rethink mobility using the concept of motility, a term borrowed from natural sciences and biology. He argued that "motility can be defined as the capacity of a person to be mobile, or more precisely, as the *way in which an individual appropriates what is possible in the domain of mobility and puts this potential to use for his or her activities*" (Kaufmann 2002: 37). In turn, Tim Cresswell came up with a conceptual differentiation between movement and mobility. The geographer examines how movement is transformed into mobility

through complex processes of historical and social production of knowledge – he calls this the production of mobilities. This means that movement may be considered as mobility exempted from social meaning and relations of power, whereas mobility is the opposite of this, i.e. dislocation or movement constrained *by* and embedded *in* meaning and contexts of power. Cresswell, thus, pays close attention to mobility as meaningful practice that bears intrinsic relations of power. Peter Adey provides yet another way to employ mobility as a concept, claiming that "mobility appears to be both representational and non-representational" (Adey 2010b: 149). The author states that mobility can be both an idea and an empirical object of study. Mobility may contain and generate representations and meaning, whilst at the same time appear as practice that cannot be fully grasped as a theoretical tool.

In either case, it is clear that mobility has always informed us. Movement has always characterised the history of mankind. Sailors, priests, slaves, traders or soldiers have roamed the surface of the Earth ever since humankind (paradoxically) settled down. The process of sedentarism is a history of movement as well: place-making only exists and persists through the flows and fluxes of people. However, mankind's ways of thinking the world – perpetuated not only in social and political thought, but also in academic production itself – had a tendency to apprehend society through the lenses of stillness and roots. Mobility was seen as a mere product of social relations: it was the logical result of certain practices demanded by determined structures (economic, political, artistic) and institutions (family, religion, law). With the new mobilities paradigm – heartened by all of these new theories of mobility quoted above – there was a shift in perspectives towards granting mobility a much more central status: the status of social producer. The mobilities turn was precisely responsible for turning the equation around. Taking on Foucault's concept of "problematics", I would say that mobility was "problematised" (Foucault, ct. in Lotringer 1989).

According to Foucault, problematics are historicised and socially contextualised problems. For instance, madness was for a very long time a mere social problem that punctuated society. Madness was something that existed and was dealt with on a day-to-day basis – through different techniques of isolation, incarceration, negligence, affect, etc. – but there was not a specific production of knowledge around it. Madness was not a systematic and systematised problem; it was something that people coped with differently from case to case with no social or political norms to serve as guidelines. However, after the development of psychology, madness was transformed into a

problematic. The production of a methodical discourse on madness and mental illness with specific taxonomies, classifications and nomenclatures, determined treatments and social practices, made it so. Madness was no longer a mere social deviation that could be dealt with on a daily basis, but a problem that affected the entire social corpus and thus demanded the fabrication of a continuous system of knowledge as well as permanent surveillance (Foucault 1977, 1988).

Something similar occurred with mobility over the last two decades. Mobility for a very long time was perceived solely as a social product. Mobility and movement were used as synonymous to describe practices of dislocation within space or between places. The mobility of soldiers served the problematic of warfare. The mobility of priests served the problematic of pilgrimage and religion. The mobility of traders served the problematic of commerce and trade. Mobility itself was never at the axis of social codification. Until very recently, mobility was rarely problematised in and of itself. However, following the rise of the mobilities turn, mobility commenced to be conceived of as a social differentiator, as a form of social capital (Kaufmann 2002) and as a concept that serves diverse ideologies in the enforcing of practices and representations (Cresswell 2006; Adey 2010b). Previously perceived as a consequence of social relations and interactions, mobility began to be conceptualised as a manufacturer itself of social reality. In other words, mobility began to be seen not only as a result or an outcome of social interaction within certain social structures, but also as a producer: certain realities only make sense on the move and so mobility can be abstracted as a social catalyst. I am not suggesting that mobility did not shape the world before the 80s – it certainty did. The point is that it was not the target of attention or enquiry and, hence, it was not a problematic the way it is today.

In this thesis, I tackle mobility as a producer of social reality and meaning. I believe that some realities only surface when on the move. Some social phenomena only become intelligible when and if one considers their movement. Some identities only appear in contexts of mobility. Rather than being a simple platform for human interaction, mobility constructs meanings, representations and identities. This is the core of my approach to mobility and I believe it will become clear throughout the empirical chapters.

2.2 Identity

There are innumerable definitions of identity as a concept, but they basically refer "to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities" (Jenkins 1996: 4). It refers to patterns of identification with other human beings that may share the same spaces, values, tastes, worldviews, and so forth. As Charles Taylor puts it, "my identity is defined by the commitments and identifications which provide the frame or horizon within which I can try to determine from case to case what is good, or valuable, or what ought to be done, or what I endorse or oppose" (Taylor 1989: 27). Also, identity can refer to the attribution of meaning to certain actions, that is, to forms of identification with determined practices and representations that endow meaning to specific actions: "identity is any source of action not explicable from biophysical regularities, and to which observers can attribute meaning" (White 1992: 6). As Berger and Luckmann wrote, "identity is objectively defined as location in a certain world and can be subjectively appropriated only *along with* that world (…) A coherent identity incorporates within itself all the various internalized roles and attitudes" (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 132). That is, identity is an individual mechanism that procures meaning through social collective practice.

In the humanities, there have been two more or less opposite tendencies on the interpretation of the concept. The first one favours a primordialist take on things, wherein a sensation of the self, at both individual and collective levels, is rooted and defined as a fixed property, holding objective criteria such as common ancestry or biological characteristics. Tendentiously, this was the original usage of the concept. It meant "sameness". As Sokefeld puts it, "identity was understood as a disposition of basic personality features acquired mostly during childhood and, once integrated, more or less fixed. This identity made a human being a person and an acting individual. Inconsistency of personality was regarded as disturbance or even psychic illness" (Sokefeld 1999: 417). This view gradually shifted, especially after the poststructuralist agenda, to a different understanding of the term that highlights how identities are socially manufactured and can be juxtaposed by layers of multiplicity and antagonism, an "implicit condition of plurality" (Sokefeld 1999: 418).

The second approach is thus based on social constructivist theory, which emphasises that identities are not essential, but rather produced through socialisation and choices. As Stuart Hall explained, "identity emerges as a kind of unsettled space, or an unresolved question in that space, between a number of intersecting discourses. (…) [We have incorrectly assumed that identity is] a kind of fixed point of thought and being, a ground of action, a still point in the turning world (…) the logic of something like a 'true self' (…) [But] identity is a process, identity is split. Identity is not a fixed point but an ambivalent point. Identity is also the relationship of the Other to oneself" (Hall 1989: 10). According to Bauman, "identities seem fixed and solid only when seen, in a flash, from outside. Whatever solidity they might have when contemplated from the inside of one's own biographical experience appears fragile, vulnerable, and constantly torn apart by shearing forces which lay bare its fluidity and by cross-currents which threaten to rend in pieces and carry away any form they might have acquired" (Bauman 2000: 83). Identities are volatile, fluid, socially constructed. "Yet, what if identity is conceived not as boundary to be maintained but as a nexus of relations and transactions actively engaging a subject?" (Clifford 1988: 344).

In the light of these trends, there has been an emphasis on how identities are on the move, and not circumscribed to particular spatialities or contexts. In fact, some authors have suggested that the idea of identity itself came into being as a result of mobility and the need to differentiate outsiders from insiders (Groebner 2007). As with the transformation in the concept of culture (see, for instance, Appadurai 1996, Clifford 1997, Hannerz 1992), identities started increasingly to be linked with *routes* rather than with *roots*. I can illustrate this with three different takes on the concept. For instance, Appadurai's concept of "locality" is not some fixed scalar or spatial dimension, but it is instead "primarily relational and contextual (…) a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and relativity of context" (Appadurai 1996). This means that localities have more to do with a certain structure of feeling than with its materialities. Having said this, Appadurai then shows how, in a globalised world, localities are constantly negotiated through the passage of individuals transporting their identities. Deirdre McKay provides us with an interesting usage of the concept, accounting for an event that happens every Sunday morning in Hong Kong in Statue Square after mass, wherein migrant Filipino workers recreate their localities through the reproduction of the villages back home (McKay 2006). Similarly, Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson published a collective effort suggestively entitled

Migrants of identity, setting forth an arena where "identity is treated as a search, either physical or cognitive, and is conceived of in terms of fluidities" (Rapport & Dawson 1998). In the same year, Liliana Goldin edited another collection of essays named *Identities on the move*, wherein various scholars tried to examine the implications of the fluidity of identities in a growing transnational world (Goldin 1999). These ideas paved the way for endless accounts on the movement and flows of identities since the turn of the century.

Here, I wish to focus not exactly on the mobility of identities, but rather on what types of identities are produced by and through practices of constant mobility. It is clear that individuals bear a multiplicity of identities throughout their lifetime, when and if not at the same moment. These can be unrelated, complementary, paradoxical or even antagonistic. One, for instance, can transport a strong national identity whilst at the same time feeling identified with a cosmopolitan order (which can be complementary or paradoxical). One can have an identity as a football player and as a musician at the same time (presumably unrelated). One can feel identified with certain left-wing and right-wing politics at the same time (antagonistic). However, I am particularly interested in the production of collective identities that individuals forge in contexts of mobility in order to produce a sense of togetherness with other individuals who share the same activities and who inhabit the same transnational circuits. I would like to highlight the notion of togetherness now. The processes of identity production that I propose to examine arise from practices of togetherness under particular contexts of work and/or labour. This is to say that my research is about people who, despite the possibility of having different backgrounds, come together and move along with each other due to the requirements of their profession, thus engaging with collective practices that produce certain worldviews, representations and rhythms of everyday life.

It bears an intrinsic dimension of temporality. I am looking for the formation of identities that link individuals within particular professional groups under a specific timeframe in which their professional itinerancies take place. Temporality is central to my approach on identities. The individuals I shadowed naturally possess a multiplicity of identities that one can never fully grasp – ranging from political identities to sports identities or identities as lovers of a specific genre of music. But I do believe that, when individuals come together and rhythmically move in-group, they produce certain temporary identities. I wish to understand the common identity reference points that they collectively produce and hold together in order to maintain social cohesion. This

may be even more visible in contexts of professional mobility as I intend to demonstrate. Precisely, I posit that many of these identities are only found and make sense during their professional mobilities. All my case studies are about work mobility and work geographies. My main analytical angle is to examine what types of identities are produced and reproduced through practices of large-scale, constant, professional mobility. These identities are at the core of my research and this is why it is so important to engage with methods of fieldworking that encompass a permanent mobile dimension. My take on identities is underpinned by this notion of togetherness, work and temporality. I do believe that the identities I study may have little relevance in family-related or holiday settings. They happen there, on the move. They are assembled on the move, through practices of togetherness, and possibly disassembled in other moments and contexts. In short, I hope to explore not what identities individuals transport onto the road, but what identities the road, itself, produces.

What are the identities that individuals form to identify themselves with certain groups of people that only exist on the move? How do people on the move relate to and identify with other people who also move in and within the same patterns of movement? How do they make sense of their world, and pin down their identities? And ultimately, my question is to see if these identities have anything to do with a supra-national European identity? Does the constant movement amid the European space produce a European identity, that is, patterns and forms of identification with being European? Is movement really creating a cultural proximity, i.e. a feeling of belonging to the same cultural dominion, amongst Europeans? Does everybody who moves amid Europe automatically feel more European? Mobility is supposedly one of the most positive aspects of a fragmented Europe, but can we really rely on mobility to create this sense of closeness and cultural proximity? Are all mobilities equally relevant for the production of a Euro identity? Or are some mobilities still producing identities that reproduce realities of social exclusion, inveterate nationalisms and attachments to place? Or do mobilities still mimic the tensions between high and low class, mobile and immobile subjects, and gender issues? Who are the agents of such processes? High-up individuals or working-class citizens? Do they exist at all? Or is mobility, at a practical level, trapped within schemes of encapsulation, enclosure and distance?

3. The three case studies

The answers to the interrogations posed come from the evidence collected through a series of three mobile ethnographic cases, carried out with lorry drivers, musicians and politicians (Members of the European Parliament). I travelled for several months with a group of individuals from each one of these professional clusters. In the case of the truck drivers, I rode with eleven drivers from a transportation firm based in the north of Portugal, accompanying them on the road in their professional itineraries between Portugal and several central European countries. In the musicians' case, the data collected came from touring with my own band. Besides being the drummer in this endeavour, I transformed myself into an ethnographer during three European tours. Finally, in the MEPs' study, I shadowed three Portuguese politicians amidst their professional routes, catching the same planes, attending the same meetings, sleeping in the same hotels, and so forth. Thus, at the heart of this thesis lies an empirical, ethnographic work that underpins all the findings. Each of these three chapters are semi-autonomous, self-contained pieces. Each one of them presents a closed argument with key findings and a respective theoretical angle. My intention was to highlight, analyse and focus on (what I considered to be) the most symptomatic feature found in the mobility of each one of those professional groups. The structure of each chapter is similar though: each one has a section dedicated to methodological and descriptive remarks (section 2), followed by a portrayal of the mobile geographies encountered (section 3) and a critical presentation of the evidence collected (section 4), before moving on to a conclusive part (section 5). I centred all of the three analyses in the intersection of mobility and identity production (and reproduction), but each chapter follows a different logic and tries to address a particular problematic. The final section of each chapter ends with takes on Europe and Europeanness, thus opening the way for a broader discussion of its implications in the concluding chapter of this thesis. As we will see, all of these autonomous findings shed light on particular aspects of how personal mobilities in Europe contribute, or not, to the formation of a Euro identity. The interconnections and intersections of all the findings will be the core of the conclusions (chapter 7) of this thesis.

3.1 Lorry drivers

The lorry drivers' ethnography (chapter 4) is centred on questions of national belonging. I believe this was the most striking feature of the drivers' mobility. Instead of trespassing cultural barriers and engineering channels of communication with their European counterparts, the drivers I followed around transport their country – or, to be more precise, their particular way of being Portuguese – onto the road, enveloping themselves in nationalised nutshells. Even though they have to spend most of the year outside of Portugal, away from their families and friends, they are by no means losing track of their Portuguese roots. They are figures of Portugueseness. They reproduce old habits and vernacular traditions whilst on the move. They bring their religion with them, as well as the food from back home, the television shows and objects that celebrate attachments to their origins (Portuguese flags, football paraphernalia, Catholic saints, and so forth). And they perform all of this collectively: the drivers I shadowed only convoy with other Portuguese drivers, preferably from the same firm, and reject communication with individuals from other nationalities.

After a few days on the road with these drivers, I rapidly came to the conclusion that they have to deal with a very harsh environment: timetables are excruciating, the routes are inflexible, police inspections are cruel, robberies are constant, as an overall uncertainty punctuates the firmness of their itineraries and schedules. So, how do the drivers pin down their world and maintain a certain social and cultural cohesion in this hostile spatiality? Their collective response is to produce and reproduce – and maybe even amplify – identities linked to their locality and their country. They create safety and comfort through bringing what they know best onto the asphalt. In a second moment, it is humbling to think that, whilst these individuals are fundamental agents in the functioning of a European free market (much of the effectiveness of the market relies on a constant, swift, incessant trade of goods between the various member states), they are pushed towards a condition of deep encapsulation, both by themselves and by the law itself. In other words, for the majority of Europeans to experience the benefits of a free market of goods, these drivers have to be strapped onto the road, enfolded in deep-rooted, localised habits and traditions, reproducing archetypes of telluric ways of being Portuguese. The free-market of many is the mobile confinement of some.

3.2 Musicians

The musicians' case study (chapter 5) follows a very different logic. The main problematic here is to enquire about the motivations for doing the road. The musicians I travelled with (my own band) did not go on the road with tangible motivations on their horizon. After the first tour was finished, I looked back at the whole experience and soon realised that, as with a previous ethnography I had done (Novoa 2011), the reasons that drove us on the road were very elusive. Financial profiting was never a serious personal or collective goal; becoming a rock star was way beyond the wildest imaginations of the majority of the band's members; tourist desires were soon frustrated by the tightness of the scheduling; and the glamour of rock touring was replaced by empty venues and small sleeping spaces. So, I question myself: why did we go through all of this and still hold the tours in great consideration? Why do we still think of them as memorable, unforgettable experiences?

The answer lies on questions of identity building. I came to realise that doing the road is an essential step towards becoming a musician and reproducing one's identity as such. Mobility is ontologically part of being a rock musician. Without the road, a musician feels less of a musician. Roaming the asphalt, setting up the stage in a different city on a daily basis and performing for different audiences is at the core of a musician's identity. Musicians are figures of mobility. They are partly defined by it. Doing the road – an expression often used by musicians themselves – was only possible due to a well-oiled infrastructure of mobility in Europe. In fact, we took advantage of the European roads, the easy connections between member states, the absence of borders and the naturalness of cross-border movement within the Eurozone. However, this did not mean the creation of outer, eccentric identities of Europeanness. Instead, we engaged with the construction and reproduction of concentric, inwards identities of belonging to a broader rock culture. Rather than producing a Euro identity, we were ontologically worried about producing our own identities as musicians *per se*.

3.3 Members of the European Parliament

Finally, the MEPs' ethnography (chapter 6) is based on issues of speed and belonging to a transnational culture of smooth and swift movement. The approach was

different from the previous cases. I came to understand that MEPs have to struggle with a kind of fragmented life: they have to be both here and there, that is, they have build deep attachments with a new reality in Brussels (amidst the transnational circuit of European politicians) whilst being required to continuously return to their country of origin, for both professional and personal reasons. Just like the drivers, they have to inhabit a complex geography that stretches out along many countries and cities. However, they are required to be in different cities on the same day. They have to hold meetings in Lisbon and Brussels with only a few hours in between. They have to be in Lisbon by nightfall and come back to Brussels for an appointment the following morning. They feel the need to be with their families during the weekend and then rapidly fly to Strasbourg for a plenary session on Monday. How do they do so? What makes this possible? And how does this affect their lives?

I focused my answer on issues of speed. MEPs need to redesign themselves as figures of speed. This is the focus of the chapter. MEPs adjust to high-speed travelling, incorporating it. They learn to inhabit smooth geographies, where everything is done so that they can be fast and efficient. They inhabit capsular, surveilling and surveilled nodes, encoding their mobility into typified performances. They transport their professional acquaintances onto their personal lives. They travel light with only a few objects. They become preeminent figures of speed, whilst not becoming themselves flows, seeing as they still reproduce deep attachments to Portugal. However, during this process, they construct a remarkable identification with Europe and Europeanness. Whereas the drivers tendentiously reproduced national and local belongings and the musicians engaged with the building of concentric identities, MEPs' mobility does in fact generate belongings to a culture of speed and smoothness (a culture of European politicians) which, in turn, spawns identities linked to belonging to Europe and feeling European. I believe that speed and smoothness are at the heart of this process.

4. Methods overview

The main methodology used in this thesis is what has been recently labelled as mobile ethnography. Chapter 3 is entirely dedicated to a detailed explanation of this methodology. Due to its recent emergence – the first time the term appeared was probably in Urry and Sheller's seminal paper "the new mobilities paradigm" (Sheller &

Urry 2006) – there are yet no established and final formulas on its methods and techniques. Mobile ethnography is a recent, in-development variation of traditional ethnographic work. Even though it definitely suggests following people around in their itinerancies, or as Barbara Czarniawska put it, "shadowing" people on a day-to-day basis (Czarniawska 2007), it may encompass very different geographies, ranging from walking with people within a city to large-scaled patterns of mobility. I will have the opportunity to explain my own approach to this methodology in chapter 3, but generally my take was to follow around several individuals from three different professional groups for some months (between a minimum of one month to a maximum of three months) and engage with their mobile lifestyles, examining how mobility impacts and structures their worldviews and quotidian practices.

What did I do precisely? I shadowed several individuals, registering their moves, their rhythms of everyday life, their practices of mobility, their engagement with local surroundings, their dwellings, their representations and worldviews, and so forth. I registered all of these in field diaries, whilst conducting extra interviews (most of them through informal conversations), producing photographic albums and experiencing the sensations of travelling myself within a given professional, mobile world. Sometimes this was done in-group – in the case of the musicians, this was most symptomatic, as everything was done collectively, from the travelling itself to the sleeping accommodation, or the meals. Other times I travelled alone with only one individual – this was the case of the MEPs, who move in much tighter bubbles of privacy. In the case of the truck drivers, it varied from shadowing only one driver to multiple drivers at that the same time. In short, this is the core methodology that informs my entire work. A more profound analysis and description of the methods and techniques, as well as of the specificities of mobile ethnography and the ethical issues that come with it, will be provided in chapter 3.

5. Final remarks

To sum up, this thesis is focused on a systematic analysis of the production and reproduction of identities whilst on the move. It is mainly about the intersection of mobility and identity. It is about how people on the move create sensations of belonging and attachment, thus producing and reproducing collective identities. It is about how

certain mobile contexts create particular types of identities, some of which may be newborn identities, whilst others follow different logics and strategies, more focused on the amplification of secular belongings, for instance. To delve into the crossroads of mobility and identity, I followed around three different professional groups in and within their itinerancies: lorry drivers, musicians and politicians (Members of the European Parliament). I shadowed one group comprised of individuals from each one of these clusters, taking notes and photographs, collecting ethnographic evidence, conducting interviews and personally experiencing the pleasures and displeasures, the comforts and discomforts, the smoothness and turbulence of life on the road. I inhabited different mobile geographies, different mobile devices and grasped different textures, senses and personal approaches to a life of movement.

I believe all of these case studies, whilst enclosing an autonomous approach with a particular conclusion, shed light on different aspects of how mobility in Europe is being performed at a ground-based level. The lorry drivers' ethnography spells out how mobility, far from erasing local and national belongings, may amplify them, thus reproducing fragmentations of identity that are at the heart of European integration. The musicians' chapter throws light on how certain mobilities function as creators of concentric identities, rather than operating transgressive or cosmopolitan belongings, meaning that there can be a number of personal/collective mobilities in Europe which are not troubled by (and do not fabricate) Europeanness and European attachments. The MEPs' case is the one wherein an identification with Europe became most clear. The MEPs, through becoming themselves figures of speed, wandering around in a culture of smoothness and swiftness, fabricated personal identities of Europeanness. The interconnections and links between all of these findings will be fleshed out and analysed in chapter 7, the concluding chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

Setting up the debate:

European mobility and the new mobilities paradigm

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I start off by making a thorough revision on the problematics of European mobility, fleshing out its main features. My approach was to juxtapose an examination of its main literature with some of the European Union's legislative pieces, policies and programs on the subject. I divided my analysis into four points: (a) mobility as a right, as part of the ontology of European citizenship; (b) examples of Europeans on the move; (c) mobility as a leitmotiv of identity; (d) an emphasis on infrastructures of mobility. These points speak to one another, but here they are presented as separate sections. I then propose to confront these notions with specific themes arising from the new mobilities paradigm. I believe that the literature on European mobility has not sufficiently intersected with the most significant theoretical angles and analytical outputs from the mobilities turn, namely in problematics revolving around inequality, uneven distribution of capitals of mobility and themes of encapsulation. European mobility is often conceived of as a practice that enhances the interconnectedness of Europeans, eventually leading to the fabrication of a Euro identity. Many of the top-down policies of the Union have been based on the assumption that the more we move, the more European we become. However, many authors affiliated with the mobilities turn have shown us how mobility does not necessarily erase rigid geometries of power, does not automatically enhance personal freedom and is not an automatic doorway to a more profound cultural proximity. The "geographies of mobilities" (Cresswell & Merriman 2011) are immensely rich and diverse. They do not pull specifically in one direction or follow a particular logic. Putting these two fields of studies in dialogue – and confronting them with the evidence presented in the empirical chapters – may unveil many hidden aspects, located on the ground and in the field, of the personal "mobile lives", to borrow Elliott and Urry's term (Elliott & Urry 2010), of many Europeans.

2. On European Mobility

The background to my thesis is the growing top-down policy relevance conferred to mobility, and proximity, as key geographical facts of emerging European identities. There has been an underlying assumption that the people who move more,

feel more European, whilst the people who stay local, feel local. Within the European context, mobility has been framed and given relevance in four main arenas: as a formal right of citizenship, as a way in which the people of Europe – via informal and professional mobility practices – can become European experientially, as a central symbolic motif in European identity construction, and through the building of a network of material mobility infrastructures, such as roads, bridges, and airspace, amongst others. In his book *On the move*, Tim Cresswell offered us a theoretical framework for the concepts of movement and mobility, making a clear conceptual distinction between the two (Cresswell 2006). For Cresswell, movement is an abstract dislocation. It is the act of displacement exempted from social contexts, power relations and cultural implications. Movement is to be seen as the dynamic equivalent of space or location. Mobility, on the other hand, could be summarised as a dislocation or movement constrained *by* and embedded *in* meaning and contexts of power. Mobility is contextualised movement, the dynamic equivalent of place. According to Cresswell, mobility is thus all about meaning, metaphors and power. He pays attention to the ways the ideologies and narratives built around mobility re-echo on people's lives, practices and representations. Cresswell sets about to study "the systematic processes to make mobilities knowable before that knowledge is re-inscribed back upon the mobile body through various forms of bodily investigation and rationalisation" (Adey 2010b: 147). In short, Cresswell examines how movement is transformed into mobility through complex processes of historical and social production of knowledge – he calls this the "production of mobilities" (Cresswell 2006). I believe that, in the European Union, an ideology of mobility as something modern and positive, linked to the formation of a European citizenship identity, has been forged. This knowledge – produced through symbols, legislation, notions of citizenship and infrastructures – is then (presumably) re-inscribed onto individuals' practices and representations, towards the production of a European identity. Let us analyse this phenomenon.

2.1 More-than-flexible-citizenship: mobility as a right

The term flexible citizenship is normally attributed to the works of Aihwa Ong, following the publication of *Flexible citizenship: the cultural logics of transnationality* (Ong 1999). Focusing on the case of Asian individuals, the basic argument behind

Ong's ideas is the reckoning that late capitalism challenged the traditional views of citizenship, which were umbilically linked to territory and nationality. Flexible citizenship refers to an ideology that sees in economic motives the main reason for individuals to choose their citizenship rather than identifying themselves with certain communal political rights. Following the trends and dynamics of late capitalism itself, Ong explains that this led to new types of citizenship which have much more to do with transnationalism, mobility and fluidity rather than territory or nationality. "Flexible citizenship refers to the cultural logics of capitalist accumulation, travel, and displacement that induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political-economic conditions. In their quest to accumulate capital and social prestige in the global arena, subjects emphasize, and are regulated by, practices favouring flexibility, mobility, and repositioning in relation to markets, governments, and cultural regimes" (Ong 1999: 6). Ong explains that this logic is underpinned by opportunities for accumulating capital and, in the process, the outcome is the challenging of more vernacular forms of citizenship, creating new types of subjectivies and identities, where relocation is desirable and natural.

> "Those most able to benefit from their participation in global capitalism celebrate flexibility and mobility, which give rise to such figures as the multiple-passport holder; the multicultural manager with 'flexible capital'; the 'astronaut', shuttling across borders on business; 'parachute kids', who can be dropped off in a other country by parents on the trans-Pacific business commute; and so on. Thus, while mobility and flexibility have long been part of the repertoire of human behaviour, under transnationality the new links between flexibility and the logics of displacement, on the one hand, and capital accumulation, on the other, have given new valence to such strategies of manoeuvring and positioning. Flexibility, migration, and relocations, instead of being coerced or resisted, have become practices to strive for rather than stability" (Ong 1999: 19).

This has been a social reality for many Europeans and it has been incentivised by political institutions, especially of a supra-national nature. However, in the European context, more than a set of practices that, through the course of time, have resulted in fluid or flexible schemes of citizenship, mobility has been codified as a right. That is, not only is transnational mobility and flexibility part of the everyday life of many European citizens, it has also been inscribed into European law. The Treaty on European Union (TEU) – also known as the Treaty of Maastricht (1992, entered into force in 1993) and recently amended by the Treaty of Lisbon (2007, entered into force

in 2009) – contains innumerable mentions of the free movement of citizens, appearing as one of the fundamental rights of Europeans. In the preamble, the treaty clearly states that the signatories (the high-ranked representatives of each member state) "RESOLVED to facilitate the free movement of persons, while ensuring the safety and security of their peoples, by establishing an area of freedom, security and justice, in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty and of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union". Article 3 reinforces this notion stating that the "Union shall offer its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers, in which the free movement of persons is ensured".

In 1958, the Treaty Establishing the European Community (TEC), signed in Rome, had already declared that every person holding the nationality of a Member State would be a citizen of the Union and that citizenship of the Union would complement and not replace national citizenship (article 17). Indeed the right to free movement preceded all other rights in the context of European citizenship. This has been reinforced recently in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) – an updated version of the TEC – when article 20 claims that citizens of the Union shall enjoy "the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States". Following a continuous trend, mobility has become an even greater feature of the latest treaties and strategies of the EU. In the TFEU, Title IV is dedicated to free movement of persons, services and capitals, stating under article 45 that "freedom of movement for workers shall be secured within the Union", whilst "such freedom of movement shall entail the abolition of any discrimination" – this is again re-examined and detailed in article 46. A European Social Fund has been set up "in order to improve employment opportunities for workers in the internal market and to contribute thereby to raising the standard of living (…). It shall aim to render the employment of workers easier and to increase their geographical and occupational mobility within the Union" (Title XI, article 162). Title XII, under article 165, specifies that the Union shall be aimed at "encouraging mobility of students and teachers, by encouraging *inter alia*, the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of study". Under the same Title, one can also read that the Union is working towards facilitating "access to vocational training and encourage mobility of instructors and trainees and particularly young people" (article 166), whilst in Title XIX, article 180, there is a "stimulation of the training and mobility of researchers in the Union", with the objective of "strengthening its scientific and technological bases by achieving a European research area in which researchers,

scientific knowledge and technology circulate freely" (article 179).

Furthermore, mobility has been awarded the formal status as a right of European citizenship within the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, which entered into force in 2009 following the Treaty of Lisbon. In the preamble, one can observe that the Union "seeks to promote balanced and sustainable development and ensures free movement of persons, services, goods and capital". Article 45 of the Charter refers to the axial "freedom of movement and of residence" which states that "every citizen of the Union has the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States", adding that "freedom of movement and residence may be granted (…) to nationals of third countries legally resident in the territory of a Member State". Also, the recent strategy of the EU, the so-called Europe 2020, contains a flagship initiative with the eye-catching title "Youth on the move" as well as an "An agenda for new skills and jobs", which promotes the modernisation of labour markets "through labour mobility". Top-down incentives to mobility are common. For instance, the Karolus Program, which ran from 1992 to 1999, was a training and exchange programme concerned with the implementation of legislation and enforcement needed to set up and maintain the internal market, employing national officials involved with the control of foodstuffs, foodstuff hygiene, and veterinary medicine. At the present time, a quick browse of the European Commission's website results in an endless list of papers on mobility, such as a Eurobarometer survey about labour market movement, special issues on the benefits of geographical mobility for employees or detailed portraits of mobile workers within the EU. António Vitorino, ex-European commissioner, sums it up quite well: "people's mobility is inscribed in the genetic code of the European integration project" (Vitorino 2010: 210).

Originally, the idea of free movement of people had a purely economic rationale as movement of labour was seen as a prerequisite for an economic area. Gradually this rationale was expanded to the self-employed, service providers and family members as part of the European project to produce a common market within which capital, goods and services could move. It was in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty that the right to move was declared to encompass all citizens of member states. This was finally put into practice in 1995 with the creation of the Schengen Area. The charter of fundamental rights makes such a right "fundamental" (see Bialasiewicz *et al.* 2005). Guild clearly identified the free movement across borders as one of the strongest legal elements of European identity, as a trigger of citizenship rights (Guild 2004), whereas Maas

explains that the creation of European citizens is underpinned by mobility as a set of rights itself (Maas 2007). European citizenship, as a legal device, is umbilically linked to the promotion of mobility as a banner for integration and creation of modern citizens. Mobility as a legal device is one of the strongest elements, and perhaps the one that has the most visible practical consequences for the lives of Europeans, when it comes to the production of citizenship identities. That is, individuals identify themselves with a European citizenship mainly because they know they are able to freely move amid the European space. Because they know they have the *right* to do so.

The incorporation of mobility as a fundamental right to European citizens gave way to its endowment as a basic characteristic for the modern European citizen *per se*. Ginette Verstraete explains this in her book *Tracking Europe*, shedding light on how new senses of belonging based on mobility and movement have been forged within the Schengen political space. Albeit the author highlights the contradictory nature of this paradigm – seeing as the only way that Europe can engage with such a spatiality of free movement is through the strict fencing of its outer borders – it nevertheless exists and persists.

"Verstraete's central argument is that European tourism, local and regional marketing processes, the homogenization of European space through highways, rail and air travel, telecommunications, and the Internet, together with labor migration and smuggling networks often relying on the same routes, itineraries, and technologies, embody mobility flows, which are enacted, represented, controlled, and consumed at local, national, and global levels, constituting in the process what is the identity of today's Europe." (Vari 2011: 153)

Belonging to Europe, as a citizen, nowadays means the freedom to wander about and around. "Today's dominant neoliberal view of belonging to a Europe without borders goes hand in hand with 'an emphasis on rational, autonomous subjects who through self-reflection are able to distance themselves from the world of social relations' (…). The ideal European citizen is someone with a thin connection to any single place – a rootless, flexible, highly educated, and well-travelled cosmopolitan, capable of maintaining long-distance and virtual relations without looking to the nation-state for protection" (Verstraete 2010: 8). And this is codified as law. It is inscribed in the genetic code of European integration.

2.2 Europeans on the move

There has also been a more informal emphasis placed on the practice of mobility as a key way in which these new Europeans could come to feel European. As Cresswell puts it, "the promotion of mobility as a way of being a free European citizen extends well beyond formal rights" (Cresswell 2006: 237). One example is a pamphlet on European citizenship produced by the European Commission which makes these notions vivid: "what Community national does not enjoy following the 'European Community' sign in airport arrival halls, and passing through simply by showing the uniform passport adopted in 1985?" (Fontaine 1993: 7-8). Cresswell explains that the pamphlet carries on cataloguing the various technologies and practices of mobility that might guarantee a sensation of European identity through their constant usage. "These include the common European currency, the Trans-European Transport Network, common driving licenses, agreements on healthcare (the E111), a frontier free mobile phone transmission zone, a lack of customs checks, the EU channel at airports and border crossing without passports" (Cresswell 2006: 237). There is a strong awareness here that these mobile quotidian practices are capable of fabricating a feeling of European identity. That is to say, "that an identity will be produced through the practice of freedom of/as mobility" (Cresswell 2006: 237), and not solely through the codification of mobility as law.

As Donald McNeill stresses, "it can be suggested that Europe has always been partly constructed by the interaction of human mobility desires and technological forms of mobility. The speed corridors that provide the backbone of the continent are crucial factors in developing an advanced sense of European identity" (McNeill 2004: 143). This has been corroborated throughout the years. Fligstein, for instance, says that there has been a sensation that those who participate in Europe, that is, who take advantage of the EU's mobile spatiality, are more likely to cultivate a European identity, whilst those whose socio-economic limits are tied to a local scale are more likely to declare national identities (Fligstein *et al* 2011). As the author clarifies, individuals will "come to see each other less as Italian and French, and thus foreign, and more and more as sharing common interests, a process that eventually will lead to seeing themselves more as Europeans and less as having merely a national identity" (Fligstein 2008: 139). This participation in Europe encompasses exploring and experiencing the practical

advantages that the European Union has created in terms of facilitating a smooth space of flows between its member states. As mentioned, individuals come to grasp a sensation of belonging to Europe through common healthcare programs, mobile phone zones, a passport free zone, and so forth, which are basically facilitators of border-crossing mobility at a supra-national level. These little details of the quotidian are meant to work towards the fostering of a European identity. As Sigalas asserts,

"Today, the transformative potential of cross-border people mobility signifies a window of opportunity for the European Union (EU) that cannot be ignored. As border controls between most EU countries disappeared, and travelling to and living in other European countries became easier, Europeans have more chances than ever to interact with each other and, in theory, to develop a common identity. This, in turn, could help the EU address its legitimacy deficit and boost support for European integration." (Sigalas 2010: 242)

Nina Rother and Tina Nebe have shown us, for instance, that the more mobile people are, the more they identity with Europe: "our findings strongly confirm the hypothesis that EU movers are more highly Europeanized than stayers. Movers know more about the EU, have a more positive image of it, often have European identities and feel more attached to the EU than stayers do" (Rother & Nebe 2009: 152). As Thomas Risse asserts, "on average, 'movers' are four times more likely than 'stayers' to exclusively identify with Europe, and the former are also far less likely to identify only with their home state than the latter" (Risse 2010: 48). Adrian Favell labelled this group under the term "Eurostars", a class of professional, highly-educated, and skilled individuals who move amid the central "Eurocities", that is, London, Paris, Berlin, Madrid, Amsterdam, Brussels, and others:

"You take a train. The station looks modern, the train fast. The two of you have been looking forward to this for a long time. The train departs, and rolls out through the city. You both laugh as local commuter trains overtake it. The announcements come in three languages – English, Dutch and French, with distinctive, slightly false accents. They are apologising for the delay. The train eventually enters a long tunnel, and suddenly it is travelling fast. When it comes out, the landscape is different, flashing by. Twice as fast. You arrive in the heart of a new city in less time than it would have taken to get out to the airport and pass through security in the first. You take another fast train. The cities and countries spin by in a blur, while you talk, station-to-station, trans-Europe express. The world outside is familiar, but strange. The new currency you hold can be used everywhere. You arrive in another new city. European modernity rises up around you… you feel liberated. Eurostars." (Favell 2008: 1)

Of course this is experienced by a very restricted group of individuals, but the author believes that these are nevertheless the prototypical Europeans. These individuals are looked upon as the role-model citizens of the European Union, just like we saw previously. As Favell explains elsewhere,

"The symbolic importance of the moving EU population is not lessened by the numbers. Movement and mobility have huge effects on those involved, both those who move and those who encounter movers. In each and every one of these lives, the hopes and aspirations of the architects of the European integration process are inscribed. EU movers are the prototypical 'Highly Europeanized Citizens'. They are the human face of European integration, from whom we might learn what it means to be a European. Their lives and experiences are the best guide to finding out how easy it is to shift one's identity or horizon to a post-national or cosmopolitan level, and of the practical benefits, insights, barriers and failings of a life lived outside the place where you historically belong." (Favell & Recchi 2009: 3)

In other words, even though the numbers of the mobile population may be small, they are by no means short of influence or spreading ideology, according to this view. These are individuals who can show how easy is to move between member states, through the little mundane details of everyday life: mobile phone zone, passport free zone, fast communications, common driving licenses, etc.

Drawing upon Favell's ideas, Risse makes a clear distinction between two groups of people in the European Union: those who move and those who do not. "On the one hand, there are 'the Europeans' and even a small group of 'Eurostars' who strongly interact transnationally, are highly educated, have high-skilled occupational levels, and hold mostly cosmopolitan values. This group feels very much attached to Europe and the EU. On the other hand, exclusive nationalists who reject Europe and the EU have less transnational interactions, lower education levels, and work mostly in blue-collar jobs" (Risse 2010: 49). What is interesting in these accounts is how mobility normally translates into an automatic identification with Europe and European-ness. Mobility is not only codified as law and as a trigger of citizenship rights, but it is also inscribed in the ontological code of a European identity at a practical and quotidian level. Mobility is celebrated in the ontologies of the everyday life of Europeans. As Etienne Balibar puts it,

"The European Union, which at the beginning represented only half the nations of the continent, has begun to present itself as an organizing and civilizing power at the regional level, engaging various processes of integration, association or reciprocity with what was the 'East'. It is clear that this evolution cannot occur without concomitant population movements, both on account of the reestablishment of a long-forbidden freedom of movement as well as by the accentuation of the mobility of labour." (Balibar 2004: 47)

Programs like Erasmus, Socrates, and so forth, operate as a kind of cradle for a European identity. They are meant to display, at a practical and quotidian level, how effortless it is to be a European. How natural it is to move between member states. And how evident the process of moving abroad can be. The programmes' main objective is to create platforms of cultural exchange whilst consolidating the production of a European identity. For many students, Erasmus and Da Vinci serve as the first experience of living abroad, encouraging the exchange of different ways-of-living between European youth. In 2005, political scientist Stefan Wolf shared this vision, adding that "give it 15, 20 or 25 years, and Europe will be run by leaders with a completely different socialization from those of today. I'm quite optimistic that in the future there will be less national wrangling, less Brussels-bashing and more unity in EU policy making - even if that is hard to picture today" (Wolf 2005). In fact, "if the European Commission decided to become involved in the field of education at an early stage in the integration process, it was not only – as most people believed – to ensure an effective implementation of the Common Market in 1957 or the Single Market in 1987. Rather, through its education policy, the Commission also hoped to create and foster an EU identity that the founding fathers and subsequent 'Europeans' considered necessary for achieving their goals of creating 'an ever closer union'" (Petit 2007).

Other authors are far more sceptical. Iain Wilson conducted research in which it is possible to observe that Erasmus students do not directly feel more European following their experience abroad. However, the author does add that it still promotes "the learning of foreign languages and awareness of other European cultures", after which he adds that "all of these could benefit individual Europeans and some might indirectly create support for the European project" (Wilson 2011: 1137). If anything, these programmes are at least an indirect contribution to the channelling of mobility for the purpose of fabricating a Euro-identity, enabling students from all corners of Europe to travel between member states and experience different settings. Since the 90s, students' mobility has been increasing each year and the capacity to internationalise

oneself is seen today as one of the most important forms of personal capital. As Van Mol asserts, Erasmus has been underpinned by the notion that "the mobility and mixing of European young adults would lead to the consolidation of a People's Europe and the creation of European citizens" (Van Mol 2013: 209).

Mobility has come to be so central and natural in the social terrain of Europe that Aradau *et al* claim that even the people who are left out of a citizen-status also take advantage of the opportunities created by this mobile Europe: "mobilizing this paradoxical relation constitutes new sites of citizenship in which subjects who institutionally are non-citizens (or who cannot exercise European citizenship rights) but who are nevertheless engaged in exchange relations do enact themselves as European citizens" (Aradau *et al* 2010: 962). More than a mere element of legal citizenship, mobility is inscribed in the heart of European integration from below, that is, marginalized people have also been contributing to this state of affairs. European citizenship identities are not simply something enacted from the "top-down" but they are "emerging out of transformations of the social fabric" (Aradau *et al* 2010: 961). The authors conclude that mobility is at the core of European identity not simply as a set of rights or practices triggering citizenship rights, but also – and perhaps more importantly – "because it is central to the enactment of a different political project from those attempting to render more coherent, systematic and comprehensive the current provisions regarding the mobility of people in the EU" (Aradau *et al* 2010: 957).

2.3 Mobility as a symbolic device of identity

Symbolically speaking, the European Union has been pursuing a policy that promotes transnational identities through such things as the iconography of the Euro, which plays a decisive role in the fabrication of a European identity with the utilisation of images of bridges and gateways. Pollard and Sidaway showed how the various Euro banknotes take on bridges as their central decorative motives, clearly indicating a promoting of links and connections amongst Europeans instead of more demarcated national symbols. "None of these represent any actually existing bridges. In other words they are simulations, or composites; representations of the architectural *styles* of bridges that may be found in Europe. They are not images of any real bridges in (or between) European states, but simulated bridges, symbolizing connection, communication and

openness" (Pollard & Sidaway 2002: 7). As Cresswell asserts, this iconography is "made to represent a generic Europeanness" (Cresswell 2006: 237). Nations used to relay their symbolic iconographies in their own images of landscape, territory or static monuments. In the European case, mobility, flows, connections and proximity have been promoted as symbolic devices of a presumable supra-national identity.

"We miss the significance of the advent of the Euro for European political, economic, and social order if we ignore its identity dimension. Money has always been a symbolic marker in nation-building efforts and is strongly related to collective national identities. (…) On the one hand, there is evidence that the introduction of Euro bills and coins has already begun to affect Euroland citizens' identification with the EU and Europe in general. (…) The Euro makes Europe real and reifies it as a political order, since it provides a visible link from Brussels to the daily lives of the citizens. On the other hand, existing collective identities pertaining to the nation-state explain to a large degree how comfortable people feel using and dealing with the Euro. (…) The variation in attitudes between the Italian enthusiasm for the Euro, the German ambivalence about it, and the widespread British opposition can be accounted for by the differences in collective understandings and identification patterns with the nation-state and Europe. In sum, the causal arrows from the Euro to collective identities run both ways." (Risse 2003: 501)

The European currency is rife with metaphors of mobility. But other symbolic devices making use of mobile motifs are also present. For instance, consider the European Union's anthem, written by Friedrich Schiller and celebrated by Ludwig Beethoven in the "Ninth Symphony": the "Ode to Joy". Deliberately taken from the core of Enlightenment thinking, the ode celebrates unity in diversity, cosmopolitanism and the brotherhood of all mankind. The anthem is normally played without lyrics. The ode is a musical piece deliberately taken from the Enlightenment representing cosmopolitanism and the unity of mankind. Furthermore, 2006 was symbolically named the "European Year of Workers Mobility" and was advertised through a European Mobility Bus undertaking a European Mobility Roadshow encouraging citizens to live and work in another country. In 2006, the Mobility Bus toured nine European cities between 22 September and 19 October, making presentations on job opportunities through the EURES Internet portal and inspiring Europeans to take a chance abroad. In the press release, one can read

"The tour kicks off at Place de la Bastille in Paris on 22 September, where several awareness raising events are planned, involving recruitment agencies, businesses and a large number of public and private organisations. Visitors will also be able to meet experienced EURES advisers, who will be on

hand to answer questions relating to working abroad. The tour's next stops are Kiel, Germany (25 September); Helsinki (29 and 30 September); Riga (3 October); Warsaw (6 October); Prague (9 October); Pecs, Hungary (12 October); Milan (16 October) and Brussels in front of the Berlaymont Building (19 October). Special events linked to mobility are planned for each city stop. The Mobility Bus will also be on the road for the first European Job Fair, where mobility events will be taking place simultaneously in over 250 European cities on 29 and 30 September." (source: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-06-1240_en.htm?locale=en February 2013)

Also, the Council of Europe has promoted the construction of heritage routes that transcend national space. These include the Celtic route, the Gypsy route and the Humanist route. The Council of Europe promotes these as "an excellent idea to devise routes offering a tangible and visible illustration of both the overall unity and the inherent diversity of European culture. This corresponded perfectly to the aims and ideals of strengthening European identity while respecting to the full cultural heritage and the beliefs of others, and was also likely to encourage cultural tourism" (Council of Europe, ct. in Cresswell & Verstraete 2002: 38). These routes are presented as alternatives to forms of heritage that are more tied to local and national senses of boundedness. A European Commission Green Paper, released in 1995, was already discussing the advantages of tourism towards the construction of a supra-national identity: "tourism can be a means of reducing the differences between multifarious realities which constitute the Union, and by a continuous process of these differences being perceived in a non-confrontational context, can facilitate communication among citizens, and thus improve the basis on which exchanges, both cultural and economic, are made between the Member States" (Commission Green Paper 1995: 16). As Andries put it, "the commission asserts that tourism, which falls into a category different from business or professional travel, can be turned into a vector for reducing the gaps between national attitudes and can facilitate communication amongst citizens, thereby improving cultural and economic exchanges" (Andries 1997: 11). Taking on routes and paths, materialised in touristic practices, as symbolic motifs is a self-evident sign of how mobility is being constructed in relation to a European identity.

In short, what has been pulling Europeans together is a sense that they are not being pulled anywhere, bearing the freedom to travel to wherever they desire. This sensation is one of the most powerful symbolic devices in the constitution of a Euro-identity. As Verstraete again puts it, "in an age of globalization – or, in this case, Europeanization – the politically and culturally bounded nation-state becomes less

important as a site for political identification, while more and more communities are formed through relations with distant others. These relations are sustained through the mobility and accessibility of certain subjects (Europeans), objects (the euro), images (media coverage of EU affairs), symbols (the European flag), places (cultural capitals), social rights (universal suffrage), and above all through a general belief in that mobility and accessibility" (Verstraete 2010: 8). Whereas in the construction of national identities, symbols are normally linked to territory, fixity, landscape, specific language and customs, the European is precisely adopting forms of symbolic identities that rely on their counterparts: mobility, flows, movement and diversity. As Sassatelli framed it, "there is a key difference between banal nationalism and banal Europeanism. If banal nationalism is very much based on forgetting difference and complexity, so that its public representation stresses homogeneity, banal Europeanism's public discourse has a different narrativization, that stresses 'unity in diversity'" (Sassatelli 2010: 80).

This means that while an emphasis on territory was applied to traditional nationalisms, the construction of a European "imagined community", in the vein of Benedict Anderson (Anderson 1991), is being pursued through its opposite, i.e. mobility. The discourse of "unity in diversity" is best reproduced and materialized through a systematization of mobility as a symbolic device rather than territory, fixity or boundedness. In *Making European space*, Jensen and Richardson explained that a new discourse of Europe as a "monotopia", based on visions of high speed, frictionless mobility, the collapse of borders and the weaving of city networks, was being built: "by this we mean an organised, ordered and totalised space of zero-friction and seamless logistic flows (…) based on an increasing harmonisation of mobilities people, goods and information" (Jensen & Richardson 2004: 3). Some of the European Commission policy documentation is quite clear about the significance of the right to be mobile as a symbol: "the freedom to travel or to go about one's business throughout Europe as in one's own country is for the citizen the most potent symbol of the existence of the European Union" (European Commission 1994: 3).

2.4 A mobile-infrastructural Europe

All of these constructions of mobility are tied up with the building of infrastructures of mobility that connect the policy intentions of European integration

with the everyday life and travels of citizens. The infrastructures encompass for instance the international E-road network, which connects national road networks through a continent-wide road numbering system, the Trans-European Transport Network Executive Agency, the reorganisation of European airports to allow borderless travel within the Schengen Area or the facilitation of European mobile phone use. As Donald McNeill stresses,

"The European Commission has sought to develop strategic spatial planning initiatives that help to ease transport bottlenecks and provide new, quick links within the post-national 'macro' regions of Europe. (…) These include air, rail, road and, to a lesser extent, water-based transport, and range from the expansion of Malpensa airport, to the improvement of Greek motorways, to dedicated freight lines, such as the linking the port of Rotterdam to the existing German-Dutch rail networks. New high-speed train lines, such as the Madrid-Barcelona-Perpignan route, or the North-South Berlin-Verona link, aim to slice through long-standing national networks." (McNeill 2004: 134)

Roads play a relevant role on the production of national landscape, as described for instance by Peter Merriman (Merriman 2007). This could be translated to the process of European integration at least since the early 20th century, as Frank Schipper, Erik van der Vleuten or Arne Kaijser have shown us in two distinct historical accounts (Schipper 2008, Van der Vleuten & Kaijser 2006). A good example is the E-road system. The international E-road network is a numbering system for roads in Europe developed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) to facilitate cross-border mobility. The system was first designed in the 40s, even before the EEC was framed, under the supervision of the UNECE (declaration no.1264, the Declaration on the Construction of Main International Traffic Arteries), but it was fully reorganised in 1975, when the European Agreement on Main International Traffic Arteries, or AGR, replaced it. Since then, some revisions took place, such as in 2008. The system creates a communal trafficking numbering arrangement so that people and goods can more easily move around and about the European space. Normally, motorways also have a national designation, but countries such as Belgium, Denmark, Sweden or Norway have roads with exclusive European route signage. For instance, the A1 in Portugal is integrally part of the E01 and partially part of the E80. As Schipper explained, "today the E-signs decorate many roads across Europe. The 2000 census on the E-roads indicates that almost all countries had marked the large majority of their E-roads with the agreed standardized green signs" (Schipper 2008: 188).

In addition to the reorganisation of European airports to facilitate the mobility of European citizens across member states (with specific corridors for European citizens), whilst enforcing slowness to non-EU individuals, the European Commission launched an initiative suggestively named the Single European Sky, coordinated by the European Common Aviation Area, which is focused on the design, management and regulation of European airspace as a whole. As Peter Adey explains, "in the emerging discourse over a Single European Sky, the shifting ideological underpinnings of air-travel mobilities from the post-war period have moved away from the bounded fortress formulations which mimicked the territorial borders of the nation-state, to something closer to the Grotian ideology of the seas, [that is, the *Mare Librium*]" (Adey 2010a: 71). Jensen and Richardson had already discussed this, stating that "what is on the agenda here is thus at the practical level the mending the previous 'partitioning' of Europe's skies into layers. But it is also a practice which articulates the EU as one space, at multiple scales – a space of monotopia" (Jensen & Richardson 2004: 82).

