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# Perspectives on Mobility



Edited by  
**Ingo Berensmeyer and  
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Literature: Fictions of the sea

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*A practice approach to  
sustainable mobility transitions*

**Jorrit O. Nijhuis**



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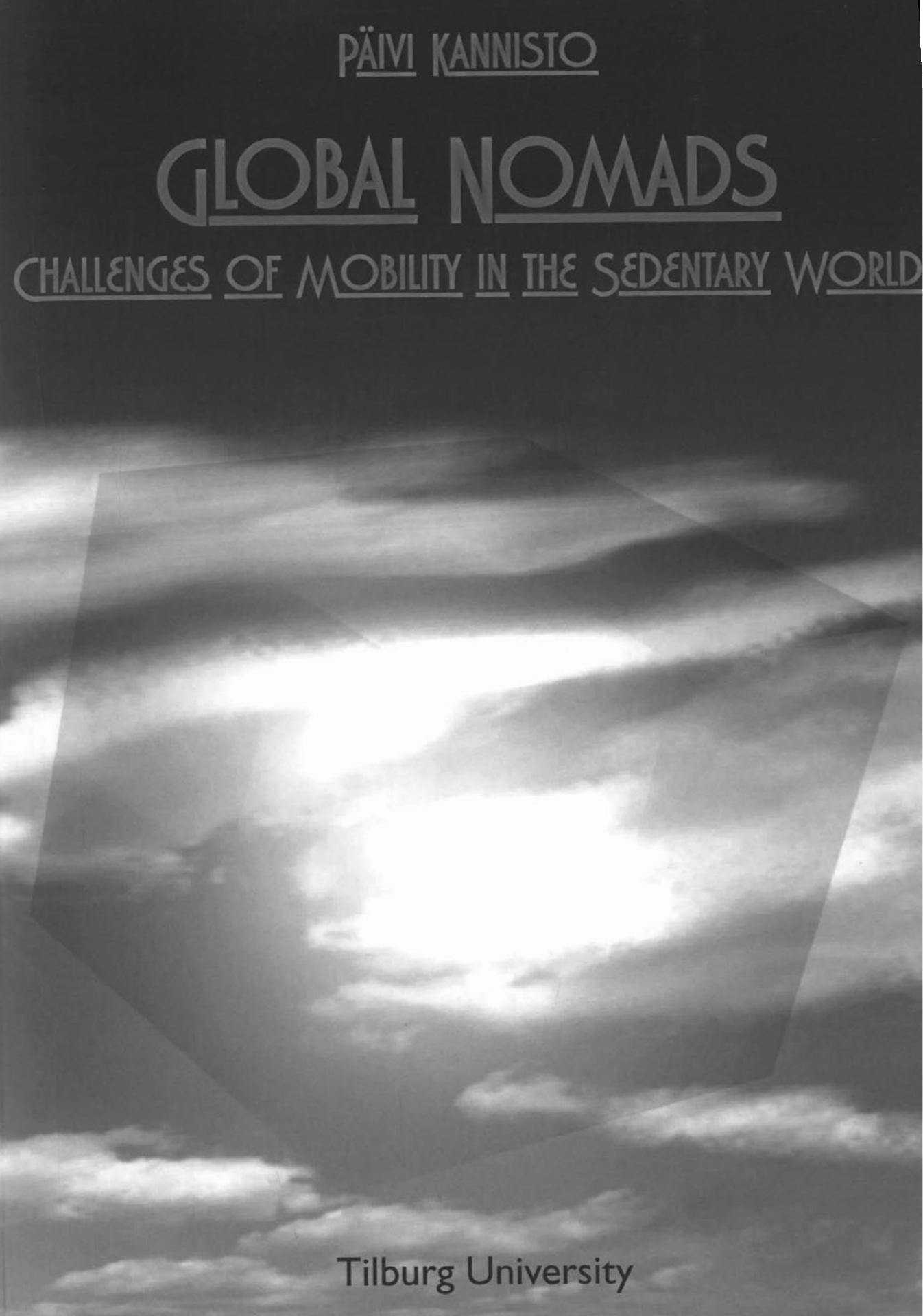
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8 Conclusions

PÄIVI KANNISTO

# GLOBAL NOMADS

CHALLENGES OF MOBILITY IN THE SEDENTARY WORLD



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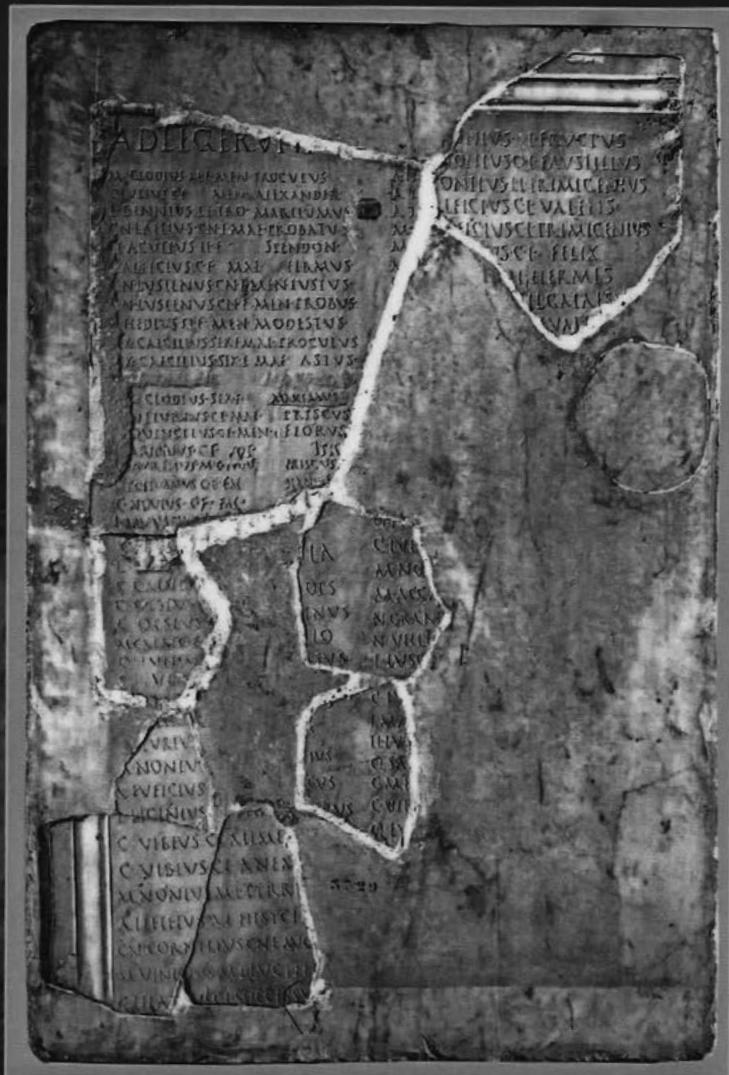
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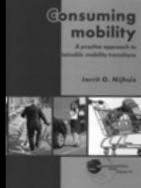
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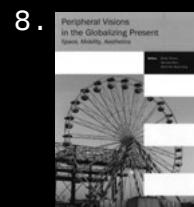
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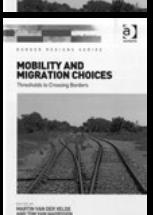
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# Patterns of Global Mobility in Early Modern English Literature:

*Fictions of  
the sea*



# **Patterns of Global Mobility in Early Modern English Literature: Fictions of the Sea**

Birgit Neumann

## **Abstract**

As Britain expanded its overseas spheres of influence in the course of the seventeenth century, the complex dynamics of territorial expansion and global mobility became a central topic of cultural negotiation. Imaginatively circumnavigating the world, numerous poems, plays and travelogues evoke powerful ideological tropes to give specific historical meaning to the complex experience of global mobility and territorial expansion. Frequently, this “expansionist fantasy” (Brown 2001: 74) revolves around the figure of the sea, which becomes a paradigm of imperial capitalism and territorial desire. Yet the sea figures not merely as a symbol of imperial progress and maritime capitalism; rather it is imagined as an agent of change itself, an agent that sets up global trading networks, connects waterways and impels the English along an inevitable and predestined course. The present article traces some of the literary and rhetorical strategies by which the sea is made an agent of expansion (*sans* violence) and is thus translated into spatial practice. It is argued that the trope of the sea makes manifest a set of claims about political and commercial power, legitimising imperialism as an inevitable, vigorous and yet highly precarious development. By effortlessly forging transatlantic links between metropolitan Britain and territorial peripheries, the trope of the sea depicts imperialism as a natural extension of space and a progressive development in history.<sup>1</sup>

*Key names and concepts:* John Denham, Michael Drayton, Richard Hakluyt, Andrew Marvell, John Milton, William Shakespeare, William Strachey, Edmund Waller; empire of the sea, imaginative geographies, patterns of mobility, imperial fate, contingency.

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<sup>1</sup> The essay at hand is an extended version of my contribution “Imperial Fate? Patterns of Global Mobility in Early Modern English Literature” (2011).

### 1. Introduction: "The Services of the Sea Are Innumerable"

In 1494, just one year after Columbus's return to Europe, Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, the *stultifera navis* or *Ship of Fools*, was published. The design of the book was to identify all manifestations of human folly with the natural element, that is, according to Brant, as fickle, unpredictable, and treacherous as any man without reason (cf. Klein 2004: 94). The mad ship acts as "a floating body used to seclude lunatics, who were thus committed to the element that was in keeping with their unpredictable temperament" (Corbin 1994: 8). "Our barge," Alexander Barclay translates Brant in 1509, "[l]yke as a myrrour dothe represent agayne / the fourme and fygure of mannes countenaunce" (1509: fol. 11r). Little wonder that the ship of fools embarks on a voyage with no clear destination: "We kepe the streme and touche nat the shore / In Cyte nor in Court we dare nat well auenter" (ibid.). It seems that only a cultural imagination that still conceived of the ocean as an inherently repulsive realm of unfinished matter and primeval chaos was amenable to associating the sea with the complete loss of control. "In a culture still steeped in both the Christian demonization of the sea and the antique notion of keeping within limits" (Kinzel 2002: 28), the ocean signified a marginal reality beyond a horizon that delimited the known, the secure and the governable.