Another good example of the importance of mobile infrastructures in Europe is the latest Trans-European Transport Network Executive Agency, established in 2006, in order to develop the Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T), which is a prearranged set of road, rail, air and water transport networks (in force since 1996). Basically, it is an agency that oversees and coordinates national policies with regard to transportation policymaking, especially at a large scale. The European Commission's website states that "in order to establish a single, multimodal network that integrates land, sea and air transport networks throughout the Union, the European policymakers decided to establish the trans-European transport network, allowing goods and people to circulate quickly and easily between Member States and assuring international connections". This program has constituted a key element in the Lisbon Strategy and will play a decisive role in the development of the strategies contained in the Europe 2020 Strategy.

"In view of the growth in traffic between Member States, expected to double by 2020, the investment required to complete and modernise a well-performing trans-European network is substantial. The cost of EU infrastructure development to match the demand for transport has been estimated at over € 1.5 trillion for 2010-2030. The completion of the TEN-T network requires about € 550 billion until 2020 out of which some € 215 billion can be referred to the removal of the main bottlenecks. Given the scale of the investment required, it is necessary to strengthen the coordination dimension of network planning and

development at European level, in close collaboration with national governments." (source: http://ec.europa.eu/transport/index_en.htm)

The money put into transportation networking, encouraging and facilitating the circulation of people and goods, is immense. Of course, this has primarily to do with a better functionality of the internal market for economic purposes, but there is also a belief that this can spark a more profound cultural and social integration. On the Commission's website, in the same link quoted above, one can read "transport infrastructure is fundamental for the smooth operation of the internal market, for the mobility of persons and goods and for the economic, social and territorial cohesion of the European Union". As we can see, the idea is to procure cultural and social proximity (the Commission used the word cohesion here) through the development of fast and stable geographical proximity. In *Open sky*, Paul Virilio gave us an insight on the outcomes of the rise of mobile infrastructures:

"But let us get back to Europe's great engineering projects and the political significance of this initial programme of European infrastructural development. The whole point of all this development – the building of bridges and roadways, the digging of tunnels, the laying of railways and highways on expropriated land – is *to make the territory more dynamic*, in order to increase the transit speed of people and goods. That great 'static vehicle' constituted by the road and railway networks promotes the acceleration of the small 'dynamic vehicles' that use them, allowing whole convoys to glide smoothly; and, pretty soon, resistance to the forward motion of mobile vehicles, shown, from time immemorial, by a nation's geographical depth, will disappear. But so will all topographical asperities, those hills and steep valleys that were the pride, the splendour, of the regions traversed, being ironed out." (Virilio 1997: 79-80)

According to the author, the development of these grand infrastructures of mobility is removing a topographical imagination of landscape as constitutive of territorial landmarks – a trend linked to the building of national identities – and replacing it a mobile landscape instead, which can build a very different type of supra-national identity. Making the territory more dynamic might be a way to submerge or drown the sensations of belonging to the nation, by eliminating the "topographical asperities" that once characterised the relationship between individuals and their respective nations. Through the fast and resilient building of mobile infrastructures, the connection between citizens and their particular origins may be obliterated by the will to be a modern European citizen, i.e. a connected, fast, swift and smooth traveller that has

no more time to "waste" on the wilderness of the territory, but is swamped by the frictionless mobility of cross-border flows. And, while Richardson and Jensen still believe that "within such a uniform space of flows (…) there may still exist 'pockets of resistance', contestation and counter practices", they nevertheless advocate that "as European integration seems increasingly to be organised around the principle of spatial governance within a frame of seamless mobility, we would surmise that such Foucauldian counterpractices of 'heterotopia' are threatened with annihilation by the push towards a new European space of uniform flow" (Jensen & Richardson 2004: 3).

3. The new mobilities paradigm

The key theme that emerges from this reading is how there has been a tendency to create a kind of meta-narrative of fluidity within the European space. As we saw, this phenomenon has been driven by a plethora of top-down policies that view in personal mobilities as having the potential to create cross-cultural identities and an imagined community of Europeanness. But, this is not a preserve of policymaking. Also many academics have been reinforcing this notion, advocating that the more we move within Europe, the more European we become. These visions are underpinned by a notion of mobility as an abstract category that automatically produces more contact, connectedness and cultural togetherness. It reproduces tales of transgression, of becoming and nomadology (in a Deleuzian sense), of cosmopolitanism-making. In a certain sense, institutions and scholars attribute certain conjectural properties to the physical exercise of cross-border mobility. That is, mobility has been treated as a mechanism that instinctively attributes properties of metaphysical quality to the physical mobility of Europeans, such as the automatic production of cultural bridges, contact, togetherness, cosmopolitanism, or Europeanism.

What the mobilities paradigm has been showing us over the past years is how fallacious a rationale like this can be. As Sheller and Urry alerted, "although we call for a `sociology beyond societies', we do not insist on a new `grand narrative' of mobility, fluidity, or liquidity" (Sheller & Urry 2006: 210). The mobilities turn quickly demarcated itself from it, accounting for "not only the quickening of liquidity within some realms but also the concomitant patterns of concentration that create zones of connectivity, centrality, and empowerment in some cases, and of disconnection, social

exclusion, and inaudibility in other cases" (Sheller & Urry 2006: 2010). As Cresswell asserts, "although there is a temptation to think of a mobile world as something that replaces a world of fixities, we need to constantly consider the politics of obduracy, fixity and friction. The dromological exists alongside the topological and the topographical" (Cresswell 2010b: 30). The paradigm highlights mobility as the key geographical referential of our time, but this does not mean that it equals freedom, equality and social inclusion. Mobility still spawns disruptions, forces enclaves, and promotes the immobility of many. Mobility is not void of disorder, turmoil or turbulence (Cresswell & Martin 2012). Mobilities still operate under powerful forces of stillness (Bissell & Fuller 2011). As Bailey *et* al implied, "the optimism that punctuates many accounts of the hybridized spaces created by transnational migrants seems overwrought" (Bailey *et al* 2002: 125).

The leading authors of the new mobilities paradigm, whilst advocating a shift towards conferring mobility a key status in explaining social reality, were also preeminent in drawing attention to the significance of immobilities and moorings. In an article published in 2006, Sheller, Urry and Hannam not only explain that the mobility of some means the immobility of many others, but also that mobilities are anchored in moorings. In other words, mobilities are only made possible through the fabrication of intense schemes of immobilities and moorings. "There is no linear increase in fluidity without extensive systems of immobility", whilst "there are new places and technologies that enhance the mobility of some peoples and places *even as they also* heighten the immobility of others, especially as people try to cross borders" (Hannam *et al* 2006: 3) (see also Timothy 2002, Wood & Graham 2006). As Sara Ahmed put it, "idealisation of movement, or transformation of movement into a fetish, depends upon the exclusion of others who are already positioned as *not free in the same way*" (Ahmed 2004: 152). Anthropologists Cunningham and Heyman have pointed in the same directions, deciphering how the increase of large-scale mobilities has paradoxically had the effect of imposing even stricter forms of border control: "while globalization has certainly produced new kinds of interconnections, hybridities, and disjunctures, it has also continued to produce some of the social phenomena we are all too familiar with: economic disparity and exclusions based on race, class, and gender" (Cunningham & Heyman 2004: 300). This problematic was also the main topic of enquiry in a special issue on *Environment and Planning D*, edited by Chris Rumford (Rumford 2010).

In 1993, Doreen Massey was already questioning the effects of mobility, stating that "the mobility and control of some groups can actively weaken other people. Differential mobility can weaken the leverage of the already weak" (Massey 1993: 61). Massey questions "whether our relative mobility and power over mobility and communication entrenches the spatial imprisonment of other groups" (Massey 1993: 61). These ideas were revisited later in the work of Vincent Kaufman, who, as we saw in chapter 1, suggested a rethinking of mobility as capitals of possibility. Kaufman uses motility, a concept taken from natural sciences and biology, to explain that what is truly at stake is the potential for a person to become mobile, that is, as a capital that one holds and can apply at whatever moment and pace one desires (Kaufmann 2002). Motility is, thus, potential for moving. In the light of this theory, it does not really matter if one, in fact, moves or not; what is at stake is to what extent an individual has the possibility to be mobile or not, to feel in motion or not, to fling in this or that direction or to choose certain paths. In this way, mobility can be understood as capital, using Bourdieu's semantics (Bourdieu 2001). It is a potential that one may possess and use in pursuit of one's own benefit. According to Kaufman, motility is thus one of the most resourceful capitals of today and creates unequal and uneven distributions of power through mobility. As Tesfahuney once warned, "differential mobility empowerments reflect structures and hierarchies of power and position by race, gender, age and class, ranging from local to the global", adding that "the intra- and inter-national mobility of people from the 'wrong end' of the social position and/or power axes, is being subjected to racialized systems of mobility regulation and control by national and supra-national institutions in the West" (Tesfahuney 1998: 501).

Besides creating unequal relations and forms of empowerment, mobility has also been associated with notions of spatial enclosure, both in architecture and urbanism as well as in geography. As Brenner demonstrated, "the contemporary round of global restructuring has entailed neither the absolute territorialisation of societies, economies, or cultures onto a global scale, nor their complete deterritorialisation into a supraterritorial, distanceless, placeless, or borderless space of flows" (Brenner 2004: 64). For instance, Lieven De Cauter proposes a return to a notion of place that is enclosed, confined and folded, a trend that seemed to be on the verge of extinction since the spatial turn and the postmodernist reconceptualisations of space. The author forces us to think about how certain mobilities have been dealt with by states or other democratic institutions. Intense movement in cities is seen as something hazardous, as

something that has to be ordered, controlled and mastered, in the same ways as used to be done to the tramp (Cresswell 2001). The *free* flow of people is becoming a *rigidly-controlled* flow of people. This might be seen as a natural response to what the author calls the "age of fear", a particular recipe of several ingredients: war on terror, ecological catastrophe, world-population growth, and massive migrations to Western countries. The culmination of this process is the encapsulation of society, as De Cauter argues, creating specific social and physical nests where people are enclosed and "safe". The abundance of safety procedures on the entrances and doorways of buildings, the multiplication of vigilance circuits and software that indexes the movement of people (Passenger Name Record, for instance), and so forth, is overwhelming. As the author puts it, "perhaps the rise of the capsule marks, in Foucaultian-Deleuzian terms, the transition from the disciplinary society to the control society: no longer internalized, order externalizes itself in (often visible) technology" (Cauter 2004: 69). The dreams of the Panopticon are being made real, are being materialised into tangible walls and devices.

De Cauter's "capsular civilization" resonates with Bryan Turner's "enclave society". In a recent paper, Turner explains that there has been a noteworthy concern with ideas of mobility, the fall of the nation-state, the emergence of flexible forms of citizenship and "porous boundaries and minimal limitations on labour fluidity and flexibility" (Turner 2007: 295). However, the author shows that this runs in parallel with an intensification of border control and the development of securitization policies that promote significant forms of immobility. "Walls and other examples of enclavement are produced by a new strain of xenophobia, which strongly counteracts the cosmopolitanism which many sociologists have seen as an almost inevitable outcome of transnationalism" (Turner 2007: 301). A world of mobility is being built against a backdrop of walls and enclaves. As the author concludes, "the growth of enclave societies makes the search for cosmopolitan values and institutions a pressing need, but the current trend towards the erection of walls against the dispossessed and the underclass appears to be inexorable" (Turner 2007: 301).

In *Splintering urbanism*, Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin shed light on how the recent networked infrastructures combined with the new technological mobilities are affecting our understanding of the urban condition. The authors highlight how new technologies as well as a diverse array of infrastructural systems, such as highways, telecommunications, urban streets, energy and water supplies, are generating a

splintering of metropolitan zones across the globe, highlighting a very specific tendency of today's urbanism: instead of creating networks capable of operating evenly to truss a city, there is a propensity to create enfolded passageways. The authors call this the "tunnelling effect". Making use of several infrastructural and technological barriers that warp time and space, this effect targets privileged sites within the city, making them perceptible and lively, whilst obliterating other zones that are to remain invisible.

"Often these unbundled infrastructures link nodes together into networks whilst using such tunnel effects to exclude and bypass much of the intervening spaces, excluding them, in turn, from accessing the networks. Good examples of such 'tunnel effects' can be found in the advanced telecom systems that link New York, London and Tokyo in a single global 'virtual' financial market place, the global 'hub and spoke' arrangement of airline networks and airports, and the fast train or TGV networks that link up the major European cities whilst excluding smaller intervening centres from access." (Graham & Marvin 2001: 201-202)

As Dalakoglou and Harvey expressed more recently, "the study of roads [and this can be extended to airspaces and railways] can make to a more general social science of (im)mobility, differential speed, new landscapes, modernisation and networked infrastructures", providing "new perspectives on the simultaneity of global circulation and local lifeworlds of (im)mobility, speed, motion, frictions, tensions and journeys" (Dalakoglou & Harvey 2012: 2-5). In a very similar tone, Paul Andreu believes that "in our search for maximum speed, roads have been turned into tunnels. But this tunnelling effect is not only confined to roads. Present in all modes of transportation today, tunnelling isolates us from reality and cuts us off from the intelligible world. This is even true with trains and airplanes" (Andreu 1998: 59).

4. Conclusions, and setting up the debate

This thesis is meant to dialogue with all of the previous literature. As we saw, the new mobilities paradigm has been shedding light on how mobilities are not always about transgression or openness. Mobilities only function if many forms of immobility are carefully displayed. Mobilities still mimic powerful geometries of power. Some people move freely, whilst others move along routes pre-defined by others. Some mobilities are indeed opportunities for trespassing cultural barriers, whilst others are

much more tales of encapsulation and enclosure. Capsularity, turbulence and exclusion are still paramount social forces despite the tremendous growth of mobile phenomena. Enclaves are dominant. Tunnels, both as infrastructures and as metaphors, continue to overshadow the world. A smooth space of flows is more of a romantic, bucolic dream than an actual background for social reality. I believe that using these ideas, which I borrow from all of the previous authors framed within the mobilities turn, alongside the empirical findings of the following chapters can demystify pre-assumptions of European mobility as a producer of cultural proximity. This is what my thesis is about. It was designed to show that mobility does not necessarily mean fluidity and liquidity. It can also mean exclusion and encapsulation.

My main line of enquiry is to empirically question, through a series of mobile ethnographies, if mobilities are indeed creating proximity. To be more precise, more than geographical proximity – a condition we all have to cope with – I question if mobility is producing cultural and social togetherness amongst Europeans. My thesis' central theme is to question whether this phenomenon is indeed happening, or not, on a ground-based level from below, with three case studies of Portuguese professional travellers. It seems undisputed that we are indeed closer to each other, but do we *feel* closer? Does mobility, through geographical proximity, automatically fabricate cultural proximity? Does mobility mechanically translate into the fabrication of supra-national identities? The European Union has been attempting to build a supra-national identity based on notions of movement, mobility and flows, many times, but not exclusively, associated with flexible forms of citizenship. The main policymaking line has been to raise a network of infrastructures (airports, roads, railways, etc.) alongside exchange programs (such as the students' programs) and facilitated professional mobility (the Schengen Agreements) in order to produce not only geographical closeness, but also cultural and social cohesion. There has been an assumption that movement and mobility produce geographical proximity and that geographical proximity would produce cultural proximity – in this case, in the form of a European identity. There is indeed an increasing geographical and physical proximity amongst Europeans – at least, potentially or, as Kaufman says, in terms of motility (Kaufman 2002) – but is this enough to produce cultural nearness?

Drawing upon Benedict Anderson's theories, one could say that Europe has been trying to build its own "imagined community" based on practices, metaphors, representations and infrastructures of mobility. All of these form a *corpus* of knowledge

that is then re-inscribed into individuals everyday life, namely when it comes to the fabrication of the modern European citizen and a presumable European identity. Anderson's seminal work provides a theoretical framework for the formation of nations based on the central administration's capacity to create feelings of togetherness on a cautiously delineated parcel of territory, wherein individuals come to imagine being part of a given community. Through the usage of the press, standardised language, same currency, museums that enhance collective memory, and so forth, nations were socially constructed and imagined by its people on a given piece of land (Anderson 1991). In Europe, following the rise of globalisation, linked to the emergence of a post-national scenario and the construction of a world of mobility and proximity, an imagined European community is mostly enabled through mobility, rather than via territorially demarked images and imaginaries. Mobility has come to be a form of identification with Europe and European citizenship, and may well be one of the most – if not the most – successful and praised achievement of the European Union, especially in times where fragmentation and resentfulness have come to the fore, following the relatively optimistic decade of the 90s.

As Anne Muxel puts it, "a political Europe, therefore, seems to be timidly developing in the awareness and practices of EU movers" (Muxel 2009: 177). As we have seen, mobility has come to be everywhere. Firstly, it is ontologically part of being a European citizen, inscribed into the Union's treaties. Mobility is a right of European citizens. Most Europeans precisely identify with being European – that is, they developed a European identity – through the advantages that the Euro citizenship gives in terms of movement and easy flow. Secondly, mobility has been conceived of as a device for Europeans to feel European experientially. Many informal and quotidian opportunities or facilitators of mobility have been put into play to promote the circulation of Europeans within the European space. This can be seen in exchange programs for students, professionals and the like, as well as in small details of quotidian life, like having shared driving licenses or healthcare programs. Thirdly, mobility is also a symbol of integration. The iconography of the Euro currency, for instance, is rife with metaphors and images of mobile infrastructures, such as bridges and gateways, whilst other symbolical forms of integration associated with mobility and unity in diversity are also imprinted into this imaginary. Finally, mobility has been enhanced through the rise of several networks and infrastructures that promote the circulation of people and goods across the European territory. Mobility has been thought of as the element that may

contain the potential to fabricate sensations of belonging to Europe, to fabricate a cultural proximity.

But let us not fool ourselves. Since the very beginning, the European project of mobility was conceived to facilitate a capitalist and, more recently, a neo-liberal economic system. The constructions of mobility in Europe are happening mainly to enhance or enable a capitalist socio-political system. The European Union's key target is not the development of cultural exchange, but firstly the better functioning of the economic system, where people, goods, capital and services travel swiftly and constantly. This was, and still is, its primary objective. Mobility is above all a mechanism towards the functioning of a capitalist or neo-liberal socio-political system. Mobility is intrinsically part of a modern, neo-liberal economic organisation. The Treaty of Rome had a purely economic rationale. In 1957, the fact that the European Union was originally called the European Economic Community is symptomatic. And, even though this has definitely evolved, political and social integration is still in the background, for various reasons, compared to an economic integration. "While the reality of Europe lies in this contingency and heterogeneity, many politicians, intellectuals and policymakers have tried to contain them by embedding Europe in nation-based communities, capital cities, or – more abstractly – in the neoliberal myth unlimited movement forward in a borderless Schengen space. The ideal mobile European subject is rooted in the white capitalist nation (or republic, as Kant would have it), while the goal of his travels is the kind of cosmopolitanism that is economically valuable at home" (Verstraete 2010: 152).

But, there is an interesting twist here. In order to achieve a more unified system, the Union and its leaders became aware that a production of forms and sensations of belonging to the same community had to be forged. The Union became mindful that an economy will only function if a more integrated and coherent space of flows endures. Hence, there has been an emphasis on the potential of mobility for producing a symbolic and practical device of European identity. Even though the numbers of movers may be small, they have been categorised as the model citizens of a more integrated and tighter Europe. The fabrication of a European identity is an essential piece of the puzzle. Without a sense of European-ness, Europeans do not rally towards the pursuit of collective, supra-national integration. As Emmanuel Sigalas puts it, "although there is still no full consensus on whether a democratic deficit actually exists and whether a European identity is necessary, a large number of scholars maintain that the legitimacy

problem is real and the lack of a common collective identity is part of the problem"
(Sigalas 2010: 242) (see Bruter 2005, Etzioni 2007 or Kraus 2008). Mobility has been
codified to fill this gap. Mobility has been one of the main factors in pulling Europeans
together – maybe even one of the only factors these days. This has been more and more
visible since the financial and social crisis of 2008-2009. Europe is rattled with threats
of fragmentation and mobility sometimes seems to be the only element that is still
capable of pulling Europeans together. Mobility is both a mechanism for, at a first
level, catalysing the economy and, in a second moment, for creating a supra-national
identity, so that the economy may perform even faster and more steadily once again.
Mobility has been codified as a means to operate a symbolical and practical European
identity whose goal is always, and ultimately, to create a more efficient and profitable
economic structure. It is believed that the more one moves, the more one identifies with
being European. As Favell and Recchi framed it,

"at the heart of the European Union lies the principle of free movement: of the capital, goods and
services that oil the wheels of international trade and business, but also of persons who, within its realm,
now have the right to move, travel, study-work, settle and retire anywhere within its member states. EU
citizens can move and demand equal treatment to that of all nationals of the same territory in every
dimension of work and public life. This revolutionary principle has existed within European law since the
Treaty of Rome in 1957; with the expansion of the EU to 25 members in 2004 and 2007, it now extends
the notion of European citizenship – and potentially of a single European society – all the way from the
Atlantic to the Urals and the borders of the Black Sea." (Favell & Recchi 2009: 1).

Nevertheless, seeing as mobility is primarily about the oiling of a powerful
capitalist system of trade, this European space of flows, deliberately created for the
facilitation of the mobility of citizens, does not obliterate rigid geometries of power.
Concomitantly to a Europe of mobility, there are many forms of detachment of citizens,
arrangements of encapsulation as well as the exclusion of non-Europeans. As Favell
explains, the numbers of Europeans who are actually mobile are but a small percentage
(Favell 2008). Fligstein corroborates, "Europe so far has been a class project, a project
that favours the educated, owners of business, managers, and professionals, and the
young" (Fligstein 2008: 156). And, even though these authors argue that this does not
lessen the relevance of mobility, the geographies for most Europeans are nevertheless of
a local scale. Furthermore, the mobility of Europe is built on a strong immobility of
non-Europeans and border control, i.e. on the fabrication of the so-called "fortress

Europe". As Verstraete puts it again, "the recent increase of migration flows has been accompanied by ever more stringent national regulations concerning migrant labour, reuniting families, and the right to acquire citizenship" (Verstraete 2010: 5). Or, as Étienne Balibar stressed, alongside the formal aspects of European citizenship, one can register the formation of a "European apartheid", a duplication of external borders into internal borders of race, nationalism and gender. A mobile Europe does not automatically stand for a more free, cosmopolitan or egalitarian place. Europe can, thus, be defined by these tensions. Europe has been living through constant tensions of mobility and immobility, of proximity and distance, especially after the eruption of the economic and social crisis of 2008. These tensions are visible in the creation of a seemingly borderless space, whilst regulating the mobilities of many individuals. Or in the production and enforcement of geographical proximity – through infrastructures, exchange programs, incentives of mobility – whilst at the same time producing very strict forms of distance.

Hence, my intention is to investigate, on the ground, if mobility is indeed rallying people and transforming geographical proximity into cultural proximity. That is, whether mobility is capable, or not, of creating a European identity. And, if so, under which circumstances is it happening. Enquiring into this may unveil many hidden aspects of ground-based mobilities Europe, such as the reproduction of social exclusion and inveterate attachments to place or the tensions between high and low class and mobile and immobile subjects. What are the identities that people on the move produce within the European realm of flows, roads and airspaces? Are these identities linked to a supra-national identity? Are all mobilities the same? Which performances of mobility contribute to this? And which do not? I believe that this idea of a European mobility is too abstract. There are many types of mobilities that have more to do with immobile practices, social exclusion, and the building of concentric identities rather than with the construction of sensations of belonging to Europe. I believe that the mobilities of people in Europe often reproduce those tensions mentioned above, rather than being focused on the constitution of a realm of mobile freedom and European identity. This is what I will focus on throughout the empirical chapters.

CHAPTER 3

Mobile ethnography:

Evolution, issues and techniques

1. Introduction

Even though there has been an emphasis on the debates around mobility and the formation of a European identity in relation to the latter, there seems to be a lack of thorough investigations *from below* in the form of mobile ethnographies. As Favell and Recchi assert, "migration and mobility have long been recognized as important dimensions of the European project, but systematic empirical studies have been scarce" (Favell & Recchi 2009: 24). Or as Sigalas suggests, "we still lack reliable data measuring the effect of international people mobility on European identity" (Sigalas 2010: 242). It seems natural that if one engages with studying mobility, one feels the need to move – at least when the investigation is in the form of ethnography. As Crot and Soderstrom put it, "the direct observation of different types of movements and travel situations thus requires that the researchers themselves participate in various patterns of movement and performances of travel. 'Mobile ethnography', also called 'itinerant ethnography', recognizes the deterritorialized character of mobile subjects. It may involve engaging with people's worldview by travelling with them, or closely following the itineraries of material, virtual and imaginative entities" (Crot & Soderstrom 2010: 10-11). Through three case studies of professional mobile travellers across the European space, this is what my thesis attempts to do. This is the gap that my thesis tries to fill. In this third chapter, I provide some insights into the development of mobile ethnography, as well as the personal strategies and methodological issues that guided and informed my work.

2. The evolution of ethnography:
From a localised method to mobile practices

Etymologically speaking, ethnography means the "writing of the people" – in ancient Greek, *ethnos* stands for people, whilst *grapho* for writing – which is to say that an ethnographer is a narrator and interpreter (a writer) of what individuals do and believe (people). Some authors argue that early practices of ethnography date as far back as the rise of classic civilizations, but it is quite uncontroversial to trace its emergence as a modern technique of study to around the beginning of the twentieth century. Since it first made its appearance, ethnography was baptised as the art (some

authors prefer to label it as a science) of narrating the practices, representations, social structures, political systems, worldviews, and so forth, of particular groups of people across the world. "Ethnographers unearth what the group takes for granted, and thereby reveal the knowledge and meaning structures that provide the blueprint for social action" (Herbert 2000: 551). Ethnography is the method that deconstructs what a group of individuals consider natural and makes a systematic analysis of its content. As Goffman suggests, "any group of persons – prisoners, primitives, pilots or patients – develops a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once you get close to it, and a good way to learn about any of these worlds is to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject" (Goffman 1961: ix-x).

It is not by chance that ethnography was conceptualised as the anthropological technique of study *par excellence*. Social and cultural anthropology took its first serious steps in Britain. Oxford is considered the cradle of the discipline by many, namely through the work of authors such as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Boas or Evans-Pritchard. Seeing as anthropology was fundamentally preoccupied by the study of the origins of man through the observation of otherness, it is quite easy to recognise that ethnography was historically framed to apprehend and understand the cultural phenomena of the Other, functioning as a technique focused on collecting data from exotic tribes and "pre-modern" people. That explains why ethnography is still constantly linked, in popular or vernacular culture, with the study of "exotic" societies who live far out on an island in the pacific (Malinowski 2007, Mead 2001), in the Amazonian jungle (Levi-Strauss 1948), in "deepest" Africa (Evans-Pritchard 1969) or in the inhospitable Australian desert (Radcliffe-Brown 1930). When it first came along, ethnography was in fact put in motion to analyse and describe the then-called "pre-modern" groups of individuals. Cultures were then conceived of as a sorts of islands. "Call it property of boundedness. It has its strongest – and least plausible – expression in the 'insular conceit': the presumption that each culture, if not literally confined to an island, could be approached as if it were" (Faubion 2001: 44).

Within this academic trend, ethnography presupposed that the researcher would de-territorialise himself from his own local reality and re-territorialise in another far-fetched environment, outside of his specific culture. There was a clear exercise of transposing borders both metaphorically and physically here. It was common for the ethnographer to stay put in the new place of study for more than six months in a row, in

order to give him or her enough time to collect data, acquaint him or herself with all the local traditions and have a chance to adapt to native practices, participating in most of them. In fact, there are accounts of some ethnographers that adjusted so well that they "went native" and never came back home to become recognised scholars. The trend of going *somewhere* and staying put for a significant amount of time in that same *location* continues to define the discipline to a great extent. Both anthropology and ethnography are heavily associated with an experience of displacement followed by the exercise of writing (or representing it through images – visual ethnography) about cultures other than one's own.

Despite being originally formulated to serve anthropology – as Paul Rock puts it, "ethnography itself is a term that was somewhat loosely borrowed from social anthropology, and it alludes to the situated, empirical description of people and races" (Rock 2001: 30) – ethnography made it to other areas of research almost immediately. Throughout the 20th century, ethnography was appropriated by other disciplines across the humanities and social sciences. As soon as the early to mid-twentieth century, the Chicago School of Sociology was mobilising this method for a diverse array of case studies. This school came to produce the first major body of works in urban sociology, researching into urban environments combining theory and ethnographic fieldwork. Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, probably its most well-known authors, alongside many of their students carried out meticulous analysis of marginal communities *in situ*, such as immigrants, hoboes, gangs and prostitutes (Park *et al* 1984; see also Deegan 2001: 12). As the authors would put it, the method could be described as "get one's hands dirty" (Deegan 2001: 22), submerging oneself into the lives of these urban communities. The tactic here differs, as we see, from the anthropological one. In this case, the ethnographer had to exoticise his or her own environment or city. Unlike the original anthropological approach, there was only an effort of metaphorical displacement, i.e. an exercise of seeing the people who surround us from different angles or perspectives. The ethnographer did not go any further than a few miles away from home, even though his or her eye had to envision much ahead. Nevertheless, the question of location and time remained the same: the researcher had to stick to a particular environment, be it a factory, a street, a shop, etc., for a significant timeframe.

These two ethnographic trends consolidated themselves throughout the remainder of the century. Still today, they operate in similar ways, even considering the fact that anthropology opened itself to the study of individuals and groups of people

close to home, creating strong subgenres, such as urban or media anthropology. A third major development in ethnography only occurred after the 80s with the development of multi-sited techniques, which meant that the ethnographer would produce a comparative approach between different ethnographical locations. This approach is closely linked to the rise of migration studies, which was mainly concerned by the consequences of migratory movements both at the place of origin and the new place of dwelling. This trend had its grand theorist in George Marcus who sought to find ways to examine the flow of "cultural meanings, objects and identities in diffuse space-time", which could not be accounted for by "remaining focused on a single site of intensive investigation" (Marcus 1998: 80). Even though this approach eventually led to the analysis of mobile spatialities and to the development of mobile ethnographical techniques, it still reproduced the traditional localised method to some extent, seeing as the ethnographer would examine two or more sites and then draw a comparative study between them. The analysis of the flows themselves remained ungrasped most of the time. Consider Cresswell's words:

A --------------------------------------»B

"Let us begin with a basic signifier of mobility – getting from point A to point B. (…) In classic migration theory, for instance, the choice of whether or not to move would be the result of so-called *push* and *pull* factors in A and B, respectively. The content of the line between them would remain unexplored" (Cresswell 2006: 2)

Hence, however the approach or the discipline – ranging, as we saw, from traditional anthropological contexts to the sociological study of urban settings or to the comparative approaches of multi-sited techniques – ethnography always presupposed that the ethnographer would go somewhere (this could mean 30,000km or 3km away) and study that context or location for a long period of time. It has always been conceived of as a localised practice. As Adey suggests, ethnography "has traditionally been viewed as an immobile and rooted approach, stuck within the confines of specific cultural contexts or single locales" (Adey 2010b: 70). In the year 2000, there were still authors defining the ethnographic method in very similar ways to this: "Ethnography is not one particular method of data collection but a style of research that is distinguished by its objectives, which are to understand the social meanings and activities of people in

a given 'field' or setting, and its approach, which involves close association with, and often participation in, this setting" (Brewer 2000: 11). In 1996, Bruno Latour vented about the limitations and implications of such definition:

"Ah, if only you were an ethnologist, you could stay in your village and draw nice maps. Whereas we sociologists have to drag ourselves around everywhere. Our terrains aren't territories. They have weird borders. They're networks, rhizomes." (Latour 1996: 46)

A strong emphasis has constantly been given to a certain context, place or setting. Ethnography means engaging with the latter, observing how people inhabit it and participating in its quotidian activities. This can range from being a farmer in the Amazonian jungle to working in a local fast-food restaurant (Crang 1994). It can even encompass fully adopting the social role under study, as Burawoy did as a factory worker (Burawoy 1979) or Rubinstein as a police officer (Rubinstein 1973). However, as we saw, there was a gradual shift in humanities towards conferring more relevance to dynamics of mobility, movement and flows. Mobility was, for many years, conceptualised as a mere product of social relations and individuals' actions, occupying a marginal position of academic enquiry. The new mobilities paradigm came to turn this equation the other way around, placing the practices of itinerancy and flow at the core of society and, by consequence, of scholarly debate. Place, territory and roots were no longer the main (or, at least, the only) focus of anthropology, sociology, geography and so forth. Heartened by these new trends, ethnography underwent one other significant development, adopting mobile methods as a technique of study – needless to say that, naturally, mobile ethnography did not replace more traditional fieldwork, but rather complemented it. Several ethnographers advocated that they could not fully grasp a growing mobile world and its consequences staying put in one location and, thus, started to engage with participant observations that followed people around in their itinerancies. Mobile ethnography was born, as a methodology that places mobility at the foreground, both at a practical level – because one has to actually move – but also at an epistemological level – because there is a focus on concepts, practices and representations of mobile phenomena.

Most likely, the first authors who used this expression were Mimi Sheller and John Urry in their seminal paper "the new mobilities paradigm": "there are several emerging forms of 'mobile ethnography', which involve participation in patterns of

movement while conducting ethnographic research" (Sheller & Urry 2006: 217). One year later, in his solo book *Mobilities*, Urry explains more thoroughly what he means by mobile ethnography: it can "involve 'walking with', or travelling with people, as a form of sustained engagement within their worldview. Through such 'co-present immersion' the researcher moves within modes of movement and employs a range of observation and recording techniques. It can also involve 'participation-while-interviewing', in which the ethnographer first participates in patterns of movement, and then interviews people, individually or in focus groups, as to how their diverse mobilities constitute their patterning of everyday life" (Urry 2007: 40). Also in 2007, Barbara Czarniawska published *Shadowing and other techniques for doing fieldwork in modern societies*. It is a comprehensive guidebook into the techniques of following people around, mapping their movements and drawing a theoretical body from the data collected (Czarniawska 2007). Mobile ethnography is a translation of traditional participant observation onto contexts of mobility. It means that the ethnographer is not only expected to observe what is happening, but also to experience, feel and grasp the textures, smells, comforts and discomforts, pleasures and displeasures of life on the road. It means following people around and engaging with their worldviews. Trying to do what they do. Feeling what they do. It is impossible to have a clear understanding of these if one stays put.

Even though it only started to be formulated over the last decade, mobile ethnography has become increasingly important within academia ever since. Two recently published books on mobile methods centre their attentions on this technique of study. The first one is co-authored by Büscher, Witchger and Urry himself: *Mobile methods*. The book seeks to challenge the new opportunities of researching mobile phenomena. Deeply tied with the new mobilities paradigm, the book brings together a collection of cutting-edge technical innovations informed by ethnographic and sociological ways-of-doing. As the authors put it, "in this book we address some problems and opportunities of doing research which respond to these challenges by trying to move with, and to be moved by, the fleeting, distributed, multiple, non-causal, sensory, emotional and kinaesthetic" (Büscher *et al* 2011: 1). A particular interest is given to moving along with people, enabling new forms of ethnographical work, i.e. traditional participant-observation, only this time around whilst on the move. As the authors assert, "inquiries on the move – such as the shadowing, stalking, walk-alongs, ride-alongs, participatory interventions and biographies we describe – enable questions about sensory experience, embodiment, emplacement, about what changes and what

stays the same, and about the configuration and reconfiguration of assemblies of objects, spaces, people, ideas and information" (Büscher *et al* 2011: 13).

These last ideas mesh well with the ones offered by its twin-book: *Mobile methodologies*. In the introductory chapter, the editors, Ben Fincham, Mark McGuinness and Lesley Murray, draw attention to the importance of "being there", of being able to capture mobilities *in situ*, which consequently means to move along with people (Fincham *et al* 2010: 5). Feeling and participating in the everyday movements of individuals, whilst doing interviews and gathering other data, is of paramount relevance, not only because the researcher has the opportunity to observe people, but also because it allows for a physical "co-presence" that permits him or her to undergo those same activities. The trend here is to do what the editors call "first-hand social science", i.e. to understand and apprehend phenomenon in the immediacy of the events. Despite differences in how scholars label the practice, there is a consensus on the necessity of being at hand and capturing mobile practices (as well as the meanings that individuals confer to them) on the immediacy.

There are very different ways of doing mobile ethnography. It can be done, for instance, in/within small-scale geographies or, alternatively, in/within a large-scale frame. It can involve cross-border mobility or more quotidian commutes between work and home. It can also involve very different types and systems of transportation. What seems to bind all of these together is a focus on mobility and mobile phenomena. Mobile ethnography, as a mobile practice, ontologically comprises a focus on mobility. How do individuals produce meaning of their mobilities? How do individuals inhabit mobile spatialities? How does movement affect individuals' lives? How does movement impact on their practices, representations and worldviews? There is an ontological spotlight on dynamics of flow, movement and mobility. Even when one proposes to examine the transformation of space into place in these contexts, they are automatically done against a backdrop of mobility. Mobility ontologically, hermeneutically and epistemologically informs this type of method. Let us briefly pass through some examples of mobile ethnographies carried out in the recent years.

Laura Watts' ethnography of train travel is one of the most paradigmatic usages of this recent methodology. Through a train journey across the UK, Watts engages a mobile participant observation, recording and registering the practices of passengers. The author experiences train mobility for herself, whilst taking photographs and recordkeeping daily and mundane rhythms of the individuals that surround her. Watts

comes to the conclusion that "the art and craft of train travel is not simply an abstract or theoretical making of space and time. It is skilled and tiring work, which manipulates and is manipulated by an irrepressibly social and material world to create a moving experience (…). There is a technical artistry to train travel, for mundane everyday things, the seats, our belongings, the passing views, can be woven together with bored repetition, or into train-dreaming" (Watts 2008: 723). These ideas were more recently refurbished in a collaborative paper with Glenn Lyons. The authors used a travel remedy kit – "an intervention- and interview-based piece of empirical research, loosely based on the concept of personalized travel planning in transport studies, which seeks to encourage individuals to discuss and rethink their travel choices and behaviours" (Watts & Lyons 2011: 106). The kit forced people to think about what they value the most in train journeys, helping the authors to critically analyse how people create a familiar environment or spatiality when on the move, thus stating that "the ideal length of a journey does not tend to zero" (Watts & Lyons 2011: 116).

Juliet Jain also used mobile ethnographic methods to explore bus journeys. The author's main concern was "the making of the bus journey: setting out, waiting, the unfolding rhythms of the journey, and the performances of bus passengers" (Jain 2009: 91). Through submerging herself in bus travel in the UK, Jain explains that this type of travelling is very distinct from all others, containing its own moments, tempos, and actions. As she puts it, "an empty bus can flow seamlessly, its carcass ambivalent to place. Passengers in making the mundane journey transform this stage (…). Passengers draw the outside into the bus through their gaze, experiencing the sun or the darkness of night" (Jain 2009: 105). A day journey is eminently different, as an embodied practice, from a night journey as passengers affect the "tempo of flow through talk, music, reading" (Jain 2009: 105), and so forth. These notions could only be unfolded through the usage of mobile ethnographic techniques.

One other fascinating account of itinerant ethnography is to be found in the works of Eric Laurier. The author focuses on empirical data retrieved from a video-ethnography of one specific driver that made use of his vehicle both as means of transportation and an office at the same time. Laurier recorded a regular daily driving experience of Ally, a female business-executive, and used it to question assumptions on speed and slowness. The paper is generally about "doing office work on the motorway", wherein the author questions if "we can speculate on whether we could have a world where business travellers were the slow travellers among us and not just on the

motorway", seeing as "being a fast driver and an office worker is a morally precarious position to attempt to achieve" (Laurier 2004: 273). Through the usage of mobile ethnography, Laurier was able to cogitate around the many moralisations of the fast and the slow, specifically how business travel does not necessarily mean fast, smooth and frictionless movement, even though Ally "claimed a certain entitlement to travel faster than ordinary motorways users", just as if she was a business class traveller effortlessly passing by airport check-ins and lounges. More recently, Laurier, in collaboration with Hayden Lorimer, again used a video-mobile technique to reflect on what they called the "landscapes of commuting" (Laurier & Lorimer 2012) – other authors who used video techniques in relation to the study of mobile subjects and mobile practices include Justin Spinney, Sarah Pink and Bradley Garrett (Spinney 2011, Garrett 2011, Pink 2007).

Walking is another practice that has been capturing some interest amongst scholars and several ethnographic accounts have been attempted with walkers. Tim Ingold's paper on walking documents that "in real life, for the most part, we do not perceive things from a single vantage point, but rather by walking around them", claiming that "walking is itself a form of circumambulatory knowing" (Ingold 2004: 331). The author is calling for a more grounded approach to human movement, wherein the "embodied skills of footwork" may open new terrains for social enquiry in the areas of "environmental perception, the history of technology, landscape formation and human anatomical evolution" (Ingold 2004: 315). This is what several authors have generally attempted over the last few years, namely Hayden Lorimer, David Pinder or Phil Smith (Lorimer 2010, Pinder 2011, Smith 2010), occasionally drawing upon the works of authors such as Chris Jenks, Tiago Neves, Kathryn Kramer or John Short who used ethnographic methods to explore the resurgence of the figure of the *flâneur* (Jenks & Neves 2000, Kramer & Short 2011).

Philip Vannini was probably the first author who engaged with mobile ethnography off the road. In a recent monograph, the author examines dimensions related to mobility, place and time on Canada's West Coast through ethnography on ferryboats. Vannini did circa 250 ferry trips, 400 interviews in three-dozen island and coastal communities as well as website tell stories, producing several tales of the quotidian practices and rhythms of the everyday life inside these boats. In these Canadian communities, it is nearly impossible to escape daily commutes of several hours; sometimes, hitting the nearest grocery store means 36 hours of travelling. Vannini recounts these stories in an attempt to answer questions about time, space and

mobility. What does time mean in a situation like this? What is home? What does mobility stand for: a means or an end? "In a nutshell, if my basic research question was to determine what roles ferries play in day-to-day life, the answer is that they play multiple roles – indeed so many that the lives in a coastal or island community are incomprehensible without thinking about ferry boats" (Vannini 2012: 213) (see also Vannini 2011a, 2011b, 2011c).

One other important account of mobile ethnography is Brian Howell's exploration of short-term missions (Howell 2012). The author uses ethnography to explore Christian travel, exploring questions of tourism and pilgrimage through several in-depth interviews alongside a fieldtrip to the Dominican Republic. A devout catholic himself, the author tries to understand the underlying reasons or motivations of short-term missionaries. "My interest (…) has been on the ways participants enter into a cultural construction they did not create, even as they recreate, employ, resist and recast the cultural context in which they experience these travels" (Howell 2012: 9). Howell uses a classic array of techniques, such as field diaries, notes and interviews, but it is interesting to see how this is done on the move. Although Howell did not frame his research within the mobilities turn, I still posit that his work is a relevant contribution to the formulation of mobile ethnographic techniques. "The central argument of this book is that we produce narrative – framing discourses – that profoundly shape the experiences of these travels" (Howell 2012: 9). It is thus about how a certain representation of mobility, in the ways described by Cresswell (Cresswell 2006), shapes and informs the practice of mobility itself, clearly dialoguing, even if not on purpose, with recent discussions arising from the mobilities paradigm.

Anders Blok also provided an interesting claim for the usage of mobile ethnographic methods, cross-referencing it with Actor-Network-Theory. The author proposes a turn towards what he calls an ethno-socio-cartography methodology, i.e. a type of ethnography that is eminently mobile and specifically interested in the formation of "situated globalities" (Blok 2010: 509). Blok frowns upon the ontological dichotomy created by the debates on the local and the global, insisting that the local is where the global is produced and reproduced, rather than forming a background of embrace or resistance. Through an empirical analysis of Japanese whaling, the author sheds light on how "seemingly contradictory qualities – of being both global and micro – are exactly what I need to illustrate my methodological claims" (Blok 2010: 509). Seeing as the global is a web of endless networks and flows, permanently operating at micro-scales,

Blok suggests that the researcher should commit to the study of little mobilities that, nevertheless, unfold the global. "My overall methodological claim is that, in inquiring into transnational social connections, we should *stop* evoking the local-global contrast altogether, and start by-passing it via a set of new metaphors of networks, mobility, scale-making, oligoptica, panoramas and cartography" (Blok 2010: 522).

3. The tradition of ethnography in cultural geography

Ethnography did not have a very rich tradition in geography before the advent of so-called "new cultural geography" in the 80s. As Steve Herbert pointed out in a paper published in 2000, geographic research relying on participant observation has been scarce. Up until 1998, "only 3 of 85 articles published on human geography topics in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* used ethnographic field data" (Herbert 2000: 550). Over the same timeframe, "in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* (…) the total was 8 of 161 (5%). Although there are instances of excellent ethnography in human geography, it persists as a peripheral methodology" (Herbert 2000: 550). Within geography, ethnography has thus been relatively neglected as a resourceful methodological practice. As Hebert stresses once again the common critique is normally anchored in visions that see ethnography as either "overly subjective and hence unscientific", as "too limited to enable generalization and broader theory construction" or that it "ignores the conditions of its own production, and thus unquestioningly reproduces power disparities and representation practices that deserve interrogation" (Herbert 2000: 551).

Despite this, there have been some authors throughout the years claiming more opportunities for ethnographic fieldwork within the discipline. In this thesis, I follow their footsteps, showing that ethnography can make a decisive contribution to the broader study of key questions in geography. David Ley may be considered a pioneer in this domain, namely following his ethnographic account set in Philadelphia. Ley studied the "black inner city as a frontier outpost", through the analysis of "images and behavior" of a particular neighborhood: Monroe (Ley 1974). Ley's first objective was to map the various parts of this inner-city *barrio*, from which he departed to "identify its environmental characteristics and variations in the behavior of its residents toward certain landmarks" (Darden 1976: 116). Making use of some ethnographic techniques –

Ley conducted fieldwork over six months, whilst living in the neighborhood, obtaining most of his data through participant observation – the author showed that the widespread visions of black America do not do justice to "the real" life of these neighborhoods. Rather than being a monolithic, coherent and tight community ready for revolution – this study was done in the 70s – Ley describes this community as eminently fragmented.

One other pioneer in this domain is Peter Jackson, namely with his studies in urban ethnography. As early as 1983, Jackson was discussing the principles and problems of participant observation. The author kicks off by stating that, despite the existence of some authors defending a tighter collaboration between geography and anthropology (see Mikesell 1967 or Van Paassen 1976), "the primacy of first-hand observation and ethnographic experience seems to have been more threatened in geography than in anthropology" (Jackson 1983: 39). Jackson goes on "to suggest that in the anthropological method of participant observation social geographers may be able to find and effective way of pursuing their current urban-orientated research interests within the framework of their traditional commitment to field research" (Jackson 1983: 39). This line of thought was continued in a later article entitled "urban ethnography" (Jackson 1985), where the author provides more food for thought regarding this methodology. Arguing that the virtue of ethnography is "the study of instantiation of structures in particular social practices" (Jackson 1985: 166), Jackson sets out to make an apologia of urban participant observation methods, which he then employed in several occasions, namely in the study of an annual Caribbean festival in Toronto (Jackson 1992) or in the examination of shopping practices in North London (Holbrook & Jackson 1996).

Heartened by these works, Crang and Cook wrote the first handbook for ethnography coming from within geography. The authors make a comprehensive list of techniques and issues revolving around this methodology, ranging from the initial conceptualisation of the subject under study to the preparation for fieldwork, the construction/gathering of ethnographic data and the analysis of field materials. Crang and Cook conceptualise the subject, giving insights into the fundamental qualities of the researcher, the informants and the field of study. They proceed to the issue of preparing for fieldwork, discussing topics like casting your net and accessing the field, after which they move on to producing a list of techniques that might be useful to the ethnographer, such as interviewing, focus groups or filmic approaches. Finally, the geographers

discuss the analysis itself, shedding light on techniques for developing codes as well as sifting, sorting and making sense of the empirical data. This was the first systematised effort on "doing ethnographies" (Cook & Crang 2007) by authors coming from the discipline of geography.

It was only more recently that ethnography caught the eye of geographers in a more profound way. Nowadays, ethnography is a well-established, if not dominant, form of methodology in the discipline. Several claims to bring ethnography to the foreground of geography have come from several quadrants of the discipline, ranging from political geography (Megoran 2006) to human geography more generally (Laurie 2012). Phil Crang's study of restaurants is already a classic in the field. The author applied for a job at a restaurant in the United Kingdom, called *Smokey Joe's*, and studied the performative geographies of waiting work (Crang 1994). Hester Parr followed Crang's footsteps and, since 1997, has conducted several ethnographies amongst mental institutions and hospitals, studying, for instance, the socio-spatial implications of such institutions upon the body (Parr 1998). Other interesting usages of ethnography in geographic research surfaced. First, Anoop Nayak's account on how, despite the transition to a post-industrial society, certain typified working-class masculine identities are still at large, namely through the embodied rituals of football support, drinking and going out (Nayak 2003). Second, Valdivia's study of a community in the Amazon jungle in Ecuador shows that the geographical imaginations of indigenous people are not monolithic, but rather change and expand, namely when they engage with oil-extraction and tourism (Valdivia 2005). A third example can be encountered in the works of Cindi Katz, who engaged with a longitudinal ethnographic research among children, both in Sudan and New York, making a comparative approach between the two (Katz 2004). More recently, Bradley Garrett has showed us the ways of urban exploration, making decisive contributions in the fields of geographic ethnography with video-capture techniques (Garrett 2013). Promptly, geography has been embracing ethnography.

4. Why lorry drivers, musicians and MEPs?

My thesis is based on three mobile ethnographies with different professional groups that have to be constantly on the road: lorry divers, musicians and politicians

(members of the European Parliament). Through comprehensive analysis of the data collected during fieldwork with each one of these groups, I attempt to interrogate the abstract notion of a European mobility and show that there are many (and antagonistic) types of mobilities within the European space, which are driven by different logics, different practices and follow the construction of very different identities and sensations of belonging. To make the thesis cohere, I chose to study the mobility of Portuguese professionals. Although I believe that my arguments could presumably be transposed to the likes of other nationalities, this is definitely a study of Portuguese individuals on the move across the European space. It is a series of mobile ethnographies of large-scale, cross-border mobilities. All of the individuals under examination lead a life of semi-permanent cross-border itinerancy between European countries. Lorry drivers have to be continuously on the move, transporting goods between and across several countries. Musicians make their bread and butter out of touring. Whilst in the USA, for instance, this can mean performing within one country, in Europe it is common for bands to play in more than one country on the same tour. Members of the European Parliament also have to be constantly mobile, attending meetings and/or plenary sessions in Brussels, Strasbourg and their country of origin, if and when not elsewhere in Europe or the world. The choice of these particular groups follows three basic criteria.

The first criterion is based on loosely defined class. I wanted to experience and study the mobility of different social classes. This way, I arranged three cases studies that encompass very diverse social class backgrounds and contexts. On the one hand, Members of the European Parliament are commonly referred to as high-up individuals, as Bauman would put it, in the social pyramid. Although, as we will see, they do not exactly match the lifestyle of Castells' "wandering elite", which is mostly associated with corporate businessmen (or, in the words of Micklethwait and Wooldridge, "cosmocrats") (Castells 2010, Micklethwait & Wooldridge 2000), I think that is relatively safe to affirm that MEPs are nevertheless high-profile travellers. Lorry drivers, on the other hand, can be mostly found at the lower end of the social pyramid. Even though their salaries used to be much higher than the Portuguese minimum wage, they have dropped down to a perfectly average value. Of course, these individuals are not the prototypical blue-collar workers and do not exactly fall under the category of the proletariat or the precariat (Standing 2011), but their personal and professional environments revolve around that. We will have the opportunity to attest this in chapter 2. Finally, musicians stand in the middle. Although rock musicians can come from

different backgrounds, the ones I studied come from regular middle-class contexts. Naturally, rock musicians go from the amateur or garage-band type to the likes of international superstar "cosmocrats", roaming the surface of Earth in private jets, inhabiting five star hotels and demanding high-profile catering in the venues where they perform at. The ones I studied are not by any means worldly rockstars, but they are not garage-band musicians either. They stand in the middle. They get paid just enough to perform the music they love and the contextual environment they inhabit is one characterised by young, middle-class Europeans.

The second criterion is centred on infrastructural reasons. Besides experiencing the mobility of different social classes, I also wished to experience different mobilities in terms of infrastructures and means of transportation, i.e. different mobile devices and material spatialities. On the one hand, in the case of the lorry drivers, it is pretty obvious that the device is a lorry and the spatiality is the asphalt, the motorways and the gas stations. It is a spatiality marked by slowness, friction and discomfort, imposed by the infrastructures and the devices of their profession. On the other hand, the MEPs' mobility is best characterised by airspaces, airplanes and, in some cases, high speed trains. Their mobility is much faster, smoother and more comfortable. Finally, the musicians' mobility is a mix of these two, seeing as airplanes are often used to get to where the tour starts, but then the means of transport is generally a van, wherein the musicians build their identities and construct their own spatiality. In short, I wanted to get a feel for, and do participant observation in, different contexts, spatialities and means of transportation. I wanted to experience the textures, the feelings, the pleasures and displeasures of different mobile infrastructures and devices.

The third and last criterion is based on my personal networking skills. I considered many other groups – such as professional athletes, businessmen or even travelling correspondents – but the three that I settled upon were the ones that showed more openness towards my work. In the first place, doing an ethnography of musicians was an obvious target for me, seeing as I am a musician myself and I had already toured with several bands prior to the start of this PhD. Furthermore, I had already done some work in this area (see Novoa 2012) and wanted to delve even more into the topic. As we will see, I engaged with doing ethnography with my own band, adopting a kind of auto-ethnographic method here – I will explain this in the respective chapter. Secondly, I was lucky to be acquainted with a Portuguese MEP and was able to network that contact in order to find more politicians who were happy to have me following them around. I

contacted two more MEPs and travelled with them. Finally, studying lorry drivers also became quite self-evident shortly after I started my programme. It seemed natural for me to study the movement of lower class citizens across Europe in order to achieve a better comparative basis and a lorry driver company from Portugal readily accepted my request to follow their drivers around in their circuits.

Before moving on, a last mention on the possible weaknesses of this choice is necessary. First of all, I am aware that gender is not well covered within my choices. It was extremely difficult for me to move with women. As we will see in the next section, one of the most complicated aspects, ethically speaking, in doing mobile ethnography is privacy, seeing as when we are on the move with an individual, we are constantly with him or her. Breaking gender barriers is very problematic. I only travelled with one woman throughout the research. This can mean that my work also attempts to tackle and deconstruct the abstract of notion of mobility as a space of masculinity, showing that mobility contains many types of masculine geographies and identities, but it nevertheless fails to analyse the world of mobile women. Secondly, the ethnography of MEPs was also very difficult to arrange, due to the same reasons. As I could not trespass certain privacy thresholds – at least, as well as I think I did in the other cases – fieldwork was short. MEPs did not allow me to go with them endlessly on the road, clearly demarcating my stay within one week. Although I believe I was able to collect enough interesting data, I am also conscious that it may be the least vivid and colourful case study of the three.

5. Personal strategies and techniques

My personal strategies and techniques will be self-evident in the course of the empirical chapters *per se*. I believe that it is more engaging for the reader to identify the types of methods and techniques used as the thesis flows along, rather than state item by item all my intentions and procedures. Nevertheless, I would like to stress a few issues beforehand. In this final section, I reflect on three topics. The first one is what I call privacy issues. I believe that, in the case of mobile ethnography, privacy becomes a determinant factor in the production of the final work as well as in the development of the methodological strategies. Secondly, I would like to stress the types of data that one could and should be aiming for when doing mobile ethnography. As we saw, there is an

almost-ontological focus on mobile phenomena here and this can mean different methodological and analytical approaches in the course of the fieldwork. Finally, I also highlight the shifting and elusive characteristics of the field itself. Stability, fixity and constancy are much harder to find. Being on the road makes the ethnographer's task much more appreciative and aware of the volatile and the unpredictable.

5.1 Privacy issues and my strategy

When doing mobile ethnography, there are profound privacy issues that deeply define one's work. These are much more evident when using this particular form of fieldwork than with more traditional ethnographic methods. When one is on the road with a particular individual or a group of individuals, one is constantly with them. Whereas in more localised practices both the ethnographer and the informants are able to create, negotiate and define his or her own private zones – this could be a room, an apartment, a house or a tent – when deploying mobile methods one is often in the position of sharing the same spaces on a 24/7 basis. This produces serious challenges for the ethnographer. As Czarniawska puts it, "access must, to a certain degree, be continuously re-negotiated – not only with new persons, but even with the same person who can say the next day that being shadowed is beginning to be tiresome. Such a possibility exists in other types of observations, of course, but it is less likely, as people who find the presence of a researcher discomforting can hide in ways that are not accessible to the person who is being shadowed" (Czarniawska 2007: 56-57). In the case of the lorry drivers, for instance, I drove, ate and slept in the same truck as the drivers for periods between two days to an entire week. When fieldworking with the MEPs, each one of us had our own hotel room, but I followed them around in airplanes, official cars, stations, lounges, private meetings, and so forth. Finally, when touring with a band, one is not only together with the musicians during the long drives (which is almost a third of the total time spent on tour), but often ends up sleeping in the same rooms. This may seem trivial, but it is very demanding of the ethnographer and our informants.

Hence, the strategy for fieldwork becomes different. Whilst it is common for traditional ethnographers to stay put in the same location for several months (or even years), making way for a lasting observant participation, my personal strategy here, due

to privacy issues, was to put myself on the road for short and consecutive periods of time, ranging from a minimum interval of four days to a maximum of approximately two weeks. This is almost a methodological imposition. When one is practising mobile ethnography, one's constant and demanding presence can rapidly exhaust the informants. This way, I developed the strategy of going on the road for repeated periods of time, even when collecting data for the same chapter. For instance, I went on fieldwork with the truck drivers for short periods of about a week for roughly three months. I always started in Portugal, went on the road with one truck driver across Europe and then returned to Portugal some days later either with the same driver or another one. I repeated this process several times. With the MEPs, I spent circa one week with each one of them, spread out across two months. The same is true for the musicians. I went on three different European tours, ranging from a mini six-day tour to a full two-week schedule. I will provide more insights in the respective chapters.

This informs my work. I believe this is one of the best ways to do mobile ethnography. Although it may be exhausting to be continuously on a back-and-forth type of motion, having these consecutive periods of fieldwork where one goes on the road and back home successively, provides the chance for one to distance oneself from the field and re-think some issues, theoretical perspectives and analytical angles. This can be worked as an advantage in relation to more traditional forms of ethnography. Furthermore, it also alleviates a set of complicated ethical issues related to privacy. Asking to accompany someone for a week is very different from asking for a period of three or more months. In my opinion, this strategy makes this particular way of doing ethnography possible. To sum up, I return to Czarniawska, who sheds light on how the technique of "shadowing" is crucial in offering a "unique opportunity for self-observation and self-knowledge" whilst being "a way that mirrors the mobility of contemporary life". However, it also entails some obstacles. It is a method that "requires constant attention and continuous ethical decisions" and is "psychologically uncomfortable" (Czarniawska 2007: 58).

5.2 Tables of fieldwork and individuals studied

My work is, thus, based on several ethnographic vignettes carried out throughout the last four years. In this section, I provide some charts and tables of the amount of

work done, so that the reader can more easily account for the time spent on the road as well as the number of individuals under study.

	2009	2010	2011	2012
January				**Lorry drivers**
February				**Lorry drivers**
March		**Musicians**	**MEPS**	**Lorry drivers**
April			**Musicians**	
May				
June			**MEPs**	
July				
August				
September				
October				
November				
December	**Musicians**			

Figure 1: Fieldwork timetables (by year)

	2009	2010	2011	2012
Musicians	**13 days**	**8 days**	**16 days**	
Lorry drivers				**43 days**
MEPs			**22 days**	

TOTAL = 102

Figure 2: Total days on the road (exactly)

Musicians	**6**
Lorry drivers	**11**
MEPs	**3**
TOTAL	**20**

Figure 3: Total individuals studied (with interviews)

5.3 What can we look for?

Marilyn Strathern once wrote that "if one can ask 'big' questions of 'small' data, then the difference between big and small disappears" (Strathern ct. in Herbert 2000: 564). I believe this can function as a guideline for ethnographic work. When on the move, I look for small and quotidian details of everyday life that may contain the potential to develop or question big theories. I normally produce fieldwork diaries where I register all the timetables, routines and rhythms – that is, daily practices – of the individuals under study. I write down at what times they wake up, go to sleep, have meals, do specific tasks, and so forth, in order to be acquainted with the daily rhythms of their professional lives. The study of rhythms is a well-established procedure in the realm of humanities and particularly in geography (see Edensor 2010; Hagerstrand 1985; Lefebvre 2004; Young 1988). For instance, in *Reanimating places: a geography of rhythms*, editor Tom Mels and the remainder of the authors make it clear that time-space rhythms accentuate the practical, symbolic, everyday and embodied qualities of our mundane experiences and also contribute to the making of our geographical environment (Mels 2004). The study of routines and rhythms may unveil hidden social dynamics that structure the individuals' lives. This is one of the first dimensions that preoccupies me when fieldworking.

Then, I also try to register most of the informants' comments and tackle issues head on, in order to apprehend underlying and collective discourses. I delve into the production of meaning and representations so that I can have a clear grasp of their personal and collective idiosyncrasies. Normally, I relate these to issues of mobility, such as the impact of mobility on their lives, discourses around having to live in permanent itinerancy, the struggles or the pleasures of a mobile life, and so forth. I write

these down in the diary along with informal, and sometimes formal, interviews. While unconscious, mechanical and quotidian practices are of paramount importance when doing ethnography, I posit that individuals' words are no less relevant. Words and expressions as well as personal and collective discourses confer part, if not most, of the meaning to the practices themselves. Sometimes expressions and phrases expose layers of meaning that are hidden in the naturalness of personal and collective practices. Delving into these meanings, especially in relation to mobility, is at the core of my personal take on mobile ethnographic methods.

A third topic that I wish to address concerns sensations and feelings. I also believe that a mobile ethnography should be particularly aware of this. Looking at, and experiencing it, if a particular pattern of mobility is grinding or liberating, comfortable or uncomfortable, pleasurable or unpleasant, tiring or relaxing may uncover significant data. In his book *Keeping together in time*, William McNeill highlighted the importance of coordinated movement in the creation of shared senses of belonging. The historian argued that synchronised mobility is a powerful force to generate bonds between people, ultimately bringing them together and forging a sense of community (McNeill 1997). In other words, collective sensations and feelings of mobility may be a prevailing phenomenon in coordinating the individuals' movement and imprinting meaning and sensations of belonging on their lives. Naturally, uncomfortable or restless mobilities can create difficult situations, but they nevertheless may work towards the fabrication of some kind of class-consciousness that can structure both the mobilities and the identities of the individuals under study.

Besides looking for mobile rhythms, routines and timetables along with discourses, representations and feelings of mobility, I also take as many photographs as possible, either to illustrate my arguments or to have a sense of the aesthetics of mobility of each professional group. Of course, with MEPs it was much harder to apply this technique, seeing as the MEPs themselves demanded much more privacy than musicians or drivers. Whilst with these two groups I was able to be present in almost every situation and take photographs freely, in the case of MEPs I was not only barred from particular meetings but each one of us had our own sleeping and private spaces – hotel rooms, for example. Furthermore, producing a photographic album in the case of MEPs was also a delicate issue, seeing as most of them did not want to expose themselves too much. I do believe, nevertheless, that visual data is essential to grasp the aesthetics of mobility, besides being a fundamental dimension when one is examining

the dialectics of flows versus moorings. Photographs can be used to depict the materialities and spatialities of the moorings that make the individuals' mobilities possible. Hannam, Sheller and Urry had already drew attention to these dialectics in their paper (Hannam *et al* 2006), and I do think that photographs may be a good way of investigating into this aspect.

6. Ethics and relationships

To finish this chapter, I would like to make a few comments on ethics and the nature of the relationships built with the individuals I accompanied and studied. The situation varied from case to case. Travelling with the band was the most personal experience of all as I conducted fieldwork during several tours with my own band, analysing and interviewing my own friends and band colleagues. They were close friends prior to the tours, during the tours and they are still good friends nowadays. I am used to calling them by their first names and/or nicknames and that is how I wrote the respective chapter. With the drivers, although I did not know any of them prior to the fieldwork, the relationships built were very friendly and void of significant power hierarchies of conduct. Similarly to the musicians, I called the drivers by their first names and they would do the same with me. Naturally, I became closer to some of them and did not get along that well with others. It is part of doing ethnography. Nevertheless, in both cases, I decided to refer to them by their first names. In the case of the MEPs, this was done very differently. The relationships were ones of cordiality and circumstance. I was clearly lower in the social hierarchies built than the research subjects. Therefore – and this is indeed the only reason – I decided to write their full names in their respective chapter. I do not wish, by any means, to reproduce geometries of power in my work by using first names in one case and full names in the other. It is merely a question of respect and how the relationships developed by themselves.

As I explained before, privacy was one of the most difficult issues. This also reflects these ethical choices. The barriers of privacy with musicians were almost null. I was part of the band. I was an indispensable part of the endeavour. I had the same responsibilities and privileges as any other band member. With the truck drivers, the barriers were also very thin, but nevertheless thicker than with my band colleagues. I slept in the same cabin as they did, ate the same food and did the same miles, but I was

clearly an outsider. It was not my world. So, I am certain that there were a lot of aspects and facets of their lives that they hid from me. Once again, it is part of doing ethnography. Finally, in the case of the MEPs, the privacy barriers were very thick. I was asked to not take many photos. I was barred from attending several meetings. Many times we sat far away from each other in airplanes. I did not sleep in the same hotel rooms, naturally. All this serves to explain and contextualise how I treated the individuals under study and vice-versa. There was also some data that I was asked to not write about in all of the three cases and I wish to state that I carefully complied with their wishes.

CHAPTER 4

A country on wheels:

A mobile ethnography of Portuguese lorry drivers

1. Introduction

This chapter is an account of the mobile lifestyle of Portuguese lorry drivers. Here, I follow the footsteps of several authors who have provided vivid portraits of the lives of truck drivers (Hollowell 1968, Stern 1975, Thomas 1979) – even though none of them actually applied ethnographic mobile methods, but rather collected their data through observation and interviews. In the 60s, Peter Hollowell wrote one of the most compelling accounts with his *The lorry driver*. It encompasses a thorough sociological study of the structures that inform the daily lives of British lorry drivers. As the author put it, "the idea is to see how much of the self-concept gets through into actual behaviour and how much it is changed by the constraints of the structures which surround and make demands on him" (Hollowell 1968: 12). Hollowell's study works around the long-standing sociological debate of structure versus agency. This theoretical framework has been applied to countless situations since sociology was first born in the 19th century, but Hollowell ran it to investigate a reality of permanent mobility. To the surprise of many, the author found out that a life on the road did not prevent strong social constraints from taking place, even though the drivers were able to sometimes manipulate their effects. This notion became especially relevant because mobility is often associated with (cultural) transgression, openness and fluidity. This trend was visible during subsequent decades, following the burst of post-modernist thinking and globalisation studies. There has been a bottom-line assumption that translocal, large-scale mobility is directly related with the fabrication of post-national identities or, as many authors like to call it, cultural hybridism.

In other words, from the 90s onwards, it became quite commonsensical to think about people on the move as the agents of cross-cultural identities, whilst people who lived locally were often represented as tied to local belongings. The many European assumptions arguing that more mobility translates into a collective awareness of Europeanness are underpinned by such prepositions. In this chapter, I show that the contrary is also possible, in dialogue with the more recent literature arising from the mobilities turn, which has been highlighting trends of disruption and exclusion associated with practices of mobility. I believe that lorry drivers replicate, and even amplify, strong local identities in contexts of high mobility. Mobility, instead of erasing feelings of national/local attachment, may contain a special potential for enhancing

them. Through a case study of mobile ethnography with Portuguese lorry drivers across Europe, I provide an example of this phenomenon, concluding that these individuals, rather than culturally transposing barriers, live their professional lives in a kind of nationalised nutshell on wheels. In a second moment, this paradoxically creates a logic of encapsulation and immobility that precisely makes the fabrication of post-national identities possible for other Europeans. It is precisely due to the mobile, but enclosed and isolated, lifestyles of lorry drivers that European citizens, in general, can take advantage of a free communitarian market.

During the 80s, many theorists attributed movement and mobility with the potential to shatter the pillars of sedentarism on which much of academia was laid upon, both at a practical and a metaphorical level. The dromology of Virilio, the reflections of Deleuze and Guattari as well as the studies of de Certeau are amongst the most influential theories that mobilised such concepts. For instance, Paul Virilio conceptualises politics in terms of speed: "Possession of territory is not primarily about laws and contracts, but first and foremost a matter of movement and circulation" (Virilio ct. in Armitage 2001: 173, see also Virilio 1986). Albeit with different perspectives, Deleuze and Guattari also apprehend society through the lens of nomadology. For them, mobility represents individual freedom – condensed in the figure of the nomad – against the state's desires for stasis (Deleuze & Guattari 1987). Finally, Michel de Certeau also gives great importance to movement and mobility. His concept of "tactics", which stands for the everyday practices that individuals perform to create spaces for themselves in the environments defined by "strategies" (barriers delineated by institutional structures of power), is based on the metaphor of walking in the city (de Certeau 1984). Ideas of mobility also feature in the reflections of one of the most well-known thinkers of the last quarter of the 20th century, closely associated with postmodernist thinking: Zygmunt Bauman. In his book *Liquid modernity*, Bauman examines how we have shifted away from a heavy and solid modernity to a light and liquid one (Bauman 2000). The strictness of rigid-hierarchic social roles has been transplanted by smooth and fluid schemes of sociability and presentation of self.

This way of thinking, in which mobility is given an agency of change, cultural transgression and flows, led many authors to create theories of hybridism and creolisation. In anthropology and cultural geography, many authors engaged with a narrative of cultural fluidity, both to reformulate the concept of culture (Appadurai 1996, Bhabha 2004, Clifford 1997, Hannerz 1992) and space (Massey 1991, Soja 1996,

Thrift 1996). This reached many areas of the humanities and social science. For instance, the field of migration/diaspora studies has been rife with accounts that depict how translocal mobility culminates in the formation of hybrid realities (see, for example, Basch, Schiller & Blanc 1994; Chambers 1990, 1994; Cohen, 1994, 1997; D'Alisera 2004; Gardner 2002; Gilroy 1993; Hall & Du Gay 1996; Olwig & Hastrup 1997). Similarly, cosmopolitanism was resurrected. After standing still in history for a very long time as an academic concept, "cosmopolitanism is back", as David Harvey claimed (Harvey 2000: 529). Cosmopolitanism was brought back to life not as an imposition or universal exportation of Western culture, as it was during the Enlightenment period, but rather as an ideology that endorses a constant debate on the right equilibrium of cultural proximities and frontiers. It is a debate on how can/should we maintain a cultural complexity and diversity in a world that is utterly more mobile and, for that reason, smaller. This is reflected in the works of many authors (Appiah 2006, Rumford 2008).

But is this always the case? Is mobility all about fluidity and cultural complexity, as Hannerz put it (Hannerz 1992)? The new mobilities paradigm came to pour oil on troubled waters. Whilst placing mobility at the core of contemporary life, the paradigm did not engage with a worldview of fluidity, as we saw in chapter 2. In this case study, I contribute to this debate, showing that truck drivers are best conceptualised as figures of Portuguese-ness rather than agents of fluidity, despite their tremendous and constant itinerancy. Grand mobility here does not translate into transgression and openness. The drivers have to cope with an imposed geography of fixed circuits, demanding timetables and, on many occasions, the solitude of the road. Deprived from the forms of capital and the flexibility that high-up individuals have (such as businessman or politicians, as we will see in chapter 6), they turn to what they know best in order to pin down their geographies and create sensations of belonging: their origins. Instead of adapting to other cultures or reinventing their own culture when on the move, they bring their country, and their particular locality, with them onto the road. This is how they codify their geography and create safe environments, dealing with uncertainty and a permanent life of mobility.

2. Methodological strategies and descriptive remarks

Before moving on to the theoretical and empirical sections of this chapter, a few methodological and descriptive preliminary remarks are called for. I have already outlined my main methodological agenda in the previous chapter, but I wish to stress a few specific operative details nevertheless. I also take the opportunity to give some insights on the profiles of the lorry drivers as well as a summarised discussion on what it means to be Portuguese, seeing as the drivers' identities naturally represent one specific way of being Portuguese amongst many others.

2.1 Methodological strategies

This chapter is based on a fieldwork experience over three months with eleven Portuguese truck drivers, in which I accompanied each one of them (or several at the same time) for some days on the road across Europe. All of them work for a particular transportation firm based in the north of Portugal called *Transbranca* (the company has forty-four international drivers). Through a network of contacts I was able to successfully arrange several consecutive fieldwork trips with them. This firm is a well-established company in Portugal that has been operating since the 40s under the name *Transportes Humberto*. In the 80s, *Transportes Humberto* was transformed into the current firm, and it has been successfully moving goods across Europe ever since. My personal strategy was to drive off with one driver into Europe and either return with the same motorist or with a new one with whom we crossed paths. This firm maintains two main routes in Europe: a) Portugal – Italy; b) Portugal – Germany/Netherlands. The trips normally last between a week and ten days: it takes three shifts to get to either of the locations given, followed by two or three days of unloading and loading the truck before heading back to Portugal again – a total of eight or nine days. I did four trips myself, in which I made contact with and interviewed eleven lorry drivers. Seeing as I would set off with a certain driver and then come back home, I normally had to wait a week before a new trip could be arranged (firm's policy). The fieldwork is then characterised by several entry and exit periods in the course of a total of two/three months' time.

The methodology used here was mobile ethnography, as described in chapter 3. During these three months, which went from January into late March 2012, I participated in every daily activity of the driver I was travelling with: I started off with a particular driver in the centre of Portugal (in a town called Branca, where the company has its headquarters), headed for Spain, slept in the same cab as him, ate the same food as him, went on to deliver the goods carried and then either returned with the same driver or a different one to Portugal to unload a new cargo that we had just picked up. In this way, I was able to experience what it is like to be on the road as a truck driver, engaging with the drivers' worldviews and daily routines. I felt the tiredness and discomforts of the road as well as the pleasures and sometimes-healthy conviviality they maintain with one another. I also experienced how they load and unload the lorries and how they cope with their demanding profession, both psychologically and physically. Moreover, I observed the drivers' quotidian rhythms and practices as well as how they interact with each other in their professional environments. In addition to this participant-observation, I conducted several interviews (11 total) – both formal and informal – in order to grasp "how their diverse mobilities constitute their patterning of everyday life" (Urry 2007: 40). The details of my methodology will unfold as the chapter goes along. But, in short, this is what I attempted. I was not only an observant, but also a participant in the drivers' everyday routines, tracking their moves onto a fieldwork diary, constantly asking questions and interviewing them when necessary.

2.2 Description and profiles of the drivers

Vasco was the first driver I accompanied. Vasco was in his late forties. He had been a driver for this same company since the 90s, which means he had been on the international transportation business since his twenties. Like most of the drivers, he abandoned school at an early age and picked up driving at a very young age. He married his current wife also in his twenties and was now the father of two young girls. He lives in the surrounding areas of Aveiro, very close to where the firm is based, where he had a house built for him and his family. He was not the most devoted Catholic of all the drivers, but he did believe in God. On this first trip, we caught up with another drive, named David, along the way and returned back to Portugal with him. I took the opportunity to drive with him. David (also referred to as the "old-cow") was in his late

forties. Also married and a father, David was one of the most sociable and fun individuals on the road. He lives close to Branca. I did not ride with David in his lorry, but he accompanied both Vasco and me on our way to Portugal. David struck me as the always-happy type of person.

Jorge was the driver with whom I started off my second trip. Jorge was in his early fifties and, just like Vasco and David, had been a driver for almost as long as he could remember. He had been at the firm for around twenty years. Married to the mother of his daughter, he was the father of one girl, who had just turned twenty-four years of age and lived/worked in the capital, Lisbon. Similarly to the previous drivers, he had a house built for his family. In Portugal, there is an expression "*fazer casa*" which could be translated into "making house", meaning that one actually collaborates in the process of building one's own house. The drivers used this expression often. Jorge was a believer in God, although a non-practising one. In this second trip, I met two other drivers along the day with whom I drove for some days. The first was nicknamed Pêra (in Portuguese, *pêra* stands for a French-cut or Van Dyke type of beard) – his real name was Silva. Pêra was one of the oldest drivers in the firm. He was in his late fifties and had three grown-up sons. He was chilled and relaxed. His birthday happened on the road whilst I accompanied him. We opened some champagne and celebrated with other drivers from the same firm. The second one was called Gato (also the Portuguese word for cat), being his first name Carlos. Gato was in his early forties and was also married. He was one of youngest members, despite being on the job for more than ten years. He also lived near Branca, where the firm is based. Gato was known amongst the drivers for being the most frantic rice-eater in their world.

On the third trip, I travelled to central Europe with Mico, a diminutive for Amílcar. Mico was the only driver in his thirties. However, he already knew the business quite well, given that his father was a retired driver for this same firm. He told me he used to go with him on some trips as a kid, so that they could spend more time together – this was also the case with Jorge and his daughter. Also married, Mico was the father of two children, aged three and ten. He told me that he was working on the whole "making house" endeavour at the moment of the trip. He got himself a piece of land in Águeda, a city 20km away from Aveiro, and started having it built recently. Mico was an AC/DC fan. He was the only driver who actually listened to some foreign music. On this third trip, I returned to Portugal with Vasco (who I talked about above) and two other drivers: Bessa and Nobre. Bessa was probably the most fun and relaxing

driver of all. He referred to me as "the doctor" in a mocking-respectful way. He was in his fifties and had three children, two of them already grown-up (in their twenties). He believed in God and decorated the cabinet with some saints. Just like the rest, he also had a house built in the surrounding areas of Aveiro. Driving for him was natural: Bessa explained that for him it was either driving or agriculture, as his parents used to do. He had been a driver for around twenty-five years. The final driver was named Nobre. Nobre was in his late forties and had also been a driver for a very long time. Nobre was one of the few drivers who brought a laptop onto the road and used it to communicate with family and play games. Similarly to the rest, he also lived close to the firm's headquarters and was a father, married to the mother of his children. Nobre was famous for being one of the best cooks in the firm.

On the forth trip, I travelled with Josué to Italy. Married since his twenties, Josué was in his early fifties at the time of fieldwork. He was one of the most experienced drivers with roughly twenty-three years on the firm. Josué had two grown-up children: a daughter who was twenty-seven by then and a son aged twenty, both of them with university degrees taken (or close to finishing). He also lived in a house near Aveiro, but between nine and eighteen he lived in France with his family, after his father was relocated. He took up driving soon after returning to his homeland. I then came back to Portugal with two other drivers: Pêra (who I already mentioned) and Martins. Martins was in his fifties. He was the first driver that frontally stated that he hated the profession and would trade it in the blink of an eye. He explained that he liked his family too much – I will return to this further on. Married and a father, he also lived close to Aveiro. He was probably the most tidy and less showy of all.

As one can see, the drivers' profiles have striking similarities. First of all, they had all been lorry drivers for a very long time. The majority of them were in this business for at least fifteen years, with the only exception coming from one driver in his early thirties who only started driving around eight years ago (however, his father was also a retired driver for the same firm). For these individuals, being a driver is absolutely natural. Most of them, as we will see, do not picture themselves doing anything else, even though they sometimes express their deep dissatisfaction with the job. Most of them pointed out that they first chose this profession due to its high-paying salaries (nowadays it is not so rewarding, but twenty years ago it was). The main discourse here is one of not being able, or not knowing how, to do anything else. It is natural. Being a driver is seen almost as the expected course of their lives and they

cannot imagine themselves in other professions, even when asked about it. In short, we are dealing with a group of individuals who do not conceive of their job as a temporary condition or a shortcut into any other professional world. Almost all of them stressed that they have been doing this "forever" and the next phase of their lives will definitely be to retire.

Secondly, almost all of them are in their early fifties and have a family. Hence, the majority of them are not living unstable personal lives. Naturally, this instability is more likely throughout the first years as an international lorry driver, before the family has the time to adjust to their constant absence. Seeing as the drivers I accompanied have already been doing this for a very long time, most of them have already seen their children grow up and become independent, thus making it easier on the family in general. Even though, as we will see, the drivers come from a background where it is normal to hold more traditional identities linked with the north-central countryside of Portugal, where both family and Catholicism play a decisive role, most of the family issues related to being an absent member are long gone. Nevertheless, they are very attached to their family, despite their itinerancy, and most of them have inclusively built a house from scratch themselves in a given piece of land. I will delve into all of these dimensions in the following pages.

This takes me to my third point. All of the drivers live and have a house in the surrounding areas of Aveiro when not on the road – Aveiro is one of the biggest cities in the central region of Portugal and is the closest decent-sized town to Branca, where the firm is based. All of the drivers are, thus, individuals that come from a background that is halfway between being urban and rural. They definitely do not inhabit inhospitable, remote places in the country, but neither do they lead an urban lifestyle when not on the job. As we will see, most of them come from a background in which not long ago – before the revolution of 1974, following recent developments in urbanization – the only tangible option could well have been to be a farmer: this was, indeed, the reality of their parents. They come from a context of relative poverty, especially when it comes to education. Most of them only reached the fourth grade. Even though these rural areas were industrialised – especially in the North of the country – over the last fifty years, they are still haunted by poverty and simpler lifestyles. Hence, even though the drivers are extremely itinerant, they are only able to speak occasional Italian and French other than the Portuguese language, due to the similarities of both idioms. English and German are out of question.

2.3 What does it mean to be Portuguese?

Ever since the late 18th century – considered, by many, the timeframe in which nationalisms emerged (see, for instance, Gellner 1983 or Hobsbawm 1990) – there have been consecutive interpretations of what it means to be Portuguese. These views can either be complementary, unrelated or antagonistic. Throughout the years, the stereotypical images of the Portuguese have been the target of constant negotiations. History could be defined as a constant tension between continuations and ruptures. Hence, the formulation of Portuguese identity, as a socio-cultural historical object, has been marked by constant processes of "stereotypization" that negotiate anxieties of persistence and impulses of innovation. The constructions of stereotypical Portuguese identities have diverse genealogies, ranging from political/ideological agendas to simple emanations of popular imaginaries. I will not have the opportunity to make a thorough revision of all these notions, but I will try to give some insights on the most lasting and structuring ones. The objective is, thus, not to initiate a discussion on the sociological and/or philosophical nature of the Portuguese identity, but solely to brush up on the topic, so that the analysis of the empirical data may be more comprehensible.

In the 19th century, there was at least one very well known construction: the *Zé-Povinho*, which is still today often recalled. A contraction of *Zé* (a diminutive for José, probably the most common Portuguese name) and *Povinho* (a diminutive for *povo*, which means people), *Zé-Povinho* is a caricature created by the artist Bordalo Pinheiro. The figure is a common everyman who is mostly seen defying authority. Depicted as a foul labourer – "this dullard face of a gullible farmer, this badly dressed peasant, with a stubble, vest and a black hat, rustic, bad-quality cloth pants, with both hands in the pockets, stupid laughter, a kind of resigned Sancho Panza without D. Quixote" (Medina 2006: 205) – *Zé-Povinho* is nevertheless a gentle and helpful character for the people. Historian João Medina explains that gradually this figure was metaphorised into the "Portuguese as it is, our most faithful and authentic ethnic representation, the expression, the face and the personification of our nationalistic, lazy and sluggish way-of-being, resilient but passive, but always incapable of theorising any Utopia or putting in motion a real desire of redemption, even though it still served to express the discontent of a social class committed to overthrowing the powerful and establishing a

prosperous and free Republic" (Medina 2006: 207). The caricature rapidly became the most common symbolical version of what it means to be a Portuguese, and was especially re-used in the epoch following the Carnation Revolution of 1974.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one other charismatic stereotype of Portuguese-ness resides in the figure of the *estrangeirado*. The term *estrangeirado* is difficult to translate: the concept applies to a Portuguese individual that, after having lived several years abroad in European capitals such as Paris, made his or her return home with a more open and sophisticated worldview, linked with cosmopolitical ideologies of the Enlightenment, whilst claiming that the foreign was fundamentally better than the national. Although there were some early cases of this phenomenon, namely the case of Damião de Góis, King Manuel's chronicler from the 16th century, the *estrangeirado* is a typical figure of the dawn of modernity (I use modernity here in a sociological manner). Throughout the years, there were many re-appropriations of the term, making it lose, in general, its original trademark of lionising everything that is foreign in detriment to the national. Nevertheless, the *estrangeirado* is always associated with high-up individuals in terms of social class, a kind of cosmopolitan elite, that seek to permeate the country with things and ideas coming from more advanced or developed nations. Still today, this is reproduced. For instance, artists such as Paula Rego or Vieira da Silva and academics such as António Damásio may be thought of as continuations of this stereotype.

One other prolific period for the construction of Portuguese-ness happened during the fascist regime of the *Estado Novo* that ruled the country between 1933 and 1974. One good example of this can be found in the works of Brazilian writer Gilberto Freyre. Although not part of the regime, his works were appropriated by António Salazar, the Portuguese dictator, for propaganda reasons. Freyre developed the concept of luso-tropicalism, a term coined to explain the Portuguese colonial process, wherein the Portuguese were seen as benevolent and generous to the natives they occupied. According to the author, the Portuguese were to be regarded as the enlightening carriers of modernity. The Portuguese stereotype here is one of a poor and humble colonizer, non-racist, who could easily adapt to tropical environments, and did not have the oppressive guidelines of other European nations (Freyre 1940). Similar notions can also be found in the works of Jorge Dias, Portugal's most iconic ethnologist, namely when the author stresses that the Portuguese had "a tremendous capacity to adapt to all things, ideas and beings", which was responsible for "the tolerant approach that garnished the

process of colonization with an unique flavour" based on the idea of "assimilation via adaptation" (Dias 1990: 146). This was written in 1953, only a few years after the publication of Freyre's most celebrated writings, and probably in the most vibrant decade of the dictatorial regime, paving the way, to a certain extent, to the general assumption that the Portuguese are a plastic ethnicity *par excellence*. The plasticity of the Portuguese people is something that is constantly systematised even today.

Freyre's and Dias' works can be thought of as a recycling of Fontes Pereira de Melo's (a preeminent politician of the second half of the 19th century) famous expression "a people of mild manners", which was consecutively reinterpreted throughout the 20th century, referring to the tolerant and soft, tendentiously lazy and sometimes lethargic, but malleable, character of the Portuguese people. This imaginary is still often mobilised in our current time. During the fascist period, there was a heavy production of Portuguese nationalism; it was a prolific period for the "invention of traditions", as Hobsbawm put it (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). In fact, alongside the stereotype of the humble and mild character, the official *Estado Novo* representation of the Portuguese put men as hard-working family-leaders and devoted Catholics who were there to serve God, the nation and their family, in that particular order, whilst women were portrayed as loving, supporting housewives who would take care of the household. A peasant imaginary should guide both. In fact, António Salazar suggested in several speeches that cities and urban lifestyles were dens of moral corruption. These visions shaped many aspects of the traditional Portuguese education. Still nowadays, there are many areas of the country where these archetypes continue to be reproduced to a certain degree. An ethnographic account set in the 80s by anthropologist Pina Cabral has shown us how in the North of the country, although the peasant worldview was rapidly changing, many of the old values were being preserved (Pina Cabral 1986). This may also explain why religion is still of paramount importance for 75% of the Portuguese in defining a sense of national belonging and history is the most valued "source of pride" for the Portuguese (Sobral 2012).

One other classic image of the Portuguese also produced during the *Estado Novo* is the one of the emigrant. This image was formed following the strong migratory movements of the 60s, when people tried to avoid the Portuguese colonial wars. The emigrant is often seen as a traditional Portuguese. In many aspects, it is a kind of fossilised version of the stereotypical individual from the dictatorial regime, i.e. a man or a woman from the countryside who deeply loves his country, likes to surround him or

herself with Portuguese "traditions" (food, music, etc.), is a good *pater familias* and a respectful Catholic (the usage of the cross is common). The image of the emigrant is associated with another stereotypical vision that continues to structure some discourses nowadays: the idea that the Portuguese are much more professionally competent and successful outside of the country. When living within the country, the Portuguese are seen as lazy, laid-back people who put more effort into producing excuses not to work rather than working *per se*. Still today, it is part of the Portuguese reality to have a horde of emigrants come back for the summer, filling the highways from France and joining their families in the countryside of Portugal, bragging about the wonders of life abroad, whilst reproducing a perpetual *saudosista* structure of feeling (*saudosista* refers to *saudade*, an untranslatable Portuguese noun that means missing someone or something). This archetype contrasts largely with the more recent migratory trends. Nowadays, there are some Portuguese materialisations of what Guy Standing calls the precariat (Standing 2011) into a stereotypical identity of a post-modern youth in crisis who is obliged to leave the country for financial reasons.

Contested versions of Portuguese-ness came on the scene during the late 60s and the 70s. During this pre-revolutionary time, images of the Portuguese as left-wing socialists were frequent. António Sérgio, one of the most influential Portuguese essayists of the past century, once said that he had only found "true national unity" in prison – to oppose the dictatorship and António Salazar (Sérgio ct. in Baptista 1992: 62). Especially celebrated through the appearances of non-conformist musicians such as Zeca Afonso, Sérgio Godinho or José Mário Branco, this image of the Portuguese was officialised after the 1974 Revolution. The 1974 Revolution was the only pro-socialist military coup with no shots ever fired in Europe. It was probably the most pacific revolution ever registered. Hence, and although the "mild manners" still applied here to a certain degree, there was a structural and systematic attempt to cut with the past and to fit the Portuguese into a progressive, democratic and urban stereotype. The Portuguese were no longer the rude, lethargic, passive and rural peasants of yesteryear, but broadminded and modern individuals who wanted to catch up with progress after years of political, social and economical paralysis. This may explain why for instance fado, the most typical and appreciated Portuguese musical genre, was obliterated and neglected during the 70s and the 80s – it represented too much of the "old" Portugal – to be rescued from almost-oblivion only in the mid-90s.

These happenings eventually led to intense debates on the true ontological nature of the Portuguese identity. In the 80s, the main identitary question was: are we European or not? During this period, due to a potential joining to the then-called European Community, old discussions about the paradoxical, and even schizophrenic, identity of the country gained new life: due to its particular geographical positioning, there has been secular talk about Portugal's divided condition between being both European and non-European (strong links to the sea, especially Africa and Brazil). It was then said – and still is – that the Portuguese way-of-being had more to do with the African and Brazilian than with the German or the French. Despite this, in the 80s and the 90s, many quadrants of the Portuguese society try to develop the archetype of the Portuguese as proud Europeans. These feelings were endowed with a theoretical body with the works of Eduardo Lourenço, probably the most famous essayist of the second half of the 20th century. In 1998, the author stresses, "it is some consolation that our great names in literature, the arts, architecture, poetry, theatre, and film are becoming a part of the European landscape. It so happens that the most important aspect of this worldwide projection of European 'self-awareness' that is our internal dialogue naturally includes our dialogue with ourselves" (Lourenço 2002: 165).

As we see, what it means to be a Portuguese is a complex reality, juxtaposed by many conflicting and different visions. Besides the ones stressed, there also exist many north-versus-south idiosyncratic games, the mainland-versus-the-islands or the retrograde-versus-the-modern. In short, to be Portuguese can mean many different things all together. It can signify being a European as it can also mean to be the least European of Europe. It can stand for traditional Catholic identities as much as it can indicate a youth on the run who wants nothing to do with religion. It can mean being left-wing, linked to the 1974 Revolution, or being conservatively right-wing, related to the Catholic roots of the country. It can mean a paradoxical struggle between loving the country and wanting to stay forever in one's surroundings versus the impulse to leave and succeed elsewhere (a common image built following the impact that the so-called age of discoveries had in shaping the country). There is no consensus. There are no right and wrong ways of being Portuguese. It is an ongoing, historical debate that pervades and permeates the tides of time in constant negotiation.

What I think is interesting is that there is a strong tendency within the drivers I accompanied to produce and reproduce more traditional, telluric, and conservative identities. Despite spending a life on the move, these individuals maintain a strong sense

of their Portuguese-ness and try to maintain it at all cost. And this Portuguese-ness has a lot to do with the imaginaries surrounding the emigrant and/or more classical identities linked with the identitary roots of the *Estado Novo*. Naturally, none of these individuals are supporters of the dictatorial regime, but they reproduce a certain structure of feeling, worldview and particular incorporated dispositions – a kind of *habitus* (Bourdieu 2001) – that are associated with the more classical Portuguese education. They live for their family and their work. They imagine themselves as good *pater familias*, although absent. They carry a paraphernalia of Catholic symbols with them that they use to decorate the lorries' cabs. They think of themselves as hard-working, responsible professionals. They praise their country, and particularly the region they come from, and they bring it onto the road. They constantly miss their country, reproducing a certain *saudosista* sentiment. The drivers transport their country with them. This is an ethnographic account of a country on wheels.

3. Portraying the road: certainty and uncertainty

In this section, I describe the geography of the lorry drivers. What do the drivers' routes look like? How flexible are they? Where do they moor? How do their timetables function? By looking at these issues, I shed light on the atmosphere of their daily lives and what it is like to be on the road. The purpose of this section is to depict what type of geography these individuals have to deal with. As we will see, it is a very strict and fixed geography, despite being marked by a constant mobility. It is a geography that contains a huge amount of certainty: certainty of schedules, of routes, of moorings. But, paradoxically, it also comprises a fair amount of uncertainty, namely when it comes to the fear of robberies, police stopovers and especially the fear of having to waiting for cargo for an entire week. It is an exhausting, grinding spatiality within which thousands of Europeans dwell and move.

3.1 The certainty of fixed routes and enclosed circuits

There are three main routes for the drivers I travelled with. Of course, once they arrive in the Benelux or Italy, their paths depend on the customers seeing as the firm has a set of clients spread across both Italy and Germany (some occasional deliveries to the

Netherlands as well). However, the routes between Portugal-Italy and Portugal-Belgium are totally standardised. The firm's policy strictly forbids any detours. And, when it does not, the law makes sure it does. There are many regular weekly and monthly delivery services; there are also some exceptional deliveries but these all happen in the surrounding regions. These routes are very fixed and do not vary significantly. They enfold or enclose the drivers into particular circuits, pinning down their movements into specific moors and making sure their move as fast as possible. Consider the maps below:
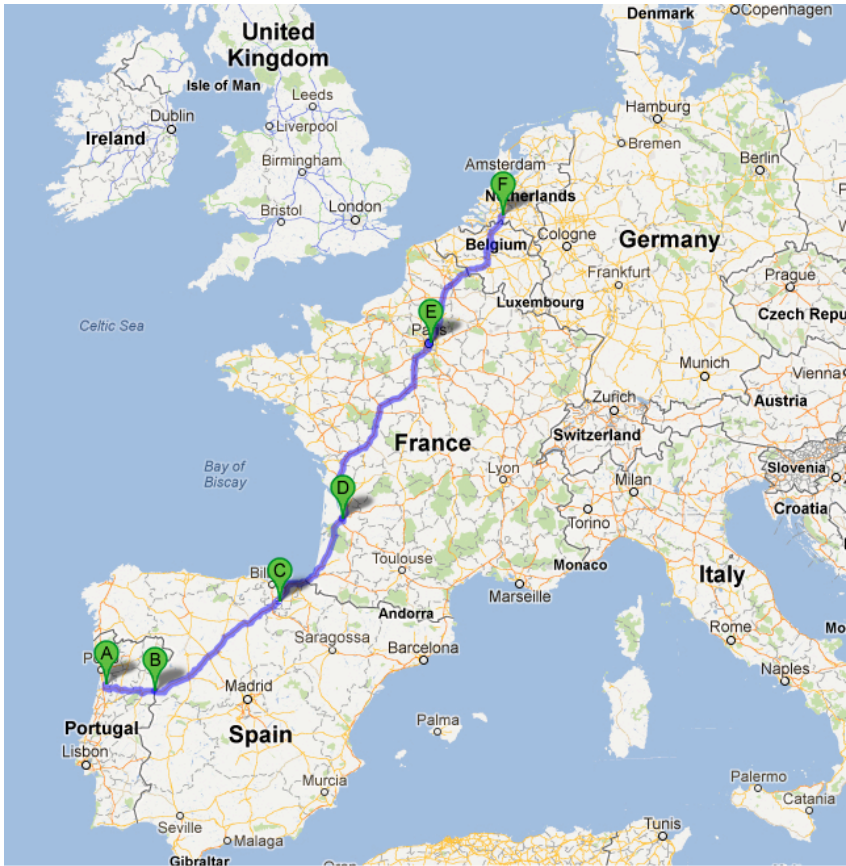
Map 1: route A
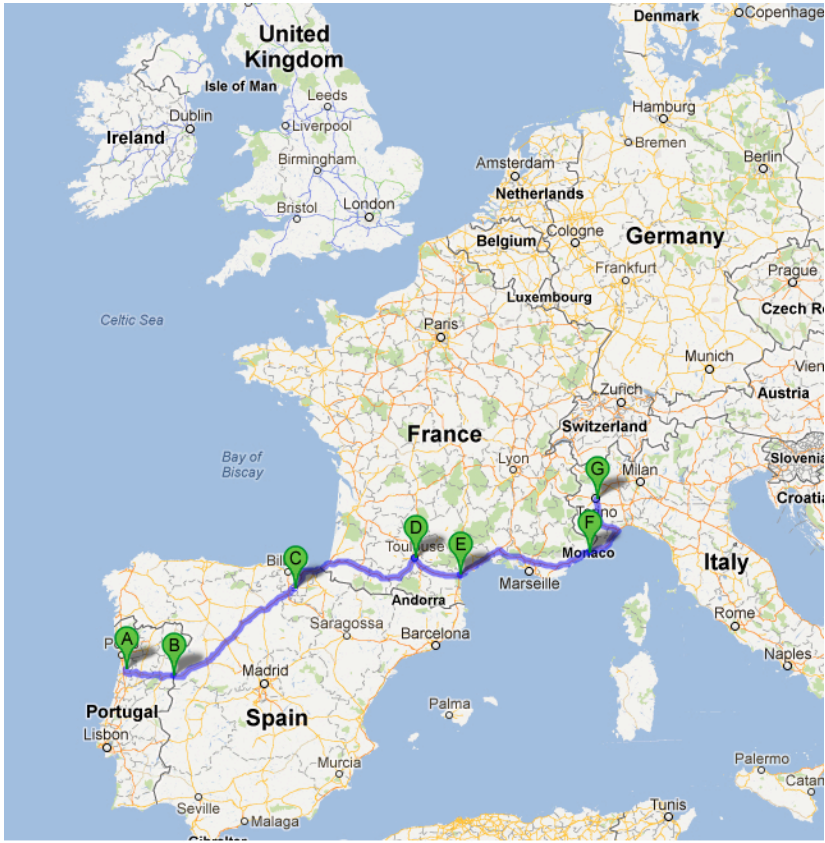
Map 2: route B
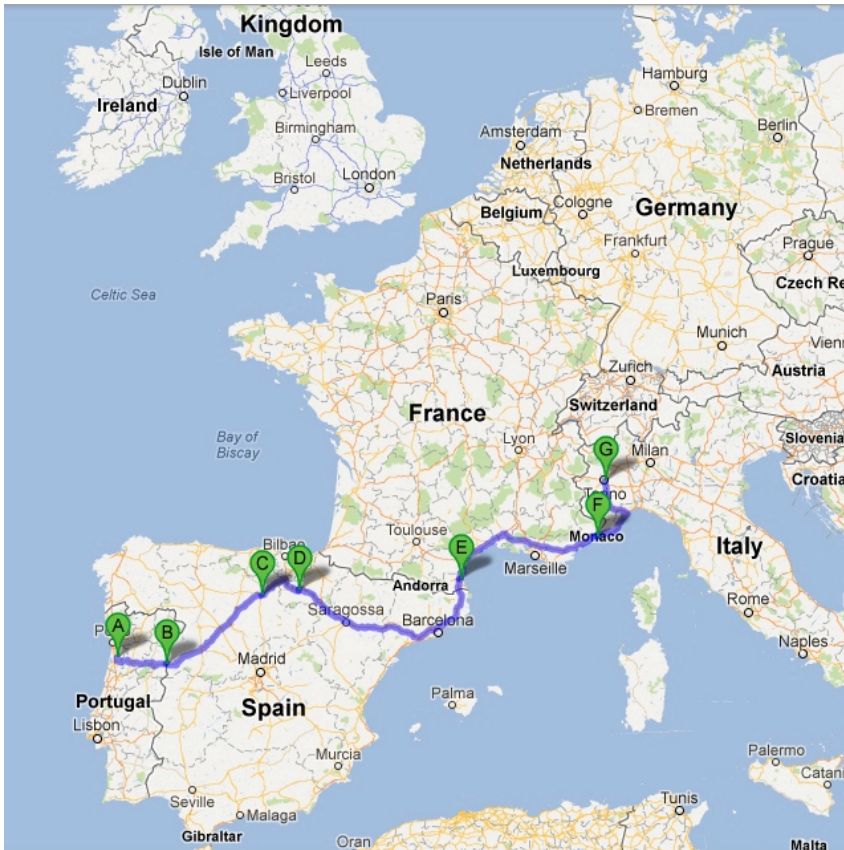
Map 3: route C

In route A, the drivers leave Portugal through Vilar Formoso, go all the way to Victoria-Gasteiz via Burgos, cross the Spanish-French border in Irun, do the Bordeaux lines and go all the way to the Benelux via Poitiers, Tours, Paris and Lille (sometimes they do Germany via Reims as well). This route is the only one available when driving to the north of Europe. On the other hand, when Italy is the destination, there are two different paths, depending on the load weight. In route B, the drivers do exactly the same as in route A until after they have crossed the Spanish-French border, after which they come to Italy via Toulouse, Narbonne and Monaco. This route is faster, but it implies crossing the Alps; hence, if a truck is carrying a heavy weight (that is, more than 15 tonnes), they have to do option C for fuel efficiency – keep in mind that a lorry's tank takes around a thousand litres in gas and the gas-consumption when climbing goes up to 80 litres per 100 km. In option C, they go all the way to Burgos and then drive down towards Barcelona via Logroño and Zaragoza, crossing the Spanish-French border in La Jonquera and catching up with route B again in Narbonne.

As we can see, the itineraries are tremendously routinized. *Transbranca* has a set of clients for whom they regularly work and, excluding some exceptional deliveries,

these clients do not change over time. These pre-determined routes thus make the drivers' paths very routinized, fixing and placing their mobility in closed circuits. Mapping their movement almost suggests the image of train-tracks with several stations where they stop. In fact, the places where they eat, sleep and take showers also go by the name of stations: to be more precise, gas stations.

On top of this, the law itself gives the drivers a hard time. In most European countries, trucks are not only forbidden from entering cities, but are beginning to be banned from certain settings, such as specific beaches, parks or local towns. One particular beach in Montpellier which used to be available to truck drivers, for instance, has recently been blocked. Local administrations are producing what Graham and Marvin call the "tunnelling effect". In *Splintering urbanism*, the authors shed light on how the recent networked infrastructures combined with the new technological mobilities are affecting our understanding of the urban condition, drawing attention to a very specific tendency of today's urbanism: instead of creating networks capable of operating evenly to truss a city, there is a propensity to create enfolded passageways. Making use of several infrastructural and technological barriers that warp time and space, this effect targets privileged sites within the city, making them perceptible and lively, whilst obliterating other zones that remain inaccessible (Graham & Marvin 2001). A similar phenomenon is happening if we take into account the truck drivers' lives. There is a tendency not only to obliterate certain settings within a city (like poor neighbourhoods, for instance), but also to eliminate groups of people from specific parts of town through the creation of infrastructures (roads, bridges, undergrounds, etc.). The drivers are excluded from particular settings and their mobility is canalised through clear-cut channels that, in any case, function as a kind of tunnel. This indirectly contributes to making the drivers even more uninterested in the surroundings they pass through. With very little time to spare due to the tightness of their timetables, these regulations make it even more difficult for drivers to escape their fixed itineraries, closing down their circuits.

"We do not see anything. It's just road, road, road." (Pêra)

"There used to be a beach in Montpellier that we could go to. We would park our truck on the side and enjoy a little sun. A few years ago, it was blocked." (Jorge)

"Some years ago, it was all very different. There weren't any GPS nor mobile phones nor the Internet. We only had maps. We took whatever time we needed to get to the client and they couldn't complain. We were much freer. Those were the days. Today, it's all regulated and controlled and planned for…" (Jorge)

3.2 Very certain timetables

The drivers' timetables are complex. According to EU legislation (EU Regulation 561/2006), they are able to drive 90 hours every two weeks as long as they do not exceed 56 hours in a single week (which means that if they do 56 hours in a given week, the following one must see a maximum of 34 hours of driving). This 56 weekly hours limitation purports that they can drive 9 hours per shift (a shift is 24 hours long) with two exceptions permitted in a week, in which they are allowed to go for a maximum of 10 hours. During the course of the day, they can be at the wheel for a maximum of 4½ hours in a row, implying that they have to do at least one full break (minimum of 45 minutes) and, of course, a large rest period (normally 11 hours long, but with two 9-hour exceptions permitted per week as well). Finally, they are obliged to rest an entire day at least once a week and two days (45 hours to be more precise) every two weeks. The following charts provide a visual representation of this data (please also consider some variations not described previously):

Value	Description
56 hours	The maximum accumulated driving in a week.
90 hours	The maximum accumulated driving in two consecutive weeks.
24 hours	The minimum time required for a rest after six days of work.
45 hours	The minimum time required for a rest after two weeks of work (including the 24h break).