Some one hundred years later – after circumnavigation had furnished evidence that all the seas of the world were really just one huge navigable ocean – the sea was no longer the symbolic habitat of madness but a space that could be seized, appropriated and controlled (Klein and Mackenthun 2004: 2). In 1613, Samuel Purchas could famously make the sea the centrepiece of his claims to a vision of global mobility, exchange and prosperity:

[T]he services of the Sea [...] are innumerable; it is the great Purveyor of the Worlds Commodities to our use, Conveyer of the Excesse of Rivers, Uniter by Traffique of al Nations; [I]t is an open field for Merchandise in Peace. (Purchas 1625: 28)

Here the sea is animated with a distinctive autonomy as it moves, flows and glides to bring along the desired change. The notion of the ocean as a deeply rational agent of cultural mobility, laying claim to the whole world, is a persistent constituent of the cultural imagination

of the age. We see it further developed and extended in, for instance, John Denham's poem "Cooper's Hill" (1642). The sea, according to the poem,

Brings home to us, and makes both Indies ours;  
Finds wealth where 'tis, bestows it where it wants,  
Cities in deserts, woods in cities plants.  
So that to us no thing, no place is strange  
While his fair bosom is the world's exchange.  
(Denham 1709: 184-88)

It is difficult to imagine a greater conceptual difference between the spirit of this quotation and Brant's image of a mad sea defined by a lack of purpose, structure, and direction. For Denham, as for many other writers of the early seventeenth century, the sea was not the symbol of madness and disorderly anti-civilisation, but a force of unlimited expansion, a technically manageable but socially sensitive space, an arena for the exercise of global power. It is the sea that enables, even enforces global expansion, that serves as an agent of transnational links and that forges "the imaginative transition from an insular to an imperialist politics" (Brown 2001: 64). More than merely a symbol of imperial progress, the sea, in these writings, becomes the agent of change itself, an agent that sets up a global trading network, connects waterways, supports conduits and thus advances imperial capitalism (cf. *ibid.*). Of course, what these tropes of the sea repress, disavow or dissimulate is the 'guilty' knowledge that the obverse of imperial progress, and also the bases of Britain's prosperity, was transatlantic slavery and slave trade.<sup>2</sup> It is this context that helps us understand Paul Gilroy's (1993) notion of the *Black Atlantic*, which he conceptualises as a "counterculture of modernity" (*ibid.*: 17). Designed as a complex transcultural chronotope, the "rhizomorphic, fractal structure" (*ibid.*: 4) of the Black Atlantic evokes the fate of the millions of Africans who were transported across the continents and released into the diasporic existence of slavery.

<sup>2</sup> The modern sea, from Columbus onwards, was a highly contested *contact zone* (to use Mary Louise Pratt's term), a social space "where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (Pratt 1992: 4).

This observation leads me to my thesis: as Britain expanded its overseas spheres of influence and control in the course of the seventeenth century, the complex dynamics of territorial expansion and global mobility became a central topic of cultural contemplation (cf. Brown 2001: 57). Imaginatively circumnavigating the world, numerous poems, plays and travelogues of the age conjure up powerful ideological tropes to give specific historical meaning to the experience of global mobility and dislocation. As Laura Brown (2001) has shown for the eighteenth century, this expansionist fantasy is frequently structured around the figure of the sea. Imagined as a force in its own right, at once calm, obedient, controllable, and overwhelmingly powerful, the sea seems to drive the English along an irresistible and unpredictable course towards an (imperial) end beyond their agency and control (cf. ibid.: 55). By depicting it as a fluid entity, the sea comes to figure as an evocative emblem of England's imperial future. The sea appears as a force in motion, whose amplitude and potency reflect the power of the imperial endeavour itself (cf. ibid.: 56). As a "real-and-imagined place" (Soja 1996), the sea has a materiality that is deeply implicated in the imperial imaginary of the time, i.e., in orders of knowledge, norms, and values suitable to the various imperial projects. The sea might indeed be seen as something like the *dreamwork* (cf. Freud 1999) of imperialism, unfolding its own movement in time and space from a central point of origin and folding back on itself to disclose both utopian fantasies of an unbounded imperial appropriation and fractured images of unresolved ambivalences.

In the present article, my project is to trace a number of literary strategies by which the sea is made an agent of imperial expansion and is thus translated into imperial practice, a practice which connects England to overseas territories. It will be my central premise that representations of the sea can help us to understand how the English conceived of patterns of mobility and "of the range and the limits of human agency within larger religious, cosmological, philosophical, and even scientific worldviews" (Gumbrecht 2006: 614). Crucial questions for my analysis are the following:

- What are the mechanisms at work that set off cultural mobility and who or what is regarded as the driving force of mobility?
- How do local actors accommodate, resist or adjust to challenges posed by outside movement?

- How is mobility experienced, and how does literature give shape to the frequently undirected contingency of oceanic transgression?

## 2. The Spatial Imaginary and the Empire of the Sea

Representations of mobility are of course no mere descriptions of what is there, simply, positively, naturally. They are always to some extent political, a form of aesthetic and imaginative land claim, adequate to the demands of a rising imperial nation. Spatial practices in literature, the exploration of space through movement, ultimately yield imaginative geographies that are furnished with a performative dimension (cf. Neumann 2009). In providing a conceptual paradigm for the mental organisation of spatial relations and concomitant notions of distance and closeness, centre and periphery, difference and identity,<sup>3</sup> patterns of mobility emerge as crucial sites of cultural intervention.<sup>3</sup> Spatial practices and the enactment of place are implicated in a politics of relational connectivity, by means of which exchange and networking between cultures are organised (cf. Bærenholdt and Granås 2008: 3), typically in asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination (cf. Pratt 1992: 4). Patterns of mobility are therefore not only vital to (the re-invention of) cultural identity, but also to its constant displacements, diffusions, and disjunctions, i.e. to the travelling and translation of cultures. Cultures, these patterns of mobility indicate, must indeed be understood in terms of their routes, not their roots (cf. Gilroy 1993: 133). The fluid and dynamic nature of spatial orderings suggests that space and related patterns of mobility are always only provisionally conceptualised in texts and other media, that our representations of them are experimental in kind and that they warrant the sustained critical attention to their changing cultural signification and function.

The concern with oceanic transgression in Early Modern culture is a distinctive development of the age – an age which is frequently credited with the European “discovery of the sea” (Parry 1974). Ship-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Henri Lefebvre, who points out: “Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space [...] on the one hand, and physical space [...] on the other” (2004: 27).

ping in the early sixteenth century was still chiefly sailing along the coastline – *costeggiare*, as the Italians called it, ‘hugging the shore.’ Sailing out onto the open sea thus signified a fundamental change (cf. Kinzel 2002: 31). In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, English merchants, colonial prospectors and military leaders developed, in sometimes faltering but increasingly successful ways, the ship-building and navigational expertise that enabled them to sail the world (cf. Kaul 2009: 6-7). Daring sea-voyagers, such as Francis Drake, Humphrey Gilbert, and Walter Raleigh as well as thousands of unnamed seafarers, crossed the water, hoping to expand England’s power over the entire globe. “The originating agents of empire,” David Armitage contends,

were the Elizabethan sea-dogs, Gloriana’s sailor-heroes who had circumnavigated the globe, singed the King of Spain’s beard, swept the oceans of pirates and Catholics, and thereby opened up the sea-routes across which English migrants would travel, and English trade would flow. (2000: 100)

In the course of the seventeenth century England began to control the North Atlantic trading network, which included, most prominently, the colonial settlements along the North American coast and in the Caribbean.<sup>4</sup> Yet it is also true that England – compared to the imperial powers of Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands – was a notorious late-comer. Several attempts to establish colonies had been unsuccessful and numerous sea-voyages had foundered (cf. Hulme 1986: 90). In the light of these failures a collective vision of a world open to exploration by the English was indeed necessary.

These material developments need to be seen in the context of conceptual changes in the spatial imaginary. The sixteenth- and early seventeenth century is the age for which Carl Schmitt (1950) has identified a space revolution on a global scale, yielding a new world order based on the fundamental division between the spatial entities of land and sea. “For the first time in human history,” Schmitt claims somewhat too sweepingly, “the contrast between *land* and *sea* serves

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<sup>4</sup> England’s eventual transition from the stasis of territorial containment to the dynamics of exchange is powerfully reflected in the Navigation Acts (1651), which regulated transatlantic trade between England and the colonies (cf. Hill 1986: 157).

as the all-encompassing basis of a global law of nations" (*ibid.*: 144; my translation). Only now, Schmitt maintains, were land and sea fully understood as different kinds of spaces, characterised by fundamentally different features (2008: 16). Whereas the land can be divided up into legally defined spheres which can be possessed by specific states, the sea is exterritorial and belongs to no one. England, Schmitt continues, was the first and only nation to fully exploit the maritime energies of the new spatial order, subsequently emerging as the most influential global player (Schmitt 1950: 19). This transition from an army of shepherds and farmers to a navy of seafarers, pirates, and admirals was still unimaginable at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Yet, in Elizabethan times, it had long begun to mould the cultural imagination (cf. Klein 2004: 96), eventually giving rise to the belief that Britain was destined to build 'an empire of the sea' (an empire, which was of course, firmly conjoined with the empire of conquest (cf. Wilson 2004: 13)).