Table 1: Driving schedules (weekly) Source: EU Regulation 561/2006

Value	Description
11 hours	The minimum duration of a daily rest period taken en-block.
3 hours	The minimum duration of the first part of a daily rest period taken in two parts.
9 hours	The minimum duration of the second part of a daily rest period taken in two parts.
¾ hour	The minimum duration of a full break taken en-block.
¼ hour	The minimum duration of the first part of a break taken in two parts.
½ hour	The minimum duration of the second part of a break taken in two parts.
9 hours	The maximum accumulated driving time between a daily or weekly rest period and the next daily or weekly rest period.
10 hours	The maximum accumulated driving time between a daily or weekly rest period and the next daily or weekly rest period (this is allowed only twice in a week).
4 ½ hours	The maximum driving time without a stationary period representing a rest period or full break.

Table 2: Driving schedules (daily) Source: EU Regulation 561/2006 and Goel 2010: 5

It was conspicuous to see how natural for the drivers all of this was. It took me at least two trips to be acquainted with all of these regulations. These rules dictate the drivers' working lives and, needless to say, have to be registered and encoded on a device called the tachograph (picture 1). Any faulty schedules are subject to voluminous fines if the drivers are caught up in a police stop. The drivers have to register all their moves in the machine, namely every time they start driving (a symbol of a wheel then appears), have breaks/rests (a bed symbol turns on) or do any other types of work, such as loading or unloading the truck (two hammers symbol) (see scan 1 for a print of a working-day). They are required to take some workshops in order to know how to work the schedules. To facilitate the process, the law also dictates that all drivers work in the time-zones of their contractual firm – which is, in the long run, another factor

responsible for producing the sensation of transporting their own country with and within themselves.

"The regulations are very rigid and do not allow the chance to do anything else besides what is strictly scheduled. There were fellow colleagues here who were fined with more than 1000 euros for overdriving by 15minutes! It's ridiculous…" (Josué)

"We drive, and eat, and rest. That's it. We can't do anything besides the obvious. And, sometimes, clients complain that we are late. What else can we do?" (Bessa)

Figure 1: Tachograph print (scan by author)

The timetables make it virtually impossible for them to step outside their carefully delineated geography. The firm and its clients demand the quickest transportation possible, pushing the drivers to their daily limits. When I was on the road with them, they carried out their timetables with maximum precision. If an eight-hour driving day was on the table, it meant that the drivers would do (almost) exactly those eight hours, with a variation of only five minutes less – the variation was never above schedule due to the fines. And, once they stopped, they could not even start the lorry until the next day or else those few seconds were automatically counted in the tachograph, interrupting the break and, thus, committing an infraction. This means that, besides the strictness of routes and the impositions written in European and/or national law of the various member states, the timetables are also very certain and rigid, leaving no chance for improvisation or flexibility. Seeing as the drivers would move along as far as possible, as soon as they were obliged to stop, they would do so besides the motorway, not only because it was more practical, but because they would not have the time to do otherwise.

Figure 2: The tachograph (image by author)

3.3 But also some uncertainty…

As one can see, the drivers' geography is characterised by strict routes and timetables. The routes function almost as a kind of tunnel, channelling the drivers' mobility through certain corridors and barring them from most of the cities and villages they pass through. This exclusion is even inscribed and codified as law. Drawing upon Marc Augé, one could argue that these drivers are forced to inhabit a spatiality comprised of "non-places", forcing them to actually produce these spaces as places themselves (Augé 1995) – we will see how below. Furthermore, their timetables are so demanding and strict that they are left with no time to make contact with local settings. When a trip goes well, these individuals are channelled all the way up to the centre/north of Europe, drop their cargo and rapidly load a new one to come back to Portugal. Their profession operates under a strict, enfolded geography of asphalt and gas stations. They (almost) never adventure outside these places and, if it does happen, they do it in three or four strategic spots that they already know by heart, such as specific beach sites in Italy, where they sometimes spend weekends (because either the timetables do not allow for more hours on the road or driving is prohibited on Sundays).

But what happens then when things do not go according to plan? The three things that drivers are most frightened of are robberies, waiting for cargo and the police. The fear of robberies, standstill and police stopovers are the elements that create the most uncertainty in a rather stern and certain geography. Robberies are a big issue as they came up in all the interviews I conducted. Normally, robbers aim at gas tanks, but the cabins are not exactly safe-zones. A lorry's tank can contain up to €2000 worth of diesel and it is an easily accessible target. Gas stealing is very common all over Europe and the process is quite simple:

"When we are asleep, robbers go under or besides the truck, perforate the tank with a knife and drain the diesel in into pre-prepared containers. It can take only 15 minutes to make a fortune without us noticing anything. This happens a lot and has happened to a lot of drivers in the firm." (David)

"Gas stealing is a big problem, especially because, in order for the firm to activate the insurance against these robberies, we need to call the police and report the incident. This can take several hours, from the time waiting for officers to arrive at the scene to filling in all the papers, and so on. Half a day of work is gone to waste and we, the drivers, are not paid for it, because we get paid for the amount of trips

we do in a month and not for the hours spent on the road. We need to do at least two trips in order to get a satisfying wage." (Jorge)

Alongside gas stealing, robbers also go for both the storage units near the tanks – where drivers store food, beverage, kitchen utilities as well as small tables and seats – and the cabins themselves. During fieldwork, I heard several stories of drivers who had seen their units stolen. One of them, Pêra, was left completely out of food and cooking utilities. Robbers took it all. If it was not for the companionship built with other drivers from the same firm – who were able to work out their timetables in order to meet him on the road – he would have been in an even more troubled situation. Situations like this were frequent. Furthermore, although not as usual, I was told of some stories wherein the cabin itself was attacked. The method here is normally the following: robbers create a small fissure in the door, fill the cabin's air with some sleeping gas and then crack it open, swiftly stealing all of the driver's belongings. This happened to a small minority of the drivers, leaving them in a very complicated situation, seeing as insurance does not normally cover these types of occurrences.

The second biggest fear of the drivers is to be stuck in the middle of Europe waiting for a cargo to become available. The drivers usually go to either Germany or Italy, as we saw earlier, unload whatever they bring and then wait for a new shipment to Portugal. The firm creates an internal waiting list for the drivers they have within the same region, but the wait can be anywhere between one day to one week. A one-day wait is normally seen as the ideal situation. When drivers have to wait for more than three days, it creates an overload of anxiety and expenses. First of all, because it means that they will probably only do two trips in a month, which means they will end up receiving a less satisfying paycheck at the end of the month. Secondly, because they can rapidly run out of food. As we will see below, all of them bring their food from back home, thus avoiding the inconvenience (and the extra expense) of walking into a local supermarket or gas station, which are much more pricey than back home. Thirdly, this also creates some suspicion and competitiveness between the drivers as they all fight for the best loads and regions, creating a climate of distrust during the less prolific periods of the firm.

Finally, the third big fear of the drivers is the police. Policemen are seen as "money-leeches" (collective expression used by the drivers). As we have seen, timetables are very demanding and inflexible. If a driver, by law, can only drive eight

hours in a given day, this means that he can only literally drive up to eight hours. In a situation like this, if he is caught in a police inspection with an excess of four or five minutes, he can be heavily fined and a month's worth of salary goes to waste. The tachograph backlogs all of the drivers' movements within 30 days of work, which means that a certain infraction will only be swiped off the system after four weeks. Their timetables have to be meticulous. Of course the law dictates some kind of flexibility in particular circumstances – the law foresees, for example, an adjustment of 30 minutes if the driver is within his hometown range – but, according to the drivers, the police do not care at all. They do not even ask the drivers; they simply ask for the report that the tachograph prints (see scan 1 for an example) and if there is anything at fault, the drivers are fined. Irregularities found in the driving schedules are not covered by insurance, thus leaving the drivers with significant debts to pay. In fact, I was faced with a situation wherein a 15-minute period of overdriving represented a £1000 ticket (!).

4. Bringing the country onto the road

This brief description of the drivers' routes, timetables and fears – the three dimensions that are probably the most structural in their daily professional lives – brings us to the pivotal question of this chapter: how do truck drivers deal with such a geography? Faced with a spatiality that is not only structured by a rigid, inflexible and imposed display of routes, circuits and timetables, but also by the uncertainty of being stuck with no food or money in Europe, how do drivers pin down their world and create sensations of belonging? Where do they turn to? In a geography of very-little-freedom that enfolds them in a life of asphalt and gas stations, wherein robberies are a constant threat and their money and health is at risk, what prevents them from falling apart? The answer is straightforward: they turn to what they know best. Their country. Their locality. Their origins.

4.1 Adjusting timetables

One of the things that immediately struck me when conducting fieldwork was how the drivers almost automatically adjusted their timetables to convoy with each

other as long as possible. It was almost, in a Bourdieusian sense, an incorporated disposition, a *habitus* (Bourdieu 2001). That is, it is something that they naturally do, almost as if they were responding to an unconscious bodily movement. They do not respond to any particular reasoning. It just happens that way. The legislation is very tight and it requires the drivers to continuously encode their movements into a device, not leaving much room for improvisation or seepage. Despite this, the drivers were nevertheless able to put in motion several strategies in order to work around these schedules, such as delaying the breaks in particular locations or doing the extra hours of work allowed on specific dates. What is remarkable here is that they managed to adjust their timetables – without committing any wrongdoings – to accompany other drivers from the same firm, *Transbranca*. They explained to me that they not only felt "safer this way, due to the robberies" (Pêra), but it was easier to "cope with the loneliness of the road" (quoting several of the drivers). I would like to highlight here not only the ability to manipulate these (almost) inflexible timetables, but also the practice of adjusting them to travel with their own countrymen or townsmen almost every day. Their first choice is to navigate and park next to people from the same firm. The second is to do it with individuals from the same country. Other than that there are no real options but to travel alone.

"We only travel with fellow countrymen and preferably from the same firm. Personally, I do not like to travel with French or the Spanish." (Nobre)

William McNeill has highlighted the importance of coordinated movement in the creation of shared senses of belonging. He argues that synchronised mobility is a powerful force in generating bonds between people, ultimately bringing them together and forging a sense of community. "Human beings desperately need to belong to communities that give guidance and meaning to their lives; and moving rhythmically while giving voice together is the surest, most speedy, and efficacious way of creating and sustaining such communities that our species has ever hit upon. Words and ideals matter and are always invoked; but keeping together in time arouses warm emotions of collective solidarity and erases personal frustrations that words, by themselves, cannot do" (McNeill 1997: 152). McNeill used his theory to describe macro-historical sociological processes, even though he first came up with the idea through the observation of military drills. But I believe this perfectly explains the dynamics of the

drivers. They choose to move together not only to feel safer or to cope with the loneliness of the road (as they expressed), but because moving together creates a sensation of togetherness, as described in the introduction, that has the potential to mimic a sense of their original Portuguese community. It is symptomatic that they decide to rhythmically move together with their Portuguese counterparts and not with their professional colleagues from other nationalities. Moving together with their fellow countrymen is a way of extending their communal bounds onto the road, stretching out their local Portuguese community into central and northern Europe. At certain moments, it felt as if I had different tribes before me that were forced to inhabit the same spaces (roads, gas stations, service areas), but made no tangible efforts to make contact with one another. Every nationality seemed to be arranging a comfort zone for itself, creating nested groupings of individuals. In fact, over the course of the three months of fieldwork, there was only one occasion where this logic was broken and we had a meal with an Italian driver.

4.2 The citizens' band radio

This tribe-effect is also visible in the continuous usage of the citizen's band radio. Almost all of the drivers have one of these devices installed in their lorries. The CB radio is a system of short-distance radio communications between individuals on a selection of 40 channels within the 27-MHz band. Like many other two-way-radio services, CB channels are shared by many users. Only one station (a driver in this case) may transmit at a time, while other stations must standby and wait for the shared channel to be available. The drivers make a habit of talking to each other through this device for variable reasons, such as asking for information about the road ahead to the drivers they cross paths with, especially the latest on traffic delays, road-works and police stops (they have code words for the latter). They also use it to deal with the lonesomeness of their job, chit-chatting with other drivers that are right behind or ahead about things related to their work, family or episodes that happened to them. They say this keeps them "sane" (quoting several drivers).

Figure 3: The CB radio (image by author)

What is of particular interest here is that the drivers only talk to their respective countrymen. The Portuguese drivers with whom I travelled merely communicate with other Portuguese people. Every nationality even has its own particular channels (the Portuguese ones are either numbers 34 or 40). This has nothing to do with regulations or technological limitations; instead, it was spontaneously structured this way throughout the years and all of the drivers are familiar with which channel to use. This phenomenon is so notorious that Portuguese drivers are constantly cursing out loud motorists from other nationalities over the CB in regards to their driving abilities and skills. This may be seen as a continuation of McNeill's arguments. The mobility itself is synchronised with other Portuguese colleagues through the usage of technology. The CB radio reinforces the instances of moving together. Not only do they see each other through the front window and the rear mirrors, but they also talk to each other constantly when moving. Once again, this creates a sense of togetherness. The drivers' mobility is channelled through motorway tunnels that are accessible and used by the drivers from very diverse backgrounds and nationalities, but the individuals I accompanied carefully chose to only communicate with their fellow countrymen. Naturally, this may have to do with language limitations, but I believe the issue is more profound: it has to do with forging a sense of community, of extending their origins onto the road.

Jorge: "Hi there partner!"

Driver: "Oh, hello there Jorge. How's it going, mate?"

Jorge: "Same old, same old. Picked up a load in Italy and coming back to good old Portugal now. This time everything went well. Fast delivery, fast load. Only had to wait one day."

Driver: "That's what I'm talking about. This miserable life suddenly seems reasonable when that happens, doesn't it?"

Jorge: "Absolutely. If only it was like this all the time… Anyway, any cops down the road?"

Driver: "All clear. All clean. Nothing to worry about."

Jorge: "Thanks, mate. From where I came, no cops either. All clear. See you soon. Wish you the best! 'Everything going well!'" [this is a very typical expression used in Portuguese – it is an exclamation that means 'I wish that everything goes well with you']

Driver: "Thanks! You too."

Note: these conversations only last a couple of minutes, because the signal is lost after a few kilometres, seeing as the drivers cross paths. These were noted down as the conversations developed themselves.

Figure 4: A conversation with a driver coming from the opposite direction

Vasco: "How's life treating you?"

David: "Ah, not bad to be honest. Didn't have to wait for cargo last time I went to Italy and didn't have to wait either this time around [we were descending to Portugal from Germany]. When trips go like this, it's perfect."

Vasco: "I know what you mean. It even seems like we have a decent profession! (laughs)"

David: "Yeah, for sure. When we are stuck up there with no cargo, waiting for a snowstorm to fall down on us, with no food… well, it's not pretty, let's put it that way. I hate it when that happens. Sometimes, it can take days before we get a phone call from Paula [Paula is the traffic manager]. It's like waiting for a phone call from Jesus himself."

Vasco: "Absolutely. And how's everything back home?"

David: "It's alright, I suppose…"

Note: these conversations could go on for 30 minutes to an hour. The drivers would go on about their lives, family back home, or general gripes regarding their work.

Figure 5: A snippet of a conversation with a convoying driver

It was also interesting to denote that the drivers' semantics and language-mannerisms were very similar. The expressions, the accentuations and the colloquialisms were identical. The way in which they said hello or goodbye or how they wished the best of luck to other drivers was remarkably alike. They also had several codes, which they used to refer to people from other nationalities or the police, for instance. It was almost as if the drivers had developed an internal dialect for the practice of chitchatting over the CB frequencies.

4.3 Television and radio

One other important aspect in the drivers' lives is the TV and the radio. When they are not accompanied by any other drivers following their departure from Portugal to their destination, the road can be a very lonely place. Several of the drivers explained to me that one of the aspects they enjoyed the most about their job was a certain sensation of freedom. They stressed that not having a boss nearby that orders them around or being confined to a small office or factory produces a certain sensation of freedom that they indeed treasure. Their mobility is sometimes experienced in this way. As a kind of escape from reality. As liberty. As an alternative to a much more contained professional experience. However, as we saw above, this may be merely an illusion and the drivers can rapidly change tune and go on about the strictness of timetables and the inflexibility of routes. Furthermore, they also stressed that this same illusion of freedom can easily be converted into loneliness. In fact, the drivers' kept on saying that the worst thing that can happen to them is to bring an unresolved problem to the road, such as an argument with their wife, given that they end up dwelling on it over and over again. Hence, the radio and the television are important pieces of the puzzle. They keep them company and entertained throughout the day – the radio whilst they are driving and the television when they park the car for a full rest.

Figure 6: Setting up the antenna (image by author)

Unsurprisingly, both the television and the radio were exclusively Portuguese. As we see in figure 6, the drivers' carry their antennas around, which they set up after parking the lorry, wiring it through a box device that transmits the Portuguese national cable television – either *Meo* or *Zon* services, the two major television companies in the country. They never watch any channels besides the ones provided by the Portuguese networks (some of them may be American channels, but they always come with subtitles). When it comes to the radio, all of them are familiar with the hot spots for picking up Portuguese stations located across Europe. For instance, Portugal has a long tradition of migration to France, so there are a few Portuguese radio stations spread out across the country. The drivers have good-quality radios with low frequencies that can pick up these channels for several hundred miles. They are acutely familiar with these and, whenever possible, they like to turn on the radio to hear some Portuguese voices. If there are no Portuguese radios available, they simply choose not to turn it on. They do not even play their own CDs or mp3-players.

The most watched television shows amongst the drivers were related to sports and religion. Football, for instance, is particularly important. The drivers join together to cook meals and watch the Portuguese premier league quite often. Most of them are serious SL Benfica supporters, which could be considered as the people's club in Portugal. Historically, Benfica has a deep connection with the low classes of society and was recurrently used by the *Estado Novo*, the Portuguese dictatorial regime that lasted between 1928 and 1974, for propaganda. As a result, one can find Benfica supporters not only all over the country, but the club is also a favourite amongst Portuguese migrants. A Portuguese local restaurant or bar outside of Portugal is almost-necessarily a place where Benfica is celebrated. This phenomenon has been examined by several authors over the past years (Tiesler & Domingos 2012, Serrado 2009). Almost all of the drivers reproduced this same schema of national identity. Even with the possibility of contacting individuals from other countries on a daily basis, they paid very little attention to foreign sports. Besides football, religion also starred amongst the drivers' choices. Religion, like football, is a cultural manifestation through which drivers perpetuate their identities as Portuguese, in tune with many other similar examples (Bhardwaj & Rao 1998; Kong 2001; Prorok 2000).

Figure 7: Mass on television (image by author)
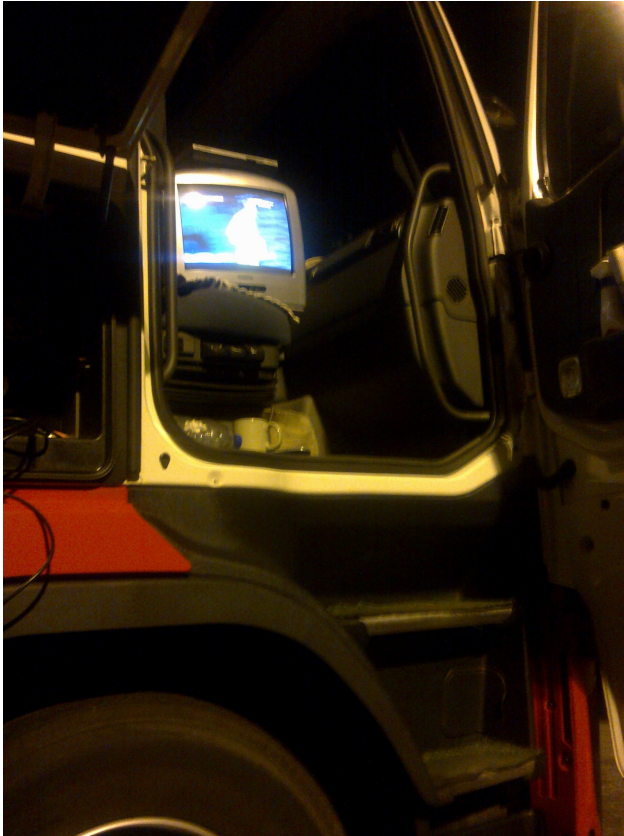
Figure 8: Football on television (image by author)

Figure 9: SL Benfica flag (image by author)

4.4 Personal objects: "God, Homeland and Family"

"God, Homeland and Family" is a famous aphorism from the *Estado Novo* (the original in Portuguese is "Deus, Pátria e Família"). Although history does not stand still, many social and cultural aspects of yesteryear remain imbricated in the Portuguese society, especially in non-urban or less-urbanised contexts. Three aspects to which the drivers attributed great importance were family, religion and Portuguese symbols. It was very striking to observe that objects that reminded them of these three dimensions were transversal to all the drivers. I do not wish to suggest that these individuals are retrograde and stood still in the pages of history, living lives that only make an appearance in documentaries about old-fashioned Portugal, but rather that some aspects of the Portuguese traditional education are so imbricated in their daily routines that they transport them to wherever they go. Culturally and socially speaking, God, Homeland and Family are channels through which the drivers produce and reproduce sensations of belonging and feelings of Portuguese-ness. These particular dimensions are tendentiously linked with rural and traditional identities. Pina Cabral's seminal study on the rural communities of the north of Portugal showed that, while the peasant worldview was in transformation during the 80s, many of the old values were still being preserved. The importance of the house, of Catholicism and the figure of the male in the household were still very much at stake (Pina Cabral 1986). As we saw above (see 2.3), twenty years later, more recent studies have been confirming this vision (Sobral & Vala 2010; Sobral 2012).

Figure 10: Chaplet (image by author)

Figure 11: Chaplet (image by author)

Figure 12: Chaplet (image by author)

Figure 13: Saint (image by author)

Figure 14: Saint (image by author)

Figure 15: Family (image by author)

Figure 16: Family (image by author)

Figure 17: Socks from a driver's children (image by author)

Figure 18: Scarf (image by author)

Figure 19: Flag (image by author)

Many of the personal objects that the drivers carry with them celebrate both family and religion as well as the country itself. Of course there were other objects that had very little to do with family, religion or Portugal. Some drivers used to adorn their trucks with plates with their names whilst others had native-American dream-catchers with them, for instance. However, the trilogy mentioned above was transversal to all of them. Inside the truck, one can find things like family photos, socks from their children, statuettes of saints, Catholic crosses, Portuguese flags and scarves, and so forth. This paraphernalia certainly does not mean that these people are supporters of the previous regime, but rather tell us a story of how the deepest Portuguese culture is embedded onto their lives. Just like the TV set or the food, the drivers continue to transport their own country with them through the objects they meticulously choose to decorate the truck. Most of them grew up in an environment where God, country and family were celebrated as the ultimate symbols of personal and collective identities and so they reappropriate them to create feelings of comfort, security and proximity.

Sandra Dudley has provided an account of how the Karenni (Sino-Tibetan people living mostly in the Kayah State of Burma) construct a sense of home in refugee camps through the display and consumption of things. "There is a real comfort drawn from the provision, cooking and eating of certain foods, weaving and wearing of

particular clothes, building of houses and other creative processes and acts of consumption possible in the camp. Productive activities ameliorate boredom and anxiety by keeping people busy, provide refugees with the kinds of things with which they are familiar, and enable a consoling bodily repetition of physical actions familiar from the past" (Dudley 2011: 751). The consumption of things that reminds them of their origins is an active exercise in reproducing those same belongings. "Such performance is action as memory, memory as action" (Dudley 2011: 752). The drivers' realities are not as traumatic and displacing as a refugee camp may be. But I posit that the process is analogous. The drivers do not conceive of themselves as belonging to the road, but rather to the community they come from. Material culture serves as a re-enactment of those belongings. Following Daniel Miller's approach to Bourdieu's example of the Kabyle house (Bourdieu 1970, 1979), "the house (…) is created by artisans of greater or lesser skill to become the cultural object within which these same artisans see their own identity" (Miller 2005: 8). Through materialities and textures, the drivers craft their trucks, namely the cabins, in order to reflect their own identity (see also Friedman 1994).

These arguments were re-confirmed throughout the interviews, especially when they touched on the family. Family was a key issue in every interview I conducted. As one can imagine, being constantly on the road and having children is a difficult task. Most of the drivers stressed that this was probably the most challenging aspect of their profession. For most of them, an ideal life would be one of proximity with their family in the houses they built for themselves – in fact, this was very common amongst them, i.e. to have participated in the construction of their own house after buying a piece of land (the expression in Portuguese is "*fazer casa*" and could be translated into "making house"). Consider the following quotes from the interviews:

"There has to be a big dose of sacrifice within the family. Our children were raised without a father. (…) The kid needed this, there was the mother. The kid needed that, there was the mother again. It's complicated." (Jorge)

"If I could trade the international road transport for the national services without losing money, I would absolutely do it, because it would probably mean I could be closer to my family and be a better dad." (Mico)

"It really is hard. You know what? When my last girl was born, she was already 15 days old when I first saw her. (…) My wife constantly cried when I started the international road transport." (Bessa)

"What I really hate about my job is, of course, a constant fear of insecurity due to the robberies, but mostly being away from my family. (…) I didn't see my kid grow. I wasn't there. He once even said to me something like 'dad, before soon I already have a beard and you didn't even see it coming'. It really makes me sad. But the money used to be good…" (Pêra)

The issue of raising children is highly valued. There is always not only some kind of sadness involved, but a big sensation of duty-not-done here. Hence, they transport their family with them through the objects in the photos. They feel it is their job to do so. To sum up, the drivers' personal objects not only celebrate the country, but a very particular type of national education as well. The folkloric nature of the objects that surround them sheds light on how these individuals like to show where they come from and feel safer when travelling under the supervision of a saint alongside photos of their children. They craft and refurbish their trucks not only so that they feel safer and more comfortable, but also to reflect their identities and belongings.

4.5 Portuguese food always

Diet is an important feature of the drivers' lives. They feel the need to take time to cook well not only because eating out in service areas is financially unbearable, but also because they assume their food is healthier. What is notorious here is that all of the drivers I travelled with brought all of their food from back home. And, when I say home, I mean it quite literally. The meat and the vegetables were mostly produced by themselves: they raise chickens, plant vegetables on their land and they always seem to have a relative who can provide beef, pork or even olive oil. The products that they buy in supermarkets include canned goods, milk, wine and fish (especially salted codfish, which is a favourite among Portuguese). Their diet is the Mediterranean Diet, which includes specific vegetables (potatoes, onions, carrots, broccoli), dairy products (butter, milk, cheese, eggs), lots of olive oil and bread, fish (codfish, sea bass, salmon) and different types of meat. Most of these ingredients are boiled; occasionally, the drivers also grill the fish or the meat.

Figure 20: Wine, bread and olive oil
(image by author)

Figure 21: Vegetables from home
(image by author)

Figure 22: Eating (image by author)

Figure 23: Eating (image by author)

The pictures above are meant to depict not only part of the drivers' diet, but also to attest the importance attributed to meals. The drivers do take time to prepare their food and eat it. Every time there is a meal-break, they set up the table and seats outside, take the burner and, when possible, make a small gathering with other drivers (always from the same country, preferably from the same firm). For me, it was a surprise that these individuals never purchased anything other than bread in service areas or supermarkets whilst in other countries. All of them use Portuguese ingredients, preferably from their own land, sit together to eat and do not take any interest in discovering new tastes. In fact, when I told one of them that I would like to go to a supermarket minutes after we hit the road, the driver promptly exclaimed "no problem, we can stop at Vilar Formoso for that" (Mico) – Vilar Formoso is a Portuguese city on the border with Spain. Furthermore, there was this transversal discourse on how Portuguese food is superior to any other. One of the drivers even cried out loud once "in Spain, they don't even know how to boil an egg!" (Jorge).

Of course there were financial reasons for this collective practice, but this does not explain everything. Food and cooking are important aspects when it comes to the building and reproduction of identities, being a decisive factor in creating sensations of belonging. Gastronomy is nowadays one of the most powerful resources that a community may have to offer, both from the economic and cultural perspectives. As Eugene Anderson asserts, "food is used in every society on earth to communicate messages. Preeminent among these are messages of group solidarity; food sharing is literally sacred in almost all religions and takes on a near-sacred quality in many (most?) families around the world. It also carries messages about status, gender, role, ethnicity, religion, identity, and other socially constructed regimes" (Anderson 2005: 6). Amongst the truck drivers, food did indeed serve to create bonds – both through production and consumption – not only with other fellow drivers but also with a more widespread, and abstract, imagined community of Portuguese-ness. Food brings the drivers together. As we saw in the photos, they take time to prepare the food, after which they sit together around the same improvised table. They create routines around food. As Nobre told me, "it reminds us of back home". Food is clearly used as device of identity reproduction. Bringing eatables from their own locality and cooking them whilst on the road makes the drivers feel as if they were indeed at home.

Bardhi, Ostberg and Bengtsson revealed how the process of making home is informed by food consumption. "Food consumption is embodied and grounded in the

everyday routines and ideas of home, as well as a strong signifier of consumer identity. (…) Thus, food consumption abroad becomes a site of boundary maintenance where travellers classify and maintain the distance between themselves and the Other" (Bardhi *et al* 2010: 151). The authors based their research on a case study of 28 American consumers after a ten-day trip to China, which is a very different case from the drivers. However, it can tell us of how food serves to create notions of home and abroad. Through the cooking and eating of food that they bring from their towns, the lorry drivers are clearly demarking themselves from stepping into a zone of otherness and reinforcing their origins, transforming their exercise of mobility into a replica of their original community. Cook and Crang have problematised the categorisation of what is local and what is global in terms of food production and consumption, arguing that there are no neatly organised boundaries (Cook & Crang 1996). Even so, it is still remarkable that the drivers attach themselves to cooking processes and consumption habits that are so deftly tied to what they consider to be the true Portuguese way. That is, even if there are not many (very) significant variances between the Portuguese and Spanish diets (they are both Mediterranean cuisine), the drivers force those boundaries, thus reinforcing their Portuguese identity, through the negation of otherness. Mintz and Du Bois argued that:

"Ethnicity is born of acknowledged difference and works through contrast. Hence an ethnic cuisine is associated with a geographically and/or historically defined eating community (…) But ethnicity, like nationhood, is also imagined (…) – and associated cuisines may be imagined, too. Once imagined, such cuisines provide added concreteness to the idea of national or ethnic identity." (Mintz & Du Bois 2002: 109).

The idea of "migrant cuisines", a concept developed by Jeffrey Pilcher, also speaks to the drivers' reality. The concept was formulated to show the importance of food in tying diasporas and transnational movements together, creating comfort zones within unfamiliar terrains for newborn migrants (Pilcher 2006). In the case of the drivers, food plays an important role in creating those same comfort zones on the move. For them, food means being not only closer to Portugal, but also to their region and family – consider how they bring products from their own land and qualify them as the best – and being closer to Portugal is something vital.

4.6 Where is home? In Portugal or in the truck?

All of the data shown above suggests that the truck is transformed into some sort of home. Rapport and Dawson have described, through a series of case studies, how for a world of travellers, labour migrants, exiles and commuters, home is produced in patterns of procedures and techniques, in styles of dressing and addressing, in memories, myths and narratives. As the authors assert, "people who live their lives in movement make sense of their lives as movement" (Rapport & Dawson 1998: 4). Dwellings were seen not merely as fixed and bounded locations, but also (and perhaps more importantly) as performances and practices that create a sense of belonging, that is, a consecutive schema of appropriating space and configuring it as place through certain habits, routines, textures, colours, senses and so forth. This process is familiar to the drivers. They embellish the cabins with personal objects, they bring and cook food from their land, they create daily routines with the television, they develop particular feelings within the truck (see below), and so forth. It was clear to me that the lorries functioned not only as a kind of house – a physical place where the drivers eat, sleep, watch television, etc. – but also as some sort of home, seeing as they produce specific routines, representations and feelings. The truck needs to be converted into a home, that is, into a space of familiarity and comfort. However, this is always conceived of as a temporary dwelling. The truck is never the ultimate or original home. The truck is a replica of what the drivers consider to be their unequivocal, true home: Portugal.

Cultural geography has developed a keen interest in the debates on home and dwellings. Blunt and Dowling suggest that "home is a complex and multi-layered geographical concept. Put most simply, home is: a place/site, a set of feelings/cultural meanings, and the relations between the two. This conceptualization makes explicit our key starting point: that home is much more than house or household" (Blunt & Dowling 2006: 2-3). Whereas house is an environmentally fixed, physical location (Rykwert 1991), home is better conceptualised as "a material and affective space, shaped by everyday practices, lived experiences, social relations, memories and emotions" (Blunt 2005: 506). Or, as Brickell put it, home should be seen "not only as a physical location in which people reside but also as an imaginative and metaphorical space of emotion and belonging" (Brickell 2012: 226) (see also Al-Ali & Koser

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2002). Clearly, there is a focus on the problematic of emotion and feelings. Yi-Fu Tuan proposed to see home as "a unit of space organized mentally and materially to satisfy a people's real and perceived basic biosocial needs" (Tuan 1991: 102).

In order for home to be conceived as such, it needs to create positive emotions of trust and belonging, of well-being. It needs to satisfy, to fulfil our needs. Home is where one finds oneself. This brings me to the point I wish to make here. I believe these insights explain why truck drivers conceive of Portugal as their unequivocal home. Portugal is where their family and friends are. Portugal is where their origins are. Portugal is where they feel good and where they review themselves. Portugal is where they belong. Not to the truck. The truck serves as a replica of home. It is refurbished into some sort of "little-Portugal". When their homeland and territory are absent, the drivers reinscribe their country into the truck. It is always a mere site of dwelling. It is an imitation of their home. The best they can make of it.

"Portugal is my country and no other can match it! This is my country! There's absolutely no country like mine. It's the best and that's final!" (Bessa).

"My home is in Portugal." (Jorge)

"My soul gains new life as I get closer to the border!" (Vasco)

Vasco cried this out loud when reaching the Portuguese border coming from Spain after a ten-day trip. As he explained, he felt closer to home, to his country, to his culture and to this family. The lorry is at firstly their working place; secondly, some sort of temporary dwelling; and thirdly a means to get home quickly and safely. The truck does not possess the same positive emotions and feelings that Portugal transmits to them. In the interviews I conducted, lorry and home were never put in the same sentence. The drivers feel like they belong to Portugal and not to the road. The road is a job, a profession. It is something that must be done. Most of the drivers stressed, throughout the interviews, that they did enjoy their profession (there was only one radically negative response). They explained that it felt natural, even though they then had paradoxical commentaries expressing how harsh, unfair and uncertain the endeavour was and could be. But home and truck are by no means synonyms. The lorry is, at best, a familiar space in an unfriendly environment. But it is never to where

they truly belong, they say. In short, even though I, as an academic, can envision the truck as some sort of home along the lines of authors like Rapport and Dawson – and, to a certain extent, the data does validate the theory – the drivers conceptualise Portugal as their unmistakable home and the truck is at best a mimic of that.

4.7 Sensations of mobility

This brings me to the last point of this section: the sensations of mobility. It is impossible to make a report on the sensations that the road produces when the drivers are alone by themselves and have to cope with intensive days of loneliness, seeing as I as the researcher was not invisible, particularly in a situation like this, where it was just the two of us most of the time. In fact, I believe that my presence positively altered the mood of the trips, given that in these circumstances the presence of another person is welcomed and makes the journey lighter. However, it was still possible to observe one particularly interesting aspect. I believe that there are two very divergent states of mind that directly correlate with the direction of the routes taken. The going-up mobility, i.e. going from Portugal to central Europe, engenders a dense, heavy-hearted and cloudy mood. The coming-down mobility, i.e. returning to Portugal, is a much happier, lighter and cheerful experience. This was evident in almost all the trips I made. Going to Europe is experienced depressively. It means leaving home. It means not seeing the family and the sun for one or two weeks. It may mean being stuck in Germany with no cargo. On the other hand, coming down stands for being closer to Portugal, to their wives and children, to their homes. This is very structural in their lives.

Day 23rd

5h00 Wake up and hit the road.

10h30 Unload the truck (clothes) near Torino. We had to wait 3 hours to unload. It's the first time Jorge comes to this place. Once it started, the unloading was quick and devoid of problems. We are now waiting for cargo with nothing else to do, in the middle of motorways around Torino. Waiting for Paula to call.

13h30 Lunch in a gas station nearby. Menu: pasta with chicken (home-grown chicken).

15h00 We finally hear from Paula. We were extremely lucky this time. There are three cargos ready to load tomorrow.

17h00 Set camp near Gamco warehouses in Milan (where loading starts tomorrow). Setting up the antenna for TV. Jorge knows this place and the people here. It was possible for me to charge my computer.

19h00 Dinner: whitefish with vegetables (carrots, potatoes)

20h15 Watching Sporting (football) on TV.

22h30 Sleep.

I felt like Jorge was tremendously relieved when Paula told him that cargo was ready to load tomorrow. There was a significant change of heart. Until now, the trip has been a bit tedious and the atmosphere dense. I think mobility started to be experienced as return from today. Explore these issues.

Figure 24: Extract from diary 1

Generally speaking, being on the road is boring, exhausting and a bit depressing. For eight or nine hours per day, all one sees are the constant, rhythmical road markings and lines inscribed in the asphalt. During these hours, the lorries flow at a very precise speed of 90km/h. During much of this time, not even many other cars pass by, especially in those endless and rectilinear Spanish motorways. It is almost hypnotic. The rest of the day develops amid gas stations and service areas, where the options are watching TV or surfing the internet (when available). I found it a largely discomforting experience. The romantic vision of mobility on the roads, found for instance in Jack Kerouac's works (I will explore this in chapter 5) (Kerouac 1957), is far from the reality. Here, there is no freedom. This is a mobile practice

deprived of liberty. One cannot go with the wind, flow to where one wants. The timetables and routes are pre-fixed, pre-determined. This makes the whole experience a tiring and repetitive one. For me specifically, the aspect of driving that I relished the most was to witness the shifting landscapes as we passed by. The topography can be breath-taking. I recall being fascinated by the beauty of the French *côte d'azur* (the Riviera between Toulon and Monaco), the massive Pyrenees or the white plains of Germany covered with snow. To observe the changing landscapes is a pleasant experience, something that is not possible in other types of vehicles, such as aeroplanes. But even this became monotonous after the third trip, as I was performing the same routes over and over again. If for me this became a dull exercise after a few attempts, one can only imagine how dreary it is for the drivers themselves, who have been undertaking the same routes for more than ten years now (in some cases, twenty years).

Despite this, there is an incredible change of heart when a new cargo is loaded onto the truck in central Europe. I felt this myself. From that moment on, mobility is experienced as return. The Portuguese identity, through mobility, can be seen here as well. In section 2.3 (on Portuguese-ness), I mentioned a certain *saudosista* structure of feeling present in Portuguese identities that can be traced as far as the Portuguese empire of the fifteen hundreds. This way of thinking mobility is representationally attributed to the mobility of sailors. The term *saudade* (this untranslatable noun that refers to missing someone) first appeared in the Portuguese lexicon following the departure of sailors in the so-called age of discoveries, who drifted away towards the unknown, leaving behind their loved ones with little hopes of homecoming. Ever since then, *saudade* has been built as a concept that defines the deepest Portuguese psychological identities. To constantly develop feelings of longing, especially a past that never existed, frequently appears as a Portuguese condition *per se* (Lourenço 2000). Teixeira de Pascoaes, one of the most preeminent Portuguese poets of the 19th and 20th centuries, and probably the most well-known personality of the *saudosismo* (artistic movement based on the concept of *saudade*), suggests that "in fact, he who shocks the Portuguese soul, in its most intimate and delicate manifestations, sees that it contains, although under a diffuse and chaotic form, the matter of a new religion, taking the word religion as a signifier for the poetic anxiety of souls towards moral perfection, eternal beauty, and the mystery of Life… Well, the Portuguese soul incarnates this anxiety in a particular and original manner, something that is easily

spotted through an analysis of popular folk, legends, language, the works of poets and artists, and, above all, the supreme sentimental creation of our Race – the Saudade!" (Pascoaes ct. in Guimarães 1988: 61). According to Pascoaes, being Portuguese is umbilically linked with being *saudosista*. It defines the people.

This archetype is reproduced in the patterns of mobility of the drivers. The sadness of the going-up mobility is contrasted to the brightness of the return. This was visible with every driver I accompanied. That is, even though we are dealing with a type of mobility that is generally exhausting and depressing, the return is sprinkled with glimpses of happiness and hope. The terminology itself is revealing. Going to Europe is normally expressed as going-up – as in "when are you going up?" – whilst the return is conceived of in terms of coming-down – as in "I'm coming down tomorrow". As one knows, going-up is a much more dreary and tiresome exercise than the performance of coming-down, where there is almost no effort. Consider the example of riding a bicycle. To climb a mountain (go up) is harsh, but to descend (come down) is an effortless practice, as one only needs to hit the breaks from time to time. This may serve as a metaphor for how the drivers experience their mobility. Going up is painful, tiresome and sad. Coming down is much more graceful and painless. In short, the sensations of mobility themselves replicate feelings of Portuguese-ness.

5. Conclusions: the European free market and the drivers

The pivotal theme of this chapter was to answer a straightforward, although complex, question: what strategies, in terms of the production and reproduction of sensations of belonging and collective identities, do a group of Portuguese lorry drivers use to cope with their harsh geography? As we saw, the lorry drivers' geography is characterised by a dialectics of certainty and uncertainty that, in most cases, fabricates a difficult scenario to deal with. On the one hand, their everyday spatiality is based on a (very) imposed and imposing structure of routes, circuits and timetables. These are certain and inflexible. The routes they are asked to take are along a set of pre-determined roads by the firm – *Transbranca*, a company based in the north of Portugal. These routes are meticulously calculated according to fuel efficiency and toll charges, thus any deviation may lead to an internal disciplinary

hearing. Furthermore, European and local law sometimes prevent the drivers from stepping into certain regions and cities. This creates a strict set of circuits, comprised of specific roads, gas stations and service areas, that the drivers constantly use throughout the years. All of the drivers presented in this ethnography were well acquainted with their routes and circuits, namely the distances between strategic stations and/or service areas and the speed limits of each road. The timetables are also unbending. The law is unforgiving. They can only drive eight hours most days and nine hours on specific days. Any period of overdriving is severely punished, which means they need to calculate well where to stop and sleep.

Furthermore, drivers have to cope with tremendous uncertainty, namely when it comes to robberies, waiting for cargo and police. Robberies are a big issue when on the road. Throughout the years, it seems they have become more regular, especially after the opening of the Schengen Agreement to Eastern countries. The collective discourse here is one of fear and dislike for individuals from East Europe. According to the drivers, those individuals accept jobs with very little salaries, leaving them with no choice but to attempt robbery (of both food, gas and the drivers' personal belongings). I will return to this further ahead. Besides robberies, the drivers I accompanied feared being stuck in Germany or Italy, the two countries they drive to the most, waiting for a new load to show up. In bad weeks – due to low demand from factories and/or ports – the drivers could have to wait for more than seven days, standing still in the same gas station or service area with food running out. Having no possibility to leave the truck, due to robberies for instance, they literally have to stay in the truck during these periods. Finally, the fear of the police is also significant. According to the drivers, policemen show no mercy when hitting upon a driving offence (this can be overdriving periods or surpassing the speed limits) even if it is only a five or ten minute differential. The law foresees that lorry drivers are not punished in situations like this, especially if those extra minutes were used for the sake of travelling to a safer area. However, according to the drivers, the police turn a blind eye and instantly fine them.

Encapsulated within an imposed geography, structured by the firm's policies and European/local laws, that contains several factors of deep uncertainty and fear, where do the drivers turn to? In a geography like this, how do they pin down their world? They turn to their origins. As we saw, in order to create familiar and safe environments with recognisable textures, smells and routines, the drivers bring their

country, and particularly their locality, onto the road. It sometimes seemed as if the drivers were not leaving the country at all. The exercise of mobility was (almost) only a physical one. The drivers' movement is characterised by a strong emphasis on everything that reminds them of their home, Portugal. Furthermore, they reproduce archetypes of identities that are umbilically linked with more traditional, territorial versions of being Portuguese. The data highlighted this. They put a lot of effort into surrounding themselves with Portuguese individuals only. They only listen to Portuguese radio and only see Portuguese television. They constantly communicate through the CB radio with their countrymen alone. They only eat food from back home cooked in the most traditional ways possible. Their personal objects represent a very traditional type of education, where God, the country itself and family should be placed above everything else. They do not get along with other nationalities. And, even if constantly on the road, they still make Portugal their one and only home. Their daily and quotidian practices showed us that they reproduce archetypal identities of telluric forms of being Portuguese. They do not reinvent their habits, routines and dispositions when on the road. Instead, what happens is those same quotidian routines are reinscribed into a life of movement.

This brings me to the problematic with which I conclude this chapter: do these drivers feel more European? Do they feel more inclined to be represented within an imagined community of Europeanness? By no means, I would say. First of all, the drivers often conceive of European law (as well as national laws) as something that is being written against them rather than something that is there to protect them. Consider the following quotes taken from the interviews:

"Politicians know nothing about this life. There was one Prime Minister in Portugal that, at a certain point, stated that 'being a truck driver is like being on paid holidays'. I just wish he would sit here with me from three days. He would run home after three hours." (Martins)

"They [referring to legislators in general] have no sensibility. They make these laws that don't add up to reality. They simply don't stick. I understand the importance of creating rules: if there weren't any rules, drivers would probably go berserk and attempt heroic periods of driving of over 20 hours… This used to happen in the 90s. But, again, creating this obsession with regulating and regulations and inflexible timetables and guidelines and principles and what-the-heck-more… It drives us insane. Sometimes we cannot even take a piss for five minutes or we disturb the whole tachograph thing." (Bits of a conversation with Josué and Nobre)

"Law does not protect us. I know it is written to protect us, but it doesn't. The problem is that the law is being written by people who never stepped inside a truck, not even for five minutes. They know nothing about this life." (Gato)

Secondly, the drivers practised a constant dislike for other nationalities. I believe that the words racism or xenophobia may be excessively strong and misleading here, but these drivers definitely look down on the majority of other nationalities for various (and antagonistic even) reasons. When it comes to Eastern European individuals (Romania, Hungary and Moldova mostly), the discourse is characterised by dislike and fear. The drivers believe that the opening of the Schengen Agreements to those countries altered the rules of the game. Seeing as the drivers from such places were obliged to accept very low salaries, the whole system underwent dramatic changes: firms from countries that were already established within the Schengen space had no choice but to lower their drivers' salaries as well. Naturally, the Portuguese drivers attribute responsibility to their colleagues from these countries. Furthermore, given that most of the time these individuals hold unstable jobs, they normally function as scapegoats from the increase in robberies, especially gas.

"The Romanians and Hungarians... we are scared of them. They don't have anything to eat, don't have any money. All that's left for them is to steal petrol and the goods. It's no good." (Jorge)

"I hate those people. They only drink, and rob." (Anonymous quote)

The dislike for French and Spanish people follows a different logic. The Portuguese drivers with whom I travelled think that people from such countries look down on them and, thus, there is a tendency to build walls between them.

"France and Spain only *en route, en passant*. I like Spain and France to pass through and go. And that's all there is to that. There's nothing like the Portuguese light, the sun, the weather. The hell with Spain and France. They are racists. They treat us very badly." (Bessa)

These representations, transversal to all of the drivers, mostly have to do with fines and tickets. The drivers believe that the Spanish and French police persecute

them. It is not my place to discuss which side has the strongest arguments here, but, as I mentioned before, I heard some stories wherein a 15-minute period of overdriving led to a £2000 ticket. Apparently, it happened more than once in France. I myself was confronted with a similar episode when crossing the Spanish-Portuguese border on our way to Portugal. I had the seatbelt fastened, but instead of putting it over my shoulder, I placed it under my armpit. Needless to say that I was instantly fined 200 euros.

"I hate the Spanish and the French. The cops rob us. They bully us. They don't care at all. They're all pigs." (Anonymous quote)

"There's only one country that I like: Italy. Italy's okay: they have good weather, nice food, and the folks are great. The rest is shit. Don't like the weather, don't like the food, don't like the language. The Spanish? They don't understand a word we say. The French? They're all dirty." (Jorge)

In the drivers' worldview, it seemed as if there was a ranking for nationalities that put Portugal in the middle between France-Spain-Germany and Eastern-Europe. The only country that they placed alongside with their own was Italy. All of the drivers really enjoyed Italy. It may have to do with its tremendous similarities (language, climate, food, etc.) without being a rival nation like Spain. This recalls how authors such as Fredrik Barth explained that ethnic groups are built by opposition to other ethnic groups, not existing *a priori* (Barth 1969). In fact, Italy was the only country spared from a generalised bad impression. In short, Spain and France are normally conceptualised as places where the Portuguese are extorted; Eastern Europeans are seen as potential thieves. For the Portuguese drivers, other nationalities represent a threat, instead of an opportunity.

The ethnographic accounts above here shed light on how mobility, instead of erasing or eroding feelings of national belonging – a trend that many authors were troubled with back in the 90s when terms like creolisation and hybridism proliferated – or simply regrounding certain cultures into new territories – a trend examined by authors preoccupied with the social dynamics of globalisation, transnationalism and migration – may contain a special potential for amplifying national identities even when we are dealing with individuals who are constantly on the move. Appadurai and Clifford, amongst many other authors, used terms like locality and routes to describe

how cultures are not static and take detours, different paths. The location of culture, as Bhabha would put it, is to be found mostly at the intersections, when different individuals and ideas come together (Bhabha 2004). But, these *routes* are also producing forms of cultural enclosure, where inveterate forms of national belongings take *roots* (maybe even more inveterate than the ones back home). The idea that mobility is a natural producer of cultural proximity and cosmopolitanism may not work in all scenarios. In 1996, Castells had already warned us that a kinetic elite was creating transnational safeholds in airports, hotels and business lounges to maintain a certain social cohesion amongst their large-scaled, frictionless mobility, controlling the nodes and hubs of their networks (Castells 1996). As we see, the same could be happening, in a very different way, with less elite individuals, who make sense of their mobile world through the production of identities of national belonging with a specific set of feelings, objects, senses, dispositions and so forth. As Craig Calhoun once said, nations still matter and the cosmopolitan dream may be yet too far off: "not only is nationalism not a moral mistake, it is not vanishing" (Calhoun 2007: 9). Mobility may be responsible for erasing certain types of national belongings, but it is certainly also to blame for enhancing others.

To conclude this chapter, one could even argue that, in order to function smoothly, the European free market of mobility requires a kind of immobilised movement from many of these invisible workers. Hannam, Sheller and Urry's notion that the mobility of some means the immobility of many others fits well here (Hannam *et al* 2006). This is, indeed, a very relevant form of exclusion. It is interesting to see how lorry drivers are vital operators of the European free-market. Without them, the latter would not exist. I am not arguing that they are the most essential component of the market nor that there are not other individuals and institutions with equal or higher importance, but rather that the drivers are, indeed, fundamental professionals when it comes to the maintenance of a transnational market that is partly based on the constant and swift trade of goods. And, paradoxically, this same market requires them to put on a show of immobilised movement. In order for the vast majority of European citizens to have access to products and/or raw materials (for industrial work, for instance), these individuals have to be tied to a harsh geography of fixed routes and circuits, eating Portuguese soups and delis in service areas and watching Portuguese television. This type of mobility, that is shared and lived by thousands of European citizens is the perfect antithesis of European mobility,

as described in chapter 2. This type of mobility, which happens in European space, does not contribute at all to the formation of an imagined community of Europeanness. It may even produce the opposite. Drawing upon Hannam, Sheller and Urry's idea, I would end with one other aphorism: the freedom of many entails the confinement of others.

CHAPTER 5

Belonging to the road:

A mobile ethnography of Portuguese touring musicians

1. Introduction

This chapter is an account of the mobile lifestyle of touring musicians supported by ethnographic evidence collected from three separate European tours with the same Portuguese band, *The Ratazanas*. *The Ratazanas* is a Portuguese band for which I have been the drummer since its formation in 2006. This chapter is, thus, both a study of my fellow band members as well as a piece of auto-ethnography. Given that I have already conducted fieldwork with musicians beforehand (see Novoa 2012), this chapter is a further enquiry into the musicians lifestyles, in which I aim to answer a straightforward, but complex, question: why do musicians tour? In the particular case of *The Ratazanas*, we are confronted with semi-professional musicians that have separate jobs besides music, hence the main reason for touring is not a financial one. To answer my question, I examine the musicians' processes of identity construction, coming to the conclusion that the road itself is where they produce and reproduce their identities as such and this may well be the reason behind why they embark on the touring adventures. I then link these discussions to broader debates on European mobility towards the end of the chapter, shedding light on how this particular type of mobility within the European space is not directly related to the construction of a European identity, but rather worked towards the fabrication of concentric, inner-identities. We, as a band, clearly took advantage of a smoothly integrated and efficient European infrastructure of mobility, with a special emphasis on connecting roads, a free-passport zone, integrated GPS devices and international roaming services. Europe, as a political entity, was what made the entire endeavour of touring possible. However, even though we made use of this infrastructure, we did not automatically produce attachments to a presumable Europeanness, but rather produced imaginative belongings to the road itself and to an imagined community of rock culture.

David Grazian gives a good account of the opportunities for ethnography in the studies of music. He identifies three main trends: gender; spaces and places; and the effects of globalisation. The first trend has focused on an examination of the position of women within worlds of music production and consumption, namely capturing "the precariousness of the roles that women play as musicians, rappers and other producers within contemporary music scenes" (Grazian 2004: 204) (see also

Rose 1994) or examining how women cope with such a male-dominated context (Bayton 1998, Clawson 1999). The second trend, influenced by the increased importance of spatiality within social sciences over the past decades, emphasises "the spatial contexts in which music is both produced and consumed" (Grazian 2004: 204). The focus here is on the musical production within one locality or on a group of musicians covering its local circuits or networks. Sara Cohen's work on the *Rock culture of Liverpool* or Ruth Finnegan's study in the area of Milton-Keynes are good examples of this (Cohen 1991, Finnegan 2007). Other authors explore how cultural producers rely on stereotypical representations of genuineness to enact performances of local music. As Grazian says, the question here is how people transform space into place through musical experiences (Grazian 2003, Stokes 1994). Finally, the third topic of study investigates the effects of globalisation on local music scenes. More specifically, the main point is to examine the processes involved in the emergence of hybrid styles throughout the globe. For instance, Virva Basegmez's account on Irish musicians unveils these dynamics quite well. Focusing on issues of identity, perceptions of authenticity and the importance conferred to cultural exchange by a group of young Irish musicians, Basegmez shows us how the idea of Irishness, normally connoted with a vernacular tradition, is permanently being reconstructed and reinvented through imbrications not only between modern and traditional representations of music but also between world-music and local-sounds (Basegmez 2005).

Cultural geography has also developed an interest in music studies for many years now. Leyshon, Matless and Revill published a collaborative effort entitled *The place of music*, gathering diverse studies, mostly historical, on the locations of particular styles of music (Leyshon *et al* 1998). Subsequently, Connell and Gibson released another book focused on identity and place, called *Sound tracks* (Connell & Gibson 2002). Johansson and Bell examined how music shapes the production and reproduction of place (Johansson & Bell 2009). Within this work there has been a tendency to focus on how music production and consumption is shaped by and shapes the landscapes and spatialities from where it comes from. Naturally, there are many exceptions to this. While Lily Kong has, indeed, tackled these issues (Kong 1995, 1997), she has also produced several analysis of Singaporean music in relation to forms of domination/resistance (Chye & Kong 1996) or in terms of Hobsbawm's "invention of traditions" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983, Kong 1999). One other

analytical angle can be found in the work of Pamela Moss, who offers critical perspectives on gender through an analysis of Bruce Springsteen's lyrics (Moss 2011). In a similar fashion, Gill Valentine wrote about the facilitation of queer spaces through the consumption of k. d. lang, an 80s country singer (Valentine 1995).

These are some of the most relevant ethnographic and geographic studies of music and musicians that have been published over the past years. One particular aspect stands out: regardless of the approach or object of study, issues of mobility have been neglected (exceptions are Jarvis 1985, Cresswell 1993). There are some authors that make use of such a concept, like Gregory Booth or Steph Ceraso (Booth 1997, Ceraso 2006). Nevertheless, these authors are discussing social mobility rather than the actual practice of moving between places. Surprisingly, I could only find one paper that directly deals with the experiences of touring (Ng 2005). Yet, this experience is a fundamental performance in a musician's life. Thousands of musicians move around cities, countries and continents on a daily basis. Touring is one of the most charismatic and impactful realities on the life of a musician. This chapter seeks to fill this gap, offering an insight into what it is like to be on the road and how this experience impacts on the formation of identities. I spent over 30 days on the road with my own band, collecting data, interviewing and experiencing what is like to be a touring musician. The central question – why do musicians tour? – is then recalibrated at the end of the chapter to deepen the topic of European mobility, shedding light on how certain patterns of mobility do not necessarily work towards the formation of European identities.

2. Methodological strategies and descriptive remarks

Before advancing onto the empirical sections of this chapter, I wish to make a few methodological and descriptive preliminary remarks. In this section, I begin by explaining the methodological specificity of this chapter: besides making use of mobile ethnographic methods, this chapter is also based on an auto-ethnographic approach, as I have been part of the band under examination since its very start, as a drummer and song-writer. I make some comments on this. Then, I provide a brief biography of the band as well as some biographical remarks on the musicians that are part of it. Finally, I provide an account of the music scene wherein *The Ratazanas*

inserted themselves, as it was within these networks and circuits that the tours took place.

2.1 Methodological issues: a kind of auto-ethnography

This chapter is based on three fieldwork experiences with different durations. The first tour happened in December 2009 and lasted 12 days; the second one took place in March 2010 and went on for 7 days; finally, the third tour occurred in May 2011 and resulted in 12 shows over 16 days. My approach here was very similar to the previous account of lorry drivers: I went on the road with a Portuguese band, employing participant observation techniques (see chapters 3 and 4), wherein I observed and registered the daily lifestyles of touring musicians whilst conducting interviews as well as producing a photographic album and gathering other data, such as the budgets and the tours' exact routings. I also conducted several in-depth interviews after the tours were finished. The big difference here rests on the form of participation, which was, in a way, more profound than beforehand, seeing as I was the drummer of the band myself. Hence, in this chapter, besides engaging with mobile forms of ethnography, I have also involved myself in work that tackled auto-ethnographic methods. Even though this is not a very common procedure, various forms of auto-ethnographical work have been attempted throughout the years, roughly since the mid-twentieth century.

Pat Sikes explains that, from the 80s onwards, there has been a tendency to produce what has been labelled as (auto)biographical accounts in most of the fields of social sciences and humanities. Revolutions in concepts of the self, society and identity, alongside many post-modern, post-structural and post-colonial idiosyncrasies have played a fundamental role in highlighting and valuing perceptions and experiences of the individual (Sikes 2013). This serves as the introductory motif to a four-volume set on auto-ethnography. This all-encompassing set brings together roughly thirty years of research on auto-ethnographic methodologies, including discussions on its ethics, techniques and different approaches. Ellingson and Ellis point out that "the meanings and applications of autoethnography have evolved in a manner that makes precise definition difficult" (Ellingson & Ellis 2008: 449). It seems as if, before the 80s, auto-ethnography referred more to forms of participant

observation as "insider ethnography", that is, the study of your own group or community (Hayano 1979). Over the past two decades, several trends have emerged, ranging from auto-ethnography as self-observation involving a reflexive critique into one's own practices and representations that connect "the self and the social" (Reed-Danahay 1997) to autoethnography as a deviation of auto-biographical methods (see Ellis & Bochner 2000). Autobiography was also considered in geography recently (Moss 2001, Butz & Besio 2009).

In this chapter, I was influenced by work which reflected the "insider ethnography" perspective. Throughout the following pages, I do not attempt to analyse and enquire into my own, particular daily rhythms, practices or discourses. I will not quote myself nor analyse separately my specific quotidian routines. Nevertheless, this is a study of my own band-mates and in some cases long-term friends, which means that this is clearly a case wherein the ethnographer examines a group to which he or she belongs and is actively part of. In this sense, this ethnography was a two-fold journey, both literally and metaphorically. Literally because I roamed across and within eight European countries. But also metaphorically as this was a journey of self-discovery. This should be put straightforwardly from the very start. The process of producing this ethnography was very different from the truck drivers' one, for instance. In that case, I merged myself into a strange world, into an "exotic" reality, in which most of the data collected was a novelty, whereas in this case I had to exoticise my own friends, my own environments and, to a certain extent, my own self.

2.2 *The Ratazanas* and the musicians' profiles

The Ratazanas is a band that generically fits into the rock/pop world, in its broadest sense, and particularly into the 60s Jamaican revival scene (I characterise this music scene below). Albeit it may be difficult to clearly define what rock/pop is, Jason Toynbee provides a straightforward characterisation, which will inform and underpin the remainder of the chapter:

"Popular music differs from both folk and classical in that it developed historically in and through the mass media. Its symptomatic artefact, the record, represents at one and the same time a type of performance and a means of communication. Composition methods vary in pop, from prior

inscription as in the case of classical music, to different kinds of integrated composition and the performance involving the use of reproductive technologies. The latter has virtually replaced the former in the last 35 years of the century. Socially, popular music has a mixed constituency which includes large sections of the middle class, as well as working class and diasporic communities. Class and ethnicity are articulated in complex ways in popular music. However we can note two divergent tendencies. On the one hand styles within pop serve to identify and represent *particular* social groups in their resistance to exclusion and dominant cultural values – black people, gays, certain youth subcultures and, much more infrequently, women. On the other there is a strong hegemonic thrust towards a mainstream, a desire for popular music which would sing for *all t*he people." (Toynbee 2000: xix)

As one can imagine, such a definition encompasses countless genres of music, different approaches and recording techniques as well as very diverse social backgrounds. In any case, *The Ratazanas*, as well as other Jamaican revivalist bands, fall into this category. Although 60s Jamaican music followed a different logic – Jamaican music was based on a recording industry, wherein each label had its specific soundsystem for profiting purposes, and thus the musicians were basically studio-musicians and did not perform live shows (Barrow 2004) – the Jamaican revivalist scene emerged, on the other hand, out of the typical subcultural music scenes of the rock/pop culture. In fact, the bands that make up this scene not only live under the legacy of the record and share the main recording techniques of pop/rock ways-of-doing, but they also uphold the constitution of particular lifestyles and youth subcultures, whilst simultaneously exhibiting an intrinsic potential to please a mainstream audience. Furthermore, the artistic performance itself, which relies upon a formation of musicians playing for audiences of several hundreds or thousands of people, or the organology of the bands within the style, comprised of electric guitars, bass, drums, organ and horns, are typically associated with the pop/rock world.

The Ratazanas were formed in 2006 with the clear intention of playing early reggae music. It was a friend, Luis Carmona, and myself who founded the band. *The Ratazanas* began as a typical garage band, playing in small venues both in Lisbon and across Portugal. The band soon gained some national recognition after winning several band contests and, two years into our original existence, decided to record our first LP, which was recorded, produced and mixed in Charleroi by a Belgian producer (Nico Leonard). Surprised by the final outcome of the recording session, Nico agreed to show the result to the owner of Grover Records (Oswald Munnig), probably the

most famous label in Europe (based in Germany) for ska and rocksteady revival music. Admiring what he heard, Oswald put the band on the label's roster straightaway, settling not only on releasing the LP, entitled *Ouh La La!!*, but also on working as a booking agent for the band. *The Ratazanas* released the album in 2009 following a double-feature as the backing band of Jamaican legend Susan Cadogan in Lisbon and Barcelona (in the Rude Cat Festival, one of the most important festivals in Europe within the genre).

In December 2009, we finally hit the road with our first European tour, suggestively called "Skanking Around the X-mas Tree", performing not only our originals, but also serving as the stage band for another Jamaican legendary singer, Roy Ellis, also known as Mr Symarip. This put the band on another level. In March 2010, we embarked on a new European tour with Susan Cadogan, performing six shows in Spain and Germany – this time the band was booked by another German agency, called Muttis Booking. Shortly after, the band decided to record a second LP, in Charleroi with the same producer, in September of the same year. The album, entitled *Lick It Back*, came out in the following year, being released during a third European tour in May 2011 – the "Eastern Ska Jam" – wherein the band served once again as the stage band for Roy Ellis. The tour was organised by Grover Records, just like the first one. It was during these three tours that I collected the empirical data that support my analysis. As we will see, although the band never made it to a professional status, the organisation itself was a very professionalised one. Hence, even though the musicians hold other jobs in Portugal, it is possible to talk about a professional mobile experience.

The band has six members: myself, Luís (organ and backing vocals), Edu (main vocals), João (saxophone, keyboard and backing vocals), Rosinha (electric bass) and Petrov (electric guitar). Luís (Luís Carmona) was born in 1982, in a town near Lisbon, which means he made these tours between the ages of 27 and 29. During this time, he was employed as a web designer for a major telecommunications company in Portugal, where he worked on a nine-to-five basis from Monday to Friday, after which he usually returned home to his girlfriend. Nothing has changed much over the past years for him. He has had a relatively stable financial situation, lives pretty near his workplace and does not have children. Music is his favourite hobby and he never really thought of going pro, but, in his own words, "I may be amateur, but I like it when music is taken seriously in an almost-professional way"

(Luís). He started playing music when he was a child and has never stopped since then.

Edu (Eduardo Militão) was born in 1984, also in a town near Lisbon, meaning that in-between the tours with *The Ratazanas* he was aged 25 to 27. During this period, Edu worked as a broadcaster for a national television channel in Portugal. He was the only one who had a job contract. He was, thus, a full-time professional entirely focused on his job, having the most stable situation amongst all of us in terms of profession. He would normally work both day and night shifts, depending on the week. In between the tours, he moved to a different television operator, but remained as a broadcaster. He has been working in this business ever since. After the tours, he bought a house and decided to settle down. For him music is a long-time hobby. He started singing in punk bands when he was 15 years old and joined *The Ratazanas* almost ten years after joining his first band.

Petrov (André Campos) was born in 1989 in the same town as Luís, João and André, Oeiras (15km away from Lisbon). During the period in which the tours occurred, Petrov finished his undergraduate studies in biology at the University of Lisbon and started a master's program in molecular biology in Barcelona. He was, thus, a full-time student with no other occupation at that point. He resided in Spain most of the time and, when the band had shows or tours, flew back in advance to do some rehearsals. Petrov is the youngest member of the band. He does not have a girlfriend or children, and does not own or rent a house. For him music has always been a hobby and, in contrast to Luís, "I don't really care if there is a professional organization behind the band or not; I just wanna play". He first picked up the guitar as a teenager and *The Ratazanas* were by far the biggest band he has ever been part of.

João (João Morais) was born in 1984, also in Oeiras. João, Luís and myself have been close friends since childhood. During these three tours, he was aged between 25 and 27. Before the first tour, João had just completed his five-year studies in architecture and was looking for a job. After coming home from the tour, he found himself a position as a trainee in the city council in the urban-planning sector. He worked there for one year, after which he established himself as a freelance architect, working on several projects. In 2010, he moved in with his girlfriend and started working for a granite-transformation company near Lisbon, whilst still doing some part-time free-lancing in architecture. This means that, during the second tour, he had

already moved from his parents' house and, hence, was in a relatively unstable situation. This made the tours "a kind of a risk" (João) for him, due to the fact that he had bills to pay back home and did not receive any salary whilst on the road.

Rosinha (André Rosinha) was born 1987, in Sintra, another city in Lisbon's hinterland. Rosinha only joined the band in 2008, two years after its formation. He is the only member of the band that became a professional musician. During the tours, he was aged between 22 and 24 and was an undergraduate student at the Hot Club Jazz School, in the heart of Lisbon. Throughout these years, he always lived under his parents' roof and, thus, did not have any serious commitments besides school and two other bands. Shortly after the end of the second tour, he started attending another musical course at the Lisbon Graduate School of Music ("Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa"). Ever since then, he has been a professional musician, mainly performing within the jazz scene as a double-bass player, eventually becoming a music teacher.

Finally, I am the remaining member of the band. I was born in 1985, in Oeiras, just like the majority of the previous musicians. All of these tours happened while I was conducting my doctoral research, which means that, as in the case of Edu, João, Luís and Petrov, music has always been a part-time hobby. I have been an academic since I finished my graduation in history and, thus, my bread and butter comes from working as a researcher. In late 2009, I moved to London to start my studies in geography, so every time there was a tour scheduled, I had to return home for rehearsals before embarking on the road with my band-mates. I never considered being a full-time musician. But I thought that these tours were an excellent opportunity to deepen my studies on musicians' mobilities and identities. Just like most of my colleagues, I had a very stable situation, hence music was never a priority but rather an opportunity to have fun and, in this particular case, to do ethnographic work.

To sum up, we are in general confronted with young professionals in their twenties, who during the timeframe of the tours had either just completed their studies and/or were taking their first steps in the job market, whilst risking their first move away from their parents and creating a place for themselves in society. Some of us already had more or less comfortable positions, like Luís or Edu, but others were still searching. This means that the musicians of the band had to either take days off work to be on tour or to suspend their free-lance projects and/or studies. Generically speaking, we are thus facing individuals with more or less unstable situations, who

did not want to be in the music business as full-time professionals, but were more committed to other professional areas instead, whilst attempting to stabilise their lives.

2.3 What is the Jamaican 60s revival music scene?

Before moving on, I consider the history of the music scene that *The Ratazanas* fit into and inserted themselves throughout all the three tours: the Jamaican 60s revival scene. This will serve to contextualise the genre and musical environments of the band, thus allowing the reader a better understanding of the ambience and the social contexts under study. The bands, labels and fan clubs I mention below come from my own knowledge of this scene, given that I have been a musician amidst its circuits for more than ten years. There are no studies of this particular culture, hence the lack of references. A music scene can be defined as

"a focused social activity that takes place in a delimited space and over a specific span of time in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans realize their common musical taste, collectively distinguishing themselves from others by using music and cultural signs often appropriated from other places, but recombined and developed in ways that come to represent the local scene. The focused activity we are interested in here, of course, centres on a particular style of music, but such music scenes characteristically involve other diverse lifestyle elements as well. They usually include a distinctive style of dancing, a particular range of psychoactive drugs, style of dress, politics, and the like." (Bennett & Peterson 2004: 8).

When one mentions Jamaican music, the first thing that comes to mind is reggae. However, as Steve Barrow shows us in his *Rough guide to reggae* music (probably the most comprehensive encyclopaedia of the genre), reggae is not the first autochthone musical expression born in Jamaica, having several predecessors such as mento, ska and rocksteady (Barrow 2004). Mento is a typical Caribbean genre much like Trinidad and Tobago's calypso, which is normally played with instruments like the banjo, the acoustic guitar, the steel-drum and several forms of percussion. It is an easily engaging and danceable style, mainly characterised by a 3:3:2 rhythm in quadruple time with an accentuation on the fourth beat, an up-tempo guitar as well as its lyrics containing quotidian stories and sexual references. The popularity of mento, combined with American music that used to be heard on Jamaican radios, resulted

shortly after in two Jamaican genres: ska and rocksteady. In fact, legend has it that ska originated from misinterpretations of American rhythm'n'blues and jazz from the 50s. Ska and rocksteady are very similar styles, both having the same type of beat – the only noticeable difference being the pace or speed at which they are played as rocksteady music is much more laidback than ska. The Jamaican beat is characterised by a solid rhythmic section (bass and drums) continuously emphasising the second and fourth beats of a 4/4 bar, accompanied by a harmonic section (guitar and organ) inspired by blues harmonies, permanently playing the offbeats, while the melodies are played by the horns (saxophone, trumpet and trombone) and vocals. Both of them are also easily danceable – a characteristic that most Caribbean music shares.

It was only in the late 60s and early 70s that the first recordings of reggae appeared, normally labelled as early-reggae music and still not associated with Rastafarianism. Sometimes hardly differentiated from rocksteady, this genre features a slightly faster beat, imposed by heavy drum and bass lines, as well as use of the organ for melodic purposes (see Jackie Mittoo's recordings for instance). It was also the first musical genre in Jamaica played with electric bass, instead of the double-bass. Early reggae is the last musical style with a strong impact within the Jamaican revival scene. Subsequent styles like roots reggae or dub are much more marginally used by Jamaican revivalist bands, contributing instead to other major scenes, such as the mainstream reggae scene, which, despite sharing many affinities with the first, is not the same. These two genres only made their appearance in the 70s, when they became the soundtrack for Rastafarian culture and, to some extent, for social movements of black emancipation after being exported to the US and the UK, following the massive success of artists like Bob Marley or Jimmy Cliff (see Toynbee 2007). Throughout most of the 70s, ska and rocksteady stayed in the shadows, disappearing from radio playlists.

Although ska music underwent significant evolution in the late 70s, following the migratory movements of many Jamaicans to the UK, into the so-called 2 tone genre (bands like *The Specials*, *Madness* and *Bad Manners*), the first groups committed to making a revival of the 60s beat only surfaced in the mid-90s. This was when the 60s Jamaican revival scene was born. Hence, when I make an allusion to this specific music scene, I refer to a scene comprised of bands that self-classify themselves as 60s revivalist acts, materialising such discourse in sonorities loyal to the Jamaican ska, rocksteady and early reggae original beats. Naturally, the musical

output of these bands results in something quite divergent from the traditional Jamaican beats, due to various reasons. For instance, the recording processes and the techniques/styles of playing are not ahistorical; they undergo natural processes of evolution. Furthermore, music, as a cultural object, is the target of local reinterpretation. In this case, hearing a band from New York playing Jamaican music is necessarily different from hearing a Spanish outfit attempting the same – this is, in fact, a good example of how culture is reappropriated and reinvented differently according to the locality where it happens, as Ulf Hannerz explains elsewhere (Hannerz 1996). Despite these, there is clear tendency within this music scene to reproduce the main characteristics of Jamaican traditional beats, whilst mimicking certain ambiences allusive to that epoch, such as dress codes, venue-decorations or certain drinks.

The 60s Jamaican revival scene often serves as the background for certain lifestyles and youth subcultures. Its particular gigs, venues and music stores function as local rendezvous for people who identify with each other through certain dress codes, lifestyles, patterns of consumption, practices or even values. Generally, all of these dimensions relate to 60s ambiences. The cases of mod and skinhead subcultures are symptomatic. The mod subculture was born in the UK in the 60s. Its most significant differentiating elements include the love of black music (soul, rhythm'n'blues and funk), Jamaican sounds and British beat, as well as particular fashion tastes, such as tailor made suits, and the use of scooters as the main means of transportation. In turn, skinheads are divided into several subcultures, ranging from left-wing communists to neo-nazi groups. The skinhead subculture that stems from the Jamaican music scene is normally associated with left-wing or non-political subgroups, which originated in the UK in working-class suburbs. Its trademarks are boots and braces, Ben Sherman or Fred Perry shirts, the shaved head look, and the love of Jamaican early reggae – which is sometimes referred to as skinhead reggae – as well as other genres, such as punk, oi! and the like. These two lifestyles are largely fed by the social gatherings that the 60s Jamaican scene provides.

Figure 1: Mod girls in Bischofswerda (image by Skatime.de)

Figure 2: Skinheads hanging out in Leipzig (image by Skatime.de)

The 60s Jamaican revival scene emerged throughout the 90s in cities like New York and Los Angeles. Although in California it only became noteworthy close to the turn of the century (with the media attention drawn by artists such as The Aggrolites or Chris Murray), Hepcat, a local outfit from Los Angeles, released its first LP in 1993 (*Out of Nowhere*). On the other hand, in New York, the story was different,

given that, in less than five years, New York was able to create a proper local music scene revolving around the 60s Jamaican beats. I posit that the New York Jamaican revival scene is indeed the stereotypical local music scene, as described by Bennett and Peterson (Bennett & Peterson 2004: 8). Even though there was an established set of bands with a fixed line-up of musicians – bands like *The Slackers*, *The Scofflaws* or *New York Ska Jazz Ensemble* – it was customary for these musicians to record songs together and attend each other's gigs. The famous Version City studio, in East Village, was a regular meeting place for some of the most famous musicians and producers of the genre today: Vic Ruggiero, Victor Rice, David Hillyard or Agent Jay, amongst many others.

The will to revive Jamaican 60s music soon spread to other parts of the globe. In Germany, for example, *Dr Ring Ding* was a pioneer of the genre in Europe, releasing its first LP with the band *The Senior All-stars* in 1995, precisely on Grover Records, the label that hired *The Ratazanas* almost 15 years later. Nowadays, Germany probably has the biggest market and audiences for this type of music. This is why our tours took place mainly in Germany and its surrounding areas. In addition to the German case, it is curious to note that one of the biggest Jamaican revival scenes emerged in Japan, a country that is both geographically and culturally very distant from the Caribbean, even considering that, in the 19th century, there was a significant migration of Asians to Jamaica (Lai 2000). *Tokyo Ska Paradise Orchestra* is probably one of the biggest names in this music scene and their first works date back to the early 90s. Today, Japan has not only one of the most prolific labels for the genre in the world, called Ska In the World Records, but also an impressive set of bands flawlessly playing the style – *Mood Makers*, *Dreamlets*, *Little Tempo*.

After the turn of the century, many other local scenes dedicated to the Jamaican traditional sounds emerged. In Belgium, bands like *The Moon Invaders* and *The Internationals*, as well as local venues such as Sk'Antwerpen, based in Antwerp, have been active since the early two-thousands. *The Moon Invaders* have also served as stage bands for many legendary Jamaican artists from the 60s: Ken Boothe, the Pioneers, Doreen Schaffer, Pat Kelly, Owen Grey, Alton Ellis, amongst others. In France, the renowned Patate Records, alongside groups like *Jim Murple Memorial* or *ASPO*, has also been working towards the promotion of Jamaican 60s beats. In Spain, many local scenes have emerged in the last decade, such as the ones in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Granada or Bilbao. Liquidator Music, the most famous label for

the genre in Spain, has countless bands on their roster spread all over the country: *Los Granadians*, *The Kinky Coocoo's* or *Red Soul Community*. In the UK, ska and rocksteady revival bands have also been putting themselves on the musical panorama of cities like London. Examples include *The Trojans* (absolute pioneers in crossing Jamaican 60s beats with Gaelic music), *The Topcats*, *Ska Cubano* (a blend of Jamaican ska and Cuban traditional music) or, more recently, *The Sidewalk Doctors*. These acts have been establishing themselves with the help of local venues dedicated to these sounds, like the Gaz Rockin' Blues (Soho), or the rebirth of festivals such as the International Ska Fest, held annually in Angel (London) over a three-day span. These are but a few examples of emerging local scenes.

Since the turn of the century, many of these local scenes were able to network with each other, creating what Bennett and Peterson call a "translocal scene" (Bennett & Peterson 2004). The internet was a decisive element in this process. In fact, the networks that these local scenes are able to arrange between themselves are of paramount importance in the production and reproduction of the 60s Jamaican scene, through the fabrication of circuits of venues and stores that act as the main moorings for touring bands of the genre. The contacts developed by fans and artists alike, transversal to these various localities, underpin the dissemination of the music and the regular gatherings (local gigs and venues) and annual festivals, as well as the circulation of bands and musicians themselves. It was amid these circuits that the mobility of *The Ratazanas* happened. It is, thus, a performance of mobility sponsored by the bonds and bridges created by all of these small local music scenes into solid translocal networks.

3. Portraying the tours

In this section, I provide an account of what it is like to be on the road with *The Ratazanas*, depicting the ambience of the tours, its routes and timetables, the money and budgets involved, the moorings of the band (venues and hotels), what happens during free time, and so forth. I also enquire into some of the band member's motivations and feelings arising from the road. However, before moving forward, I wish to stress a few issues. These three tours were arranged and produced by experienced European bookers in the Jamaican revival music scene. The first and

third tours, respectively Skanking Around the X-mas tree (2009) and Eastern Ska Jam (2011), were scheduled by Grover Records, a label based in Munster, Germany. Grover Records has been active since 1993, the date of the label's first release. As the label's own website avows, "almost unintended, a door to a surprisingly big market had been opened" (www.grover.de/grover/index-e.htm). Ever since then, Grover has released an impressive number of CDs and LPs from both legendary Jamaican artists as well as rising, young bands committed in playing vintage ska, rocksteady and reggae – producing around 150 releases over the past 20 years. Not long after its emergence, Grover started booking shows for the bands on their roster.

Since the 90s, they have worked with the biggest ensembles of the genre, such as *The Slackers* or *The Aggrolites*. One must add, however, that the label's revenue is proportional to the size of this music scene: the LP editions do not exceed 5,000 copies, the biggest crowds do not surpass 1,000 people and the money involved is, overall, minimal. For example, a band like *The Slackers*, probably the most enduring and recognised Jamaican revival ensemble in the world (they come from New York), has to be on the road over six months a year, so that its musicians have enough money to pay their bills. Similarly, a label like Grover, despite being the most well-known label in Europe in this scene, is run by three people. With the help of two assistants, Oswald Munnig takes care of everything, from the production of the albums to their releases as well as making all the booking arrangements for touring bands. The only thing that he does not do is tour managing – a tour manager is the person who comes on the road with the band and takes care of the necessary arrangements, such as the daily timetables, the catering, the band's takings, and so forth.

In short, this is a professional music niche. These shows are attended by a maximum of 300 people. This is as big as it gets. Also, Grover Records decided to put us on the road with a Jamaican artist, Roy Ellis, a singer from the 60s who is admired and respected by the fans of traditional Jamaican music, especially amongst the skinhead groups – Roy Ellis is many times referred to as the godfather of skinhead reggae. This decision was based on the fact that, with Roy Ellis on the bill, it was almost guaranteed that the venues would sell out. In fact, the shows wherein Roy did not accompany us turned out to be fiascos, with small crowds showing up: Salzburg, Kufstein, and Munich, for example. Hence, these tours, as we will see, do not fit into the typical rock-star ambience seen in Hollywood movies. Although we, as musicians,

wanted to reproduce for ourselves that kind of aesthetics, most of the work was done by us, no serious money was earned and some shows were complete flops.

Figure 3: Eastern Ska Jam flyer

The second tour, produced by Muttis Booking instead of Grover Records, was very similar. Muttis is exclusively a booker and never worked on the production or edition of LPs. In 2000, Muttis teamed-up with Chrisi – and later on with Simone and Kai – and worked on the building of this agency. Since then, they have been organising shows not only for Jamaican revivalist bands, but also for punk and underground rock bands. They have worked with successful acts throughout the years, but the logics of the endeavour are pretty much the same. They arrange shows amid the circuits created by specialised translocal scenes and make just enough money to live on. It is curious to see that some of the venues in which we played under Muttis' arrangements were exactly the same as the ones arranged by Grover. Similarly, Muttis

decided to put us on the road with another Jamaican singer, Susan Cadogan, known for her lovers-rock reggae approach, a subcategory of early reggae. This way there was a minimum guarantee of acceptable turnouts.

3.1 Cyclical routes and tight schedules

The touring maps and schedules indicate several realities straightaway. First of all, the high concentration of shows. In a total of 37 days spent on the road, which includes gig days, travelling days, and days off, the band performed 28 shows. The maximum number of days off in a row that we had was two, which happened after two shows into the Eastern Ska Jam. However, even on this occasion, we took the chance to drive to Amsterdam to record four tunes at the Barracão, a studio ran by Alex Figueira, a good friend of the band and co-producer of the second LP. Instead of taking the days off to rest and visit the city, we plunged ourselves into the business of taping some grooves that had been in the air for some time then. The only day of rest that we used for tourism was in Vienna, when we took the time to visit the city's main monuments and squares. In the Skanking Around the X-mas Tree tour, we also had a day off in Munster, but, seeing as this happened on Christmas Eve, we stayed in and tried the typical German Christmas supper at our manager's house. As João explained, this did not necessarily mean frivolous times:

"Days off? Well, I remember the only day off we had on the first tour was on Christmas Eve. For me, it was the worst day of touring ever. Everything was closed and we had dinner in our manager's house. Didn't like that day off." (João)

The second dimension I wish to stress is the repetition of venues and the overlapping of places visited. This becomes self-evident in the maps. For instance, we kicked off the first and third tours in the same exact venue: the Kaktusfarm in Dortmund. Similarly, we finished the second and third tours in Mainz, at the Reduit venue. In between, we hit the same cities on several occasions, such as Leipzig (first and second tours, although in different venues) or Hamburg (first and third tours, same venue). Some of these venues were also exactly the same as the ones I encountered with *The Stingers,* an American band of the same music genre with whom I did fieldwork beforehand (Novoa 2012), which indicates that the musicians'

mobility is done within the social networks of the same music scene. If one juxtaposed all of the maps below, with the exception of Spain, there would be an overlapping of routes and motorways taken. It is almost as if the band was travelling via train, halting in several station-venues to perform the shows, before moving on again – I will return to this in the next section.

Thirdly, the amount of hours spent on the road is overwhelming. Roughly 25% of the time on tour is spent driving on the road. On some occasions, the distance between one venue to the following was over 500km: Antwerp to Hannover (app. 500km), Hannover to Erlangen (app. 500km), Madrid to Barcelona (app. 600km), Barcelona to Bilbao (app. 600km), Amsterdam to Rostock (app. 650km), Copenhagen to Dresden (app. 600km), Dresden to Vienna (app. 500km). In the first tour, there were tremendous snowfalls, which complicated the driving. We did not have this setback on the second and third ones, but the time spent driving was still considerable. On the occasions stressed above, it could take up to eight or nine hours. In the first tour, we did have a personal tour manager who took care of the wheel, but in second and third tours driving was up to us – we normally would take shifts. This means that the aesthetics of touring is divided between, on the one hand, the venues, the fans and the backstage, and, on the other hand, the asphalt, the motorways and the road.

Map 1: Skanking Around the X-mas Tree (2009), circa 3500km

A - 19/12 Dortmund (Kaktusfarm)

B – 20/12 Antwerp (Bar Mondial)

C – 21/12 Hannover (Bei Chez Heinz)

D – 22/12 Erlangen (E-Werk)

E – 23/12 Marburg (KFZ)

F – 24/12 Munster (Christmas Eve with the band's manager at his place)

G – 25/12 Bad Salzungen (Pressenwerk)

H – 26/12 Hamburg (Knust)

I – 27/12 Leipzig (Conne Island)

J – 28/12 Bischofswerda (Eastclub)

K – 29/12 Prague (Cross Club)

Maps 2 and 3: Tour with Susan Cadogan (2010), circa 2000km

A – 11/04 Madrid (Gruta 77)

B – 12/04 Badalona (Extraperlo)

C – 13/04 Bilbao (El Balcon de la Lola)

14/04 – 17/04 Days off at Lisbon

A – 18/04 Berlin (Yaam)

B – 19/04 Leipzig (McCormacks Ballroom)

C – 20/04 Mainz (Reduit)

Map 4: The Eastern Ska Jam (2011), circa 3500km

A - 15/04 Dortmund (Kaktusfarm)

B – 17/04 Hengelo (Innocent)

C – 18/04 until 19/04, two days off recording at Barracão studio (Amsterdam)

D – 20/04 Rostock (Zwischenbau)

E – 21/04 Hamburg (Knust)

F – 22/04 Copenhagen (Loppen)

G – 23/04 Dresden (Groove Station)

H – 24/04 Vienna (Ost Club)

I – 26/04 Salzburg (Rockhouse)

J – 27/04 Kufstein (Q-West)

K – 28/04 Munich (Backstage)

L – 29/04 Schaffhausen (Tab Tab)

M – 30/04 Mainz (Reduit)

All of these realities point out that doing the road is not fundamentally about the desire to engage with tourism, travelling or discovering other places. It is not about sightseeing, visiting other cities or engaging in cultural exchange experiences. We did not have the time to do such things. The tour timetables – most of it is either driving or setting up the stage and performing the show – suggest the existence of a strict routine with little chance of voyaging. We regularly played our show over consecutive nights with the same set lists, which would normally go on for around two hours, after which we would wind down for a while backstage, have some drinks and return to the hotel (or venue) rooms, before waking up the next day to a six, seven or eight hour drive. Furthermore, as we have seen, the days off were very limited. The routine was rarely broken. Consider the following comments:

"I wasn't expecting touring to be so painful. The trips are just tedious. The routine is so tiring. (…) What I enjoyed the least was health-related issues. A tour crushes you. You are sitting 8 hours per day in a van, you sleep only 5 or 6 hours per day, you wake up to massive hangovers because of the drinking. And you end up drinking every day. It's impossible not to drink. And then you do absolutely no sports. Touring kills your health." (Petrov)

"It's nice to discover cities and travel without any cost (…) But, in most of the cities, it is kind of frustrating not having the time to, at least, walk a little in the city. I really like to at least take a walk downtown. I remember Salzburg and Vienna: was really nice to visit some parts of town. But generally the routine is strict. And when that happens it's more boring. (…) I mean… I guess the routine is okay for three days. After that, is unbearable. When it's just a 300km drive, it's cool. One has the time to arrive, take a slow bath, sleep a little, eat comfortably, etc. But generally it was boring and tiring." (Rosinha)

As Petrov and Rosinha explained, drinking and driving define the daily life of a tour. These two dimensions can serve as metaphors for the long hours spent either inside the van or inside the venues. This is what defined and informed our quotidian lives whilst on the road. A typical day would be to wake up around 10am, take a shower, have breakfast and drive for 7 to 8 hours straight to the venue, thus meaning that we normally would not arrive before 6pm. Upon arrival, we would set up the stage promptly, do the necessary sound-check and have a meal. This would take no less than 3 hours. Finally, we would play the show, after which we could either hang out in the venue with fans and locals, or go directly to our rooms. Few were the days where there were exceptions to this. Indeed, there is little contact with the local

settings. We may even consider the existence of an envelope that obstructs the musicians' (presumable) desires for travelling and discovering. Consider the following quotes from João, which refer to this issue:

> "Going to countries I didn't know was a goal. And, to a certain extent, I came to know these places. I felt like I was getting to know places from a different perspective. Knowing people, hitting the clubs, feeling the different personalities of cities through nights out. But, then again, schedules are too tight and don't really open much chance to seeing anything else besides that. We spent a third of the time driving. Then two hours setting up the stage. Then two hours playing the shows. Then another hour loading the van again…. It doesn't really matter if it's Germany, Austria or China! Touring would be pretty much the same." (João)

These comments reflect the fact that, although there might be a prevalent desire to represent touring as an experience of discovering and cultural exchange, those desires are emptied by an inflexible routine that does not concede much time to those dimensions. It is true that for some of us getting to know and visit places was an important feature of the tours. João, for instance, explained in his interview that he felt he somehow connected with some places and its people. For him, it was interesting to see new cities from a very different perspective from the typical tourist. However, they all shared some frustration as to how this shaped up in the end. The relations are too ephemeral, too quick, not opening up the possibility of deep experiences of intercultural exchange. The only tangible way to discover a city's personality or idiosyncrasies is, in fact, through the people that run the venues and the fans that attended our shows. This was something that Petrov explained clearly:

> "Touring was great to know people. Even though it is impossible to get acquainted with the city itself – the architecture, the museums, etc. – it was great to feel different people. It is like not being the typical tourist but knowing places from a different perspective." (Petrov)

But, then again, most of these people are there as followers of the 60s Jamaican music scene. The individuals with whom we had contact with were, in those particular moments, local gig promoters or local fans, thus in most cases engaged with the same music scene as the band's. In a Goffmanian way, the individuals that welcomed *The Ratazanas* put on their Jamaican-revival "masks" at that exact moment (Goffman 1959). This means that these people were not there to celebrate their

particular culture or to show the particularities of their localities, but rather to celebrate the Jamaican culture of ska, rocksteady and early reggae music. Most of the fans were individuals who held weekly jobs from 9 to 5 and, thus, precisely needed these night outs to break their routine. Indeed, the shows were not about breaking our routines, but rather to offer that opportunity to the fans. Indeed, our job was to provide a good chance for the fans to meet up with their music-subculture counterparts, offering a time-out from their daily routines, whilst reproducing ours. Of course, there were some cases where people felt like telling us about the history of their city (this happen in Christiania, Copenhagen, for instance) or even took us on short guided tours through the city's main attractions (this occurred in Vienna in one of the days off), but usually there was no time for such things.

These ideas may conflict with the normal representation that people make of musicians' activity. The portrait of live performances may be antonymic to my arguments. The artistic performance builds up a kind of cosmopolitan staging that only the reality of the backstage can demystify. It may seen paradoxical that I am arguing that there is little inter-cultural contact when we are confronted by a group of Portuguese musicians, from the confines of Europe, playing a reinterpretation of Jamaican music in seven central European countries. Apparently, this is just as cosmopolitan as it gets, even more if we address the schemes of approach that the band mobilised to create a familiar ambience with their fans. In every show, Edu expressed how much he loved the people of the city in which we were performing and how welcome we felt. The complicity between the band and the public was something frequently built by us. However, behind this performance, there was a real transience of the relations built between the cities and us. The contact did not last, in the majority of cases, more than a couple of hours. Whilst our words on stage may have indicated attachments to the local settings, the truth is those same feelings are fabricated on top of ephemeral contacts.

Susan Cadogan w/ The Ratazanas — Tour book page

ARTIST: Susan Cadogan w/ The Ratazanas

Thursday, March 18th 2010 — Berlin — Germany

Date	Todays Drive
Thursday, March 18th 2010	Flight 4668 from Lisbon, departure: 1:20 pm — Arrival in Berlin/Schönefeld : 5:50pm

General Infos / **Show Infos**

General Infos	Show Infos
Club: YAAM	Get In Club: upon arrival
Address: Stralauer Platz 35	Load In Backline:
Zip Code : 10243	Soundcheck Ratazanas : aprox. 7:30 pm
City: Berlin	Soundcheck Susan Cadogan : afterwards / optional
Capacity: 300	Dinner: tba
Club Website: www.yaam.de	Doors: 9:00 pm
Main Phone: 0049(0)-30615354	Stagetime Ratazanas: 10:00 pm
Main Fax:	Stagetime Susan Cadogan : afterwards
Production Phone:	Curfew: none
Production Fax:	Names of all Supports/ Other Bands:
Local promoter: Mutti & Yaam	Aftershow Party by DJ Mutti
Mobile Number: 0049(0)-1716305462 (Mutti)	

Accomodation / **Other Infos:**

Accomodation	Other Infos:
For Susan:	Entrance fee (advance) : 10 €
Name : Eastern comfort hostelboat	Entrance fee (door) : 12 €
Address: Mühlenstr. 73-77	WLAN / LAN Internet
Zip Code/ City: 10243 Berlin	Internet Terminal:
Phone/ Fax: + 49 – 30 – 66 76 38 06	
For Ratazanas:	
Muttis Clubflat	
Oranienstraße 44	
10969 Berlin	

Notes / **Tomorrows Drive**

Notes:	Tomorrows Drive
Mutti will pick you up from the airport (remember to send him a text if the flight is delayed)	D / Berlin - D / Leipzig Kms : 200 Hrs : 2 ½

ARTIST: Susan Cadogan w/ The Ratazanas

Friday, March 19th 2010 — Leipzig, Germany

Date	Todays Drive
Friday March 19th, 2010	D / Berlin - D / Leipzig Kms : 200 Hrs : 2 ½

General Infos / **Show Infos**

General Infos	Show Infos
Club: McCormacks Ballroom	Get In Club: 4:00pm
Address: Kurt-Eisner-Straße 43	Load In Backline: afterwards
Zip Code: 04275	Soundcheck Ratazanas & Susan: 5:00pm
City: Leipzig	Dinner: 7:00pm
Capacity:	Doors: 8:00pm or 9pm
Club Website: www.myspace.com/mccormackspub	Stagetime Ratazanas: aprox. 10:00pm
Main Phone:	Stagetime Susan: afterwards
Main Fax:	Curfew: no
Production Phone :	Names of all Supports/ Other Bands: DJ's
Production Fax:	
Local promoter: Imad	
Mobile Number: 0049(0)176/61105425	

Accomodation / **Other Infos:**

Accomodation	Other Infos:
Susan: Hotel (infos upon arrival)	Entrance fee (advance) :
Ratazanas: clubflat	Entrance fee (door) :
	WLAN / LAN Internet:
	Internet Terminal:

Notes / **Tomorrows Drive**

Notes:	Tomorrows Drive
	D/Leipzig-D/Mainz Kms: 420 hrs: 4.5h

Figure 4: Tour book page (shows timetables, info on the venues, mileage)

3.2 The politics of car seating

It is a tiring and repetitive form of mobility. Due to these demanding timetables, driving can be overwhelming. In fact, so overwhelming, that we developed a politics of car seating. In the first tour, we had a private driver and a merchandiser. They would both take seats up front. This van had three other rows of seats in the back (two plus two plus three seats). Each one of us created his own place in the car. I would always go in the back row and the furthest away from the side-door (there was only one door to these back rows, which was situated on the right hand side), given that it was the best place to relax and sleep. Sometimes, I would concede my seat to someone else who wanted to sleep. Petrov would also sit in the back, normally. In fact, no one really wanted to take his seat (or exchange with him) due to his lack of tidiness: Petrov would have bottles and food lying around his seat (we ironically called this the Petrov-Bazaar), so no one wished to cope with that. Rosinha, João and Edu always placed themselves in the middle rows. In this tour, we were the backing band of Jamaican legend Roy Ellis. Roy always took a seat in the first row in the back (closest to the driver), so we normally took turns in the place next to him. There were heavy snowfalls during this tour, so we also developed a kind of rite of passage (Van Gennep 1975, Turner 1995) whenever the van stopped: someone would say "equip" as a warning to get dressed, seeing as the temperatures inside the van were high compared to the outdoor coldness. This way no one was caught by surprise and got instantly frozen. With few exceptions, this first tour was quite peaceful concerning the car seating.

In the third tour, however, the story was different. The politics of car seating got much more intense. On this tour, the driving was left to us, given that the tour manager had to run another separate van (this second van was used to transport an American band who was touring with us along with Roy Ellis again). Hence, the first problem was deciding who would take up the responsibility of driving. The only one of us who did not drink alcohol was Luís, so he did almost all of the driving in the evening. On the other hand, Petrov was not allowed to drive the van seeing as he liked to drink during the day as well. Other than that, we took turns. We would do a kind of mileage counting so that the driving-quotas could stay equally distributed. The biggest problem was not, nevertheless, the driving itself, but rather the seat next to the

driver. This seat was suggestively called the *locus horrendus* because it did not leave enough room for the legs to be fully stretched, due to an enormous gear stick. Furthermore, one could not fall asleep whilst seating in this particular spot, so that there are always two pairs of eyes on the road. There were never any volunteers for this specific seat. In this van, there were only two rows of seats (three plus three). The back seats were the most coveted. Each one of us would do the best he could in order to get those seats: arguments, usage of rhetoric, mileage counting, disputes, claims of tiredness, and so on. When the seats were decided and we hit the road, we occupied our time in the van playing games (the most common of all was the famous "Who am I?" as seen in the movie *Inglorious Basterds*, for instance), reading or listening to music. Sometimes, we would just fall asleep, seeing as the nights could be long.

"Day 23rd

09h00 Wake up

09h30 Leaving Copenhagen

13h00 Lunch at a gas station

18h30 Arriving at Dresden

19h00 Sound check

20h30 Dinner

22h00 Show

Another day with 8 hours spent in the van.

Today we had some arguments to decided whose seat was whose.

I'm starting to think there is a politics of seating over here.

Explore this."

Figure 5: Extract from diary 1 (third tour)

> "Day 24th
>
> Today we woke up very early again. Going to Vienna now.
>
> We had some more arguments to decide who was driving and who seated where.
>
> (…)
>
> Review the idea of politics of seating.
>
> I think there is a whole diplomacy at work here.
>
> Not because we want to see the landscapes, but simply because we want the best place to sleep.
>
> Luís took up the driving.

Figure 6: Extracts from diary 2 (third tour)

The politics of car seating did not occur in the name of sightseeing or landscape watching, but rather as a negotiation to cope with the exhaustion and discomfort of the road. The touring practice here presented is far from the glamorous mobility of rock stars. It was indeed a draining practice, mainly because we were doing all the work by ourselves, such as loading and unloading the van, performing the sound checks, selling the merchandise (depending on the occasions) and driving itself. This means that the exercise of place making not only occurred in the van in general, but also within the van. Not only did we transform the van into some sort of home (I will return to this below), but there were very diplomatic performances of place-making in specific seats of the van as well. Petrov's Bazaar is probably the best example. There was clearly a hierarchy of places in the van. We all did the best we could to get our own spots in order to individually deal with the tiredness of travelling.

3.3 Unbending moorings: venues and hotels

Hannam, Sheller and Urry talk about the importance of moorings in the production and reproduction of mobilities. "Mobilities cannot be described without attention to the necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings that

configure and enable mobilities. (…) Thus the forms of detachment or 'deterritorialisation' associated with 'liquid modernity' are always accompanied by rhizomic attachments and reterritorializations of various kinds. There are interdependent systems of 'immobile' material worlds and especially some exceptionally immobile platforms, transmitters, roads, garages, stations, aerials, airports, docks, factories through which mobilizations of locality are performed and re-arrangements of place and scale materialized" (Hannam *et al* 2006: 3). It is interesting to see that, in the case of touring, it is the venues, clubs and the hotels that operate as these interstitial points that anchor the mobility of musicians. These places fixed our itinerancies. It is interesting to see that we would remember a city not by the looks of it, or by the history of the place, or by its cultural output, but mostly by how welcoming the hotels and venues were. The comfort of the beds, the nice hot shower in the morning, the invigorating breakfast before hitting the road, the warmth of the welcoming of the people who received us, and so forth. This is how we remember the places we visited. These moorings had a tremendous importance in our mobilities. It was through them that a tour could go more harshly or more smoothly. Moorings could make our mobilities more pleasurable and relaxing or, on the contrary, more stressful and exhausting.

To be on the road with a band basically means to dwell in and within these places when not driving. The mobility of musicians is anchored in them, functioning almost as stations, where the band halts, sets up the stage, performs and sleeps, before travelling on. Almost half of the venues where we performed had their own accommodation. It is quite standard for local clubs in central Europe to have either a set of rooms inside the venue (close to the backstage) or some apartment in the surrounding areas, cutting down the costs of bringing a band over. Out of the 22 venues we performed at (excluding Spain where this is not common), ten of them provided their own beds: Backstage (Munich), Bar Mondial (Antwerp), Bei Chez Heinz (Hannover), Eastclub (Bischofswerda), Groove Station (Dresden), Innocent (Hengelo), Knust (Hamburg), McCormacks (Leipzig), Rockhouse (Salzburg) YAAM (Berlin). In Hamburg, the Knust did not exactly have its own accommodation, but rather the people who organised the show put us up. The organisers were a group of skinhead supporters of St. Pauli Football-Club and they ran a small pub nearby called Jolly Roger, which had an apartment upstairs for musicians. Knust was very close to the stadium itself. The conditions varied from great to bad. McCormacks, for

instance, was the best one, whilst the Eastclub was just a small room with six beds. Jolly Roger, for instance, was not bad, but there was no hot water.

Figure 7: Accommodation at McCormacks (image by author)

Figure 8: Accommodation at Eastclub (image by author)

Figure 9: Accommodation at Jolly Roger (image by author)

When venues did not provide their own rooms or beds, we would go to a hotel nearby. Although conditions were generally better, seeing as it was common for us to stay in double-rooms instead of six-bed wards where no one could sleep properly, it was also true that going to a hotel meant packing up sooner and quicker and not enjoying much time to have some drinks and wind down after the shows, which was seen as the best moment of the day. Here are some examples of the hotels we stayed in:

Figure 10: Hotel in Dortmund (image by author)

Figure 11: Hotel hall in Munster (image by author)

These moorings function almost as if they were stations. Consider the ambience of any station in Europe. We can rapidly conclude that whether it is Paris, London, Amsterdam or Berlin, the environment and the logics of functioning are much alike. Although we encounter some differences accordingly to the station, like the language spoken by the majority of the people, the architecture of the space, the food served in its restaurants, the price of the tickets, and so forth, the mechanical organisation of their spatialities is equivalent regardless of the city. I believe this can serve as a metaphor for the mobility here described. The practices created and the logics of spatialities offered by the venues are much alike. The only thing that differs may well be the sensations that these station-venues caused. And that is fundamentally how we remember the place. In fact, when the venue was not that great, it is often more difficult to associate its name with the respective city. This happened more than once throughout my interviews. Consider the following:

"The conditions were horrible. Sleeping was bad. The first days of touring everything's fine. The last days are exhausting. No comfort. And being with same people over and over, 24/7, is just too wearisome." (Luís)

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"I didn't like Schaffhausen: the spaghetti they served was horrible. Very different for instance from Dortmund: great hotel with orange juice and toast in the morning. That's what I'm talking about!" (João)

"For me, conditions were okay. Sleeping is not an issue for me. I can sleep wherever, I don't' mind. So, for me, this wasn't an issue. It was all good." (Petrov)

"What I liked the least? The food! And after a couple of days I already missed home, to be honest." (Rosinha)

"The sleeping arrangements could be dreadful sometimes. I remember I got sick on the third tour. We arrived at Kufstein and they put us sleeping in this old, dusty bed ward. I had severe respiratory problems after that night. I was really pissed off, especially because I am the singer and my voice needs to be 100% fit." (Edu)

Opinions vary according to the musician. Some of us were really stressed about the conditions offered, whilst others did not care at all. Comfort was definitely an issue for Luís, Rosinha or Edu, whilst Petrov was much more open to sleeping wherever a bed was offered. But, in general, there was agreement on how exhausting this permanent mobility was, especially when the moorings did not offer the minimum conditions for a good night's sleep and good food. I felt this myself as well. When the sleeping conditions were good, it really made a difference. When we were able to get a good night of rest, the following day was less tedious and there was a much lighter atmosphere. But this would only happen once every third night or so. Besides the hotels and accommodation, the other preeminent moorings are the stages and backstages of the venues. Also, this could vary between a really exciting place to an uneventful or uninteresting club. For instance, there were some venues where everything was perfect, from the warm welcome to the food, the technical conditions offered, the venue's decoration and the crowd. McCormacks is definitely the better-ranked venue amongst *The Ratazanas*, but others such as Loppen (Copenhagen), Knust (Hamburg) or Reduit (Mainz) are also recalled as great places. On the other hand, there were venues where the crowd was very small, the food was not that great or the attention that the local promoters gave us was scarce. This normally made the touring even more exhausting as there was no extra adrenaline kick.