The myth of an empire of the sea was reassuring and enduring because it helped to distinguish the British Empire from the territorial empires of antiquity (especially from the Roman Empire), as well as from contemporary land-empires such as the Holy Roman Empire or the Spanish Monarchy's possessions in the Americas. An empire of the seas would not run the risk of overextension and military dictatorship which had propelled the collapse of the Roman Empire, nor would it bring the tyranny and impoverishment which ultimately hastened the decline of Spain. The British empire of the sea was considered as both historically novel and politically benign; "it could therefore escape the compulsions that destroyed all previous land-based, and hence obviously military, empires. In short, it could be an empire for liberty" (Armitage 2000: 101). If the rhetoric of empire relied on a spatial discourse that marked both natural borders and overseas connections, then the figure of the sea did indeed perform a key service to the ideology of imperialism. The sea, imagined as a centrifugal force, acted as a protector of the nation *and* the enabler of the empire, establishing the necessary link between diverse geographical regions, between the territorial periphery and British society. The geographical fact of Britain's insularity suggested that it was destined to become a maritime power, at once clearly distinct from continental Europe and linked oceanically to overseas territories (cf. Wilson 2004: 13).

### 3. Mapping the Sea: Imperial Fate?

If there is a single utopian moment in the poetry of overseas travel, discovery and colonisation created in early modern England, it might well be Michael Drayton's ode "To the Virginian Voyage," written in 1606. Reflecting territorial desire, "To the Virginian Voyage" provides a survey of an unpredictable sea that propels the Britons along an irresistible course. However, it appears that this course is at least conditionally ordered by the winds of providence. Mobility is not incidental here. Providential winds are, quite literally, speeding Britons to the New World:

*Britons*  
 [...]  
 Swell your strecth'd sayle  
 with vowes as strong,  
 as the winds that blow you.  
 Your course securely steer,  
 West and by south forth keep,  
 Rocks, lee-shores, nor shoals,  
 when Eolus scowls,  
 You need not fear,  
 So absolute the deep.  
 (Drayton 1793: 7-18)

The mythical plot of these lines fuses some of the most powerful ideological tropes of early modern imperialism, in particular the westward course of empire, the wishful vision of a maritime calm and an obedient sea and the winds of providence (cf. Kaul 2000: 47). The wind no longer foreshadows a destructive whirl; it promises energy, dynamics, and, most importantly, the directed mode of a route. The invocation of Eolus, the Greco-Roman god of winds, as well as the images of the "strecth'd sayle" and the winds safely directing the ship towards its divinely ordained destination project the promise of a calm, even teleological course of imperial expansion.

The sense of divine protection invoked here was a recurring element of the early modern discourse surrounding overseas expeditions (cf. Hulme 1986: 96). In *The Spanish Masquerado* from 1589, Robert Greene understands the defeat of the Armada as God's signal that the hitherto all too complacent English should finally get moving:

[S]eeing how secure we slept, careless, reposing ourselves in that our own strength, for that we were hedged in with the sea, and had a long and peaceable time of quiet: made slothful by these his favors, his Majesty brought in these Spaniards to waken us out of our dreams. (Greene 1964, 5: 256)

The triumph of the sea no longer lies in its role as a secure barrier for the island – a view famously expounded in Shakespeare's *Richard II*<sup>5</sup> – but in its power to connect England to the world and to secure naval supremacy. The sea gives England the amplitude, fluency and progress it otherwise lacks (cf. Brown 2001: 71). The wreck of the Armada on the one hand and the triumphant return of Drake, Frobisher, and Cavendish from their American raids on the other hand show, according to Greene, "that the Lord is on our side, that bringeth us home safe" (1964, 5: 258). Greene's very short-sightedness about imperial expeditions indicates "that mobility is only the beginning of what the English imperialist-to-be must learn" (Knapp 1992: 108). Nonetheless, it is, according to Peter Hulme, via such providentialist concepts of mobility that "England was beginning to discover its manifest destiny" (1986: 97). The myth of the benign sea and the providential winds tell the story of the human desire to reduce to contingency, to supplement and contradict the workings of natural power and to legitimise imperial expansion as an inevitable, progressive development.

In Drayton's poem, the pastoral plenitude of Virginia supplies further evidence of this imperial destiny. Unsurprisingly, given the underlying desire to possess and appropriate, the New World's paradiacal abundance is re-conceptualised as a catalogue of commodities. As the following lines show, Drayton's ode only depicts the rewards of faith bestowed on the English in the New World:

Earth's only paradise.  
Where nature hath in store  
Fowl, venison, and fish,  
And the fruitful' st soil,  
Without your toil,  
Three harvests more,  
All greater than your wish.

<sup>5</sup> As is well known, John of Gaunt in *Richard II* reminisces about a "sceptred isle," that was "bound in with the triumphant sea, / Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege / Of wat'r'y Neptune" (1997: 2.1.40, 2.1.61-63).

And the ambitious vine  
 crowns with his purple mass,  
 The cedar reaching high  
 To kiss the sky.  
 (1793: 23-34)

This pastoral scene, a vision of abundance and internalised order, provides an almost static image of the New World, which is superimposed upon the tranquil stream, serving as an emblem of national destiny. The real subject of these lines is not the New World but English imperial vision, "understood as a dialectical movement toward landscape understood as the naturalistic representation of nature" (Mitchell 1994: 19). The images of peace, plenty, and continuity, which in Early Modern discourse had troped the inviolability of the national territory, are employed here to construct an affinity between the domestic English space and the territorial bounds of the colony. According to W.J.T. Mitchell,

these semiotic features of landscape, and the historical narratives they generate, are tailor-made for the discourse of imperialism, which conceives itself precisely (and simultaneously) as an expansion of landscape understood as an inevitable, progressive development in history, an expansion of 'culture' and 'civilisation' into a 'natural' space in a progress that is itself narrated as 'natural.' Empires move outward in space as a way of moving forward in time; the 'prospect' that opens up is not just a spatial scene but a projected future of 'development' and exploitation. (17)

By translating mobility and fluidity into a highly mythical and static space, culturally contingent processes are attributed to a 'predicursive origin,' which naturalises the imperial expansion and suggests historical continuity (cf. Scholz 2004: 38). While signalling a "projected future of 'development,'" this mythical space simultaneously seems to exist outside time and history, *in illo tempore*, thus dissimulating the extent to which it bears the traces of contemporary political and historical needs. At the same time, the Edenic nature points to a merciful God, even a divine trader, who makes available to the English the bounty of faraway lands (cf. Kaul 2000: 48).

Yet, as Peter Hulme (1986: 94-97) has shown, the belief in God's will in making the New World available for English occupation was much discussed because of a series of events in early English

colonial history. In May 1609, nine ships of colonists sailed from Plymouth to Virginia, and one – the Sea-Venture, which carried the leader of the expedition, Sir George Somers – was separated from the others in a hurricane. The Sea-Venture was blown off course to the Bermudas, a small group of islands dreaded for many years by ships that had had to circumnavigate these islands to stay on their northern course. As a consequence, the Bermudas were commonly referred to as the Islands of the Devil. The other ships arrived in Virginia and reported the loss of the Sea-Venture. But as a matter of fact, the crew and passengers of the Sea-Venture managed to reach the Bermudas, where they survived in relative comfort. Here they built two other ships, the Patience and the Deliverance, in which they sailed to Jamestown in May 1610. Critics of the colonial enterprise saw in the presumed loss of the Sea-Venture a sure sign of providential condemnation. It was therefore almost inevitable, when news reached London of the colonists' survival that the Virginia Company's officials hastened to stress that Providence was unquestionably on their side (cf. Hulme 1986: 96).

We know about these incidents through an elaborate letter by William Strachey, dated 15 July 1610, and now known as *The True Reportory of the Wracke*. Strachey, an English gentleman who intended to mend his fortunes in the New World, was aboard the flagship Sea-Venture. He begins his report of the shipwreck by emphasising the destructive force of the ocean: "Windes and Seas," according to him, "were as mad, as fury and rage could make them" (Strachey 1625: 5). The terrors of the ocean and the storm, the desperate pumping to keep afloat, the onset of despair and the persistent fear – all are powerfully described to highlight the salvation that ultimately awaits the colonists. It is therefore not surprising that Strachey suggests an allegorical interpretation of the incident (cf. Hulme 1986: 97). Accordingly, these misadventures were part of a divine plan:

[S]uch tempests, thunders, and other fearefull objects are seene and heard about them, that they be called commonly, The Devils Islands, and are feared and avoyded of all sea travellers alive, above any other place in the world. Yet it pleased our mercifull God, to make even this hideous and hated place, both the place of our safetie and meanes of our deliverance. (Strachey 1625: 7)

The conclusion to be drawn from this description was that God – through his instrument the ocean – had protected the English so that they could pursue their colonial enterprise and be rewarded with new overseas territories. The relevant trope within the rhetoric of Christian historiography is, as Peter Hulme points out, the *felix culpa*: “what seems in the immediate present to be an unmitigated disaster is revealed in the long term to have had its appropriate and necessary place in God’s full narrative” (1986: 102). Or to put it in spatial terms: what appears as a loss of orientation and direction, an uncontrolled drift, is revealed as an appropriate and necessary step towards a divinely ordained destination. At the same time, however, this movement is represented as involuntary, unplanned, and therefore inevitable.

We find similar patterns of mobility in Shakespeare’s plays, particularly in his later plays, such as *The Tempest* (1611) and *Pericles* (1609), where the sea figures as both a socially sensitive sphere of political action and an agent of imperial expansion. In *Pericles*, for example, a tale of shipwreck, storm, dispersal, loss of life, miraculous recovery, and eventual reunion, it is the sea that propels Pericles, the seafarer, “in a centrifugal and essentially imperial move away from his generic ‘home’” (Klein 2004: 96). In a seemingly uncontrolled but ultimately necessary and rational movement the sea guides Pericles to new shores, thus enabling his imperial endeavours. The sea indeed moulds and underwrites Pericles’s existence to such an extent that it can be regarded as “the play’s second protagonist, facilitator of and actor in Pericles’ imperial story” (Cormack 2001: 157). In *The Tempest*, the sea, which famously manages to fuse the familiar world of the Mediterranean with a sense of the Atlantic ocean beyond (cf. Hulme 1986: 91), also serves to speed the innocent to their ordained destiny in the New World: Prospero and Miranda were cast adrift, according to Prospero, in “a rotten carcase of a butt, not rigg’d, / Nor tackle, sail or mast” (1.2.146–47) – a traditional form of punishment for certain crimes and especially favoured by those who were uncertain about the legitimacy of their actions and hence unwilling to bear the consequences for them. To cast away in such a *navis unus pellius*, a ship of one skin, as it was called, was a means of freeing the authorities from responsibility: the sea would shelter the innocent and punish the guilty (cf. Hulme 2001: 189). Hence, Prospero can claim that he and Miranda needed “Providence divine” (1.2.159) to come ashore. For Prospero, his survival is therefore a sure sign of his innocence.

and, ultimately, of the legitimacy of his control over the island (and his reaccession to his rightful dukedom). In both plays, then, the loss of orientation and control turns out to be part of a providential design that propels the protagonists towards their ordained destination.