Figure 12: Bei Chez Heinz in Hannover (image by author)
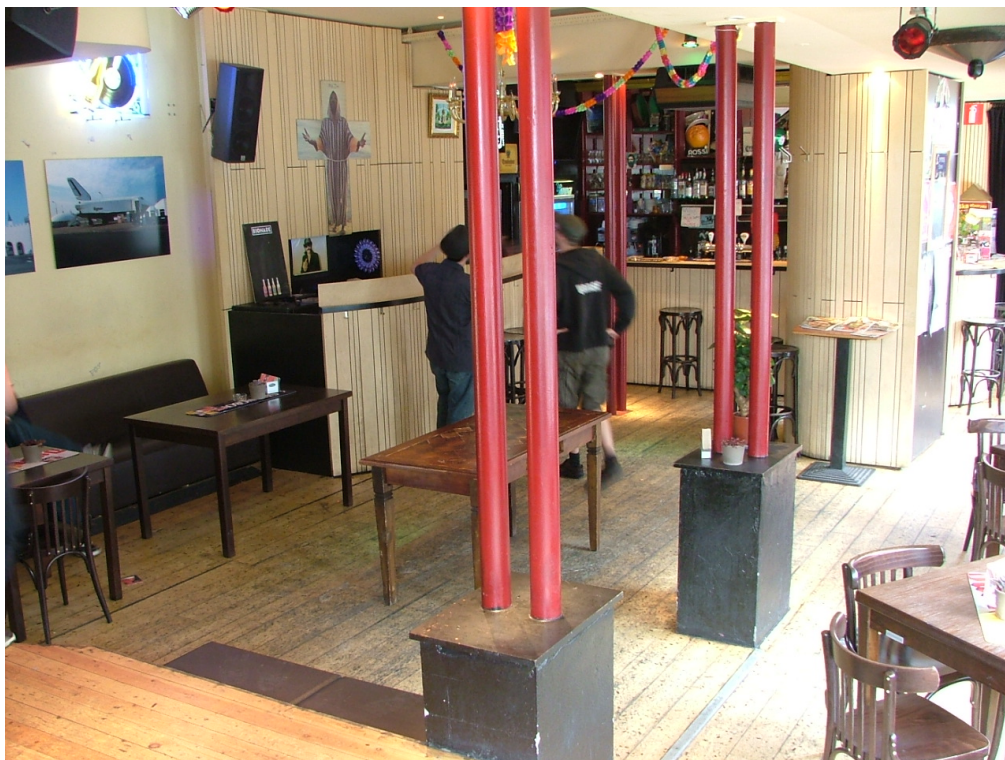
Figure 13: Bar Mondial in Antwerp (image by author)

Figure 14: Breakfast at McCormacks (image by author)

3.4 Weak budgets and no income

These tours were entirely scheduled, organised and produced by either Grover Records (first and third tours) or Muttis Booking (the second tour). Although we did not have any roadies (people who aid the band with setting up the stage or loading/unloading the van) and had to do much of the work ourselves, like driving or occasionally selling the merchandise, it is also true that we did not have to worry about anything besides playing the shows. Our booking agents bought the plane tickets in advance (connections between Lisbon and Germany); they scheduled the venues and dates; the accommodation was taken care of either by them or the people running the venues themselves; the backline (three amps, various microphones, cables, etc.) and heavy instruments (one drum set, 2 organs) were already inside the van once we arrived at the airport; and the label sent a tour manager to organise everything. Although the tours with Grover Records were more professional – seeing as they put a specific tour manager on the road with us, they had a merchandising

department working with us selling both our LPs and other releases from the label, and the venues were much better in general (more people, more money involved) – all three tours were very similar. As we saw above, not only did they occur mainly in Germany with some incursions into surrounding countries and cities (the exception is Spain), but they did not offer significant variations in the final budget sums, after calculating costs and profits.

	2009	2010	2011
Plane tickets	1,200€	1,200€	1,200€
Rental van	1,200€	600€	1,500€
Gas	1,000€	600€	1,200€
Tour manager	800€	---	960€
Merchandise girl	400€	---	480€
Roy Ellis	4,500€ (500€ per concert x 9 concerts)	---	3,000€ (500€ per concert x 6 concerts)
Susan Cadogan	---	1,800€ (300€ per concert x 6 concerts)	---
The Ratazanas	1,500€	0 €	1,000€
Green Room Rockers	---	---	1,000€
Totals	**10,600€**	**4,200€**	**10,340€**

Table 1: Tour budgets (expenses) (author's calculations)

	2009	2010	2011
Takings	10,200€ (average 850€ per concert x 10 concerts)	3,000€ (average 500€ per concert x 6 concerts)	9,000€ (average 750€ per concert x 12 concerts)
Merchandise	1,000€ (average 100€ per concert x 10 concerts)	---	1,200€ (average 100€ per concert x 12 concerts)
Totals	**11,200€**	**3,000€**	**10,200€**

Table 2: Tour budgets (income) (author's calculations)

This serves to demonstrate two different things. First of all, the fact that we, *The Ratazanas*, stepped into a well-oiled booking agent's world that already knew its way around this particular music scene, thus being able to schedule and arrange consecutive shows for an unknown band in Central Europe, inclusively putting a tour manager and a merchandise seller with us on the road, in the case of Grover Records. One must clearly state that both Grover and Muttis Booking took a risk by producing these tours for a nameless outfit in Europe. In fact, *The Ratazanas* were able to build a reputation in Portugal, but we were total unknowns in Central Europe at that time. As one can verify, the expenses and income were roughly the same – in the case of the first and third tours, with Grover Records, there were two almost-breakeven situations, whereas in the second tour, Muttis Booking lost circa 1,000€ with the band, even considering the fact that it did not pay us any salary. In short, neither Grover nor Muttis made any (or significant) money with us. These tours were arranged in order to promote our LPs and attest how well the band could do. After the third tour, the disappointment was quite evident and these labels never scheduled any other tours for *The Ratazanas* again. Most of the shows' takings were based on house percentages, i.e. on a percentage of ticket sales, and some of them were complete flops, with only ten or twenty people in the crowd: Erlangen, Barcelona, Berlin, Hengelo, Salzburg, Kufstein, and Munich.

Secondly, it demonstrates that we did not go on the road with the perspective of making money. We were all aware that this was going to be the final outcome and we were not bothered by it. No serious earnings were made. In the case of the Grover tours, the label rewarded us with circa 2,500€ for both tours. The math is pretty straightforward: 2,500€ divided by six members equals 400€ per musician for a total of 22 shows, which means that each one of us received, in average, around 18€ per concert. Profiting is just not part of it. In fact, seeing as most of the band members had other jobs back home and needed to suspend them whilst on the road, some of us even lost money with the tours. Consider the following quotes:

"The first thing I wasn't expecting from the tour was receiving those 200 'coins' in the end! Making money was never a goal for me." (Petrov)

"Making money was never an objective. I didn't care about money." (Luís)

"I was a bit disappointed with the money. Only 200 euros each. It's nothing. And I had no job back then, on the first tour. So, a little money would've been helpful. But, when I think about it, the whole experience was not about money." (João)

"No, I wasn't really thinking about money to be honest. I have a good job back home. I didn't need the money." (Edu)

As one can see, some of the members did expect to make money. Others were totally caught by surprise after receiving 200 euros for eleven days of touring. However, there was a general agreement that touring was not about the money, at least fundamentally. Touring for us was more about the experience – something I discuss below. The only member that seemed to have real expectations about this was Rosinha:

"Making money was on my horizon. Well, in the first tour, maybe not. I was more worried about not spending money than actually making it. On the third tour, I was counting on putting some euros on the side, and it didn't happen. That kind of pissed me off, I must say." (Rosinha)

But Rosinha is a different case from everybody else, seeing as he was, and still is, the only full-time musician in the band. Music, for him, is his bread and butter. So, when he does not get paid, that is difficult for him, seeing as music is his professional occupation. However, generically speaking, profiting was not a real expectation for the majority of the band's members; it was seen more as something that, if it ended up happening, would be welcomed, but not a real expectation. For the musicians in *The Ratazanas* touring was not about money, especially for those who had other jobs back home. In fact, the types of venues where we performed could not hold more than 200 or 300 people. Seeing as the whole endeavour of renting the vans, paying for gas, scheduling the shows, and so forth, consumed a lot of time and money, profit is hard to achieve. The label itself had warned us previously about this. In the first tour, Oswald, the owner of our label, said that we would probably receive little money and that the tour was mainly to promote the band's first LP. For the second tour with Susan Cadogan, Muttis said straightforwardly that money was not on the agenda. In the third tour, a more significant sum was promised, but the takings were too limited to make that happen. In fact, I must add that labels like Grover Records rely on non-experienced bands to make their money (percentages from the live shows plus

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merchandise sales on the road), given that they know that they can pay little to these musicians.

4. Why do musicians tour?

Why do musicians tour then? More specifically, why do musicians tour under such conditions? For all the reasons stressed above, this is a glamourless type of mobility. The glamour of rock touring that one sees frequently celebrated in movies or books is far from fitting this reality. The road is exhausting. In the first place, with routing averages of around 300km per day, the driving is overwhelming. Almost one third of the time spent on tour is on the road. In fact, it is so exhausting that an entire politics of car seating was developed. The schedules are tremendously tight, not providing the chance for much time to discover the histories and cultural idiosyncrasies of the places visited. The day-to-day schedule revolves around setting up the stages, taking time to eat in the venues, performing our show, winding down and drinking after the live performances, and finally hitting the rooms, before waking up the following day to a six, seven or eight hour drive. This leaves no room for improvisation or tourism. We were basically "trapped" within a landscape of roads and venues. Secondly, the conditions offered were not great, at least in half of the places we went to. Although there were some very good venues and hotels, the overall opinion was that the routine was very hard whilst the sleeping conditions did not help make it any better. Most of the time, we ended up staying over in six-beds wards where no one could have an energising night of rest. Furthermore, there were many shows where the crowd was almost insignificant. In fact, out of 28 shows altogether, only maybe ten of them had a significant audience. In the third place, no serious earnings were made. As we saw, the takings were very limited and almost no one in the band went on the road with the perspective of making money.

So, why bother? What makes the road so special? What are the impulses that make these musicians want to tour? I believe that the answer lies in the ontology of rock culture. Rock culture contains a strong ideal of mobility since its origins in the 50s and 60s. This ideal refers to a set of ideas, practices and representations that act as a guide to musicians' activities, playing a central role in the fabrication of their personal and collective identities. Since its early foundations, rock musicians and fans

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have been producing and reproducing a set of performances and values associated with mobility, developing a very particular ideal linked to issues of itinerancy and movement. This ideal rests on several foundational myths. I can illustrate with two examples. In the first place, the musician is frequently conceptualised as a drifting traveller, resulting from the influence that Jack Kerouac and the beat movement had upon the rock generation, especially on the counter-cultural youth of the 60s. Secondly, I believe that the musicians' van is often configured as their home; cinema and music itself have perpetuated this image throughout the years. Thus, despite all the discomforts of the road, or the big flops that happened in the many venues, or the fact that we did not earn significant money, the road is a call that needs to be answered. Touring is identity. Touring is being a musician.

4.1 The misfit and nomad mask

Musicians have a historical connection with practices of large-scale mobility. There are long-standing examples that contributed to the shaping of this tradition. During the so-called Middle Ages, troubadours roamed Europe, performing for lords and kings at large. Great composers from the Renaissance and the Classical Era replicated this phenomenon, as illustrated by the case of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, who took a grand tour across Europe with his parents and sister between the ages of seven and ten to impress European royal courts (Sadie 2006). This was common practice. Many jazz musicians in the early 20th century were known for their errant lifestyle (Hennessey 1994). Blues music was formed following intricate patterns of migration between Africa, the Americas and the USA – what Gilroy calls the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993). These examples and many others have been responsible for producing a particular aura of mobility around the figure of the musician. Musicians are often compared to gypsies and other more or less socially deviant figures due to their highly mobile lifestyle (Cresswell 2001, Sibley 1995). They are often romanticised because of their romanticised patterns of movement (see, for instance, Ganser 2009 for a comprehensible genealogy of mobility as freedom in the USA). Indeed, historian of rock music Piero Scaruffi stressed that the rocker is repeatedly perceived as "a musical transposition of the 'loner', the misfit, the nomad that is frequently celebrated by American novels and films" (Scaruffi 2003: 24).

The figure of the rock musician has been inspired, for instance, by the lifestyle idealised by the beat generation depicted in Jack Kerouac's *On the road* (Kerouac 1957). Even though this intellectual movement is predominantly a subculture from the 50s and its musical genre of choice is bebop jazz (Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, John Coltrane, etc.), it is unquestionable that their idealisations influenced the rock generation. As Cresswell argued, "*On the road* has remained an influential and popular book – a central symbol in the iconography of the 'youthful rebellion'" (Cresswell 1993: 254). The principal characteristic of the book is the construction of an apology for mobility as an alternative and differentiating lifestyle within western society. There are two fundamental elements in Kerouac's romance: the displeasure with place and the fascination with endless voyage or, in Cresswell's words, with "just going" (Cresswell 1993: 254). In *On the road*, one can feel a repeated pattern of enthusiasm at the prospect of getting to know a new town. The place where the characters meet is a mere provisional circumstance that helps them to feed perspectives in relation to the next stop. And this sensation never ceases; it is a kind of eternal movement, common to all the feelings that the characters have and, predictably, will have.

This apology for mobility represents a frontal provocation to certain traditional and conformist values of the 20th century. Kerouac shows us that mobility can be employed as a form of resistance to several pre-established cultural norms. His aim is most definitely a group of practices, representations and social preconceptions about family, home and work. Culturally, these dimensions conceal a stable, regular and uneventful lifestyle, bounded or rooted by local attachments. The author builds an ideal way of life – underpinned by a constant dynamism, improvisation and lack of commitment – that may be seen as the antithesis of the latter. Recalling Scaruffi's words, Kerouac produces an idealisation that revels in the image "loner, misfit and nomad hero" (Scaruffi 2003: 24). Ever since, this image has been adopted by a significant number of rock musicians, namely by some of its most iconic pioneers. Ray Manzarek, keyboardist of *The Doors*, recounted that "I resolved to head west as soon as I could. Jim Morrison did the same. I came from frozen Chicago, he came from swampy Florida; but we both came for the same reason – freedom! I suppose if Jack Kerouac had never written *On the road*, the Doors would never have existed. It opened the floodgates and we read everything we could get our hands on" (Manzarek 1999: 68). Bod Dylan stressed that he "read *On the road* in maybe 1959. It changed

my life like it changed everyone else's" (Bob Dylan, ct. in Heitmann 2009: 161). As William Burroughs implied, "Woodstock rises from his pages" (Burroughs, ct. in Leland 2007: 5). These quotes are representative of the influence that Kerouacian mobility had not only in the definition of the identities, values and practices of the American youth of the 50s and 60s, but also in the genesis of bands and rock culture itself.

Bob Dylan, in the documentary *No Direction Home: Bob Dylan*, directed by Martin Scorsese, even goes one step further. The singer conceives his life as a permanent voyage. His mobility appears as a central motif in his constitution as a musician. "I had ambitions to set out and find… like an odyssey of going home somewhere. I set out to find this home that I'd left a while back…and I couldn't remember exactly where it was, but I was on my way there. And encountering what I encountered on the way was how I envisioned it all. I didn't really have any ambition at all. I was born very far from where I'd supposed to be…and so I'm on my way home, you know." (Bob Dylan ct. in Kenaan 2013: 9). The film kicks off with this quote. Bob Dylan tells us he grew up in a typical mining town in the north of the USA, where the cold was so preposterous that it did not even allow for the emergence of a political consciousness amongst people. He rapidly set off to start a journey, both physically and spiritually, across the United States in search of a place he could call home. Dylan recounts that that trip has not ceased yet and, in a certain way, his home is the sense of travelling itself. Consider the song "Like a rolling stone". The song can be thought of as an ode to Jack Kerouac and to his idealisation of mobility; its aesthetics convey ideas of an unchained and unattached man, on an un-routed voyage, questioning himself "How does it feel? How does it feel... to be on your own? With no direction home? Like a complete unknown? Like a rolling stone?" These images stand for what Bob Dylan considers to be adequate to the figure of a musician. In many aspects, this was the life that he lived. I believe that, from a historical point of view, the representation of the musician as traveller or drifter began to be a part of this ideal of mobility, which the musicians appeal to in their processes of identity constitution. Consider João's and Edu's quote:

"What I liked the least? Well, some shows were really bad. Like twenty-people-there-kind-of-bad. But, when one thinks about it, touring is also about that. It's about having some great shows, with great people welcoming you in superb venues, and about playing some horrible shows in shitty places

in the middle of nowhere. It's about the thrill of never really knowing what's waiting for you in the next stop. Some shows are just about having a clean bed at the end of the night. I understood that. And I peacefully accepted that. (…) So, why did I go? To be with you guys. To hang out. Chill out. To drink beer. It's like going on some paid holidays. Music is a bit secondary to be honest. It's also cool to visit places from this ephemeral perspective. But it's mainly to hang out. Ah yeah, and I also liked not knowing where you'd sleep. Coming to a new place, checking out the accommodation, sorting out your own bed. Fighting for the best bed (laughs)… the expectations about breakfast (more laughs). (…) I think touring makes you feel more as a musician. I had bands before in Portugal. I've played tons of gigs. But I had to admit that when you are on tour, that's the time when you feel the most like you are a musician. For instance, I am an architect. When I was on the road that's when I really felt I took off my architect's mask and put on my musician's identity." (João)

"I went on the road for the sake of being on the road. I felt it was an excellent opportunity to feel at first hand what being a musician was like. It also serves as a kind of escape from reality. When we hit the road, we kind of step into this alter reality. It is like we put on a different mask, a different identity. You are like a drifter or a traveller. People drive you around and tell you where to be, but then all you have to do is play music and drink beer. In a way, it is like you pretend to be this social outcast. And maybe you are exactly that during those two weeks. You do not belong anywhere, but to the road itself." (Edu)

As João put it, being on the road is about having fun, about the bonds created with other musicians, about feeling the road. The bad shows, the bad sleepovers, the bad venues and the worst vans are just as much part of it as the packed clubs and great hotel rooms. Like he explained, it is about the thrill of not knowing where you are heading just as much as it is about returning to a familiar venue and seeing familiar faces. João also explained that he did these tours because it is a kind of paid holiday, where one goes on the road without any worries besides drinking beer, hanging out and playing music. For him, being on the road is the place where he fully put on his musician mask, whilst temporarily removing his identity as an architect. Edu's words reinforce these notions. For him, being on the road means putting on a different personal mask, one that has to do with an aesthetics of the road. I have to say I felt this way as well. Even though I was also on the road to conduct research and, thus, had a different position from my band colleagues, I entirely felt that we did the road as an exercise of putting on the identity mask of the drifting, traveller musician. Doing the road means impersonating Bob Dylan and Ray Manzarek. It is transforming oneself into a drifter. Doing the road is about stepping into an alter reality that is characteristic of a musician, putting on your misfit and nomad mask. I

posit that a tour is not only when one fully embraces a self-conscious position as a musician, but also a decisive moment for other people to fully recognise you as such. When you are on tour, people clearly see you as being part of a very particular aesthetics of rock culture with the image of the misfit wanderer at its heart.

4.2 The van as home

The influence of Kerouac on rock culture is not only visible in the musicians, but in the fans as well, especially the counter-cultural youth of the 60s. The road, the trips, the voyages, the rides, the famous route 66, the Volkswagen vans (also known as the hippie vans), etc. were all transformed into iconic symbols of social differentiation and rejection of certain pre-fixed cultural norms. Theodore Roszak attributes great importance to the nomadic wandering youth of the 60s in the formation of America's counter-culture, who was determined to create a rupture with the "technocratic society" (Roszak 1969). According to the author, first the beat generation, then a second-wave of movements, such as the hippies, used disordered and random mobility as a political and cultural statement. Roszak recounts a story that illustrates this: "On October 21, 1967, the Pentagon found itself besieged by a motley army of anti-war demonstrators. For the most part, the fifty thousand protestors were made up of activist academics and students, men of letters, New Left and pacifist ideologues, housewives, doctors … but also in attendance, we are informed, were contingents of 'witches, warlocks, holymen, seers, prophets, mystics, saints, sorcerers, shamans, troubadours, minstrels, bards, roadmen, and madmen'" (Roszak 1969: 124). As we see, various figures of mobility are highlighted, such as troubadours or roadmen. Mobility, in the form of the vans or hitchhiking, was seen as something devious and deviant, as counter-cultural. For the government, these mobilities were dangerous. Rock culture was born in this background. Rock and roll emerged in a backdrop of a rebellious youth that made use of images and practices of movement to defy the structural foundations of the dominant form of social organization.

This notion is particularly noticeable in the case of the hippies. As Mike Brake argues, the hippie lifestyle entails a strong "concern with travelling" (Brake 1980: 101). In fact, when one visualises the symbol that best characterises the hippie lifestyle, the image that immediately pops to mind is their vans, which is

unquestionably a stereotypical object representing mobility. The image of the hippie vans, entirely decorated, serving as a shelter to a group of young men, evokes the culture surrounding the Woodstock festival of 1969. This phenomenon directly links to the second foundational myth of this ideal of mobility within rock culture: the configuration of the van as the home to bands. This dimension is frequently celebrated in movies. Films like *Almost Famous*, by Cameron Crowe, or the mockumentary *Spinal Tap*, by Rob Reiner, denote a significant mobile sensibility. In both cases, a significant proportion of the footage was shot inside the van, during long drives along the motorway. The van is presented as the privileged site of the musicians' dwelling, similarly to some of counter-cultural youth of the 60s. The image of a group of musicians, inside a van, flirting with young fans and smoking cigarettes or marijuana is probably one of the most common representations of rock bands.

This aesthetics of the van is one of the aspects that Stith Bennett raises in his book *On becoming a rock musician* (Bennett 1980). Despite not using that expression, the sociologist gives a good account on the importance that the van has to musicians. Firstly, it provides them with a familiar and private ambience, where they review themselves and feel comfortable, wherever they might be. Secondly, the van functions as a memory box, i.e. a historicised object where musicians store their personal biographies and identities. In the book, Bennett tells us of an episode in which a band was shattered after losing their van, following a car crash. More than a physical object that serves as a means of transportation, the van is a symbolic object that is part of the musicians' identities. I believe that the image of the van as a home for musicians is another example of how mobility has permeated rock culture since its early origins. This has to do with the influence of hippie culture and counter-cultural movements as well. Transforming a van into your home while touring is another exercise of becoming a musician. It means transposing oneself into a particular aesthetics of mobility that is central in the way rock culture produced itself. Let us listen to Petrov's and João's words:

"Doing a tour is all about hanging out with your friends, and drinking beer, and getting to know some girls, and the whole travelling experience. (…) The bonds created between us were the thing the most surprised me. It was great. The road is the place where we really get to know each other. It's when you are in a van stuck with seven lads that one really finds out what it's all about. (…) It's

also awesome to go to a city we have never been before and there are actually dozens of people there to see you. That's grand. But the best memories I brought home was the time spent with you guys, on the road, in the van, creating our routines. Even though it crushes you, that tiredness is what the road is all about." (Petrov)

Petrov emphasised that the road is all about hanging out with your friends, drinking beer and having fun. Petrov believes that the road is the place where one really gets to know one's band-mates, deepening the bonds between all the members. In other words, the road is where a band fully becomes a band; where musicians understand each other's limits and create particular routines. Nevertheless, the most vivid memories that he brought home were, indeed, the times spent inside the van, even taking into account that it is a very tiring experience. Petrov's words are representative of how central the van itself is in this endeavour. As he stressed, the road is pretty much about being stuck with seven lads in a van. It is intrinsically part of it. The best memories he brought home were not the shows themselves, i.e. the performance of music, but rather the constitution of the van as a vehicle of identity. The games, the routines, the place-making registered during the time spent in the van are the features that Petrov highlighted the most.

"The third tour's routing was much better. At least, it looked much better. I was much more confident for the third tour. I thought: better routing, means better organisation, more money, better shows. I was wrong. It was pretty much the same. The time spent inside the van was the same. And this time the van was much worse! In the first van, we had good heating system, nice seats, lots of space, and a DVD player. In the second tour, we had a PlayStation on board! In the last tour, the van was a disaster. Besides that, some shows were hideous. But I mean, I guess that's all part of it." (João)

Although from a different angle, João's frustration sheds light on the importance of the van as well. For him, in the third tour, the van did not feel like home and this made the experience worse. As we saw below, the van needs to be a place of comfort. In fact, an entire politics of car seating was developed due to this. We shaped a negotiating system of car seating not because we wanted to see the landscapes outside, but in the name of better opportunities to rest and relax. However, I believe the issue is even more profound. The van needs to feel like home not only due to comfort, but also because that is part of an ideal of mobility of rock culture in general. To transform the van into a home is part of an aesthetics of rock music

touring. It is part of the process of identity constitution of a musician. Doing the road has much to do with the fulfilment of this ideal. Just like we wanted to put on our misfit and nomad masks, we also felt like producing the van as some sort of home.

4.3 Musicians as figures of mobility

In one sentence, touring is about the experience of the road. It is about becoming a musician. It is about producing and reproducing your identity as such. It is about embodying the identity of a musician. Neither of us went on the road to become famous, or to earn money, or to visit places. We went on these tours to answer an ontological call of the road that is present in the rock culture since its very origins. In chapter 1, I explained how the identities I examined were underpinned by a certain concept of togetherness, that is, the coming together of individuals, who are practicing the same profession, and rhythmically move along with each other, thus producing conjointly, temporary identities. This case is symptomatic of this. We went on the road to collectively produce ourselves as musicians. Moving together in time and space is what makes this possible not only because it reinforces our awareness of such condition, but also because the people who surrounded us (local fans, promoters, people at gas stations, etc.) recognised us as such, reinforcing our identities. Touring is where musicians materialise their belonging to rock culture. This is where we fully embody a certain ideal of mobility contained in the deepest ontology of our music culture. Rock culture contains a deep ideal and aesthetics of mobility – being in a van, roaming the asphalt, belonging to the road – that needs to be answered if one is to become a musician and reproduce such an identity throughout time. The practices, feelings and representations shown above are only possible through this very specific performance of mobility. Consider Petrov's words:

"Why did I do these tours? I ask, why not? I answer that in a simple manner: because I can. It's because I can do it. It's an extraordinary experience, not accessible to most human beings. It's like climbing Everest. Not everyone can do it. A tour is the same. Not everyone can do it. In fact, very few people in the world can do this. It makes me feel special. It's something you become proud of." (Petrov)

Petrov exclaimed that doing tours is like climbing Everest. Of course, he too thinks that this is an excessive metaphor, but the idea that underpins his argument is quite revealing: Petrov posits that doing a tour with a band is something that is not accessible to most people, i.e. it is something that clearly differentiates you from the common person. It is something that makes him feel special. Through his words, one can assume that doing the road is an important process not only in differentiating yourself from other people, but also in differentiating yourself from other musicians. The road is what makes you a special musician. It is what makes one different. Luís highlights similar sensations:

"What did I like the most? Hum… that's an interesting question. Never really thought about it. I guess that it's the whole experience. The experience of touring is important. I can't really say what I liked the most. I think there were more things that I didn't like rather than things that I enjoyed. But the whole experience of being on the road is just important. I feel it is an important step in order to understand what being a musician is all about. And I am one of those guys that much prefers being in an studio recording music. If I had to choose between touring and recording, I would definitely choose the studio. But the road is kind of a call that needs to be answered… (…) It's like having a baby. It's a lot of trouble, causes headaches and lost sleep, but in the end you feel fulfilled, you feel a better person. I felt I was a more complete musician. I went on the road to fulfil myself." (Luís)

Luís' comments follow the same direction, although he is by far the most pessimistic of us in relation to the fun of being on the road. Luís was the only member that straightforwardly said that there were many more things that he did not like than things he appreciated. Luís explained that he is the type of person that treasures comfort and quietness, thus not being able to adapt to the life on the road, where accommodation can be rough and driving overwhelming. This makes his reasons for touring even more symptomatic, seeing as he explained that he does not particularly have fun and does not even enjoy playing the shows themselves that much. So, why tour? Luís came up with an interesting metaphor: for him, it is like having a baby. According to Luís, having a baby is a troublesome experience, but it also means fulfilling oneself. Similarly, being on the road is a tiring, exhausting and niggling experience, but that same experience is what being a musician is all about. That is what makes you a musician. There is a strong call of the road. In fact, Luís only fully understood that he did not want to be a full-time musician after doing these tours,

which means that touring is the place where one understands what being a musician is like.

"The road is where you understand what being a musician is like. And that was exactly when I realised I didn't want to be a full-time touring musician!" (Luís)

For all these reasons, I posit that musicians are figures of mobility. Following the arguments developed in chapter 2, the rise of the mobilities turn was (and has been) underpinned by a problematisation of mobility as a theoretical concept. Before the advent of the turn, mobility was tendentiously seen as a product of social realities. Inversely, the paradigm inaugurated a trend in academia precisely focused in conceiving mobility as a social producer. Naturally, there were many authors beforehand who were already branching out in this direction, but it was only after the emergence of the turn that more systematised and solid theorisations of mobility appeared. Amid these, Tim Cresswell constructed a theoretical distinction between movement and mobility. According to the author, movement may be considered as mobility exempted from social meaning and relations of power, whereas mobility is the opposite of this, i.e. dislocation or movement constrained *by* and embedded *in* social implications (Cresswell 2006). In this sense, a person on the move is never simply a person: he or she can be a dancer or a pedestrian, a lorry driver or an athlete, a refugee or a tourist. The movement one performs is transformed into mobility through several historical and social implications that that same movement has had throughout history and society. Furthermore, those same implications act upon one, contextualising one's mobility and embedding it up with meaning. All the figures quoted above, who are meanwhile configured according to certain social archetypes due to their typified performances of mobility, become figures of mobility, seeing as their mobility not only helps to classify them in certain ways but it is also what gives them social relevance or meaning. In other words, they become figures of mobility because they rely on their contextualised and socialised movements during the ontogenetic process of becoming those same figures.

Think of a pilgrim. As one can imagine, the mobility typically associated with the performance of a pilgrim not only acts as a device of identity, configuring him or her in certain ways and predicting their actions, but it is also what differentiates them from other social figures. A pilgrim depends on mobility to become a pilgrim; his or

her mobility is part of what he or she is and does. In fact, to conceive of a static pilgrim is an impossible task. One cannot sit in a room for a couple of days and be said to have done a pilgrimage. Without performing a certain type of mobility, one can never become that type of figure. My argument is that the mobility of musicians is also one of the most relevant features in their life, conferring meaning to their identity as such and configuring them as figures of mobility. A rock musician, like the ones playing in *The Ratazanas*, depends on mobility or, more specifically, on presenting a repertoire/performance of mobility, to produce and reproduce the musician's identity. Without ever having hit the road, that is, without performing the type of mobility which allows for a series of practices and feelings associated with their social identity, these musicians would not conceptualise themselves, to a certain extent, as such. The road is the place where musicians feel like musicians. Indeed, I believe it might be as important as writing and recording songs or as the ability to play the instrument itself.

This is particularly visible within the rock/pop culture, for the reasons explained above. There are several elements that share an obvious bond to rock culture: a certain way of being and behaving, certain dress trends, certain patterns of consuming, etc. My argument is that mobility should be addressed in this way too. Doing the road, living in the van, roaming the asphalt, feeling on a trip, crossing continents, countries or states are some idealisations that musicians demand in order to construct themselves as such. Mobility is part of who they are, who we are. Just like a pilgrim, a static musician, moored in one city, may stop conceiving himself as belonging to the rock culture. Musicians like us feel the need to do the road and to live that experience. Otherwise, we would consider ourselves worse musicians or, at least, less fulfilled in our achievements as musicians, even undermining our identities as such. Although we are living in an age where musicians do not need to move to be heard (there is Facebook, MySpace, endless websites), I believe that it is still of paramount importance to respond to the call of the road. Seeing the road, doing the road, feeling the road is just something that is part of the experience of being a musician. To sum up, the mobility of a musician is a performance that not only enables people, in general, to recognise musicians as such but it also helps the musicians to recognise themselves, playing a decisive role in the production and reproduction of identities.

5. Conclusions: belonging to the road, not to Europe

Rock culture contains a strong ideal of mobility. From its very beginnings in the 50s and the 60s, being on the road has become a trademark in rock musicians' identities. In order to become a musician and reproduce one's identity as such, one has first of all to be able to play an instrument, followed by performing live shows and recording/creating your own songs. These three dimensions define musicians' identities. Jason Toynbee's definition of pop/rock music, quoted earlier in this chapter, documents this very well (Toynbee 2000). But rock musicians are also informed by deep performances of mobility that are best materialised in doing tours. Doing the road is part of who they are. Being on the road is not only where musicians best recognise themselves, but also where society in general distinguishes them as such. This ideal has been perpetuated by what I called founding myths of rock culture, such as the conceptualisation of the rock musician as a nomad, misfit drifter or the van as their home. These ideas have been celebrated throughout the years in musicians' lyrics, in their practices and in the whole aesthetics that guide and informs literature and movies on rock culture. My argument is that it is the need to answer the call of the road and materialise such an ideal that underpins the three tours with *The Ratazanas*.

To sum up, being on tour with *The Ratazanas* is not about making money, or becoming famous, or visiting towns we had never been to before. Schedules are too tight and routes become cyclical over the years. One cannot even accurately associate the venues and hotels with their respective towns. Like João said during one of the tours, "we lose track of time and space here. It is like stepping into another dimension" (João). Being on tour is about the experience of the road. It is about belonging to the road for a couple of weeks, materialising an ideal of mobility that is present in rock culture from its very beginnings. Drawing upon Piero Scaruffi's words, it is about putting on a "misfit and nomad" mask, transforming yourself into a wandering outsider. Even though it can be a draining practice – there is even the production of a politics of car seating in order to cope with the exhaustion of the road – it nevertheless defines us as musicians. You do not belong anywhere during those days, but rather to the road itself. It is about belonging to a culture of movement, roaming the asphalt, sleeping wherever there is a bed, creating routines inside the van

and hitting several stages. Being on a road is fundamentally about producing and reproducing one's identity as a musician. It is a step towards achieving that status and living it. Only the road carries an array of practices, representations and feelings that make this possible. Doing tours is fundamentally part of what being a musician means. Musicians are social figures of mobility. Rock musicians are made on the road.

To finish this chapter, I would like to link this discussion to broader debates on European mobility. Naturally, we took advantage of European policies on mobility, not only in terms of using a well-oiled infrastructural mobile network, but also in terms of exercising our rights as citizens to cross-border mobility. First of all, these tours were only possible because of the serious efforts made by EU member states to connect all European roads in a modern system that makes travelling smooth and efficient. We took advantage of this. Without the E-roads, the well-organised motorway interconnections between countries or the (more or less) standardised traffic systems, touring with such tight schedules would be an almost impossible task. Secondly, these tours only happened because of the easy cross-border mobility offered by the Schengen Agreements. This was only possible due to the advantages in terms of mobility that we as European citizens have. In fact, during these tours, we crossed borders nineteen times altogether: six on the first tour, two on the second and eleven on the third. The only occasion where we ventured into non-Schengen territory was to go to Schaffhausen, Switzerland. While entering the Swiss country was uncomplicated, it took us at least one hour to enter the EU again. This means that without a passport-free zone, these tours would be seriously compromised. It definitely played a significant role in our mobility.

However, the construction of European identities is far from being evident. Even though it is true that we took advantage of European citizenship and European infrastructures to do these tours, it does not necessarily follow that we felt more European or more connected with Europe. Consider the following comments from the musicians when confronted with this topic:

"No, I always kind of felt like a European, especially after the Euro currency was born. Geographically speaking, I think I am a European. Ideologically, it is hard to assume that role. I am European when and if it suits me, to be honest. But I think the tours didn't change that at all. I am not more or less European because of the tours. It made no difference." (Luís)

"I trade European for international. Europe doesn't really matter for me, but being able to be on the road, made me feel more international. Made me feel I had the capacity to belong to a wider community than my own nationality. But I'm one of those people that loves travelling in general. Right now, I've been on the road for almost two years, living all over Europe and planning to go to Asia soon, making money wherever I can and never looking back." (Petrov)

"I never felt more, or less, European because of touring. I felt like I was stepping into a bizarre reality of shows, venues, hotels and roads. I met a lot of people during the tours and it was great, but I don't think it made me feel more European. It's something that doesn't matter much to be honest. I felt like I was a musician and belonged to the road. That was it." (Edu)

"Do I feel more European? Absolutely not. I feel the opposite! Completely the opposite. I felt I was completely different from every place I went. And I want that. I want to be different. I have nothing in common with Europe. I think I felt more Jamaican than European by the end of the tour! What I really liked about touring was to become aware that I am the complete opposite of what being European is!" (João)

These comments, alongside the data collected and the analysis presented in this chapter, shed light on how being mobile within the European space does not automatically mean that one feels more European or actively engages with some sort of European identity. For us, being on the road is about the construction of concentric, inner-identities, i.e. about transforming yourself into a musician rather than producing or reproducing yourself as a European citizen. It is about belonging to the road itself, to a very particular landscape and geography of the sub-cultural music scene. It is about materialising the ideal of mobility of a particular culture and plunging yourself into a certain aesthetic. Like Luís and Edu put it, touring did not impact in any way their vision of being European or their feelings towards Europe. With an even more polarised opinion, João explained that he even felt more Jamaican than European after touring. He came home under the impression that he had even less in common with Europe and Europeans (even though this is an abstraction, as he did not explain what he meant by this) than before. He really enjoyed being different, an outsider, and exclaimed that he had nothing in common with the people of central Europe. Petrov was probably the most optimistic one. He explained that, unlike the other band members, he sees himself as a traveller and he thinks that touring maybe had an

influence in that. However, he could quickly trade the word European for international. He does not necessarily label himself as European.

These ideas link well to the previous chapter on the lorry drivers. Naturally, we are talking about a very distinct type of mobility. The mobility presented here is much less grinding and much more fun. Even though it can be exhausting, we did this because we wanted to. We had the option of not going. We did these tours not to make our bread and butter, but to materialise our identities as musicians. Moreover, the lorry drivers' mobility is an important facet of the communitarian European market. As we saw, it is through them that part of the market is operated. We, as musicians, only took advantage of it. Also, in contrast to the truck drivers' case, we did not create or reproduced any kind of friction with people from other nationalities. In fact, to a certain extent, we embraced them. When the venues were welcoming, we somehow felt attached to those people and those places. It may even be argued that we were somehow part of the production of a European experience: Portuguese individuals playing Jamaican music for audiences all across the European Union can be seen as a cultural artefact of a much more bonded and integrated supranational space. Nevertheless, when it comes to the production of identities and sensations of belonging, neither the drivers nor we, as musicians, actively felt like we were contributing to the fabrication of a European identity. In general, the members playing in *The Ratazanas* did not feel more European after moving within Europe. We simply felt we were fully putting on our musicians' identities, materialising a certain ideal of mobility that is present in our music culture. Differently from the drivers, we did not necessarily reproduce our identities as Portuguese so vividly when on the road. But, we did not fundamentally represent ourselves as belonging to Europe or to a European project either. When there, we simply belonged to the road.

CHAPTER 6

Speed and smoothness

A mobile ethnography of Portuguese MEPs

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the processes of identity production and reproduction of a group of Portuguese Members of the European Parliament (MEP), through the data collected in a series of mobile ethnographic vignettes. The main difference from the preceding chapters is that these individuals are high-up in terms of social class. Hence, this chapter is a study of the travelling lifestyles of Portuguese politicians who have to be constantly on the move. It is about catching planes from Lisbon to Brussels, TGVs in Paris, official Parliament cars in the European Commission, and trams in Strasbourg, whirling around the surface of Europe. It is about the itinerant quotidian lifestyles of politicians; about waking up in Lisbon, having lunch in Paris and sleeping in Strasbourg; about having breakfast in Brussels, hosting a meeting in Portugal hours later and sleeping in Barcelona just to get an early flight to Brussels; it is about what all of this tells us about European mobility. Literature on wandering elites has been focused on how such individuals produce their own transnational circuits, comprised of hotels, fancy restaurants, day-spas, and so forth, to create their own nested routines, most of the time flying above the surface of local settings. While I argue that this is in part true, Portuguese MEPs also maintain strong relations with their country of origin, both practically and ideologically. They dwell between their new lives in central European cities and very deep attachments to their own country. How do they do so? What makes this possible? This is the central question of this chapter. As we will see, they have to insert themselves into a culture of speed and smoothness. This insertion is then responsible for creating feelings of attachment to Europe and Europeanness. Speed and smoothness are transformed into forms of European cultural belonging.

Literature on privileged travelling has been focused on how high-up individuals (usually professionals) create particular transnational nests or niches, which encompass several tunnelled circuits alongside specific dwellings, thus producing sensations of belonging and reinforcing their social status. As Urry and Elliott put it, "one remaining issue concerns the fascination of globals with space – with private, exclusive, luxurious space. From five-star hotel suites to private jets, from the playgrounds of private islands to the pampered amenities of penthouses or townhouses (…). One possibility might be that, in a world in which many spatial and

temporal barriers have been eliminated, globals are seeking to reassert a sense of belonging in the act of consuming space" (Elliott & Urry 2010: 83). This has been the core of scholars' approaches to the realities of corporate businessmen, expatriates or politicians. I review these topics in section 2.3 below. However, what I think these studies do not account for, in most cases, are the relations between individuals' insertion into these particular transnational circuits and their previous senses of belonging. In fact, it is very unlikely that the majority of these individuals are socialised from birth into transnational circuits. Similarly, it is very unlikely that they abruptly create a discontinuity with their past geographies. That is, they are not transnational *a priori*. They become transnational precisely because they fabricate attachments to international circuits in order to cope with their new realities and maintain a vivid connection with their locality and/or country of origin. Hence, being transnational is not a condition they are born with (in most situations), but rather an effect of a twofold life. I posit that they become transnational as a consequence of having to be both *here* and *there*. In the case of MEPs, these individuals become transnational due to their new attachments to international circuits alongside a vivid and rich life of local engagement to both their country of origin and their new homes in Brussels and Strasbourg.

Andreotti, Le Gales and Fuentes shed light on how "the image of free-floating, upper-middle-class workers, suspended in their transnational networks, is very different from the managers' actual lives" (Andreotti *et al* 2013: 42). The authors take a sample of upper-middle-class managers in four cities – Paris, Madrid, Milan and Lyon – to explore the patterns and dynamics of mobility and belonging between European borders. The paper proposes four analytical categories: barbarians (highly transnational individuals with few local attachments), mobile rooted (highly transnational individuals with strong local attachments), self-segregated (low local insertion and low transnational practices) and local stalwarts (high local insertion and low transnational practices). In a total of 480 interviews conducted in these cities, Andreotti, Le Gales and Fuentes found "no evidence of uprooting, or of free-riding barbarians escaping national constraints. Most of the managers we interviewed clearly feel part of a virtual global society, yet they strongly anchor their daily lives in their local communities" (Andreotti *et al* 2013: 56). In contrast to the evidence provided by most of the literature on this topic, the barbarians constitute a statistically insignificant group. Instead, the mobile rooted seems to be the most widespread type. Mobile

transnational managers create several exit and entry strategies, carefully negotiating their insertion into transnational networks, whilst reinforcing their local belongings and their power within their local communities.

In this chapter, I start off with the assumption that something similar is occurring in the lives of MEPs. Instead of being simple agents of fluidity (some more cosmopolitan, others more enclosed), I believe that high-up professional travellers are most often individuals who reiterate attachments to both, on the one hand, transnational, above-ground, professional circuits and, on the other hand, local, grounded, communal settings. It is this dialectical relation – sometimes desired, other times unwanted and conflicting – that fundamentally dictates their processes of identity construction. A constant mobility within the international networks, but also a constant movement between those circuits and their previous locales, is what guides their lives. More than individuals who enroot themselves in a life of transnational mobility, roaming the world in high-up circuits and/or enfolding themselves in niches of migrant elites, I believe we are dealing with individuals who constantly negotiate between their new lives and their old attachments. In order to do so, they insert themselves into a culture of speed and smoothness. They redesign themselves as figures of speed. Being both *here* and *there* is only possible if their capitals of speed and smoothness materialise into fast, non-turbulent commuting. As we will see, this is done through various practices, both collectively and individually. This specific way of moving is what, in a second moment, produces identification with Europe and Europeanness. Moving fast and smoothly – something that MEPs do, not because they are *a priori* transnational beings, but as a result of having to cope with a tremendous geographical complexity – is recalibrated into representations of modern European citizenry.

2. Methodological strategies and descriptive remarks

There are not many significant methodological differences in terms of data collection when compared with the lorry drivers and the musicians' cases. Also here, I embraced the patterns of mobility of several individuals and examined their lives on the road, whilst collecting ethnographic evidence that illustrates their daily routines and rhythms with a special emphasis on their processes of identity construction. I also

provide here a brief biography of each of these politicians, so that we can have a better understanding of the profiles we are dealing with. At the end of this section, I review the current trends on the approach of mobile elites in order to apprehend what scholars have been saying about the geographies of belonging of high-up individuals who have to be constantly on the move.

2.1 Methodological strategies

As with chapters 4 and 5, I engaged with mobile forms of ethnographic fieldwork to collect the data for this chapter. The approach here was to do a series of three ethnographic vignettes, accompanying three MEPs for about one week each, making a total of roughly three weeks of fieldwork. The MEPs were Correia de Campos, Ana Gomes and Rui Tavares – their profiles are below. In two of these cases, the core of the week happened in Strasbourg, wherein the MEPs have to go once a month for plenary voting sessions in the European Parliament. The other vignette was centred in Brussels, where the main headquarters of the Europarl is located. Nevertheless, in these weeks, I had to go to many other places/cities with the MEPs. The number of planes I caught altogether was ten. Consider the following charts, which provide detailed information on the days spent on the road as well as the cities visited (the hours represent approximate values):

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
8h00	--	Flight to Paris	Strasbourg	Lisbon	Lisbon	Porto	--
12h00	--	Flight to Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Lisbon	Porto	Porto	--
16h00	Car to Viseu	Strasbourg	Flight to Lisbon, via Paris	Lisbon	Porto	Flight to Brussels, via Lisbon	--
20h00	Viseu	Strasbourg	Lisbon	Lisbon	Porto	Brussels	--
24h00	Car to Lisbon	Strasbourg	Lisbon	Lisbon	Porto	Brussels	--

Figure 1: Week with Correia de Campos

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
8h00	Egypt	Brussels	Brussels	Flight to Brussels	Brussels	Sintra	--
12h00	Egypt	Brussels	Flight to Lisbon	Brussels	Flight to Lisbon	Sintra	--
16h00	Flight to Brussels	Brussels	Sintra	Brussels	Lisbon	Sintra	--
20h00	Brussels	Brussels	Flight to Barcelona	Brussels	Sintra	Sintra	--
24h00	Brussels	Brussels	Barcelona	Brussels	Sintra	Sintra	--

Figure 2: Week with Ana Gomes

Note: I met Ana on Monday in Brussels. It was impossible for me to go to Egypt, due to Europarl policies.

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
8h00	Flight to Paris	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Lisbon	Lisbon	--
12h00	Paris	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Lisbon	Lisbon	--
16h00	TGV to Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	TGV to Paris	Lisbon	Lisbon	--
20h00	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Flight to Lisbon	Lisbon	Lisbon	--
24h00	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Strasbourg	Lisbon	Lisbon	Lisbon	--

Figure 3: Week with Rui Tavares

In the fashion of the previous empirical chapters, I participated in the professional patterns of movement of these MEPs, catching the same planes, trains, and cars, sleeping in the same hotels, attending their meetings and eating the same meals. The only major difference was in the levels of privacy. These were much more pronounced than in the previous cases. For instance, when travelling with the truck drivers, I slept in the same cabin as them. The same happened with the musicians in hotel rooms and the like. In this case, I did not stay in the same hotel rooms as the MEPs. There were some privacy walls I could not transgress, but, even so, I believe I have collected sufficient data to explore several dimensions of their personal and professional lives. During these weeks, I deployed my customary mobile participant-observation techniques, as well as conducting interviews. I kept a diary of mobile

practices, daily practices and timetables, where I registered their routines, the sensations of dwelling on the road, and other relevant data I will present in the course of this account. I submitted myself to a "co-present immersion" (Urry 2007) that allowed me to capture mobilities at first hand, apprehend the MEPs' feelings of travelling and experience their everyday rhythms, velocities and professional routes. The interviews carried out by means of informal and unstructured talks during flights, other modes of travel and in airport lounges. In the previous chapters, I presented many photos taken by myself; in this case, I was asked to restrict these as much as possible, for privacy reasons.

2.2 Description and profiles of the politicians

The MEPs' profiles vary significantly, but there are several similarities that should be pointed out in advance. First of all, all of them are Portuguese; secondly, they are all part of political families ranging from centre-left to far-left; thirdly, they were all based in Lisbon prior to their euro-mandates. This has to do with practical reasons derived from my own position: the contacts I was able to deploy led me to the Lisbon dwelling, left-wing stereotype. I started off with one contact and was then able to network it into new ones, making it possible for me to organise a series of three itineraries. As mentioned before, I spent one week with each of the MEPs – these weeks were not successive; the first two were in March and the last one in June. Despite having this particular common ground, I believe that their cases may be representative of the entire Portuguese MEPs' group and, even, of the whole political class of European MEPs.

Having said this, let us stress their particularities. Born in 1942, António Correia de Campos is a man in his seventies. He grew up in the region of Viseu, in the north of Portugal. The region is known for its conservative and traditional nature – in fact, this is one of the regions where right-wing parties draw the most votes in elections. Correia de Campos studied Law in Lisbon, after which he took his masters degree at John Hopkins University, in 1978, in Health Management. He has been linked to the academic world ever since, completing his PhD at the New University of Lisbon, in 1982. In 1984, he joined the Portuguese Labour Party, the "Partido Socialista". He was elected as a parliamentarian from 1991 until 2002. He also served

twice as the Minister of Health, first from 2001 until 2002 and a second time between 2005 and 2008. Since 2009, he has been an MEP affiliated with the S&D political group (Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats). He has a wife who relocated herself to Brussels, is the father of two daughters and the grandfather of four children. Correia de Campos owns a house in Lisbon as well as one in Brussels and maintains a connection to his hometown Viseu, where he still undertakes political errands and personal affairs.

Ana Gomes is a woman in her late fifties. Born in 1954 in Lisbon, she also studied Law at the University of Lisbon, after which she obtained a diploma in European Law, in 1981. Shortly afterwards, she embraced a diplomatic career. Ana started her career as a consultant for the Presidency of Portugal between 1982 and 1986. She then joined the Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations, in Geneva, before moving on to perform duties in Portuguese embassies in Tokyo and London in the 90s. She then returned to the United Nations to coordinate the Portuguese Delegation in the Security Council, in New York. Between 1999 and 2003, Ana returned to the embassies, serving as the Portuguese ambassador in Jakarta. In 1992, she joined the "Partido Socialista". Since 2004, she has been a Member of the European Parliament affiliated to the S&D political group (Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats). Ana Gomes has a husband who lives in the region of Lisbon, is the mother of one daughter and two stepsons, and the grandmother of eight children. She owns a house in Sintra (near Lisbon) and still holds a political position there, following her candidacy to the Presidency of the Municipality in 2009.

Rui Tavares is a man in his early forties. Born in 1972 in Lisbon, he completed his graduation in Art History at the New University of Lisbon in 1997. Rui then took a masters' degree in Social Sciences at the University of Lisbon, after which he embraced the position of visiting scholar at the City University of New York and later at the Institute of Art and Design (IADE) in Lisbon, lecturing on the History of Photography and Image Theory. He is currently completing his PhD in History and Civilization at the "École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales", University of Paris. During the 90s, Rui also engaged in journalism, holding positions as an art critic in several magazines. He still writes for weekly newspapers, such as "O Público". He started his political career writing for a blog called "Barnabé", alongside other well-known far-left wing politicians. The blog attracted widespread attention and, in 2009, the "Bloco de Esquerda" (translated to Left Bloc in English) invited Rui

to its lists for the European Parliament. In 2011, due to political disagreements, he left the Left Bloc, but stayed in the European Parliament as an independent, joining the Greens/European Free Alliance – he was previously linked to the European United Left party. Rui Tavares is not married and does not have any children. He lives most of the time in Brussels, but still owns a house in the centre of Lisbon.

2.3 What is it like being a wandering elite?

Since the 90s, there has been a tendency to define a new emerging elite in terms of mobility. Naturally, there are many other forms of elitism (many of them associated with sedentarist perspectives), but new mobile elites have been gradually transformed into icons of our current age. Just as the migrant, the tourist or the refugee were reinvented as emblematic social figures of the age of globalisation, the wandering elite represents the same when it comes to the higher reaches of the social pyramid. These new elites – conceived of as flexible, easily adaptable to different urban environments and constantly mobile – were the materialisation of a presumable post-national order that was undermining the importance of the nation-state (Bhabha 2004, Hannerz 1992). Mobile corporates, expatriates, businessmen, politicians, and so forth, were said to be the dominant social class of a new emerging "Empire" (Hardt & Negri 2000, see also Beck 2000, Robison & Harris 2000, Sklair 2001). After the exponential acceleration of the processes of globalisation in the 80s, the world underwent significant transformations. If history has taught us anything, one of the most preeminent lessons is that elites have a special aptitude (and power) to reinvent themselves. In a world of eminent globalisation, the remaking of elites within a new spatial logic of mobility required them to participate in more intense patterns of movement. In fact, when one thinks of powerful individuals today, we do not imagine a feudal lord, sitting still in his castle, or a capitalist employer, supervising his factory from an office located above everyone else, but we rather conceive of a moving individual who is able to network around the world and has an overwhelming capital of motility, as Kaufman would put it (Kaufman 2002). How do these elites produce attachments and sensations of identification in this new logic of flows? I believe that these attachments cannot be seen or analysed as the typical places or spaces of yesteryear, but are best understood as nodal points or moorings of mobile

assemblages within transnational circuits. These places are strategic points of social networks spread out across what Saskia Sassen calls "global cities" (Sassen 1991).

Some of the pioneering writings on the interaction of mobility and the production of sensations of belonging of privileged individuals are to be found in sociologist Manuel Castells' work, namely in his notion of "space of flows", initially elaborated in *The informational city* and developed in his seminal book *The rise of the network society* (Castells 1991, 2010). According to Castells, these spaces of flow refer to a new spatial logic that considers the flowing of people, ideas and things just as important as (if not more than) the dwellings in which they are moored. Castells argues that this new understanding of spatiality is materialised by the combination of at least three layers of material support. The first layer is constituted by what the author calls a "circuit of electronic exchanges", that is, "micro-electronics-based devices, telecommunications, computer processing, broadcasting systems, and high-speed transportation – also based on information technologies" (Castells 2010: 442). Just like a city or a region (an expression of which Castells defines as the "spaces of places"), these devices offer material support to the spaces of flows. The second layer is established by nodes and hubs. A fundamental principle of network theory has always been that networks are formed by a symbiosis of lines and nodes, that is, a graphical codification of mobilities and moorings. As such, the space of flows is not exactly placeless. The flows need sites where they can be articulated and redisplayed throughout the network. These can be, for instance, strategic locations that edify a series of locality-based infrastructures and routines whose main objective is to make sure the network is well-oiled and unblocked. The third layer is the one I draw the most attention to. It refers to the organisation of the dominant elites that implement the directional functions through which the flows are articulated.

"The space of flows is not the only spatial logic of our societies. It is, however, the dominant spatial logic because it is the spatial logic of the dominant/interests functions in our society. But such domination is not purely structural. It is enacted, indeed conceived, decided, and implemented by social actors. Thus, the technocratic-financial-managerial elite that occupies the leading positions in our societies will also have specific spatial requirements regarding the material/spatial support of their interests and practices" (Castells 2010: 445).

Castells advocates that these elites are not only able to define the speed and the routes of the flows, but also to create breaks and gaps, dismantling and

disordering the masses. However, as Castells suggests, these elites do not wish to become flows themselves, but rather to locally control the nodes and hubs, in order to preserve a certain social cohesion. That is why there are certain global circuits, with specific nodes, that reproduce a sense of belonging or familiarity throughout the world. The author is talking about Western-looking hotels, airport lounges, SPAs, certain gastronomies, specific practices and so forth. According to the author, these strategies are the means through which elites create their safe environments and codify their geographies. They appropriate expensive restaurants and hotels to produce sensations of belonging and cohesion:

"There is the construction of a (relatively) secluded space across the World along the connecting lines of the space of flows: international hotels whose decoration, from the design of the room to the color of the towels, is similar all over the world to create a sense of familiarity with the inner world, while inducing abstraction from the surrounding world; airports' VIP lounges, designed to maintain distance *vis-à-vis* society in the highways of the space of flows; mobile, personal, on-line access to telecommunications networks, so that the traveler is never lost; and a system of travel arrangements, secretarial services, and reciprocal hosting that maintains a close circle of the corporate elite together through the worshipping of similar rites in all countries. Furthermore, there is an increasingly homogeneous lifestyle among the information elite that transcends the cultural borders of all societies: the regular use of SPA installations (even when traveling), and the practice of jogging; the mandatory diet of grilled salmon and green salad, with *udon* and *sashimi* providing a Japanese functional equivalent; the "pale chamois" wall color intended to create the cozy atmosphere of the inner space; the ubiquitous laptop computer, and Internet access; the combination of business suits and sportswear; the unisex dressing style, and so on. All these are symbols of an international culture whose identity is not linked to any specific society but to membership of the managerial circles of the informational economy across a global cultural spectrum (Castells 2010: 447).

Ever since then, the study of mobile elites found one of its axial issues in problematics revolving around spatiality and cultural exchange. One of the main questions that has been guiding this literature concern how open these individuals' geographies are and what types of identities do they form within them. There are some variations on these debates. Some authors prefer to discuss the level of cosmopolitanism found in these individuals. As Massey once put it, a cosmopolitan is many times associated with "a predominantly white/First World take on things" (Massey ct. in Tomlinson 1999: 187), referring to a "class consciousness of frequent travellers" (Calhoun 2003: 86). Others opt for a lexicon of openness versus enclosure,

or transgression versus enclaves. But the discussion is similar. In *A future perfect*, Micklethwait and Wooldridge come up with the term cosmocrats to describe the kind of financial experts, corporate personnel and the like that are obliged to roam the surface of the world for professional reasons: "People who attend business-school weddings around the world, fill up the business-class lounges at international airports, provide the officer ranks of most of the world's companies and international institutions, and, through their collective efforts, probably do more than anyone else to make the world seem smaller" (Micklethwait & Wooldridge 2000: 219).

As Cohen and Vertovec assert, these individuals "are marked by a specialized rather homogeneous transnational culture, a limited interest in engaging 'the Other', and a rather restricted corridor of physical movement between defined spaces in global cities" (Cohen & Vertovec 2002: 7). The overall argument here is that, instead of engaging with local settings, these cosmocrats prefer to sit in Western-looking restaurants, wherein "*loups de mer* from the Mediterranean [meet] *hamachi* from New Zealand, [and] magazines such as *Wallpaper*, *Condé Nast Traveller*, and *Cigar Aficionado* all act as informal cosmocrat search engines, scouring the world to explain where the best cushions, holidays, and smokes can be found" (Micklethwait & Wooldridge 2000: 233). Jonathan Beaverstock reinforced this notion with a study of British expatriates in Singapore. The author explained that "expatriates are hypermobile and engage in micro-networks which are both global and local in scope, embedded in the working environment, yet disembedded from the local social sphere" (Beaverstock 2002: 536). Beaverstock fleshes out the spaces inhabited by these expatriates, or translocalities, as he would call them: the first one is their workplace, firmly anchored in the financial district, downtown; the second translocality is the Irish and English pubs; thirdly, the restaurants on Boat Quay; finally, the sporting club, with an emphasis on the golf course. According to the author, it was rare to find expatriates outside this carefully delineated geography.

The basic argument here is that these elites create their nested routines in particular sites within these global cities, make little contact with the outside world (that is, local realities) and create attachments and belongings this way. Magdalena Nowicka came up with a similar line of thought when examining a sample of employees of an international organization, part of the United Nations system. "Under conditions of extensive mobility, the practices of mobile individuals are geographically dissolute and constantly interrupted. The frequent resettlements force

individuals to constitute home afresh in a new place of residence yet it does not seem to be a problem" (Nowicka 2007: 81). This happens to be the case because home is being fabricated not around a physical location, but rather around particular relationships to other individuals and materialities. "Further, achieving a feeling of being at home does not require much time if familiarity is offered by social networks or known infrastructure. Thus, the feeling of home is achieved in broader contexts and home is not limited to a particular, single place" (Nowicka 2007: 81).

More recently, Vered Amit edited a collection of essays exclusively dedicated to "new approaches to privileged travel and movement". Frustrated by the fact that anthropological research tends to focus on labour migration or tourism when addressing issues of human mobility, Amit gathered a team of experts to discuss situations wherein resources, time, credentials and skills are not at stake. Through a series of case studies ranging from expatriates to wandering professionals or middle/upper class migrants, the authors address questions such as the processes of home-making, the building of transnational circuits (Pries 2001) or the fabrication of transnational citizenship through patterns of mobility (Amit 2011). Once again the main focus of the book is to explore how the processes of home-making or dwelling-on-the-move are responsible for creating safeholds that enfold individuals in particular environments. Although operated within a mobile spatiality, this schema is normally conceptualised as a process that fosters deep encapsulations, tying individuals to specific settings rather than promoting engagements with local cultures. That is why authors such as Meike Fechter employ terms like "cocoon" or "bubble" to describe these dynamics (Fechter 2011).

This trend continues to be quite strong in academia. Hindman provided an account of how cultural difference is carefully negotiated between local elites and expatriates in order to create a safe zone for the smooth running of neoliberal business. This negotiation is not however ontologically phenomenological, but happens through instances of discursive formations within pre-determined social enclaves. As the author puts it, "both elite locals and expatriates have been produced as a certain type of cosmopolitan subject through a conversation about cultural difference – subjects framed by the same discourse in which they engage" (Hindman 2009: 265). Hence, the central theme here is not the content of the conversation, but rather how elites are able to create enfolded comfort zones for themselves, despite their cultural differences. Similarly to Fechter's bubbles, the author highlights that

moving elites tend to enclose themselves. Even countercultural elite nomads (upper class backpackers and adventurers, for example), as Anthony D'Andrea would name them, have shown a tendency to enfold themselves in particular transnational routines and circuits (D'Andrea 2006).

Val Colic-Peisker's study on the processes of "identity-belonging" of transnational knowledge workers concludes with similar arguments. The author tries to run away from the enclave perspective. But, in doing so, he (maybe) inadvertently engages with a meta-narrative of fluidity and cosmopolitanism. Colic-Peisker starts off by demarcating himself from previous works, stating that "unlike many (Western) expatriates who are shown to avoid the 'problem of strangehood' and 'stranger anxiety' by retreating into 'pre-fabricated enclaves', my sample of TKWs was considerably more non-conformist as they welcomed or actively sought the opportunity to explore new environments" (Colic-Peisker 2010: 483). The author then sets about showing that his informants actively sought intercultural experiences with the Other as they rose beyond the nation as a mental horizon. However, the author then explains that this is part of their profession, and therefore these individuals are expected to act this way. Hence, it was unsurprising when the author concluded that "it became apparent that their profession [referring to the transnational workers] was the main anchor of their identity-belonging", seeing as it served as kind of facilitator for a career life-long project. "For knowledge workers, professional identity-belonging and career-building may serve as substitutes for sedentarist fixities and sources of identity, anchoring and continuity" (Colic-Peisker 2010: 483). They may be more cosmopolitan and open-minded, but they act this way due to typified performances previously established within their transnational professional culture.

It was only in the past couple of years that new analytical perspectives emerged. Up until this point, literature on privileged travelling revolved around the formation of transnational circuits and how high-up individuals pinned down their world within these circuits. Some authors explained that these circuits were more cosmopolitan than others. Other authors focused on how these spatialities were more open than others. However, the core of the discussion was essentially focused on the circuits built by and around these elite transnational cultures, and how individuals then inhabited them. To me, what seems to be missing in this equation is how these high-up individuals relate to their pre-transnational lives. Often, this literature takes such a thing for granted, as if these mobile elites suddenly obliterated all their

national/local attachments, or as if they were all socialised into these transnational circuits from birth, or as if, once they have installed themselves within the circuits, they would never go back. But is this really the case? Aren't there any connections? New lines of enquiry began to appear, especially after the rise of the new mobilities paradigm, which has been drawing attention to how fluidity does not make sense without sedentarism, or how post-nationalism cannot live without nations (see, for instance, Glick-Schiller & Salazar 2013, Kalir 2013). Andreotti, Le Gales and Fuentes' paper, mentioned in the introductory section, can be seen as following these recent trends.

Rather than only being international wanderers, and being actively part of a transnational community of politicians – which is true and cannot be overlooked – the MEPs that I shadowed also showed strong connections with their country of origin, to which they return on a constant basis, both physically, virtually and ideologically. Their mobility is therefore not characterised solely by movement amid the international circuits of European politicians, but also by several entry and exit points across this circuit and their own origins. Differently from the lorry drivers, they do not transport their country with them, but they do construct a mobile assemblage that encompasses both a frictionless space of European interaction and the localities from where they came from. In short, they have to be both *here* and *there*. They have to speed up their lives and, to a certain extent, become figures of speed. They have to embody speed and smoothness.

"We live in an era when the cigarette has replaced the pipe, cornflakes have replaced porridge, e-mail is replacing paper-based correspondence, and the 2-minute newsreel is one of the hottest products in the media field. The newspaper articles become shorter, the transitions in films more frequent, and the time each of us spends responding to an electronic letter is reduced in proportion to the number of e-letters we receive. The restless and shifting style of communication that was introduced with MTV has become an accurate image of the spirit of the age. Speed is an addictive drug: horrified, we watch ourselves groping for the fast-forward button in the cinema, the public loses interest in slow-moving sports; in my part of the world, ice skating and cross-country skiing have serious problems of recruitment and audience appeal, as people switch to more explore sports such as ice hockey and downhill; we fill the slow gaps by talking in mobile phones when walking down a street or waiting for a traffic light to change; we damn the municipal transport authority when the tram is 5 minutes late, and we are still, after all these years, waiting for computers and Internet connections that are sufficiently fast. Everything moves faster now." (Eriksen 2001: 59-60)

I posit that MEPs have to incorporate these ideals to efficiently conduct their personal and private lives. Metaphorically speaking, they have to be the cigarette instead of the pipe; they have to be the cornflakes instead of the porridge. Speed is at the core of their geography. Their geography is a complex assemblage of airports, stations and lounges that link their professional world and their private lives, both in central Europe and Portugal. They regularly fly from one place to another. Their spatiality may be as big as the truck drivers', but their pace has to be much faster. They have to redesign themselves as belonging to a culture of speed and smoothness. Their commuting must be steady, efficient and non-turbulent. As we will see, it is this insertion into a culture of speed and smoothness that enables them to juggle between private and personal geographies. This insertion is then responsible for creating imaginaries of Europeanness.

3. Portraying a complex geography

In this section, I describe the complex geography that structures the lives of the Members of the European Parliament. This geography contains many small variations according to the different MEPs. In contrast to the lorry drivers or the musicians – who were all moving along the same routes simultaneously – these politicians can move alone on some occasions and flow within different routes. Still, I think there are several dimensions, such as patterns of mobility, similar timetables and parallel moorings, that allows for the existence of a shared geography. In other words, although each MEP inhabits his or her own micro-geography, it is nevertheless possible to envision a macro-geography that links all of the previous aspects. I will focus on time and space here, that is, on the macro and micro schedules of everyday life along with an analysis of the spatial dwellings that these individuals inhabit. The MEPs' geography is characterised by a mobile assemblage that encompasses a pre-determined transnational circuit and several exit/entry points to Portugal, especially Lisbon. My description is based on the three politicians I followed around. The questions I attempt to answer here are simple, but revealing. Where do they go on a weekly basis? Where are their houses and homes? What do their schedules look like? What kind of mobile patterns are we faced with? By delving into these topics, I flesh out what their life of permanent itinerancy looks like. This enables a better

understanding of the processes of identity construction of these MEPs to be grasped, in the subsequent sections.

3.1 Macro-schedules

The MEPs' macro-schedules are dictated by the official Parliament calendar. The calendar is an instrument given by the Parliament, which coordinates the MEPs' mobility throughout the entire year. As one can see below, there is a strong rhythmic pattern in the MEPs' professional calendar. The months are divided into weeks that bear specific activities: red stands for plenary sessions, peach means committees, blue is when parliamentary groups gather, and green corresponds to the weeks in which MEPs engage with external affairs related to the European Parliament. These typified weeks repeat themselves through the twelve months of the calendar with very little exception.

Figure 4: European Parliament's 2011 calendar

On the red-coloured days, all MEPs are called to vote on legislative pieces, resolutions and other matters in plenary sessions. When the calendar is showing more than two red days in a row, it means the Parliament gathers in Strasbourg, whereas on the other occasions it meets in Brussels. By European law, MEPs have to convene in plenary in Strasbourg twelve times a year, meaning that they normally do so once a month and twice in September (August does not see any specific Parliamentary work, except for a last week of Committees). Hence, the "Strasbourg-week", an expression often used by MEPs themselves, regularly happens once a month. In the case of Portuguese politicians, it starts off with an early flight to Strasbourg via Paris, Orly (if they spent the weekend in Portugal) or a direct TGV to Strasbourg (if they stayed in Brussels). These weeks also tend to end up very similarly: given that there are never any official meetings or sessions on Fridays, all MEPs leave Strasbourg on Thursday afternoon, around 2pm, after the votes on plenary, getting a flight to Paris with a connection to Lisbon at 5 or 6pm, or a TGV back to Brussels. When fieldworking, it was eye-catching to see so many politicians in the airport lounges, making small talk about the week that had just gone by.

In the peach and blue weeks, MEPs normally do their work in Brussels. These weeks are less stressful than the "Strasbourg-week", because most of the politicians have their houses in Brussels, making travelling less demanding. During these periods, MEPs work nine-to-five on a regular basis, working on their particular commissions or debating Parliamentary affairs, legislation and other matters within their political groups. Peach weeks are specifically dedicated to work with the European Commission. Each MEP is assigned to collaborate with a particular portfolio in the Commission. These can be agriculture, climate change, health policies, science, transport, and so forth (there are more than twenty portfolios). In the blue weeks, MEPs are mobilised to work with their political parties, debating internal strategies, political positions, future actions, and so forth. Once again, they normally travel to Portugal at the end of these weeks, staying put in Brussels most of the time during workdays. Of course, there are some exceptions – with Ana Gomes, for instance, we had to fly to Portugal in the middle of the week for a meeting and return the same day – but these do not occur too often.

GROUP OF THE PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE OF
SOCIALISTS & DEMOCRATS
IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

S&D

GROUP MEETING
Room N1.4, in Strasbourg

MONDAY, 7 March 2011   **16.00 - 17.00**

1.	16.00	Adoption of the draft agenda
2.	16.00	President's announcements
3.	16.10	Preparation of the March I plenary session - overview from the Parliamentary Secretary of the Group
4.	16.15	Debates on cases of breaches of human rights, democracy and the rule of law (Rule 122) - S&D resolutions
5.	16.20	Preparation of the vote on the resolution on Media law in Hungary - S&D resolution
6.	16.35	Preparation of the vote on the resolution on the situation in Libya - S&D resolution
7.	16.50	Preparation of the debate and the vote on the Podimata report on Innovative financing at a global and European level
		Any other business

TUESDAY, 8 March 2011 - International Women's Day   **18.30 - 20.30**

1.	18.30	President's announcements
2.	18.45	Preparation of the debate and the vote on the situation in Libya
3.	19.45	Debate on the situation in the Eurozone
		Any other business

WEDNESDAY, 9 March 2011   **19.00- 21.00**

1.	19.00	President's announcements and report back from the Bureau of the Group and the EP Bureau
2.	19.20	Debates on cases of breaches of human rights, democracy and the rule of law (Rule 122) - resolutions
3.	19.30	Point of information on Novel Foods - Conciliation state of play
4.	19.45	Preparation of the vote on the resolution on Media law in Hungary
		Any other business

Times are only indicative

Figure 5: Schedule of a group-meeting week (blue week)

Finally, in the green weeks, MEPs are called to work on foreign policy for the European Parliament. This can mean supervising elections in other countries, going on diplomatic missions, travelling to "problematic" nations to accompany developments regarding Human Rights, and so forth. These weeks are the least routine ones, seeing as MEPs are asked to visit new places every time. They normally fly to one of these places with an entourage of European Union commissioners, other MEPs and assistants, and fly back to Brussels or Lisbon once the work is done. If they are not assigned to any particular activity, they can stay home (this can be either in Brussels or Lisbon – see below) working, preparing papers, resolutions and the like. These green weeks occur seven times per year.

MEPs' paths are remarkably constant throughout time. Their professional mobilities operate amid these international circuits. MEPs always catch the same planes when travelling to Strasbourg, they usually go back to Portugal on Thursdays, stay in Brussels most of the time and fly to Lisbon on weekends. This process is structural in their lives, informing their macro-rhythms throughout the entire year. I went to Strasbourg with Correia de Campos and Rui Tavares and, in both circumstances, we caught the same flight at Lisbon airport, circa 8am. Even though the means of transportation differed once in Paris (with Correia de Campos, I got an air connection to Strasbourg one hour later, whilst with Rui Tavares, I travelled via TGV), what still remains striking is that these MEPs replicate these same routes on every occasion, as they explained to me. Correia de Campos always gets this specific air connection and Rui Tavares always gets the TGV in Paris or in Brussels (if he stays in Belgium for the weekend).

3.2 Micro-schedules

The quotidian schedules vary not only from day to day, but also according to the week's agenda. As we saw above, red, blue, peach and green weeks all come with particular meetings and programmes. During some periods, MEPs have to be more focused on discussing legislation and resolutions, whilst at other times they are asked to gather with their parliamentary groups to discuss further political action. However, the volume of work seems to be constantly overwhelming, forcing the MEPs to literally jump around from meeting to meeting, conference to conference, reception to

reception, and so forth. When I was on the road shadowing them, the day would normally kick off right at 8am with a meeting over breakfast – this applied to all of the MEPs I accompanied. These meetings could be with one of their personal assistants to coordinate the remainder of the day or could be with other MEPs to discuss group meetings or other actions, such as legislation proposals or resolutions. Then, the sequence of private and public meetings would not stop until 6 or 7pm, followed by social gatherings over dinner. Here are three examples (one from each MEP) of a normal day in the lives of these individuals:

7h30 – Wake up call & breakfast at the hotel (Strasbourg)
8h00 – Walk to Parliament (Strasbourg)
8h45 – Informal meeting in one of the Parliament's bar with another MEP
9h10 – Meeting with members of the European Commission to discuss the internal market
10h00 – Work in private office
11h30 – Plenary session (voting)
12h30 – Attending the speech of the President of Hungary
13h30 – Leaving the Parliament towards the airport
14h30 – Flight to Orly, Paris
15h30 – Arrive at Paris. Reading newspapers.
17h00 – Flight to Lisbon
18h30 – Arrive at Lisbon
19h00 – President's swearing ceremony in Belém, Lisbon
22h00 – Home in Lisbon

Figure 6: A day with Correia de Campos (extract from diary)

5h15 – Wake up call & breakfast (hotel in Barcelona)

6h00 – Taxi to the airport

6h45 – Flight to Brussels

9h00 – Arrive at Brussels

9h30 – Meeting in the Parliament on women's rights

11h00 – Panel on response-mechanisms to the socio-economic crisis

12h00 – Plenary Session (voting)

12h20 – Work in private office with personal assistants

13h30 – Hosting an event on armament

15h00 – Leaving the event (while eating a sandwich)

15h30 – Meeting on human rights with a Chinese entourage

16h15 – Meeting on CBRN (Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Defense)

16h45 – Quick meeting on women rights with "Women in Peace"

17h00 – Work in private office

18h00 – Home in Brussels

22h30 – Live show for the Portuguese television

Figure 7: A day with Ana Gomes (extract from diary)

9h00 – Wake up call & breakfast (Strasbourg) & walk to Parliament

10h00 – Buying & reading newspapers at the Parliament

10h30 – Work in private office

12h00 – Plenary session (voting)

13h30 – Lunch

14h30 – Meeting over coffee with another MEP

15h30 – Private meeting with MEPs from the same Portuguese political party

16h30 – Quick meetings and work in private office

18h00 – Recording a television show for the public Portuguese broadcaster

19h00 – Group meeting with MEPs from the same European party

20h00 – Hotel, dinner & writing an article to be published in Portuguese media the following day

Figure 8: A day with Rui Tavares (extract from diary)

The succession of meetings, panels, conferences, gatherings and so forth is overwhelming. These are the basic micro-schedules that structure the MEPs' geography. Besides having to cyclically move office between Brussels and Strasbourg, as well as moving back and forth between central Europe and Lisbon on a weekly basis, these individuals are also involved in a net of consecutive appointments regardless of the country they are in. For instance, besides the day described above, there was another day with Ana Gomes where we had to fly from Brussels to Portugal for a quick meeting and then rapidly return to the airport for a flight to Barcelona – this is why the day described above started off in Catalonia. These dynamics go on repeatedly throughout the entire week, week after week. There were some rare days where they had little to do and opted to stay home catching up with other work, such as writing a thesis (Rui Tavares) or other academic work (Correia de Campos) – I will return to this below. But these were clearly exceptional. As we can see with the figure 9 (see below), the succession of appointments seems endless. The document is a scanned version of a printed file that one of Correia de Campos' personal assistants handed to me. The original digital document contains a link where it spells "more items…". If pressed, a new document pops up with all the meetings scheduled for that day. This is to say that what we see there is just a small portion of the totality of appointments that this MEP had.

March 2011

March 2011

M	T	W	T	F	S	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
	1 March	**2**	**3**	**4**
	08:00 08:30 lena pedir programa	09:00 13:00 GROUP (JAN 4Q2)	TBC - Visita PE Auditores IDN TBC	TBC Visita PAuditores IDN ao PE
	09:00 14:00 FEPS Seminar - PES	09:30 10:00 lena - banco	08:00 08:15 infoeuropa	10:00 10:30 LENA: PARA
	09:00 10:30 LIBE (JAN 4 Q 2)	11:00 11:30 MIG: LSUMEP	09:00 12:30 AFET: Cancelled!	CANTINA
	09:30 10:00 Conselho Superior	11:15 11:45 Meeting with Libyan	09:00 12:30 Interparliamentary	13:00 14:00 12h00 de Lisboa:
	10:30 12:15 Horizontal Working	12:30 14:00 10th meeting of the	09:00 11:00 A New Border	Encontro com Em
	12:30 13:00 Gisela from	12:30 13:30 AFET Exchange of	09:00 09:30 lena banco!!!!!!!	14:00 14:30 13h: TVI vai gravar
	More Items...	More Items...	More Items...	22:00 23:00 TVI 24 Jornal das
7	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**
Session Strasbourg (EP Session Day	Session Strasbourg (EP Session Day	Session Strasbourg (EP Session Day	Meeting on Western Sahara - hora T	10:00 13:30 China-Africa Conf -
08:20 12:50 VOO Lisboa /	09:30 10:00 Conselho Superior	08:15 09:00 Working breakfast	Session Strasbourg (EP Session Day	Oxford University
08:30 09:00 MIGUEL IMPRIMIR	11:00 12:00 Libya Negociations	08:30 11:20 Key Debates:	08:00 08:15 infoeuropa	11:30 13:30 European Council on
09:30 10:30 Cancelada: 09:30	12:00 13:00 VOTES	10:00 11:00 Private S&D AFET	09:00 12:00 ALEX não está:	Libya and the South
12:30 15:00 Afghanistan after	13:00 13:30 Cocktail oferecido	10:30 11:30 Meetin on Libya	09:00 11:30 SURE meeting with	14:00 14:30 ALEX: LIGAR DAVID
15:00 16:00 Alex meets Gerrard	14:00 15:00 EU/UN Working	10:30 11:00 meeting with libyan	09:00 10:00 AFET Extraordinary	16:25 19:05 VOO Londres /
More Items...	More Items...	More Items...	More Items...	22:00 23:00 TVI 24 Jornal das
14	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**

Figure 9: Extract from Correia de Campos' monthly schedule

3.3 A geography of two homes

All three MEPs had two houses, both of which could qualify as "homes". Although often used as synonyms, there is an important theoretical distinction between these two concepts, as we saw in chapter 4. A house could be outlined as a material, fixed location wherein individuals dwell, whereas a home is much more than a simple assemblage of materialities, being best defined as a place of routines, habits, representations, values, and so on, i.e. as a place where we anchor our identities and reproduce them, as some sort of a safehold of belonging. This is why several authors have shed light on how a home can be defined more in terms of mobility rather than stasis, that is, how certain patterns of mobility with specific objects, textures, rhythms, and so forth, could qualify as such (Douglas 1991, Hobsbawm 1991, Massey 1994, Robertson *et. Al* 1994). In the case of the MEPs, this dynamic – of transforming space into home – occurred in two different locations. Naturally, these individuals also have to transform the hotels and airport lounges into kinds of sub-homes, but they clearly had two more located dwellings, one in Brussels and the other in Lisbon. These homes come with different dynamics and routines. The one in Brussels is almost exclusively associated with periods of work, whereas the one in Lisbon is more often linked with periods of relaxation and rest. Of course this is not inflexible and the contrary may often happen, but this is how they normally conceive of this twofold life.

Correia de Campos was born in Viseu (in the north-eastern part of Portugal), but he has been living in Lisbon since the 80s. He owns a house there that he frequently returns to, both to visit his family (his two sons and four grandsons) and to do some work in Lisbon. In addition to this house, Correia de Campos rents a flat in Brussels where he normally dwells during the week with his wife. Ana Gomes' situation was very similar. Born in Lisbon, she has a strong connection with the city and its surroundings areas. Ana is a diplomat, having served as an ambassador in Jakarta after having coordinated the Portuguese delegation to the United Nations for several years. Roaming the world was not a novelty for her. Ana has a house in Sintra (30km away from Lisbon) and goes there on weekends, if not during the week. She flies back mostly to spend time with her husband and do some other political work. Similarly to Correia de Campos, she rents a house in Brussels, in St. Gilles, a

neighbourhood close to the Parliament. Finally, Rui Tavares follows a similar logic. Rui has a house in Lisbon, where he was born and has lived all his life. He has a very strong connection with the city. Rui is the only MEP who is not married and has no children. Still, returning to Lisbon is constantly on his agenda. He simply likes to visit friends, spend time in the city and do some political work. He also rents a flat in Brussels where he lives during the week. All of these MEPs are, thus, between two houses and two homes. All of them created their routines to fit into these fixed locations which have different routines and rhythms.

This leads to the development of several strategies to cope with family and intense patterns of mobility at the same time. This is done very differently from the truck drivers, namely due to the high levels of mobility capitals of speed that MEPs have when compared to the former. Some MEPs are not too concerned with this, seeing as they do not have wives, husbands or children. However, others do have to adjust their itinerancy to family commitments. Correia de Campos' wife, for instance, decided to move to Brussels along with her husband and generally travels back and forth with him. Correia de Campos only goes on official delegations once or twice a year and to Strasbourg once a month (as we saw previously). His wife does not follow him around to these places and, when these trips occur, she flies back to Lisbon and relocates herself there with her family. Other than this, she was able to adjust herself to intense travelling and do the normal Brussels-Lisbon circuit on a weekly basis (on some occasions the couple just stays in Brussels for the weekends, but this is an exception to the rule).

Ana Gomes developed a different strategy. Her husband stayed put in their house in the surroundings areas of Lisbon, thus making her travel frequently to Lisbon. Ana lives alone in Brussels during the week and flies back to Portugal every weekend. Sometimes she even comes back in the middle of the week to do both some work and check on her family. Even though I do not wish to go deep into theoretical debates on gender here, this may have to do with gender-related representations. Many studies have shown how movement and mobility are often seen as masculine practices, whereas femininity represents stability and attachment (Uteng & Cresswell 2008). Given that Ana is a woman, it is possible that her husband does not see any value in following her around. Hence, in this particular case, it was her alone who had to adjust to intense travelling, much more intense than in the case of the other two

MEPs I travelled with (also given the fact that she works in the areas of foreign policy).

3.4 Other occupations

MEPs have other political responsibilities other than working as the peoples' representatives in Parliament. Ana Gomes is a City Council Member, without executive functions, in Sintra, Portugal. Quoting her own words, "I am committed to giving a voice to the people of Sintra and to defend their interests. People from Sintra can count on a loyal, constructive and demanding stance from Socialist Members of the City Council and Municipal Assembly" (Ana Gomes). This election forces her to be even more mobile, seeing as she is asked many times to join voting sessions, political debates and public sessions sponsored by the Municipality. During the time I accompanied Ana, we had to fly to Lisbon for a quick meeting in the middle of the week. It was precisely due to her political responsibilities in Sintra that we had to do so. Similarly, Correia de Campos had been a member of the City Council of Viseu (his hometown) for many years. When I did my fieldwork with him, he was no longer a member, but he was still asked frequently to join political debates and public sessions in the region. For example, the day before I started shadowing him around, he had been in Viseu with the Portuguese Prime Minister at the time, José Sócrates. Needless to say both Ana Gomes and Correia de Campos are also members of political committees of the Portuguese Labour Party ("Partido Socialista"). All of these activities entail the MEPs moving even faster and more regularly across cities and countries.

Besides being politicians, MEPs often have other occupations. For instance, Correia de Campos and Rui Tavares both have academic-related careers, which consume a lot of their time as well. The former is a professor in health management and constantly participates in forums, events or seminars. During the week I spent with him, Correia de Campos had to go to Porto, in the north of Portugal, to give a talk in a conference about health politics. He took a plane from Lisbon, after which he flew directly to Brussels on the same day. In turn, Rui Tavares was finishing his PhD in history at the University of Paris, Sorbonne. In the week I accompanied him, we started off with a flight to Paris (from Lisbon) where he met his supervisor for a

supervision session. We were in the city only for a couple of hours before moving on to Strasbourg in the afternoon. These activities force the MEPs to broaden their geographical scale even further. While the macro-schedules of the Parliament require them to constantly move at least between Brussels and Strasbourg on a regular basis, and their family commitments demand of them to create mobility patterns between the latter and Lisbon, these other occupations entail the MEPs' movement amid different, personalised routes. The routes Strasbourg-Brussels-Lisbon are normally done collectively – or at least there is a sense of collective moving here – whilst these other routes are further detours in their rhythms and routines.

4. Belonging to a culture of speed and smoothness

Summing up the previous arguments, the MEPs' geography is characterised by routine macro-schedules and tight micro-schedules that require them to constantly move between cities and countries, sometimes more than once in the same day. Their main geography is a complex triangle of routes between Strasbourg, Brussels and Lisbon, with other incursions into other cities from time to time. They have to spend most of the time in Brussels, which forces them to rent a house in the city, but they also maintain their previous dwellings in Lisbon, to where they fly on a weekly basis. Their micro-schedules of everyday life encompass a frenetic timetable of appointments and meetings, making them jump from place to place swiftly. MEPs also have other less preeminent, and more personal, localities of dwelling, which are normally associated with other activities or occupations. These can be in Portugal, where they maintain strong political and personal connections, or other parts of Europe and the world (during the so-called green weeks). All of this involves attending meetings in different countries, sometimes on the same day, every week. How is this done? How is this made possible? What subjectivities does this entail? What exactly makes this life possible? There are many answers to such questions, but I believe that there is at least one that stands out immediately: they have to speed up. They have to possess the potential and the capital to be among the fastest people on Earth. And they need their mobility to be smooth. They have to adapt to and insert themselves into a culture of speed and smoothness.

4.1 High-speed mobilities as second nature

One of the dimensions wherein it is possible to envision belonging to a culture of speed and smoothness is to be found in the easiness and naturalness of high-speed travel. This is not an exclusivity of MEPs, but it is an important feature of their collective constitution nonetheless. Adjusting to intense travelling, especially air travel, is vital for MEPs: they have to transform their means of transportation into comfortable and productive sites of dwelling. If not home, all of these planes, TGVs, and airports are at least familiar places, which they are used to. The routines and the practices associated with them reproduce a certain sense of belonging that functions as a coordinated-compass for self-placement in the world. The official Parliamentary calendar sets the professional pace for all MEPs, making them travel on a weekly basis between Brussels, Lisbon and, on some occasions, Strasbourg. During fieldwork, it was interesting to denote how a kind of collective aerial-subjectivity was being born: bodies that adjust to the airplane and create nested routines, appropriating the space of the flight and making it their own – I borrowed the term aerial-subjectivity from Peter Adey (see Adey 2010a). Air journeys are part of being an MEP, shaping their bodies into a certain type of subjectivity. And this was something that was collectively done. All of the MEPs do very similar things when flying, creating collective practices that ultimately lead to the fabrication of collective identities and sensations of belonging to a culture of their own. Air travelling is de-naturalised and reframed as a whole new different social performance. MEPs dwell in the air, produce specific practices, and confer meaning to the experience.

Day 8th

- 7h00 Airport (Lisbon)

- 8h00 Departure to Paris. We just got on the plane. Correia de Campos comfortably seats in first-class. He calmly stores his luggage and asks for newspapers. The plane will take 2h30.

- 9h30 Correia de Campos read some newspapers so that he is updated on the latest national and international news once he arrives. He also took out his laptop to review some briefings. He had breakfast here as well. Nice first-class breakfast. One can sense that he is perfectly comfortable and adapted to this. Planes are natural. They are by no means moments of stress. It is almost as if he is catching a bus to work in the morning. Maybe even less stressful than that.

Figure 10: Extract from diary 1 (Correia de Campos)

Day 24th

- 6h15 Airport (Barcelona)

- 6h45 Flight to Brussels. Ana is preparing her talk in a public meeting that will take place in the Europarl at 9h00 today.

These MEPs take advantage of the planes to eat, prepare meetings and do the usual newspaper round. The time spent on the planes is a valuable tool. It is part of the routine and it is pleasant for them. It is not dead time.

Figure 11: Extract from diary 2 (Ana Gomes)

Day 9th

- 18h300 Arrival at Orly (Paris). Still plenty of time before the flight (circa one hour; one hour is a lot for these people). I asked one final round of questions (interviews) to Rui. Personal stuff and career satisfaction.

- 19h30 Flight to Lisbon. We are all travelling in economic class: Rui, his personal assistant and myself. One of the few times this has happened. Rui takes time to read more and prepare a meeting for tomorrow. He also took the chance to talk to his personal assistant about future political action. In this plane – up front in first class – I saw two other MEPs sitting side by side, possible having some kind of meeting on board. I asked Rui about this. He said it happens sometimes, although he generally prefers the time of the flight to be isolated from everyone else – even though, MEPs still recognise one another and appropriate space collectively.

Figure 12: Extract from diary 3 (Rui Tavares)

All of the MEPs use the space of air travelling for activities such as eating, reading newspapers, catching up with the latest news, or doing some extra work on their laptops. These politicians may have to work from 8am right through to 6 or 7pm without any breaks (not even for lunch), since the pace of meetings, plenary sessions, parliamentary work groups, or commissions is overwhelming, and are often re-scheduled to night-time. Hence, a couple of flight-hours every two or three days, without any possible meetings, without the phone ringing and without the internet to check e-mails, are very welcome. MEPs need the physical time of the flight to do several activities which they are unable to act out during the course of the day, such as reading newspapers, having lunch or resting their eyes for a couple of hours. They treasure the sensations of comfort, peacefulness and quiet arising from the airplanes. All of them explained this to me, adding that the flights are a kind of "comfort zone, where one can rest, do some paperwork, or simply have a meal" (Correia de Campos).

In *Tyranny of the moment*, Eriksen explores these issues. The author argues that slow time, i.e. those intervals of privacy where one has the possibility to be isolated without interruptions, is one of the most valuable resources nowadays, due to its scarcity (Eriksen 2001). Since we are theoretically online 24 hours a day, Eriksen advocates that we must fight for the right to be unavailable – the right to live and

think more slowly. As Fuller and Bissell would put it, stillness is of paramount importance (Fuller & Bissell 2011). MEPs seem to not have this right. Eriksen's main argument explains why these individuals value so much the periods spent on planes, where there is technically no possibility of being online. It is the best (and maybe only) opportunity they have to sit back and relax. Planes are made into significant places.

"I use flights to eat. Sometimes we don't have the time to sit down and eat lunch peacefully, due to the frantic pace of work. When we catch a plane, this becomes possible. I also like to read newspapers and do some other work. It's the perfect time to do so, because there is no one calling you or mailing you or whatever." (Correia de Campos)

"I like to fly. It's peaceful, quiet. I use the time to read newspapers mostly and it gives me the opportunity to sit down and reflect on work. It's one of those moments that you are actually capable of doing so." (Rui Tavares)

"Planes for me are ultra natural. It's like catching a bus every day or driving to work, I guess. It's normal. The only difference is that you are comfortably seated and you don't have to drive. It's perfect to do some activities that would otherwise be impossible." (Ana Gomes)

What I wish to highlight here is how all of these spatial appropriations become a collective practice that makes it possible for these individuals to see themselves in each other. They know each other not only because they are personally acquainted with one another, but also because they see themselves in the practices of others. The naturalness of the flight, with similar appropriations of time and space, materialised into several activities, is an element of the insertion of belonging into a culture of speed and smoothness. Ultimately, this is transformed into a kind of representational device. As many scholars have attested, flights may be conceived of as a social capital, representing power, speed and mobility (Gottdiener 2001, Pascoe 2001). Travelling in planes is a way of reproducing a certain status in society, garnishing the MEPs with the aura of the modern, European citizen. Even if, in some cases, we can see that these individuals are not troubled by these concerns (this was the case of Rui Tavares and it certainly has to do with certain left-wing idiosyncrasies), the immateriality – some authors call it agency (Latour 2005) – of the plane itself veils

them with this aura. Collectively doing similar practices whilst in the same places builds up representational capital.

When it comes to air travel specifically, the MEPs normally create these dynamics with their Portuguese counterparts, seeing as the flights they regularly catch are between Brussels and Lisbon. But my arguments were also verifiable on other occasions, such as on the flights between Brussels and Strasbourg, where MEPs from other nationalities meet. In the case of TGVs, this was very visible as well. I only hopped on a train with Rui Tavares, but I came to know that this means of transportation is quite recurrent for these politicians. There is one special TGV connection that links Brussels to Strasbourg just for the "Strasbourg-weeks". MEPs reproduce the same routines of the plane onto the trains. When field-working with Rui Tavares, I could observe he occupied himself with the same types of activities as if air-travelling. Sitting comfortably, he used the time to read a book or sleep for half an hour. It was interesting to observe how Rui knew some people on board, all of them from the Parliament or other European institutions. All of them were dressed up in the same fashion and had similar travelling *habitus* (Bourdieu 2001), that is, their bodies were automatically performing the same incorporated dispositions of being a European politician. In short, if between Brussels and Lisbon the Portuguese MEPs collectively produce sensations of belonging among themselves, in the other routes they do so with their European counterparts, creating attachments to a culture of swiftness and smooth travel.

4.2 Eliminating rough edges: smooth movement

Besides the creation of particular group rhythms and routines inside their means of transportation, MEPs also see one another in the speediness and smoothness of their travelling. Everything is done so they can be fast and feel comfortable. They collectively produce a sense of familiarity with airport lounges and hotels through a sense of frictionless movement and swift mobility. They carry an array of cards with them that either grant access to lounges and speed corridors to pass through security, allow them to make direct payments in hotels with loyalty points or even offer diplomatic protection. All of these services not only facilitate their itinerancy, but also make movement itself an accustomed experience. And, once again, this is done

collectively. Their speed and smoothness, materialised in these cards and speed corridors, is something that differentiates them from the rest of the people, creating a kind of "class consciousness", to use Calhoun's expression (Calhoun 2002). In other words, each MEP knows that they have more potential for speed and smooth travelling than the common traveller, thus creating sensations of togetherness among one another, not only with their Portuguese counterparts, but also with MEPs from other nationalities.

The European Parliament itself contains an entire hallway of small offices that exclusively deal with such things as problems with flying connections, air-travelling check-ins, TGV reservations and hotel bookings. When leaving any station or airport to the Parliament or vice-versa, the normal procedure is to either hop in a taxi (the tariff is later reimbursed) or to take the official Parliamentary cars with a chauffeur, which have no cost except for a symbolic tip of one or two euros to the driver. The EU has a fleet of chauffeurs at both Brussels and Strasbourg airports as well as in the Parliament itself, ready to take the MEPs to wherever they desire. The swiftness is incited and mobility facilitated, especially within the nodes and flows shown before.

Figure 13: Driving with a chauffeur (image by author)

With Ana Gomes, we had to leave Brussels in the middle of the week to go to Portugal just for the afternoon and come back via Barcelona, as if we were catching a bus to work. One hour and six minutes before the plane's departure to Spain, we were still sitting in a meeting 30km away from the airport. Ana Gomes and myself left the building in a hurry to find the driver just outside ready to take us, when she shouted out loud: "Step on the gas, Mr Vasco! Step on it!" (Ana Gomes). When we arrived at the airport, there was still time to buy some newspapers in a small newsagent. We had to stay overnight in Barcelona to get an early flight to Brussels, given that Ana had an important meeting at 9am in Brussels and there are no connections from Lisbon that make it that early. When we arrived at Barcelona airport, we had to wait for a shuttle service that took us to the hotel. It took about fifteen minutes to get there, but Ana considered calling a taxi, because waiting more than ten minutes is not part of her semantics.

With Rui Tavares, similar situations occurred. We decided to meet at 7am at the airport of Lisbon and travel together from there. The flight was scheduled to leave at 8am. When I got there, I decided to phone him only to find out that he was still at home. I chose to pass security by myself and meet him at gate; I waited for twenty minutes there, after which I made the decision to get on the plane. Thirty seconds before the flight's closing, he entered the airplane with a last-call warning. The same happened again with both TGV connections. The frenzy of the check-ins at airports and stations is very natural and quotidian for them. They can easily manipulate this turmoil, making their mobility so expedited that they are able to do this all of the time. In the week I spent with Correia de Campos, he had to get on seven flights – four of which I took with him. On one of these occasions, he went to Madeira (Portuguese islands in the Atlantic) just for a conference and made his return on that same day.

Naturally, MEPs do not choose speed always. There are other personal travelling-routines that try to escape this logic. For instance, Rui Tavares seems to enjoy the pleasures of public transportation. He explained to me that, with the local tram or the bus, he can get a quick idea of the local settings, sense the specific manners of the local people and contribute somehow to the town, paying the transportation fares and polluting less (one has to add that these fares are also not compulsory for MEPs during the "Strasbourg-week", but Rui insists on paying them). He also told me that, when in Brussels, he sometimes rides a bicycle to the

Parliament, because "the life of an MEP does not allow for much time to do sports and the bicycle serves as a good replacement" (Rui Tavares). Likewise, Correia de Campos said that he likes to walk every morning to the EU in order to do some exercise. We did this on two occasions whilst in Strasbourg. Although the MEPs do not hesitate to call the Parliamentary drivers and rapidly move on to work when they are running a tight schedule – clearly showing how they are able to manipulate their speediness and rhythms of daily working-lives – it also demonstrates that speed and smoothness is not always desired.

Nevertheless, the ability – or should I say obligation? – of sliding through space produces moments where the MEPs not only see themselves as such, but recognise their high-up culture in others. They project speed and smoothness onto others and themselves, thus fabricating sensations of belonging to a Europe of movement. Of course, being fast is ultimately what permits the MEPs to juggle their professional and personal lives, enabling them to work during the week in one or two cities and to come back to Portugal for family weekends. The easiness and smoothness of their mobility is something they value and could not live without. But it is also a matter of representation and attachment. The frequent-flyer cards, speedy-boarding tickets, official drivers, and so forth, are material manifestations of a class consciousness of speed and smooth geographies. They do not even need to speak to anyone anymore other than their personal assistants in order to move, but they know who else is moving at their rate or pace.

4.3 Capsular nodes: facilitators of speed and smoothness

The nodes of the MEPs' geography encompass airports, train stations, VIP lounges and hotels. These are the places where their mobility is articulated through the network, functioning as a kind of passageway between different working places or between the latter and their homes. It is interesting to see how both these nodes and their working places are spaces of encapsulation or enclosure. De Cauter terms this as "capsular civilization", a notion that ties together in a particularly interesting way several ideas about confinement, surveillance and control in the city in a particularly interesting way – such as Don Mitchell's notion of privatised space, Michael Watts' enclosure or Davis' fortress LA (Davis 1992, Mitchell 2003, Watts 2004). De Cauter

believes that we are living in an age of fear, which is a recipe of several ingredients: the war on terror, ecological catastrophe, world population overgrowth and massive migrations to Western countries. The discourses on how dangerous it is to inhabit the world, ranging from politics to media, are disseminated throughout society.

De Cauter argues that the natural response to these threats (regardless of whether they are objective or subjective; real or virtual) is the encapsulation of society or, to be more precise, the inexhaustible creation of specific social and physical nests where people remain enclosed and, presumably, safe. De Cauter is mostly addressing certain architectonic and urban-planning trends, but he does not forget the proliferation of security devices on the entrances to buildings (not just airports), of CCTV circuits, of software that registers every step of individuals (Passenger Name Record, for instance), and so forth. As he puts it, "perhaps the rise of the capsule marks, in Foucaultian-Deleuzian terms, the transition from the disciplinary society to the control society: no longer internalized, order externalizes itself in (often visible) technology" (Cauter 2004: 69). According to the author, the dreams of the Panopticon are being made real, are being materialised into tangible walls and devices. The metaphor of Europe as a "fortress" is by no means accidental.

The MEPs' mobility is articulated through these spaces. The basic nodes of their professional networks are sites of maximum surveillance, control and confinement: airports, stations, hotels and even, to a certain extent, their working places, such as the European Parliament or the European Commission. It is interesting to note that all of these places are under tight security, CCTV circuits, walk-through-metal-detectors at every entrance, inspection guards, police officers and the like. The Europarl makes personalised security cards for every individual who enters its premises. These spaces are enclosed *tópos* of strict and inflexible monitoring. To speak in Foucaultian terms – something that De Cauter often does– the techniques of power here range from the simple check-in in a hotel to the CCTV circuits in airports or even the airport-like security system placed at the entrance of the European Parliament. The MEPs' movements are observed, registered and encoded. Furthermore, seeing as these places are built to operate exactly in the same ways regardless of the city or country, the nodes of the MEPs' geography, as well as the buildings where they work, foster a significant encapsulation of their lives.

Figure 14: Personalised security cards

Figure 15: Security checkpoints at the Europarl (http://www.europarl.europa.eu/)

The natural space of the MEPs replicates itself through a reproduction of the same routines throughout time. No matter the city they go to, they dwell on the habits created by these *tópos*, horizontally reproduced in space. Even the external delegacies function in a way that copy their working places into these other terrains. There is a two-fold dynamic here. The natural dwellings of an MEP are sites of maximum-

surveillance, spaces that encapsulate them in a world of their own and, in a second moment, cultivate a continuum of certain routines. Their actions are, hence, encoded not only by surveillance, but also by the characteristic routines that those same places encourage. This was visible in the fieldwork. The naturalness of being in a hotel, of passing through security at airports, of coping with surveillance, in short of feeling comfortable in these environments was self-evident.

Day 23rd

- 15h45 House in Sintra. Ana went to change clothes. She has come here to visit her husband briefly. Her husband exclaims 'you are out of your mind', referring to the fact that she was yesterday in Egypt, woke up today in Brussels and is now here.

- 17h00 We left towards the centre of Sintra with a personal chauffeur. Ana is being interviewed by the media via telephone. We arrived at the city hall, where Ana is having a meeting. We still have some time. We went to have tea with other people who work for the city hall.

- 18h15 Public meeting in Sintra on health and safety. Ana came all the way from Brussels just for this meeting. We are 35min away from boarding (in Lisbon's airport) and we are still here (40km away).

- 19h45 Leaving Sintra. The plane is at 20h45. Not sure we will make it.

- 20h10 Arrived at the airport. Still time to buy a lottery ticket, take out some cash and have a snack.

- 20h45 Plane to Barcelona.

- 23h30 Arrival. We are now waiting for a shuttle to the hotel. It didn't come after 10 minutes. We got a taxi. The hotel is the typical frequent-flyer hotel, near the airport

These people do not move. They slide. They slide through space. It's so natural. In between two countries and three cities, there is time to have tea, snacks and buy lottery tickets. Mobility is no challenge. It is easy. Ana knows all the nodes that articulate her mobility. They act as facilitators.

Figure 16: Extract from diary 4 (Ana Gomes)

Day 6th

- 7h00 I'm at the airport (Lisbon). I'm waiting for Rui in the entrance. I decided to phone him. He is still at home and the plane is in 50minutes (!!). I'm heading towards the gate, because I don't have speedy corridors and green access cards.