But let us return to Drayton's poem. While a superficial reading of the early parts of the poem does indeed bear witness to the explanatory power of providential notions of cultural mobility, the poem as a whole reveals some of the strain which that code is under. Significantly, the last stanza of Drayton's ode adds to the older frame of spiritual patterns of mobility more material arguments for the necessity of English colonial discovery and active exploration. Richard Hakluyt, the famous editor of early English maritime expeditions, is celebrated as a national hero, securing new territories for English expansion: "Thy voyages attend, / Industrious Hackluit, / Whose reading shall inflame / Men to seek fame" (Drayton 1793: 68-71).

Hakluyt intended his collection *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589) to refute European perceptions of English inaction by highlighting the mobility of the English. By illustrating that the English had been "men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world" (1589: 2) the collection sought to propel new colonial initiatives. Adopting a very generous definition of *English*, Hakluyt famously managed to compile two thousand two hundred and sixty-one pages of English sea-voyages, arguing that the English had the right to foreign lands through first discovery (cf. Helgerson 2000: 316). According to Hakluyt's unrivalled collection, the English voyages to America begin with "[t]he most ancient Discovery of the West Indies by Madoc the sonne of Owen Gwyneth Prince of North-wales, in the yeere 1170," thus suggesting that Columbus and his 1488 offer to Henry VII was at best "a distant second" (Hulme 1986: 89). Here, spatial practices are directly translated into imperial practices of discovery and appropriation and thus have a highly performative quality: they are exercises in persuasion adequate to the demands of a rising imperial nation.

Hence, even as the English in Drayton's ode row determinedly towards their faraway paradise, the poem itself evokes a world much larger than their own, a world made accessible by discovery (cf. Kaul 1999: 48). In this poem, then, we witness a transition that is quite

typical of many early seventeenth-century texts: while much of the poem symbolises the sea as an instrument through which God rewards the English, it also charts a more secular argument about the necessity of mercantile adventuring and naval conquest. The symbolic, spiritual, and providential concept of mobility is supplemented by the classified and cartographically charted concept of the eighteenth century. As a matter of fact, this transition hints at the extent to which secularising modes of knowledge and action were crucial to the emergence of the modern theory and practice of imperialism (cf. McKeon 1983: 47). The poem thus restores the sea to the dynamics of the historical process, thereby energising it for global exploration, naval conquest and empirical science.

This transition from spiritual to empirical concepts of mobility may be seen as well in the outdating of the traditional figure of *translatio imperii*, a powerful model for understanding cultural mobility. As Michael McKeon has shown, the *translatio* conceives of empire as sovereignty, as a rather "static and integral entity that is translated westward from realm to realm and from culture to culture" (1983: 54). As the empire is gradually brought down to earth and to the concrete contexts of social interaction in the early seventeenth century, it begins to disband as a supra-historical entity. Accordingly, the argument of its smooth 'translation' loses not only its force but its very meaning: "One result is that henceforth the easy justification of power by reference to invisibles will be viewed with increasing scepticism" (*ibid.*).

Significantly, it is again the sea that is evoked to provide the material, albeit fragile justification for British imperial expansion and global supremacy. In an empiricist and imperialist re-definition of Early Modern physico-theology, numerous texts imagine a physical science which explicates the tendency of the sea to fill up the empty space that would otherwise separate the shores of the world from one another. This approach is supplemented by a metaphysical system, situating the characteristics of the natural expansion of the sea in the context of a pervasive providential plan (cf. Brown 2001: 78). Hence, many texts evoke the sea as a material justification for an otherwise immaterial expansiveness of England, thus envisioning an imperial expansion without geographical acquisition (cf. *ibid.*). In such propaganda as the entertainment of Elvetham (1591) the prophet of the sea, Nereus, declares that "with me came gold breasted India, / Who,

daunted at your sight, leapt to the shore, / And sprinkling endless treasure on this Isle, / Left me with this jewel to present your Grace" (Nichols 1823, 3: 112). The Elvetham entertainment justifies imperial accumulation with the material immediacy and the geographical vastness of the ocean. The sea is imagined as a force in its own right that appropriates new territories and their riches in a seemingly natural way and which produces the movement and energy an imperial nation requires. England can thus command India's riches without the English having to travel there.

In Denham's "Cooper's Hill" the ocean also becomes a suggestive emblem of territorial desire and the inevitable nature of English expansion. Here, as in other poems of the age, the Thames provides access to the wider ocean, thus connecting what goes on 'out there' to what goes on 'in here' (cf. Wilson 2004: 13):

My eye, descending from the hill, surveys  
Where Thames among the wanton valleys strays.  
Thames, the most loved of all the ocean's sons  
By his old sire, to his embraces runs;  
Hasting to pay his tribute to the sea,  
Like mortal life to meet eternity.  
(Denham 1709: 159-64)

The Thames, "the most loved of all the ocean's sons," places the characteristics of the natural, fluid, and ever changing world in the context of a providential design, which promises eternal stability. This transformation of instability and flux into eternity has a deeply ethical quality: it projects the promise of a new form of imperialism, namely the benevolent mode of English trade in which the sea spreads prosperity and civilisation wherever it goes (cf. Brown 2001: 65). Thus, the following lines assert:

Nor are his blessings to his banks confined,  
But free and common, as the sea or wind;  
When he to boast, or to disperse his stores,  
Full of the tributes of his grateful shores,  
Visits the world, and in his flying towers  
Brings home to us, and makes both Indies ours.  
(Denham 1709: 179-84)

The sea is a complex protagonist in these lines; it is animated with a peculiar autonomy and distinct presence as it moves, flows, glides and visits the world, seemingly a marvellous storehouse that could supply everything that England lacks. The sea is not an interposing space that separates one part of the world from another, but a force that unites them into one peaceful, yet clearly hierarchised (international business) community. Invoking the Early Modern trope of the body, the sea, just like blood before, "sweetly unites all the parts of the Body for the conspiration of the good of the whole" (George Thomson qd. in Paster 1993: 65). Yet, compared to blood, the sea clearly allows for more pervasive mobility: the sea not only unites the different parts of the national body but those of the whole world. The circulation of blood was a widespread trope in early modern England to symbolise all the key structures of exchange and distribution of resources. However, it seems that this trope could not provide for the unlimited mobility central to imperial exchange and the ideology of the *pax Britannica* because, in the microcosmic body, every part is bound to occupy a given place so that the whole can operate successfully. As soon as blood transgresses the limits of the body it turns into excretion, which contaminates the body and thwarts any form of directed and purposeful agency (cf. Scholz 1998: 471). The sea, on the other hand, is envisioned as a rational force in motion that stretches almost endlessly, that fosters transnational links and appropriates new territories *without* any cultural contact, thus, so the trope suggests, avoiding the risk of 'contamination' through contact with cultural others.

In the course of its expansion, Denham's sea makes the world over in its image, "generating from its own nature a system whose logic reflects, explains and justifies that nature" (Brown 2001: 87). The sea, abstracted from social contexts and human endeavours, does the 'civilising' work of empire (cf. ibid.). It appropriates all the shores of the world for England and cultivates them, i.e. subjects them to the same mechanism of commercial, capitalist exchange, a mechanism from which no place can escape and which is imagined as a civilising force (cf. Scholz 1998: 478). Indeed, the ideology of imperial capitalism endorsed by Denham's "Cooper's Hill" is suffused with the sense of an almost providential distribution of goods, testifying to the intrinsically rational order of the world. The imperial future evoked and enabled by the figure of the ocean therefore entails a deeply ethical proposition, which is based upon conventions of reciprocity: the sea

distributes wealth, peace, and civilisation in exchange for new territories abroad (cf. Weinbrot 1993: 283). Arguably, the most important function of this trope is to conceal the agency of the acquisitive, travelling subject and “the urgency of accumulation” (Brown 1993: 116). By thus displacing imperial violence, the figure of the sea performs a major service to the ideology of imperialism, precisely because it confirms its claim to impose a peaceful empire on the world (cf. Brown 2001: 80). By this token, the ostensible pacifism of colonial trade could eventually be perceived as a softening of a more assertive imperial expansionism.

We find similar conceptions of the ocean as the agent of imperial expansion in a number of other texts of the age. Andrew Marvell’s poem “Bermudas” (1726) and Dryden’s *Annus Mirabilis. The Year of Wonder, 1666* (1727) are cases in point. Here too the sea is imagined as a benevolent waterway, a waterway which brings the English to the world and the world’s riches to England (cf. Kaul 2000: 45ff.). Marvell’s “Bermudas” celebrates the guiding winds of providence, which securely speeds the exiles to the New World (cf. ibid.): “What should we do but sing his praise / That led us through the wat’ry maze, / [...] He lands us on a grassy stage; / Safe from the storms, and prelate’s rage” (1726: 5-12). What emerges from these imaginative patterns of mobility is a powerful “ethics of interchange” (Weinbrot 1993: 283) that defines the benevolent system of British imperial expansion. Controlled movement, safety, serene seas, and effortless appropriation are the rewards for that virtue. As Dryden’s *Annus Mirabilis* would have it: “Thus to the Eastern wealth through storms we go” (1727: 1213), on a “British Ocean” (1727: 1206). Here, the sea has been naturalised to such an extent that it can be fully integrated into domestic spatial orders. The spatial domestication of the sea is a powerful means of legitimising the acquisition of foreign riches, which become naturally British through mere contact with the sea.

Of course, we should be wary about constructing a coherent master-narrative about the movement produced by the sea. The optimistic visions of cultural mobility, of a providential, even rational forward movement and of beatific territorial expansion without violence, are set against more ambiguous visions. Representations of cultural mobility and global expansion interact in multiple and even antagonistic ways with the historical contexts they openly or silently

reflect (cf. Klein and Mackenthun 2004: 6). In Edmund Waller's poem "The Battle of the Summer-Island" (1638), for instance, the sea, that "raging ocean" (1770: 100), turns out to be an agent of great destruction, "the wild fury of tempests" (*ibid.*: 96) responsible not only for beached and dead whales but also for "the fate of ships, and shipwrecked men" (*ibid.*: 97). By the end of the poem the pastoral motifs used to celebrate English imperialism are abandoned completely and the ocean, drenched in blood, becomes a site of cruelty, battle, and fragmentation (cf. Kaul 2000: 52). By turning the figure of the benign, rational waterway into a scene of disorientation and devastation, Waller's poem retrieves the physical and often violent reality of overseas expeditions from their widespread glorification and reveals "some of the human costs of territorial expansion" (Kaul 2000: 52). There is indeed nothing necessary about the course of the English empire.

Later in the century, Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) envisions the sea as a profoundly irrational and dangerous entity, which belies the idea that mobility and expansion are inevitable, progressive developments. The ocean, in *Paradise Lost*, is a destructive force, ambiguously linked to the unformed matter from which God created the world but which in itself is envisioned as a deeply anti-vital force (cf. Zwierlein 2002: 49). Most importantly, the sea makes any sense of direction impossible. The sea is imagined as an "[i]llimitable ocean without bound, / Without dimension, where length, breadth, and hight, / And time and place are lost" (Milton 2000: 2.892-4). In his capacity as a seafarer, Satan's main epistemological function is to foreground the status of the ocean as a repulsive realm of uncontrollable matter. In contrast to the archangel Raphael's comfortable voyage, there is nothing purposeful and predictable in Satan's sea-voyages and he struggles with hostile elements throughout: Satan "sometimes / [...] scours the right-hand coast, sometimes the left; / Now shaves with level wing the deep," resembling a fleet "by equinoctial winds / Close sailing from Bengala" (*ibid.*: 2.632-34; 2.637-38). The sea, in *Paradise Lost*, has little else to offer but frustration, failure and setbacks; its movements are erratic, treacherous, and erroneous; it keeps metamorphosing into different shapes and stands in for dislocation and dissolution. For all the geographical details invoked in *Paradise Lost*, the concept of space constructed here is not empirical but hermeneutic: space is created through perception, and the uncharted,

uncontrollable ocean hints at the instability of human knowledge and the inevitable diffusion of English culture (cf. Zwierlein 2002: 63).

#### 4. Conclusion: Patterns of Mobility, Patterns of Contingency

Mobility studies, Stephen Greenblatt has recently argued, “are essentially about what medieval theologians called *contingentia*, the sense that the world as we know it is not necessary. This *contingentia*,” he continues,

is precisely the opposite of the theory of divinely or historically ordained destiny that drove the imperial [...] model of mobility. And yet, to be fully convincing, mobility studies also need to account for the intense illusion that mobility in one particular direction or another is predestined. They need to account as well for the fact that cultures are experienced again and again – in the face of overwhelming contrary evidence – not as contingent at all but as fixed, inevitable, and strangely enduring. (2010: 16)

The cultural definitions enabled by the figure of the sea fuse precisely these opposing patterns of mobility. Together, these definitions represent diverging trajectories of two interlocked historical narratives: the desire to venture forth and to expand England’s power over the entire globe and the parallel fear of the diffusion of English culture that such maritime explorations initially set out to maintain, the hope that imperial expansion was divinely or historically ordained and the guilty awareness that there is nothing inevitable or necessary about these patterns of mobility. These opposing patterns established by the figure of the sea dominated English cultural debates and fictions of the sea for many decades to come – at least up to the late-Victorian age and Joseph Conrad. His novella *Heart of Darkness*, published in 1902, combines both of these irreconcilable patterns of mobility and by so doing betrays the ambivalences and contradictions of British imperialism. While Marlow recounts how, in an earlier imperial expedition, he struggled to travel the Congo River upstream, he is sitting on the deck of a ship, the Nellie, that is firmly anchored in the Thames Estuary, immobile before the tide: “The flood had made, the wind was nearly calm, and being bound down the river, the only thing for it was to come and wait for the turn of the tide” (Conrad 2007: 3). The sea is

still invested with imperial meaning, and yet at the same time exposed to the ambivalences and contingencies of imperialism. The fusion of these paradoxical patterns of (im-)mobility – on the one side an imaginary venturing forth into foreign spaces, on the other a static perseverance in familiar places – are a perfectly fitting expression of the increasing imperial anxiety at the *fin de siècle*, of the very dislocation of Englishness and the disorientation of values. In this perspective, the representation of a static ocean seems to function like a symptom that indicates a fundamental feeling of loss, an imperial mourning, that is, a shattering of the illusion that mobility in one particular direction or another is predestined or even divinely ordained.

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# Consuming mobility

*A practice approach to  
sustainable mobility transitions*

**Jorrit O. Nijhuis**



Environmental Policy  
Series

Volume 10

# Mobility as a complex problem

the use of bio fuels in FFV in an attempt to meet the National Renewable Fuel Standard. A public education project was initiated under the heading of the National FFV Awareness Campaign whose mission is 'to locate and educate the nation's nine million FFV owners and motivate them to use higher than 10% blends of ethanol' ([www.ffv-awareness.org](http://www.ffv-awareness.org)). Car drivers are prompted to check their vehicle manual, their fuel cap or to go to a special information website that lists all E85 compatible models. According to ethanol promoters most FFV owners were stunned to learn that their car could run on alternative fuel.

## 1.2 Mobility as a complex problem

Automobility provides a perfect example of the environmental challenges in a post-modern era. As the abovementioned case of flex-fuel vehicles in the United States illustrates, sustainable innovation in the mobility domain is not only dependent on the technological means available, but even more so on the developments in the preferences, opinions and actions of (car) consumers and citizens (ECN, 2009). Nevertheless, the discussion on large-scale sustainable transformation in the domain of mobility continues to focus predominantly on the (technological) characteristics of vehicles and fuels. This emphasis must also be seen in the light of the success of earlier generations of environmental policies.

Classic environmental policies of the 70s, 80s and 90s have contributed to a substantial improvement in the environmental quality in Western societies. Cleaner production processes, recycling programs, and eco-efficient products and services have reduced the environmental impact in various production-consumption chains. The development path of recycling (policies) of end-of-life vehicles can be seen as a case of a successful ecological modernization in the automotive industry (Sminke *et al.*, 2003). Increasing material costs, environmental policies (such as the EU guideline 2000/53/EC) and technological innovations in the handling of end-of-life vehicles have in a mutually interdependent way resulted in a situation that on average in the Netherlands over 95% of the vehicle weight is recycled (ARN, 2013). Simultaneously, in that same time period the excretion of polluting emissions of petrol and diesel cars ( $\text{NO}_x$ , CO,  $\text{PM}_{10}$ ,  $\text{SO}_2$ ) has been reduced substantially. Especially the traffic induced emission of sulphur dioxides has been dealt with almost completely. Since 1998 the EU-limit for  $\text{SO}_2$  concentrations, implemented to protect public health and ecosystem quality, has not been exceeded anywhere in the Netherlands (CBS, PBL, Wageningen UR, 2013). Acidification of ecosystems, the environmental topic in the 1980s due to the forecasted disappearance of woodlands, is therefore not an issue anymore.

The abovementioned developments show how the cleaning of production processes can be seen as the 'low hanging fruit' of environmental policies in the domain of mobility. Grin *et al.* (2003) describe these approaches between the 1970s and the 1990s as the first and second generation of environmental policies. The focus of the first generation of environmental policies was on reducing the harmful effects (such as polluting emissions) via end-of-pipe measures in a specific domain. The second generation was characterised by a focus on reducing pollution at its source, and by a more regional approach. However, this (formerly) successful approach of government-led environmental policies with a strong reliance on a regulatory steering model is no longer sufficient to deal with current environmental challenges in the domain of mobility (PBL, 2013).

Contemporary mobility problems can be characterised by their complex and persistent nature<sup>2</sup>. These problems are not limited to environmental dimensions. From an economic, social and ecological perspective the current fossil fuel oriented system of mobility cannot be considered sustainable (Kahn Ribeiro *et al.*, 2007; Kemp *et al.*, 2012; WBCSD, 2004). Thus, mobility problems are multi-faceted, covering environmental, social and economic dimensions. Solutions devised for a problem in one dimension may have detrimental effects in another. Clearly, increasing road infrastructure and improving traffic flows through traffic management can reduce travel time loss for travellers but may have negative social and ecological consequences. Cleaner and more efficient car engines are beneficial for the environment but may weaken existing constraints on the growth of car travel and contribute to urban sprawl and car dependent lifestyles (Adams, 2005).

Furthermore, the effects of the problems generated by the car regime are not only local but also global in scope. This makes the negative impact of the car regime on environment and society not only less visible but also much more demanding to deal with as they surpass the authority and reach of single nations. In the economic sphere there are a number of global institutions such as the IMF, the WTO and the OECD which have the necessary authority and (political, economic and legal) means to have ensured global rules and regulations on international trade and currencies. In the ecological sphere comparable global institutions which have the mandate and power to enforce global environmental regulations are lacking. But even if these institutions were in place it is highly questionable whether these classical regulatory strategies applied by governmental agencies will be sufficient for the complexity of present-day mobility problems.