- 7h30 Still waiting for Rui. I'm the last person in the boarding zone. I decided to board without him. I'm in the bus that will take us to plane. I'm really nervous about this as I don't see Rui anywhere.

- 7h35 I finally meet Rui in the bus.

- 7h45 Flight to Paris. There are a lot of MEPs on board. Rui travelled in first-class this time.

- 11h15 Arrival at Paris. We got the tube to the centre. Rui is doing his PhD here in Paris. He is meeting his supervisor. I waited.

- 12h30 Lunch with a friend. Nice, non-expensive restaurant.

- 13h30 We got the tube in Austerlitz towards the TGV station. We arrived at the station 6min before departure. We hopped on the TGV 1min before departure.

- 14h24 TGV do Strasbourg. Rui is working and reading.

- 17h00 Arrival at Strasbourg. We got a taxi to the Europarl.

- 17h30 Rui has a meeting straight away.

- 18h00 Working in the office.

- 18h300 We left the Europarl with a chauffeur. We went to the hotel, before going out to buy some books and have dinner.

The naturalness of mobility is incredible. We were today in three cities and, in all of them, movement seemed effortless. I was really nervous about schedules and timetables. Rui was so calm. Always had time to quietly eat. I think that the nodes through where these people pass really serve as enhancers of speed and smoothness. But you have to know them.

Figure 17: Extract from diary 5 (Rui Tavares)

This logic of capsular nodes could also be transposed to the means of transportation themselves. The time that MEPs spend in long-distance transportation devices is tremendous. There is a frenetic succession of airplanes and high-speed trains. With Correia de Campos, in just six days, I spent circa thirty-five hours just in cars, airports and airplanes; with Ana Gomes, in five days, I spent about twenty-five hours in the same places; and with Rui Tavares, in a week, there was "only" around twenty hours spent in flights, trains, and stations. Hence, alongside the confining properties of the MEPs' nodes and the cyclicity of their routes, the time spent in transportation also furthers an encapsulation of their lives. As Paul Andreu asserts, "in our search for maximum speed, roads have been turned into tunnels. But this tunnelling effect is not only confined to roads. Present in all modes of transportation today, tunnelling isolates us from reality and cuts us off from the intelligible world. This is even true with trains and airplanes" (Andreu 1998: 59). Travelling constantly by plane or train makes their mobilities much smoother and faster, but it also forces them to literally fly above local cultures and local settings, encapsulating the MEPs in a very specific international circuit. Here, local settings are intangible, local people elusive and landscape hard to pin down. Marc Augé has argued that spaces like these could be perceived as "non-places", seeing as they bear no particular culture and no differentiating history or biography (Augé 1995). As we saw above, this is not exactly the case for MEPs, given that they appropriate the spaces of planes and trains to produce important routines. However, it is nonetheless true that these devices function as mobile capsules that hinder the MEPs' contact with the histories and the cultures of the local settings they are flying through and above, thus also making the MEPs faster, more efficient and less turbulent.

4.4 Free time: dinners and social events

What happens when the MEPs are not on the clock? Where do they have dinner after work? With whom do they socialise? During fieldwork, it was possible to observe that, on many occasions, their professional acquaintances overlap onto their private lives. Sometimes the transitions between their professional world and private moments are even done in a group. Of course, I must add that free time is a scarcity. It is exotic. The problem of having no time was verbalised by Ana Gomes in one of our

informal conversations. Ana's professional area within the Parliament concerns foreign affairs, which means she is called to travel in delegations almost every month. She explained that it was a good opportunity to grasp what is going on in other countries. Nevertheless, Ana also confessed to me that there is hardly any time to do anything else other than what is strictly programmed by the EU. Ana Gomes explained that they are always left with no time to escape these spaces whilst on the clock.

"It's impossible to go somewhere as a member of the Parliament and have time to wander around or do stuff other than what is strictly planned. The calendar is ultra tight. We have meetings and meetings and meetings. Then cocktails. Then receptions. Then more meetings." (Ana Gomes)

In similar fashion, Rui Tavares complained that he had long planned to hire a car in Strasbourg and visit the local sites and monuments. As a historian, he always felt compelled to do so. However, the tightness of his professional calendar as well as the customary comfort zone provided by the hotel, the buildings he works in and the social relations built around them hinders him from moving forward. During the week with this MEP, his assistant kept repeating that that particular week was unfolding very calmly, something that they are not used to. Nevertheless, besides one or two drinks followed by meals, Rui almost never set foot outside the circuit of hotel – Parliament – hotel. The comfort and the naturalness of their collective environments are normally privileged, even though the desire of breaking through to the other side is visible.

"I always wanted to rent a car and do some tourism around Strasbourg. I know this was a very important region in the way WWII unfolded. I always wanted to see the surroundings and explore them a bit. I am quite sure I will do this some time, but since I took office, I haven't had the opportunity [two years had already gone by]." (Rui Tavares)

When there was some free time, the degree to which their personal and professional acquaintances are pretty much the same became evident. Let me illustrate this with two episodes. When travelling with Correia de Campos, we stayed in the same hotel as many other MEPs, wherein we woke up one morning and had breakfast with one other Portuguese politician, before the three of us walked to the Parliament. Also, after arriving in Strasbourg, Correia de Campos and myself shared

an official car at the airport with one other MEP. Similarly, when speaking with Rui Tavares' personal assistant, there was one thing that caught my eye. She mentioned that the majority of the EU staff (personal assistants, group assistants, staff from the commissions, etc.) live in areas close to the Parliament and tend to go out to the same restaurants, pubs or clubs. And this was exactly what happened whilst travelling with Rui. After a day's work, we both went to drink some spirits in a local pub in the city-centre and soon after that we decided on a meal in a restaurant with typical Alsatian food. Not to my surprise, the people who joined us were other MEPs from the same political group and personal assistants. We stayed for two hours, enjoying the local specialities, talking about politics and drinking wine. The get-together ended up in a bar suggestively named "Perestroika" (a regular place for left-wing MEPs). In short, the MEPs extended their insertion into this particular circuit onto their private lives as well, contributing to the elimination of any roughness in their geography as this enfolds them in a specific network of acquaintances and places.

4.5 Personal objects: notebooks, iPhones and laptops

The creation of familiar spaces whilst on the move also depends on the things one brings along. As Rapport and Dawson assert, personal objects create attachments and certain routines that individuals hold onto in order to forge sensations of belonging (Rapport & Dawson 1998). Probably, the most relevant private objects that MEPs carry along with them at all times are electronic devices. All of them had iPhones, iPads and/or laptops. As Elliott and Urry have suggested, "especially significant to living mobile lives are the multiple and intersecting software-operated, digital technologies that we term *miniaturized mobilities*. From Apple to iPhones to Bluetooth wireless connectivity, miniaturized mobilities are corporeally interwoven with the body and serve to augment the mobile capacities of individual subjects in physical, communicative and virtual forms" (Elliott & Urry 2010: 43). Patricia Mokhtarian has implied that virtual and physical movement are bonded in a way that enhances one another. In other words, the more we move, the more virtual we become (Choo *et al.* 2010, Mokhtarian 1990). Or, as Stephen Graham put it, "transport and telecommunications actually feed off and fuel, more than simply substitute each other" (Graham 2004: 254). I believe this is especially the case for individuals like the

MEPs, seeing as there was no real, constant use of the internet in the two previous case studies. Here, the usage of electronic devices serves as a reinforcement of social status whilst enhancing the insertion into a culture of speed and smoothness, through the collective appropriation of space with the usage of these devices. That is, those who travel light and create comfort zones in Wi-Fi areas are most likely not only to be seen as belonging to a class of fast travellers, but also to facilitate movement itself, due to constant updates from personal assistants, the checking of boarding times, timetables, and so forth. Technologies here mean being tied to a particular culture. In fact, Elliott and Urry's account is especially focused on high-up individuals as well.

It was interesting that, whenever they had a chance, they would make use of these. For instance, Rui Tavares was constantly checking into his iPad while on trains, especially the newsflash applications, where he could learn about the latest political matters. In turn, Ana Gomes was very upset after her iPhone was stolen, given that, in her own words, "I not only lost almost all my contact-list, but I also cannot check the news every hour now" (Ana Gomes). Being immediately updated on the most recent happenings is, in fact, part of their job. Media and information out a decisive role in their professional lives: they are constantly required to respond to journalists via phone or in person, meaning that they need to know the events up-to-the-minute. The obsession with electronic devices was visible throughout the entire fieldwork period. For example, Correia de Campos repeatedly went over his electronic agenda, which was being regularly reorganised by his personal assistants. It is common for MEPs to have their agendas organised in Excel documents; every morning their personal assistants pass on a printed copy of the document so that they know what they have to attend to. These documents may be uploaded to their devices as well. With Rui Tavares, there was one other specific episode that stood out. In Strasbourg, we were running a tight schedule for lunch due to the TGV's departure. Even so, Rui went outside two or three times during the meal to call a colleague regarding some political matters. His personal assistant realised that these were not urgent issues and, impatiently, cried out loud "could you please put down the goddam phone?! We are late!" (Marta Neves).

Other than electronic devices, MEPs either carry a suitcase with clothes or nothing at all, depending on the location they are going to. If going to Strasbourg, they have to prepare themselves to sleep in hotels for at least three nights, whereas if travelling to Brussels, they probably do not need to take almost anything with them.

Rui Tavares also tended to carry some books with him. There is also one particular feature that facilitates this: all MEPs are provided with a special courier service – the diplomatic bag – that transports a personal container from Brussels to Strasbourg (and then back again) whenever they have to move for plenary sessions. These containers have two/three cubic meters each. MEPs can fill them up with whatever they wish and, by the time they get to Strasbourg, these will be there waiting for them, next to their private offices. I was asked to not take any photographs of these, but they are normally filled with working documents, papers and books. Occasionally, they also include more personal stuff, such as clothes. Their mobility is also facilitated through these small mundane details.

The recent movie by Jason Reitman, *Up in the air*, provides a strong visual representation of this. The main character – Ryan Bingham, a corporate downsizing expert that travels the USA to sack people – gives motivational speeches to the staff of several corporations, kicking off his talks with the question: what is in your backpack? He carries on demonstrating that your backpack has to be almost weightless, free of heavy possessions (house, cars, even relationships), in order to engage with a large-scaled mobility life-style. All he carries around are suits, suitcases and maestro cards and that makes him feel like home. As we saw, this is not actually the case for MEPs, seeing as they tend to have family commitments, other occupations (academic-related occupations amongst others) and own a house in their country of origin. However, their backpack is, in fact, almost weightless when it comes to material objects. And this fosters a sensation of belonging to a particular circuit or network of their own, whilst enabling them to be even faster. Travelling light means more speed and more smoothness.

5. Conclusions: belonging to speed, belonging to Europe

The MEPs examined in this chapter were divided between having profound roots in Portugal and a necessity to enroot themselves in new European cities, such as Brussels and Strasbourg. It is this dialectic balance that catalyses and underpins their mobility. The first empirical section of this chapter (section 3) was precisely focused on exploring this phenomenon. The macro, annual schedules prescribed by the European Parliament force the MEPs to constantly juggle between Brussels,

Strasbourg and other random cities in the world – during the so-called green weeks, where MEPs are asked to conduct external affairs outside of the Union. They have to go at least once a month to the Europarl in Strasbourg and seven times per year to one of the green-weeks' locations. But MEPs also maintain strong relations with Portugal, both at personal and professional levels. They not only leave family and friends behind, but also hold onto a diverse array of other occupations in the country, ranging from political responsibilities (in City Councils for instance) to academic activities. Hence, these MEPs usually retain the household where they lived prior to their European mandates, whilst also engaging in a practice of transforming a new house in Brussels into a place of home-ness, creating routines and rhythms in both places. These routines can be overwhelming, namely as regards their professional lives. The tightness of their daily, micro-schedules is crushing: many are the days in which MEPs have non-stop meetings from 8am to 8pm. The consecutiveness of conferences, official events, political debates, television shows, group meetings, and so forth is tremendous. Their geography is, thus, a complex assemblage of dwellings and mobilities, operated under routine macro-schedules and very tight micro-schedules. MEPs have to be constantly mobile, juggling from one place to the other not only on a daily, micro-scale level, but also at a macro level, moving along pre-defined routes on a weekly basis.

How do they do so? This was the central question of this chapter. What makes this possible? What is it exactly that makes it possible to retain strong links to Portugal and also develop new routines in central European cities? What lies at the heart of their mobile practices that facilitates this? And what subjectivities does this entail? My answer is underscored by the idea that they have to be fast and smooth, inserting themselves in a transnational culture of speed and smoothness. They have to transform themselves into figures of speed. The *hows* and *whens* of this process was the focus of my analysis in section 4. As I attempted to show, MEPs engage with a set of performances that enables them to insert into a culture of high-up European politicians. Several dimensions stand out here. First of all, they collectively adapt to and naturalise high-speed travelling. They create particular routines, such as writing papers, reading the news or having lunch in aircrafts and high-speed trains (sometimes the only time of the day when they can do so). They do it in a collective manner, envisioning themselves in one another and highlighting their present to other travellers. Secondly, they flow in and along smooth surfaces. They are able to

manipulate the smoothness of their mobility. They can be fast when they need to be, but they can also be slow if they so wish (and if they have the time to do so). The MEPs travel with their business cards, frequent-flyers programmes, speed-corridor passes, cards that grant access to lounges, others that offer diplomatic protection, and so forth. The European Parliament contains an entire corridor that exclusively deals with bookings for the MEPs. Everything is done so that they can be smooth and efficient. In the third place, the nodes of their transnational circuit encompass maximum surveillance, capsular architectures that, whilst shielding them from local settings and outer environments, operate as facilitators of speed and smoothness. Spaces like stations, lounges or hotels should not be seen as non-places (Augé 1995), given that they have to be historicised and en-placed by the MEPs, but they still function around the same principles everywhere they go, thus making it easier for them to move out and about. Fourthly, they transport their professional acquaintances onto their personal lives. Transitions are done in-group. This facilitates smoothness and avoids rough edges within their geography, enfolding the MEPs in a particular network of acquaintances. Finally, they need no luggage. They travel light, thus making them even faster. They mainly bring electronic devices with them, such as laptops, iPads or iPhones. Other than that just a small bag containing normal daily objects, such as wallets, pens, papers, books, and in specific cases a change of clothes.

What I wish to highlight in these concluding remarks is how all of these dimensions ultimately lead to identification with Europe. Practices of high-speed travelling in smooth geographies, collectively done with counterparts from Portugal and other member states, with specific routines and practices, a hybridisation with electronic devices, and the rhythms imposed by the tightness of calendars create an identification with a transnational culture of European politicians that, in turn, leads to a profound identification with Europe and Europeanness. MEPs move along with each other and their mobility means connectedness. I do not wish to stress that MEPs are more European than other individuals nor that their mobility is the "correct" way to be mobile in Europe, but rather that their specific practices or patterns of mobility have driven them to an identification with Europe, whilst others did not, such as the lorry drivers' or the musicians', as we saw previously. This identification, or this European identity, was probably already there, prior to their mandates, but their professional mobility reinforced it. The speed and smoothness of their mobility,

collectively done with counterparts who are equally smooth and fast, fabricated these attachments. Consider the following quotes:

"I am European. Of course. I like to work on the Europarl. It makes me feel as if I am fulfilling a civic duty. And I truly believe and identify with Europe. I'm deeply European. Democratic and Republican values were built here. Science, History, Art. This was the continent that saw major cultural inventions. I identify with it. I have a profound love for Europe. For me, being here as an MEP makes me feel even more European. Having the opportunity to see all of this and working to build all of this. It's fantastic. I really want to contribute to the making of a better Europe. I don't like the way we are being politically conducted at this point, but I am grateful that I can be here and I have the opportunity to express my views – and hopefully to express the views of many Portuguese who elected me. But, anyway, I feel very European, yes. I also think that I feel European because I can move more across Europe. I get to feel Europe, through the people, through the landscape. I think I am more European now that I was 3 or 4 years ago." (Rui Tavares)

"All my life I have been on the move. I embarked on a diplomatic career very young. As soon as I turned 26. I lived in Geneva, New York, Tokyo, London, Jakarta, you name it. I have always been on the move. It's not something new for me, like it may be for many other of my colleagues. For many years now, I have felt cosmopolitan. This doesn't mean that I don't feel Portuguese anymore. That's not true. I feel very attached to Portugal. It just means that roaming the world and feeling like a citizen of something bigger than my own country has structured my life for a long time. Of course, since I was first elected as an MEP [Ana is in her second mandate; the first started in 2004] up until this point, I feel even more European. Not only because I move more, but because I feel like I'm building the European project. I know that we are all – or should be – active elements in the pursuit of a better Europe, but once we are here, we feel it even more. Moving through Europe accentuates this. It makes us aware of things. Seeing people roaming around in big cities. Seeing people passing through specific lanes at the airports. Of course all of this makes us feel European." (Ana Gomes)

"I have been a politician as long as I can remember. I have been a member of the "Partido Socialista" for many years now. I was a Parliamentarian for ten years. I served as a Minister twice, in two different governments. Coming here was a nice way to end my active political career. I'm in my seventies now. Soon, I'll retire and this was an excellent opportunity before the time comes. I also feel very grateful to be here. I have always been a firm European, especially since Portugal joined the CEE in 1986. I feel rewarded for being part of this. Part of this Parliament. Part of the European project. If mobility through Europe enhances all this? I'm not sure it makes me feel more European. It's more something that comes with the job, to be honest. But it definitely makes us feel part of this culture of politicians. We see our colleagues in planes, stations, airports. We ride along with them in the official Parliamentary cars. I feel part of all of this." (Correia de Campos)

As we can see, MEPs sense a feeling of reward. First of all, they feel rewarded for having been given the opportunity of giving voice to the peoples of Portugal. Secondly, they feel compensated by being able to be an active element in the formation of the European project. I posit that this feeling of reward, which arises from their daily mobility amongst a culture of speed and smoothness, creates attachments and identifications with Europe. To identify familiar faces, such as other politicians, the air company's staff or the official chauffeurs, to know their ways amidst stations or airports and to recognise themselves as modern European citizens, whilst moving about these corridors of transnational mobility, is definitely something that these MEPs treasure. For example, with Rui Tavares, it was remarkable to attest the ease and comfort that he expressed whilst wandering around the European Parliament simply speaking to people in all the different languages he could (English, Portuguese, French, Spanish and Italian). To encounter several people and have small talk throughout the course of the day, to discuss serious matters in official meetings in the morning, to have lunch with a given politician and receive an embassy later on in the afternoon are examples of everyday dynamics that fulfil them.

MEPs capitalise these practices. Elliott and Urry used the concept of network capital to describe a mixture of competences to be mobile, ranging from possessing the appropriate documents, visas, money and qualifications to the physical capacities for movement, location-free information/contact points or access to communication devices, secure meeting places, vehicles and infrastructures (Elliott & Urry 2010: 10-11). In other words, it points out to what one might call a mobility know-how, i.e. a profound incorporated knowledge and skill on how to be mobile. In the case of the MEPs, this know-how is channelled into feelings of Europeanness. All of the three MEPs stressed that moving around Europe in this particular transnational culture deepened their links to a political and cultural Europe. Being able to be fast, to manipulate the pace and smoothness of their mobility, and to avoid turbulent edges empowers the MEPs, who then capitalise their mobility in different ways. This form of empowerment is directed to positive feelings of connectedness and belonging to Europe and Europeanness. In short, speed and smoothness are redirected to the creation of attachments to Europe, making the MEPs represent themselves as umbilical Europeans.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions:

Mobility, identity, and Europe

1. Introduction

In this last chapter, I reflect on the intersections between mobility, identity and Europe. I start off by summarising the main questions that have structured the empirical case studies as well as the key findings that have resulted from them. This provides a schematic view of the main points of each chapter, contextualising them in relation to one another. Following this, I underline four main points, which, in my view, constitute the key food for thought that my thesis has to offer. These four points are an all-inclusive reading of the varied conclusions offered by each one of the three ethnographies. These four points glue all of the previous arguments together. They are formulated in an essayist tone and encompass several questions and areas of debate that I believe my work has raised. Rather than being enfolded points of arrival, I think of these four ideas as depots of new debates, new questions and new problematics. There are, for sure, many other reflections and key debates that one could trigger following the empirical data that my work has brought to light. The considerations I suggest here are by no means imposing or imposed. Instead, they are simply what I would like to highlight and what I believe best serves the problematics under study and the broader scope of this thesis, according to the literature involved and the themes developed.

2. Summary of key questions and findings

This thesis was not based on a comparative approach. A comparative methodology draws upon one specific theoretical and interpretative framework and puts that to work in several contexts or settings in order to verify and highlight differences and similarities in the results. This can range from a couple of cases to many, but the idea is that the questions asked and the theoretical lenses used remain the same regardless of the case. Conversely, the three empirical chapters that constitute the core of this thesis were relatively autonomous and self-conclusive case studies, even though there are many links and connections between them. Each one of them presented a particular set of questions which I then tried to answer with the evidence collected through fieldwork – whilst, at the same time, giving insights into what it is like to be on the road with the individuals under examination. I took on

different literature, different ideas and different influences in each one of them. Nevertheless, I believe that each one of them has the potential to shed light on particular dimensions of mobility in the European space, of how people move in Europe and how that impacts their processes of identity construction. That is, each one of them offers very distinct ways into looking into how personal and collective mobilities in Europe may or may not be underscored by imaginaries of European belonging and Europeanness.

In the lorry drivers' case, the main problematic was to see how truck drivers, under such harsh conditions, created safe environments and reproduced feelings of belonging. How do they fabricate cohesion and pin down their world? What do they bring with them to create safety and give structure to their lives? The musicians' chapter had a different focus. I highlighted the motivations for touring. Seeing as the musicians under study were not on the road to make money or to become rock stars, I asked myself why did they tour at all. Why is this experience so important to them? Finally, the MEPs' analysis was driven by yet more concerns, being especially centred on questions of speed and smoothness. How are MEPs capable of juggling the immense geographical complexity that underpins their personal and private lives? How are they able to cope with a life that demands they constantly interchange cities and countries? I believe that at the core of these problematics lay profound issues of identity production and reproduction. All of these case studies ultimately conclude with ideas concerning fabrication of identities, even if under very different questions and problematics. Let us walk through the key findings.

2.1 Lorry drivers

The main problematic in the lorry drivers' case study revolved around issues of national belonging. I went on the road with little in mind: I must confess that my mindset was vague as I was loosely interested in analysing the impact of mobility on their daily lives and on their geographies of belonging. How was this to be done? I had only a few foggy notions and no idea what I was about to step into. After I started the first trip, I soon realised that, instead of creating new (cultural) belongings, truck drivers transport their country onto the road, replicating old practices, textures, smells and routines, thus trying as hard as they can to diminish the cultural and social impact

of mobility on their lives. As we saw, their geography is marked by a revealing polarisation of certainty and uncertainty. On the one hand, they have to cope with pre-determined routes and timetables, which are very strict and demand of them a constant, meticulous calculation of time and distances. It is a spatiality that is imposed upon them. On the other hand, they have to deal with the uncertainty of robberies, severe police inspections and the fear of being stuck somewhere with no cargo to transport back to Portugal. They have very little power or control over their geography. If anything goes wrong, it can be devastating, having profound consequences not only on their lives, but also on their families.

With such a difficult professional geography, lorry drivers turn to their country and their origins to maintain a certain cohesion in their world. They reject adventure and improvisation. Instead, they embrace the assurance of the people they already know, the foods they have always eaten, and the radio they have always listened to. They bring their religion with them. They bring their codfish. They bring their football club. In short, they bring their locality and representations of their country onto the asphalt. In gas stations all over Europe, it was possible to observe a kind of tribal effect taking place: people from different nationalities, instead of mixing together, created national clusters, replicating old habits and routines in such places. Truck drivers seek to convoy with Portuguese colleagues, when not from the same firm exclusively, setting up camp in specific service areas where they then collectively mimic the ambience of their hometown(s) through cooking procedures, eating rituals, watching Portuguese national television, celebrating their religion (hearing mass on the radio) or commemorating the victories of their football club. Lorry drives are figures of Portugueseness. It is a tale of a country on wheels.

2.2 Musicians

The musicians' chapter was based on a very personal experience as I decided to study my fellow musicians and band colleagues. In contrast to the experience of fieldwork with the truck drivers, I had already done previous work on musicians, so I had some idea on what I was about to find out. Naturally, the whole ambience was a much more familiar one, as I had been a musician myself for over ten years. The tours themselves are not exactly the glamorous experience that one often sees celebrated in

Hollywood movies and biographies of rock stars. It is a much more disenchanted and grinding one. As we saw in chapter 5, the road offers almost no money and comes with an incredible tightness and tediousness of timetables. Days off are an abnormal feature. In a total of 37 days spent on the road with the band (spread over three European tours), we performed 28 shows. We would normally get up in the morning, around 10am, eat breakfast and drive off to the next city, after which we would set up the stage, do the customary sound check, eat a meal and perform our show, before heading out to the hotel again and repeating the same routine over and over again. The amount of time spent behind the wheel was overwhelming. Roughly one third of the whole endeavour is allocated to moving. One does not get to see most of the cities. One does not get to meet that many people as the relations are very ephemeral. And one has to do much of the dirty work, such as driving, cleaning and setting up.

So, I asked myself: why? Why do we still treasure this experience so much? What underlying reasons are there underneath this sheen of strictness and tedium? I believe the answer is a simple, but revealing one: because musicians need the experience of touring to produce and reproduce themselves as such. I showed how rock culture contains a vast imaginary or ideal of mobility in its ontology. Rock culture was generated by an emergent activist youth that used mobility as a counter-cultural element, celebrated in the works of writers such as Jack Kerouac, which had tremendous impact on the aesthetics of the time. Rock musicians are often associated with symbols of movement, both at practical and representational levels. In movies and books, they are often seen in vans, roaming endless roads across states or countries. Furthermore, rock musicians are frequently conceptualised as drifters, both by themselves and by others. Mobility is part of who they are. This explains why the musicians I toured with cherished the experience of touring so much. To live such experience is to incorporate a particular aesthetics and ideal of rock culture. Inhabiting the road, dwelling in hotels, performing shows every night, roaming the asphalt, and so on is an important identity step. Doing the road is fulfilling a call that needs to be answered. It is on these tours that musicians not only build themselves as such, from an identitary perspective, but also where society generally recognises them as such. Musicians become figures of mobility.

2.3 Members of the European Parliament

The MEPs' case study was the most difficult for me. There were many barriers of privacy that I could not surpass, making it much more challenging to collect the necessary data. Also, the time spent on the road was much less in comparison to the previous cases. I had to collect the data much faster and more intensely. I rapidly came to the awareness that MEPs have to tackle a very complex geography that stretches out across many different cities and countries, always encompassing both personal and professional commitments. Their geography encompasses two main homes, one in Portugal and the other in Brussels. They are always moving between the two, creating specific routines and attaching particular feelings to them. They also have to go to Strasbourg on a regular basis and conduct some external affairs outside on the Union a couple of times per year (on average). Besides this, they have political responsibilities in diverse locations in Portugal, which force them to travel (probably) more than they wish, and/or academic lives, for instance, that make them wander around as keynote speakers. Furthermore, all of this is done amid overwhelming micro-timetables. Sometimes, they are requested to attend a meeting in Brussels in the morning, another one in Portugal in the afternoon, and then a third one in Brussels before the end of the day. Macro-routines are tight, demanding and repetitive; micro-routines are challenging and exhausting.

How do they cope with all of this? This was the main question of chapter 6. I believe that one of the possible answers lies at the heart of a personal transformation that, simultaneously, is undertaken collectively. MEPs transform themselves into figures of speed. First of all, they create aerial subjectivies, incorporating and adjusting to high-speed travelling in airplanes (and also in trains). They create specific routines and habits, such as working or specifically waiting for the planes to have a meal. Secondly, they eliminate any possible rough edges from their spatiality, creating smooth surfaces, through cards that grant access to speed corridors, lounges, diplomatic protection, official chauffeurs and personal assistants who book and take care of all the travelling. Then, they learn to inhabit nodes that are tightly surveilled and surveilling, enfolding them in particular circuits, which makes them travel even faster and more smoothly. Finally, they not only transport their professional acquaintances into their personal lives, but they also tend to travel light, making their

movement even flatter and less complicated. As we saw, it is precisely this collective appropriation of space, done with their counterparts, that led to an identification with Europe.

3. Four ideas on mobility, identity and Europe

What do these findings stress? What are the links between them? How do they contribute to the study of mobilities and, more specifically, to the problematic of European mobility and identity? There is an endless realm of possibilities to these questions. I believe that when one juxtaposes all of these three case studies, the potential for debate opens up drastically. One could, for instance, tackle solely the nature of contemporary mobilities of professionals and how these patterns of movement influence individuals' geographies of belonging and attachments. One could focus on gender issues and deconstruct the notion of mobility as a space of masculinity. One could centre attention on how certain infrastructures influence the nature of personal mobilities themselves. One could flesh out the intersections between mobility and different professional fields, in the sense of Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2001). Although these could constitute valid and important spaces of debate, I chose to conclude this thesis with four other main problematics. I believe that these four points encompass the most remarkable problematics when one cross-references the findings of the three empirical chapters presented.

3.1 Mobility is not a synonym for fluidity

The first conclusive point of this thesis is how mobility does not equal fluidity, cultural transgression or openness. As I explained in the theoretical section of the truck drivers' chapter, there is a long-standing tradition that conceives of mobility as a fluid or transgressive practice. Tim Cresswell, for instance, called this the "metaphysics of flow", following the rise of a nomad thought (Cresswell 2006). As he proposed, "ways of thinking that emphasize mobility and flows over stasis and attachment have come to the fore", adding that "as the world has appeared to become more mobile, so thinking about the world has become *nomad thought*" (Cresswell 2006: 43). In other words, the exponential growth of mobile phenomena in the last

quarter of the 20th century – migrations, tourism, diaspora, mobile professionals, etc. – drove academia itself into seeing the world through the lenses of movement and mobility. In the 80s and 90s, academic semantics was rife with words and metaphors of mobility. This was the time of the spatial turn in geography (Massey 1991, Soja 1989, Thrift 1996) and debates on space-time compression (Harvey 1989; May & Thrift 2001). This was when the anthropology of globalization emerged and when anthropologists reinvented the concept of culture as flows (Appadurai 1996, Clifford 1997, Hannerz 1992). This was the time when many academics were troubled by ideas of flexible citizenship (Ong 1999) and the production of networks (Castells 2010, Knoke 1990, Wasserman & Faust 1994). This was when globalization, multi-culturalism and transnationalism came to the fore of academic debate (Basch, Glick Schiller & Blanc 1994; Castles & Miller 1993; Portes & Bach 1985; King *et al* 1995; Robinson 1996). This was the time when cosmopolitanism was rescued from oblivion and appeared as an agenda for global order (Breckenridge *et al* 2002; Cheah & Robbins 1998; Harvey 2000). In a way, all of these refer to dynamics of movement and mobility. These notions paved the way for an agenda of fluidity through the various dimensions of mobility, both at practical, virtual and metaphorical levels. Mobility was seen as a creator of connectedness, juxtaposition and fluidity, i.e. as a producer of proximity. Mobility was conceptualised as ontology of transgression in the way that it allowed for more intercultural and social contact, exchange and hybridism.

The new mobilities paradigm came to pour oil on troubled waters. Whilst highlighting and codifying mobility as the new axis for social analysis – and thus not neglecting the influence that this *espirit du temps* had on their works – the leading authors of the paradigm clearly walked away from embracing a new meta-narrative of fluidity (Sheller & Urry 2006; Hannam *et al* 2006). It seems undisputed that the world is more mobile than ever, that the world moves at a much faster pace, that space and time were more compressed in the last twenty years than in the whole history of mankind, that mobile infrastructures were tendentiously democratised and made accessible to a much larger spectrum of population, that we can now go around the Earth in less than a day, that physical distances are less of an obstacle. However, a depiction of the world through these lenses should not diminish the importance of the dynamics of enclosure and encapsulation (Cauter 2004, Turner 2007). This has been one of the theoretical and analytical agendas of the mobilities turn. Mobilities are not

necessarily a space of fluidity and openness. Increases in mobility do not necessarily diminish the importance of places.

I could not agree more. And I believe that my work provides a good ground-based illustration of this. For instance, in the truck drivers' case, individuals still reproduce strong senses of locality and national belonging even in contexts of grand mobility. Mobility does not necessarily erase feelings of national belonging. As Calhoun would put it, nations still matter (Calhoun 2006). Truck drivers cope with a harsh geography through bringing what they know best onto the road: their origins. They do not get involved with otherness. They do not attempt intercultural exchange. They do not even buy fruit in foreign supermarkets. They transport their country with them, rather then letting the Other into their habits and routines. A similar finding arises from the musicians' ethnography. As we saw, musicians hit the road to fabricate personal and collective identities as musicians. They are not especially touched by the possibilities of intercultural exchange. They do the road to produce concentric, inward identities that they treasure. The road is not a space for a cultural transgression, but rather an opportunity to produce and reproduce their identities as musicians. Finally, the MEPs' patterns of movement also highlight tendencies of enclosure. As we saw, MEPs have to be fast and smooth in order to inhabit a complex geography that demands that they constantly be here, there, and everywhere. Their speed and smoothness only works well when it creates forms of encapsulation. In order to be swift and avoid turbulence, their mobility is channelled through speed corridors at airports, official parliamentary cars with chauffeurs and business travelling. All of this is happening in the Eurozone. These patterns of mobility unfold within the physical space of European mobility.

3.2 Mobilities can reproduce rigid geometries of power

These ideas link well to the second point of my conclusions. Besides drawing attention to the dynamics of encapsulation and enclosure, the mobilities turn has also been underlining how mobilities have the potential to highlight and reproduce rigid geometries of power. First of all, there are many individuals who are *a priori* left out of mobility. Adey explained that "for those 'high up' in the social hierarchy, mobility comes with ease while for those 'low down' their choice to be mobile is far more

restricted. Even though some may enjoy being fully 'global', others are well and truly fixed in their 'locality'", adding that "imagining a histogram-like chart representing society, the 'high-up' and the 'low-down' classes are plotted against their *degrees of mobility*" (Adey 2010b: 95). Years before, Skeggs was already drawing attention to the importance of understanding "who can move and who cannot, and what the mobile/fixed bodies require as resources to gain access to different spaces" (Skeggs 2004: 48). More recently, Salazar and Glick Schiller have emphasised how "in a world that is perceived to be in constant flux, control over people's movement and mobility potential (…) has become a central concern for projects of biopolitics and governmentality" (Glick Schiller & Salazar 2013: 195). One example of this is border crossing, as it is only accessible to a small number of the world population (see Walters 2009; Van Houtum & Van Naerssen 2002). As Chalfin reminds us, "this is not a world without borders but a world in which all borders operate according to uniform terms that make mobility their priority" (Chalfin 2008: 525).

If being excluded from mobility is a powerful social discriminator, movement itself also comprises a complex geometry of politics. A world of utter mobility and proximity (see Pellegrino 2011) is not automatically a world of freedom where social classes and geometries of power become obliterated. Concomitant to an increase in flows and fluidity, mobilities still mimic powerful constellations and configurations of social differentiation. As Cresswell asserts, "mobility itself can be fine tuned through considering its more specific aspects, each of which has its own politics and each of which is implicated in the constitution of kinetic hierarchies in particular times and places" (Cresswell 2010b: 30). Mobility fabricates and operates kinetic hierarchies. For example, "one person's speed is another person's slowness" (Cresswell 2010b: 20). Cresswell's constellations of mobility refer to these social dynamics, namely when he questions who is able to adjust the pace, rhythm and regularity of his or her movements. Controlling these dimensions is very different from seeing them imposed on one's lives and routines. As Salazar and Smart put it, "mobility does not imply that people become more similar or equal. The movement of people may, and often does, create or reinforce difference and inequality, as well as blending or erasing such differences" (Salazar & Smart 2011: iii-iv). Kaufman had alerted us to the fact that the simple potential for movement is a social and symbolic capital that differentiates individuals (Kaufman 2002). The practice of mobility does the same.

I have to agree once again. I believe that the empirical chapters of this thesis helped to reinforce this notion. Mobility does not erase geometries of power. For instance, the truck drivers are by no means excluded from mobility. Their mobility is what characterises them. It is conditional. But this does not signify that they become empowered. As Kaufman stressed, "people can be very mobile without having a lifestyle based on fluidity", wherein "their mobility has more to do with their submission to structures rather than their escaping from them" (Kaufman 2002: 59). The lorry drivers' mobility reminds me of how gas runs in pipelines or, more shockingly, how water flows in sewer systems. Everything is done so that it does not spill out. It is a very contained and pre-determined mobility (Graham & Marvin 2001). Of course, as we saw, the truck drivers do not actively transform their mobility into an opportunity for cultural engagement, but this is only one side of the coin. National and supranational law also channels their mobility. Despite being extremely mobile, these individuals have little power in the definition of their geography. It is imposed upon them. They inhabit pre-fixed routes, established by both their firm's boss as well as by European legislation. Mobility does not entail freedom here.

Contrarily, the MEPs appear on the opposite side of this geometry. If they wish to, MEPs have the power to, at least, travel home for the weekends, or not. They have the power (which can, as I am aware, rapidly turn into an obligation) to be fast and smooth. As we saw in chapter 6, the MEPs I accompanied are constantly caught in a complex geographical entanglement that demands they be in two or three cities on the same day. Sometimes they cannot decide on this. It is not optional. But they can at least fly smoothly from one place to the other and, if they desire, fly back home at the end of the day. The harshness of their mobility is not comparable to the cold-hearted movement of lorry drivers. MEPs can manipulate turbulence. They can overcome turmoil. When they have time to spare, they can enjoy the cities' landscapes through the window of a local tram or bus. When they are in a hurry, they need only to make a phone call and wait ten minutes before a car comes to pick them up. Furthermore, MEPs have diplomatic and business lounge cards in their possession that grant them access to comfort zones with refreshing beverages and which are surveilled and protected by CCTV. Their mobility mirrors their high-up position in the social pyramid.

3.3 Mobility, identity and empowerment

This leads me to the third topic of discussion: empowerment. I use the word empowerment here as the fact of producing various forms of capital, in the sense of Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2001). That is, becoming empowered means obtaining social, economic and/or symbolic capitals that one can use to one's advantage. Having said this, one of the boldest points I wish to make in these conclusions is how it appears that mobility in Europe only becomes European mobility – that is, only becomes that specific type of mobility that works towards the fabrication of cultural proximity and a presumable European identity – when it creates personal empowerment. In other words, people on the move only identify with Europe if, for some reason, that mobility signifies more power and/or is ready to be converted into social, economic or symbolic capital. The mobility of people in the European space is far from fabricating an automatic identification with a supranational or continental identity, unless individuals are somehow able to capitalise those patterns of movement. This was visible in all the three cases.

The truck drivers' discourse on Europe was mainly one of distrust. They think that European law is not serving them, not protecting them from the dangers and harshness of the road. All they see in European law is the words "restriction", "forbidden", "constraint", and so forth. Furthermore, their mobility is not especially capitalisable. Their mobility does not create any form of empowerment. It is a mere professional condition. First of all, it does not add prestige and honour (symbolic capital) to their lives. The drivers told me that, in the 80s and 90s, they were seen as powerful individuals amongst their local communities, as they had the ability to bring products from other countries when no one else did. However, this is not the case anymore. The opening of the Schengen space and the popularisation of the Internet put an end to this, seeing as European citizens are now able to easily buy whatever they wish, provided they have the money, from any other country in the Union. Nowadays, it is very normal to conceive of a truck driver as a socially deviant figure. As a social outcast. They feel this keenly every day. Secondly, their mobility does not entail social forms of capital. As we saw, the drivers' acquaintances do not extend far beyond their previous personal local networks, as they prefer travelling with people who they already know and with whom they have spent all their lives. Most of their

regular clients, with a few exceptions, do not constitute any form of empowerment either. In fact, most of the time, they whine about them, describing how they make them work extra hours and perform tasks that they are not supposed to do (such as stacking the goods in the trucks). Thirdly, the economic capital constitutes a small reward nowadays. The recent opening of borders to Eastern European countries created brutal internal competition, forcing Portuguese drivers to lower their standard of living and their salaries to stall. All of this led the truck drivers to create resentful feelings towards Europe. Their mobility does not fabricate feelings of Europeanness, the same way that it does not produce noticeable forms of empowerment.

In the musicians' case, the logic is similar, although with some significant variations. The musicians I toured with took advantage of Europe's mobile infrastructures to conduct their affairs. Without it, the entire endeavour would be compromised. Without a well-oiled connection of roads and motorways, without an efficient and integrated system of GPS, without a passport-free zone, without an infrastructure of bridges, gateways and tunnels that link many member sates, touring would be an impossible achievement. In contrast to the truck drivers, they do not look at Europe as an obstruction, but rather as a facilitator of movement. Even so, they do not conceive of themselves as Europeans. As the interviews outlined, belonging to Europe is only part of a very marginal imaginary. Why is that? I believe that the answer follows a similar logic to the lorry drivers: their mobility did not, in those moments, fabricate relevant forms of personal capital. The most significant form of capital building was, nevertheless, the constitution of personal networks. Getting acquainted with local promoters, fans and other people on the road opened up the possibilities of creating important social capital. One or two of the band members did indeed capitalise on this after the tours, when they were, for instance, hosted by some of those fans during their holidays. However, that was about it. In terms of symbolic capital, the prestige and honour of touring seemed to be very restricted, given that it was only significant for the musicians themselves. In fact, the band folded several months after the third tour was over. Even though musicians valued and needed that experience to fulfil themselves as such, touring was not very capitalisable outside their own, inner worlds. It did not grant the band (and its members) much symbolic power. Likewise, the financial aspects were insignificant. None of the band members hit the road with economic expectations on their horizon. And, in the end, this was confirmed, seeing as the takings were very limited. In short, although touring is of

paramount importance for the musician himself, it does not add up to, at least in the case described, socially recognisable and usable forms of capital.

Finally, we have the MEPs' case. The MEPs are part of Europe at an institutional level. They are legislators. They contribute to the project of European integration on a daily basis. Hence, rather than seeing Europe as an obstructer or a facilitator, they see Europe as their natural habitat. Europe is, to a certain extent, their condition. In contrast to the two previous cases, the MEPs' mobility fabricates very significant forms of capital. First of all, the economic capital that arises from their profession and, thus, from their swift mobility in the Eurozone is immense. Their salary is large, especially when one takes into account that all of the MEPs from the different countries earn the same (roughly eight-thousand euros per month, following the ratification of the single statute in 2009), which means that a Portuguese MEP earns more than the Portuguese Prime Minister (approximately 6000 euros). Secondly, the construction of personal networks is extremely powerful. As we saw in chapter 6, MEPs insert themselves in a culture of speed and smoothness, collectively creating routines and rhythms with their counterparts. The development of these networks is determinant in the afterlife of the MEP. Most MEPs are able to network their professional acquaintances in order to assure new political and professional positions after their mandates are finished. Finally, the symbolic forms of capital are also very significant. The prestige and social recognition of becoming and being a Member of the European Parliament are quite relevant. In fact, many politicians join the Europarl to clean up a socially wearisome position as a national minister, for example. To be a MEP is a much less wearying task, in terms of media exposure and social pressure, but it is still seen as a very respectable and prestigious position. All of these forms of capital are underpinned by what Elliott and Urry call network capital (Elliott & Urry 2010: 10). I believe that the ways through which MEPs capitalise their mobility is a decisive factor for them to envision themselves as Europeans. Their idiosyncratic pattern of European mobility, in contrast to the drivers and to the musicians, produces forms of empowerment and this phenomenon, in a second moment, pushes them to representing themselves as part of a European imagined community.

Of course, all of this has been underlined by the European crisis. The recent socio-economic impasse reactivated old resentments between north and south, to which Portugal is no exception. The crisis produced new political and cultural

fragmentations that cannot be hidden. Before the crisis – and I am speculating here – feelings towards Europe were probably much more positive and constructive. When talking to the drivers whilst on the road, it became clear for me that they recall the 90s as a kind of golden age of prosperity. To a certain extent, back then, the Portuguese drivers were the Romanians of today, in the sense that the newly opening of frontiers granted first-hand professional opportunities. In the 90s, the Portuguese were taking advantage of Europe. The drivers told me that, before the turn of the century, they were probably earning the largest salaries of all the people in their towns. Europe was fascinating. Europe was the promise of gold and glory. This discourse was structural in the lorry drivers' stories. It is possible to speculate that, back then, identifications with Europe and Europeanness were much stronger. The crisis may have opened cultural cracks anew.

In a way, it can be argued that identifying with Europe only happens when Europe serves the peoples. According to the Portuguese case and the ethnographies presented in this thesis, one may be in the position to advocate that people only feel European when Europe makes their lives better somehow. Reconsider Luís' words, one of the musicians analysed in chapter 5: "I am European when and if it suits me, to be honest" (Luís). It is clearly a question of empowerment. It is a question of making one's living standards rise. If Europe does not empower them and if all that individuals see is a top-down crisis – the crisis is often represented as being inflicted by the dubious financial arrangements of an economic elite – fragmentations resurface and it is very unlikely that individuals conceive of themselves as part of a broader community of Europeanness. It is the same with democracy. Democracy only exists when it protects and serves the most fragile. When it empowers them. When it does not, the story is different. In short, although it is not my intention to make an analysis of a political nature, there are important conclusions that one may draw from the intersections of mobility, identity and forms of political, social and economic empowerment.

3.4 Is Europeanness more about class and speed?

We arrive at the last topic of reflection. This is probably the most polemic and provocative point. Formulating it as a question is intentional and should be

underlined. My suggestion here is to question whether or not an identification with Europe has more to do with class and speed rather than mobility *per se*. In other words, I wish to interrogate whether mobility is only channelled towards the fabrication of a European identity when it is intersected with a high-up social positioning and swift patterns of movement.

Let me start off by showing how mobility serves as a mirror for social class. The MEPs' mobility not only produces significant forms of empowerment, but it also unfolds within what Saskia Sassen called "global cities" (Sassen 2001), such as Brussels, Strasbourg and, to a certain extent, Lisbon. Sassen explains that "one of the key properties of the current [historical] phase is the ascendance of information technologies and the associated increase in the mobility and liquidity of capital" (Sassen 2005: 27). Following this phenomenon, the author stresses that some cities have toiled in order to constitute themselves as the nodes through which this mobility is networked internationally. A global city is a kind of gateway through which capital moves between a certain country and the global markets. I believe that moving throughout these cities, like the MEPs do, amidst the corridors and networks created by them through airports, airplanes, stations, and so forth, signifies performing a high-up position in the social pyramid. Conversely, the drivers' mobility mirrors their low-down position as they move along the alleys of globalisation. The gas stations and motorways that the drivers inhabit are kind of pipelines of European integration. They serve the important task of operating the free market, just like a pipeline drains resources or energy, but they are very marginalised and contained spatiality. Nobody wants to see them. They operate in the shadows of the European project. Their mobility reflects their social condition. Finally, the musicians stand in the middle of this equation. They move both amongst global cities and small towns of little political relevance. The band performed its shows in important European cities and capitals, such as Barcelona, Berlin, Copenhagen, Madrid, Prague and Vienna, but it also played for audiences in (almost) untraceable towns like Hengelo, Bad Salzungen, Bischofswerda or Kufstein. I think that this, associated with the less relevant forms of empowerment described above, reveals a kind of middle-ground social positioning between the MEPs and the drivers. In short, the nodes through which the individuals' mobilities are articulated are very revealing as regards the position they occupy in the social pyramid.

Then, we have the issue of speed. Some authors have drawn attention to how speed is a precious resource and how it reflects a kind of social condition (Kern 1983, Tomlinson 2007, Virilio 1986). The drivers' mobility is a slow one. They take three or four days to get to the heart of Europe and then the same amount of time to return home. Their speed is limited. In fact, their speed is limited by the law itself, which dictates that they cannot go faster than 90km/hour. This is as fast as they can move. Furthermore, their speed is constantly encoded in a device, the tachograph. The drivers' speed is registered, monitored and contained. Naturally, this is all done in the name of health and safety or in the name of liberal perfect competition, but it nevertheless impacts on the lorry drivers' lives. In the musicians' case, the limits are a bit less imposing. Musicians can move faster. Normally, the speed limits in European motorways revolve around 120 or 130km/h. In Germany – where the majority of the touring took place – most of the motorways do not even have a limit at all. In any case, musicians are not required to constantly encrypt their speed in a machine, which means that, when there are no police around, the musicians were able to drive at a slightly faster pace than this. Hence, in this situation, speed limits are caused by an entanglement of legislation and technological limitations (vans do not go much faster than 140km/h because of all the weight they transport). Finally, the MEPs' situation tells a very different story. They travel most of the time at 900km/h. They sometimes cover the same distance in one day as a driver does in a week. When they do not opt for air travel, they are able to travel at 300km/h on high-speed trains. In a way, they are among the fastest human beings on Earth. No one can move much faster than this, given that air journeying is, until now, the swiftest form of human mobility.

Having said this, I suggest we question whether mobility in Europe is only transformed into European mobility (that abstract category that presupposes cultural proximity) when and if it is performed within the networks of global European cities and at a speedy tempo. Going back to Verstraete, she argued that "the ideal European citizen is someone with a thin connection to any single place – a rootless, flexible, highly educated, and well-travelled cosmopolitan, capable of maintaining long-distance and virtual relations without looking to the nation-state for protection" (Verstraete 2010: 8). It is possible that individuals only represent themselves as Europeans through mobility if that same mobility is translated into a speedy, zero-friction and smooth movement within the cities of globality. This is a reflection that I leave to the reader. Perhaps, European mobility has more to do with class and speed

than with mobility *per se*. Perhaps, European identity is only activated through patterns of mobility if those patterns are performed within important networking and networked capitals, via speedy corridors and smooth surfaces. As I revealed in this thesis, European mobility is a very abstract notion, grounded in very diverse personal and collective forms of mobility that encompass many different strategies and forms of identity building. Sometimes it does indeed lead to identifications with an imagined community of Europeanness; other times, it does not. Moving in Europe is not an automatic shortcut into a more profound cultural proximity.

4. One last breath

My intention in these conclusions was more to provoke debate than to outline definitive answers. In *Pascalian Meditations*, Bourdieu said that a point of view is no more than a biased view from a particular geographical, virtual or metaphorical standpoint (Bourdieu 2000). This means that not only our theoretical lenses make us focus on particular aspects and singularities, but also our points-of-view (literally) do the same. The same theoretical lenses can produce significant interpretative and analytical deviations depending on where (and when) we are standing. What I am trying to stress is how this thesis is a textual production that not only made use of very particular eyepieces – mainly on identity and mobility – but also how it is a mirror of the *wheres* and *whens* of my personal condition during the timeframe in which it was written. Many other topics could have been covered and debated. Many other ideas came through and were, in the meantime, forgotten. Many other notions will probably surface when I read the whole text in a year's time. This is the possible text of the moment.

For instance, with more time, I could have broadened the scope of my analysis, encompassing different nationalities other than the Portuguese. I am well aware that the conclusions here are probably tied to the idiosyncrasies of being Portuguese, even if, as we saw, Portuguese identities are not monolithic blocks, but rather an object of constant negotiation. I posit that cross-referencing the data presented throughout the thesis with analysis of people from other nationalities could shed light on the degree to which being Portuguese impacts on these conclusions (do people from different countries experience mobility in the same way?), especially considering we are in an

age of distrust between member states in the European Union. Fragmentations between north and south have resurfaced, and this has to be considered a decisive factor in the outcome of my thesis. One other topic I could have tackled better is gender. First of all, originally, my idea was to dedicate an entire case study to travelling women. Due to privacy reasons, it was not possible to conduct it. Is there a significant difference between men and women? Do women create different belongings on the road? Secondly, I could have paid more attention to the ways in which gender (in this case, masculinity) is enacted on the road. There are, for sure, many interesting points to make on this. Once again, this was the possible text of now.

The relation between my hypothesis of study – focused on finding out more about European mobility, in particular, and large-scale human movement, in general – and the evidence collected through fieldwork, intersected with my personal points-of-view, both literally and academically, produced an analysis that led to this thesis and, ultimately, to the conclusions presented. I now leave the door open to future research on the causal links between mobility and identity, and these with Europe. When is mobility really about fluidity and/or (cultural) transgression? Is mobility obliterating or reinforcing geometries of power and social differentiation? Is Europe more about class than anything else? Is Europe more about speed than mobility *per se*? Is mobility in Europe only going to be driven by the forces of cultural proximity if it fabricates empowerment? Is Europe only going to happen when it empowers people even more? I end in the same way I started. Questioning. Proposing new lines of thought, new paths of enquiry, new itineraries for future research. Because "my job is making windows where there were once walls" (Foucault ct. in Hyde 2010: 283).

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