Another part of the complexity lies herein that over the years the role of citizen-consumers in dealing with sustainability problems has become a critical factor. Not in the least because cleaner production processes do not necessarily result into sustainable consumption practices. So far, technological improvements in production and end-of-life processes have been insufficient to compensate for the increasing environmental pressure due to consumption growth (MNP, 2006, 2007). People not only travel more kilometres in general, they also use more resource-intensive transport modes to move around. In the last decades for many people everyday mobility has increasingly become synonymous with automobility. Between 1950 and 1997 the world car fleet has grown from 50 million to 580 million vehicles, approximately five times more than the population growth in that time period (Kahn Ribeiro *et al.*, 2007). A generally accepted prognosis for daily passenger mobility is that until 2050 there will be a worldwide growth of 1.7% in passenger kilometres per year (WBCSD, 2004).

It is interesting to note that the growing role of citizen-consumers in environmental issues seemingly runs parallel with their decreasing involvement. In comparison to social, economic and political subjects, the interest for environmental problems has declined over the years (CBS, PBL, Wageningen UR, 2013). While most of the local (environmental) effects often have a tangible impact on the daily life of citizens, the global effects of the new generation of environmental challenges lack this concreteness and are therefore more difficult to distinguish (*ibid.*). Comparable to urban air quality and traffic noise, climate change may seem to be a very abstract phenomenon.

<sup>2</sup>Complex problems are problems that: 'occur on different levels of scale, have a variety of actors with different perspectives involved, are highly uncertain in terms of future developments, can only be dealt with on the long term and are hard to "manage" in a traditional sense' (Loorbach, 2007, p. 14).

Climate change and other global environmental problems are to a large extent a blind spot in the everyday life of citizen-consumers. Also, rarely do consumers make the connection between the use of technologies, energy consumption, and climate change emissions (Goldblatt, 2002). That doesn't mean that citizen-consumers have no perception of climate change, it is just not a part of everyday life routines. Nevertheless, even though people have limited concrete awareness of the (unintended) implications of their actions, the cumulative effect of the combined local actions of human agents may be global in nature (Urry, 2003a).

### 1.3 The approach of system innovations and transitions

In the last decade there is a growing body of literature on system innovations and transitions which has as a common understanding that long-term transformative change is necessary to deal with the complexity and persistency of contemporary environmental problems. This systems approach in dealing with complex environmental problems can be considered the third generation of environmental policies (Grin *et al.*, 2003).

The shared point of view is that 'standard' short-term approaches to changes within societal subsystems, such as the system of mobility, will be insufficient to deal with the problems facing society because they will lead only to gradual changes instead of transformative change. For instance, innovation studies have shown that most innovations are of an incremental nature; the novel technologies introduced to the market fit in the existing social and technical infrastructure and do not require societal actors to substantially alter their routines (Elzen & Wieczorek, 2005). This means that the whole modus operandi remains unaltered, for instance the modus of how people travel and what it entails to be mobile. In contrast, a transition consists of a continuous process of structural change whereby a subsystem of society changes fundamentally (Loorbach, 2007; Rotmans *et al.*, 2001).

There is general agreement that transitions are defined by three main characteristics. First, a transition is a long-term process that covers one or more generations (at least 25 years). Second, transitions consist of reciprocal developments in policy, economy, science, technology, culture, markets and consumption patterns. Thirdly, transitions are the result of dynamics within and between three different levels of scale: niche, regime and landscape, generally referred to as the multi-level perspective (MLP) (Loorbach, 2007, Geels & Schot, 2007).

The general goal of transition studies is to understand how transitions in society develop. Over the years three branches of transition studies have emerged, each of which has a particular point of view on the analysis of transitions due to their differences in scientific origin. The first branch of transition studies conceptualises a transition as a shift from one socio-technical system to another. Derived primarily from the research domain of science and technology and evolutionary economics the perspective of socio-technical systems takes socio-technological configurations within a societal subsystem as the point of departure for analysing transitions (see Berkhout *et al.*, 2003; Elzen *et al.*, 2004; Geels, 2005c, Geels & Schot, 2007; Hoogma *et al.*, 2002; Schot *et al.*, 1994). The second branch of transition studies, the approach of transition management, is a form of action research as it is 'by definition (partly) applied and participatory' (Loorbach, 2007, p. 37). Grounded in theories of complex adaptive systems and complexity governance, scientists in the field of transition management, aside from analysing transitions, also actively contribute to

sustainable transitions via Mode 2 knowledge production. By analysing historical and on-going transitions new methodologies and approaches for governance are developed to coordinate on-going and future transition processes (see Kemp & Loorbach, 2006; Loorbach, 2007; Rotmans *et al.*, 2001). Finally, the third branch of transition studies provides a more analytical perspective on transition governance. Based on political and sociological theories of reflexive modernisation this approach specifically focuses on the dynamic relationship between transitions, politics and power (Grin, 2012; Grin *et al.*, 2003).

### 1.3.1 The multi-level perspective

The socio-technical perspective in transition studies conceptualizes transport as a socio-technical system. The notion of socio-technical systems emphasizes that technologies are not stand-alone objects but are embedded in society through infrastructures, regulations, production networks, and consumption patterns. It is the alignment of these separate elements which result in a socio-technical system. While the socio-technical *system* refers to measurable elements (such as automobiles, road infrastructures, market shares), the notion of socio-technical *regime* refers to more intangible elements (such as the normative, cognitive and regulative rules) which actors draw upon in concrete actions (Geels & Kemp, 2012; Geels, 2004). The socio-technical regime refers therefore to the associations, rules, and thoughts carried by different social groups which are active in a socio-technical system.

As described above, transition studies claim that trajectories of transitions can best be understood as the alignment of developments at multiple levels (Geels & Schot, 2007). The multi-level perspective (MLP) is an analytical model which distinguishes three levels of increasing structuration: niches, socio-technical regime, and socio-technical landscapes. Radical innovations (unstable novel socio-technical configurations) 'emerge' at the niche-level where they are developed by networks of niche actors, often outside of the existing regime. The socio-technical landscape refers to the context in which niches and regimes are embedded but which are outside of the direct influence of niche and regime actors. They refer to aspects such as macro-economic and macro-political developments, climate change, and physical infrastructures. The socio-technical landscape may have a direct influence on the socio-technical regime and niche. For instance, climate change and peak oil put pressure on the car-regime, while the existing physical automotive infrastructures provide a barrier to non-automotive transport modes in technological niches.

The MLP is a helpful analytical tool in analysing and understanding stability and change in socio-technical systems such as the car-based system for transportation (Geels & Kemp, 2012). It is easy to understand how existing socio-technical regimes show a resistance to radical change due to investment costs (in production processes, infrastructures), interests by regime players (automotive industry, road construction) and established consumption patterns and lifestyles. Socio-technical systems are relatively stable in the sense that alterations and innovations are incremental and do not fundamentally alter the socio-technical system. The reduction of air polluting emissions by cars due to the introduction of technological innovations can be seen as a series of incremental innovations in the car-based regime which came about due to pressures at the landscape level (increasing global environmental awareness in the 1980s). As the regime

# Consuming mobility

*A practice approach to  
sustainable mobility transitions*

**Jorrit O. Nijhuis**



Environmental Policy

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# Shifting policy perspectives on sustainable mobility.

with the possible strategies of producers and suppliers in the modes of provision. By using the aforementioned mobility portfolio we also aim to analyse individual variety in the conduct of social practices in the domain of mobility while avoiding the traps of the voluntaristic approaches which dominate the sustainable consumption debate.

In the final and concluding chapter we will return to above formulated research questions. By reflecting on the theoretical and empirical outcomes of this thesis, building blocks for a scientific research agenda on sustainable everyday mobility will be postulated. In addition, recommendations for a citizen-consumer-oriented environmental policy in the domain of everyday mobility will be provided.

## Chapter 2.

### Shifting policy perspectives on sustainable mobility. Towards a demand-oriented mobility policy?

*For a long time the tenor of public policy was: mobility is a problem. If you have to leave home, use the bicycle, bus or train. Then came the phase in which mobility was accepted. The current cabinet has the point of view that mobility is a must. Mobility – of persons and goods – is an absolute precondition for the functioning of society and economy.*

Public brochure of the Nota Mobiliteit (Dutch Mobility Policy Plan, 2004)

#### 2.1 Introduction

Sustainability is most usually described as a concern for the long-term impact of human activities on the environment, social life, well-being, and prosperity. Current mobility patterns are generally considered to be unsustainable as they place enormous demands on the environment, safety, health and welfare. Furthermore, the capacity of the road networks is exceeded which leads to reduced accessibility, congestion and economic costs.

How the multi-faceted concepts 'mobility' and 'sustainable mobility' are defined and approached in this thesis will be described in Paragraph 2.2. Because the focus is predominantly on the ecological dimensions of sustainable mobility, these ecological dimensions are described in more detail as well. Here, attention is given to the main trends in mobility and its environmental impacts. This paragraph will make clear that structural changes in current transport systems and mobility patterns are necessary in order to attain the sustainability goals in the domain of mobility.

Due to improved knowledge and awareness about the detrimental effects of current systems and patterns of mobility the issue of sustainable mobility has received substantial attention from policy makers, private sector actors and the general public, especially in the last three decades (though it has not always been indicated with the term sustainable mobility). Throughout the years OECD countries have developed a number of pathways, that is a combination of approaches and policies that potentially reduce the negative impacts of mobility growth on society, through which sustainable mobility is pursued. Though most countries have developed and implemented nation-specific transport policy plans, in general the sustainability strategies that have been pursued show some common characteristics. In the Paragraph 2.3 a closer look is taken at these dominant paradigms in mobility policy, especially in relation to sustainable mobility. In this paragraph the transport policy responses of the Dutch, and – to a more limited extent – also of the UK government with respect to sustainability challenges are described. From a historical perspective, starting from the 1960s onwards, sustainable mobility governance and research in these two European countries are explored. This paragraph will show that the relative weight that is attached to the various dimensions of sustainable mobility has differed greatly over time. More importantly it will show how over the years (sustainable) mobility policies, due to long-standing

scepticism towards the possibilities of directly targeting mobility practices of citizen-consumers, have become strongly supply- and technology-oriented. Only in the most recent period of time, the demand-side of sustainable mobility practices has gained more emphasis as an indispensable element of the agenda for mobility policy.

In Paragraph 2.4 the limitations of a supply oriented mobility policy are exposed while arguing for the need to further elaborate the emerging orientation on citizen-consumers and their everyday life mobility practices. Because of the crucial relevance for mobility policy, the actual and potential roles of citizen-consumers in transitions towards sustainable passenger mobility are at the core of this thesis.

## 2.2 The issue of sustainable mobility

### 2.2.1 Defining sustainable mobility

Before we describe the dominant environmental impacts that are implicated by current systems of mobility, it is useful to first take a closer look at what exactly is meant with the terms 'mobility' and 'sustainable mobility'. In scientific literature and policy documents the words traffic, transport, transportation, mobility and mobilities are often used as synonyms or at least as partially overlapping concepts. Furthermore, the literature on sustainable transport and sustainable mobility is immense and rapidly growing without unanimously accepted definitions and clearly defined end-goals. Whether this is a problem or not depends on the specific approach applied in research and policy, a matter which is addressed shortly hereafter. Without going into too much detail in this section the abovementioned concepts are clarified and a position is taken on the perspective of sustainable mobility transitions.

Transport, brought back to its essence, is generally defined as the physical movement of persons and goods between geographical locations. Traffic is the accumulated movement of transport units that make use of socio-technical transport infrastructures. Traffic therefore is the appearance of transport in the shape of movements of transport modes (Van Wee & Dijst, 2002). Traffic and transport are generally expressed in quantitative units: number of vehicle kilometres per day or the number of kilometres that are travelled by a group of travellers. Over the years the use of mobility (both in its single and plural form) is increasingly adopted, especially on the European continent. This increased usage of the mobility terms mostly displays a shift in how movement is perceived in both science and policy. Studies of transport often have a strong technological orientation (Thomsen *et al.*, 2005; Urry, 2007). They for example focus on the changing nature of infrastructures, and on the quantitative mapping of transport patterns. Furthermore, as the definitions of traffic and transport already indicate, there is a strong focus on the relations between transport technologies (modalities) and geographical locations. The term mobility indicates a gradual incorporation of the relation between the transport systems and societal developments. It also represents a more social perspective on the movement of people and their social networks, thereby indicating that 'being mobile' entails more than just physical movement. The social perspective understands mobility as a social concept (Vogl, 2004) and leads to a different definition of movement. From this perspective, mobility can be defined as an actor's competence to realize projects and plans while being on the move (Bonss & Kesselring, 2004).

The term mobilities (the plural form of mobility) refers to the provocative idea that mobility is not only about movement of people and goods, but also about information and ideas. 'The concept of mobilities encompasses both the large-scale movements of people, objects, capital and information across the world, as well as the more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space and the travel of material things within everyday life' (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 1). Furthermore, the separation between geographical mobility and social mobility (change of status within life's social hierarchy) is discarded. The mobilities concept also focuses not only on actual movement of these various elements described in the definition, but also about potential movement (see Kaufmann, 2002) and blocked movement. In this perspective on mobility, understanding social life starts with analysing the relationships between the various forms of mobility. Corporal, social, and virtual mobility are strongly related and can be perceived as different ways in which communication may take shape.

In sum, there is wide range of mobility-related concepts in use, from the narrow defined term 'traffic flow' to the more encompassing concept of 'mobilities'. This thesis is written predominantly from the mobility (singular) perspective as described above. The plural form, which distinguishes between corporeal mobility (persons), object mobility (freight transport), virtual mobility (information), and imaginary mobility (media and ideas) (Thomsen *et al.*, 2005; Urry, 2000) is made selective use of when developing the analytical and conceptual frameworks. In general however, the mobilities perspective seems to stretch the focus too far beyond this thesis' object of investigation: everyday mobility practices of citizen-consumers in the context of sustainable transitions. Nonetheless, the main message of the mobilities perspectives – 'putting the social into travel' (Urry, 2003b) – is taken serious and applied in the broad, also social way in which the concept of 'mobility' is used throughout the thesis.

With mobility-related concepts already showing a wide variety of meanings, the diversity seems only to increase when the issue of sustainable transport or mobility is brought up. Relevant questions in this respect are: what exactly should be made sustainable? When are the different elements contained in mobility or transport systems considered to be sustainable (or not)? Do (growths in) current patterns of mobility need to be preserved or can the societal and economic functions they fulfil be substituted? Against the background of these kinds of questions we shortly discuss how the concept of sustainable mobility is used throughout this thesis.

Sustainability is generally characterized by the pillars People, Planet and Profit (increasingly also referred to as prosperity) representing the social, ecological and economic dimensions of the sustainability concept. Since the publication of Our Common Future by the Brundtland Commission in 1987 the most widely used definition of sustainable development refers to a 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Brundtland Report, 1987). Inspired by Our Common Future, the earlier definitions of sustainable transport closely resembled the concept of sustainable development. One of the first widely accepted definition stems from an OECD conference in 1996. Here sustainable transportation was defined as 'transportation that does not endanger public health or ecosystems and meets mobility needs consistent with (a) the use of renewable resources at below their rates of regeneration; and (b) the use of non-renewable resources at below the rates of development of renewable substitutes' (OECD, 1996). More recently, policy and scientific publications have generally incorporated the social dimensions of mobility. This is reflected in the more frequent use of the term

sustainable mobility instead of sustainable transport in most policy documents. One of the more influential definitions in effect today is construed by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development who defines sustainable mobility as 'the ability to meet the needs of society to move freely, gain access, communicate, trade, and establish relationships without sacrificing other essential human or ecological values today or in the future' (WBCSD, 2001, 2004).

Though informative, these definitions do not provide answers to the concrete questions stated above. To answer this type of questions, sustainability indicators are often used to formulate, measure and monitor end-goals for specific elements of sustainable mobility. According to Gudmundsson (2004, p. 4) measuring and monitoring sustainable mobility involves the components of conceptualization (defining what is to be monitored), operationalization (making concepts measurable by selecting parameters and indicators) and utilization (the ways in which the indicators are drawn upon in analysis or policy). However, the detail to which these components are elaborated in policy and research depends on the specific approach to sustainable mobility being applied. In his analysis of sustainable mobility indicators, Gudmundsson describes three approaches that are used in scientific and policy literature on sustainable mobility.

Sustainable mobility can serve as a metaphor where the mobility policy agenda takes into account sustainable development concerns. The metaphorical approach is typically adopted by policy administrations who use indicators, for example growing transport volumes and carbon dioxide emissions, as general guidelines for sustainable mobility.

Sustainable mobility can also be approached literally with explicit references to the meaning of sustainability for mobility. In this approach sustainable mobility entails specific limitations set by the environment and demands of society. This approach is mostly pursued by in academia. The last approach is a blending of the first and second approach in which the literal meaning of sustainability guides the construction of indicators for research and policy assessment of sustainable mobility.

In this thesis sustainable mobility is approached from the latter, a blending of the first and second approach to sustainable mobility. Generally speaking, the main emphasis is on sustainable mobility as a metaphor, encompassing a broadly defined and envisioned end-goal and less so on sustainable mobility or transport in its literal sense. This means that sustainable mobility is mostly used as a conceptual tool to refer to and indicate a continual process of societal change towards sustainability (with a specific focus on the environmental dimension of sustainability as an object of research). To view sustainable mobility in this way, in our view, corresponds with the two main theoretical approaches adopted in this thesis, transition theory and ecological modernisation theory, both of which are theories of social change which look at structural changes of socio-technical systems (Mol, 1995; Mol & Spaargaren, 2000; Kemp & Loorbach, 2006; Loorbach, 2007). Especially the reflexive ecological modernisation approach with an emphasis on social learning, cultural politics and new institutional arrangements (Mol & Spaargaren, 2000) in many ways has a process-oriented approach in common with the basic elements of transition management.

The adoption of a process-oriented approach to sustainable mobility also derives from the characteristics of current mobility problems. Problems associated with mobility can be characterized as multidimensional, complex, and persistent<sup>7</sup> (Avelino *et al.*, 2007). This means that they occur

<sup>7</sup> Environmental problems are considered persistent when current policies are not succeeding in achieving the desired environmental qualities, even in the long-term (see VROM-raad, 2005).

on various scale-levels and involve many different actors with varying perspectives, norms and values (Loorbach, 2007). To indicate the difference in perspectives among stakeholders Table 2.1 shows that different stakeholders (in this case mobility experts, policy makers and users) to a certain extent attribute different priorities for sustainable mobility policy. Policy actors give a higher priority to environmental problems and to neighbourhood quality. Citizens tend to attach more importance to social aspects of mobility such as social exclusions and traffic safety (PODO II, 2004).

Therefore, sustainable mobility objectives and indicators should be flexible and adjustable, as they are bound to change because of the long-time period needed to achieve the envisioned levels of sustainable mobility, and because of the diversity of the vested interested involved. 'The complexity of the system is at odds with the formulation of specific objectives. With flexible evolving objectives one is in a better position to react to changes from inside and outside the system' (Loorbach, 2007, p. 73).

So, an important part of the process in answering the types of questions concerning sustainable mobility stated above involves the formulation of shared future visions, projects and frames with respect to sustainable mobility. These visions do not so much entail or have at their core some concrete solutions to realize a specific sustainable mobility system. Instead they refer to the general qualities such a system must possess (CE, 2008a). The development and use of objective sustainability criteria are not excluded but used primarily as instruments for constructing policies, projects and visions on sustainable mobility. For example it is one of the purposes of this thesis to investigate how – with the help of what kind of concrete criteria and frames – an environmental rationality (Mol, 1995, 2005) can be brought (and increasingly already is brought) into the everyday life mobility practices of citizen-consumers. This aim will be pursued throughout the upcoming chapters. These general quality standards for sustainable mobility are listed in Figure 2.1. This could be seen as the conceptualization step as put forward by Gudmundsson (2004).

While recognizing the interdependencies and forms of overlap that exist between the three dimensions of sustainability, in the next paragraph the changes throughout the years within the 'planet dimension of sustainable mobility' will be explored in more detail.

*Table 2.1. Priority attributed to societal problems for sustainable mobility policy by different stakeholders (PODO II, 2004).*

	Mobility actors	Policy actors	Users	$\chi^2$ -test
Traffic accidents and safety	1.3	1.2	1.3	P=0.44
Congestion	1.5	1.8	1.8	P=0.53
Quality of neighbourhood (land use, noise)	2.2	1.5	1.9	P=0.03
Air quality	2.0	1.6	2.1	P=0.18
Climate change	2.0	1.9	2.2	P=0.69
Social exclusion	2.3	2.3	1.8	P=0.21

1 = absolute priority / 2 = priority / 3 = less priority / 4 = no priority.

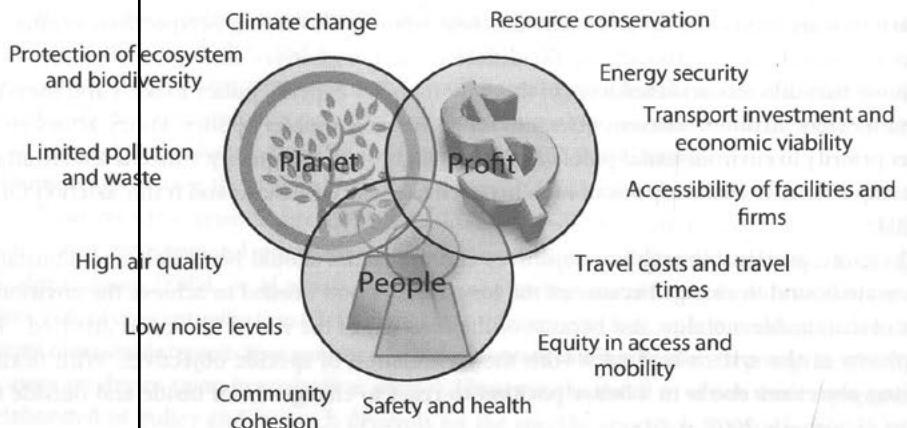


Figure 2.1. Quality standards for sustainable mobility.

### 2.2.2 Environmental dimensions of sustainable mobility

Passenger mobility contributes significantly to local, regional and global environmental problems. In the Netherlands, the transport sector as a whole is responsible for 40 to 60% of the various emissions that are harmful for human health. Furthermore, about one fifth of all greenhouse gas emissions can be attributed to this sector. The contribution to global warming and climate change has grown substantively over time and will likely continue to grow in the upcoming decades considering current worldwide trends. In this section the growth in transport volumes and the corresponding environmental impact of passenger mobility are portrayed in more detail. The attention focuses specifically on the three problems that provide the greatest challenges for transitions towards sustainable mobility, namely local air quality, climate change and noise (CE, 2008a).

#### Growth in mobility and future trends

The historical growth in personal mobility, which is expressed in terms of rising transport kilometres, is a worldwide phenomenon. Figure 2.2 clearly shows that on the one hand people increasingly use resource-intensive transport modes to move around and on the other hand that people travel more kilometres in general. The graph also shows that everyday mobility has become almost synonymous with automobility. However, there are important differences between countries, especially the differences between the patterns of transport growths in developed countries on the one hand and developing countries and so called transitional economies on the other are remarkable.

Most OECD countries have already realized the largest growth in everyday mobility over the past decades. In the European Union as a whole, car use makes up around 78% of the share of

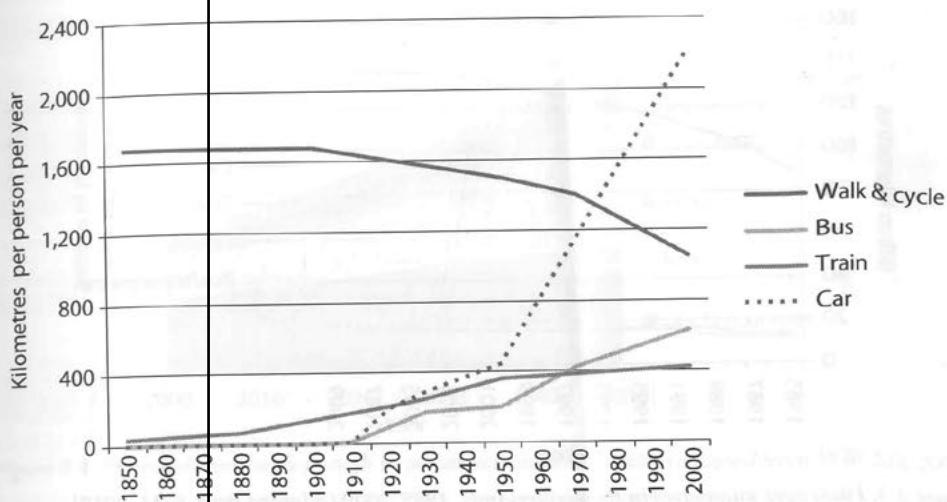


Figure 2.2. Worldwide per capita movement of people, 1850-1990 (adapted from Gilbert & Perl, 2007).

passenger (non-aerial) transport when measured in kilometres (EEA, 2006)<sup>8</sup>. In the EU, member states passenger transport volumes grew by 30% on average between 1990 and 2002 (*ibid.*). The increase in kilometres travelled is most often explained by a combination of demographic changes (population growth and age distribution), socio-demographic developments (economic growth and rising net-spending on consumption), spatial developments (large-scale transport infrastructure construction and the separation between workplace and home), and finally, social-cultural trends (individualisation, increase in double-income families, emancipation, temporal intensification of daily life/culture of haste) (CE, 2008a; Harms, 2003, 2006, 2008). Though economic growth is often seen as the major driver behind transport growth, Germany is one country where a reduction in transport kilometres has been accomplished despite of continued economic growth, a clear sign that a decoupling is possible (EEA, 2006). The decoupling between economic growth and transport growth is related to the more stabilised mobility patterns of many OECD countries.

In the Netherlands passenger kilometres between 1985 and 2009 has increased by approximately 40% as a whole, and increased by 54% for car kilometres specifically (KiM, 2010), see Figure 2.3. The 54% growth in car kilometres can be attributed to three aspects, two of which are the direct result of changing consumer patterns: 24% is the result of increasing travel distances (for example due to longer commuting distances), 20% is the result of higher frequency of travelling (people travel more often), and 10% is the result of population growth.

<sup>8</sup>The modal split is quite different when the number of transport movements instead of transport kilometres is used for comparison. In the Netherlands the modal split in 2005 was: car 48%, bicycle 28%, walk 17%, bus/tram/metro 3%, train 2%, other 2%.

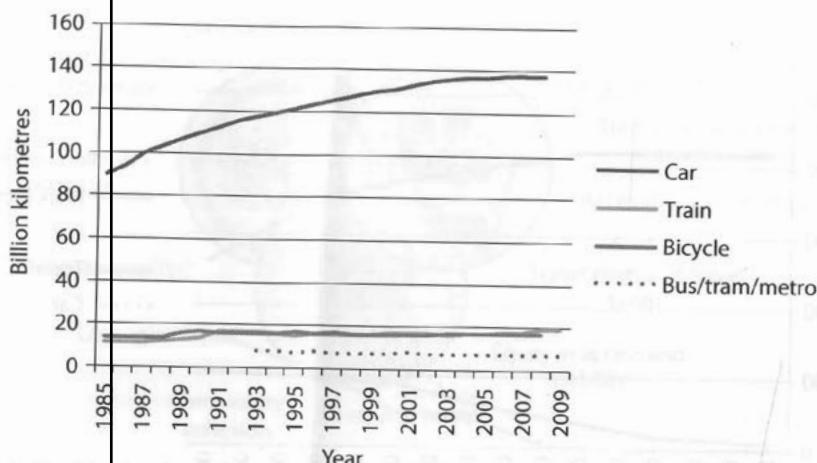


Figure 2.3. Passenger kilometres in the Netherlands, 1985-2009 (adapted from KiM, 2010).

The transport growth in the last 25 years has taken place primarily in the late nineteen eighties and early nineties. From 2000 onwards there is a stabilization in the growth of personal (auto) mobility for daily activities in the Netherlands (Figure 2.3)<sup>9</sup>.

Developing countries (especially transitional economies such as China, Russia, former Eastern European countries) on the other hand are currently witnessing unprecedented transport growths. In China, for example, car sales have risen by 20% per year without any sign of stagnation for the near future. There were over 10 million sales of automobiles in China in 2010, making China the world's largest car market. Predictions for China's car market for 2020 indicate sales numbers that exceed twenty million cars (see [www.aftermarketnews.com](http://www.aftermarketnews.com)). The prognoses for passenger transport, especially when taking a long-term and global perspective, show an alarming increase in mobility growth. For the next fifty years there is an expected yearly worldwide growth of 1.7% in passenger transport kilometres (Figure 2.4). In the European Union per capita transport activity per year is projected to grow from around 12,500 km in 2005 to around 18,000 km in 2030 (DGET, 2008). The environmental impact of (the growth in) mobility for the Netherlands is discussed hereafter.

### 2.2.3 Trends in environmental impacts of mobility

#### Air quality

Local air quality is a much debated topic, especially in the Netherlands, since the European Space Association used their satellites in 2004 to make air pollution in Europe visible. These maps placed local air quality instantly on the national, and to a lesser extent European, agenda. Large parts of the Netherlands, Belgium and Western Germany were shown to be among the areas with the

<sup>9</sup>These growth rates exclude freight transport and aero-mobility, both of which are areas which continue to show steep growth rates in the Netherlands.

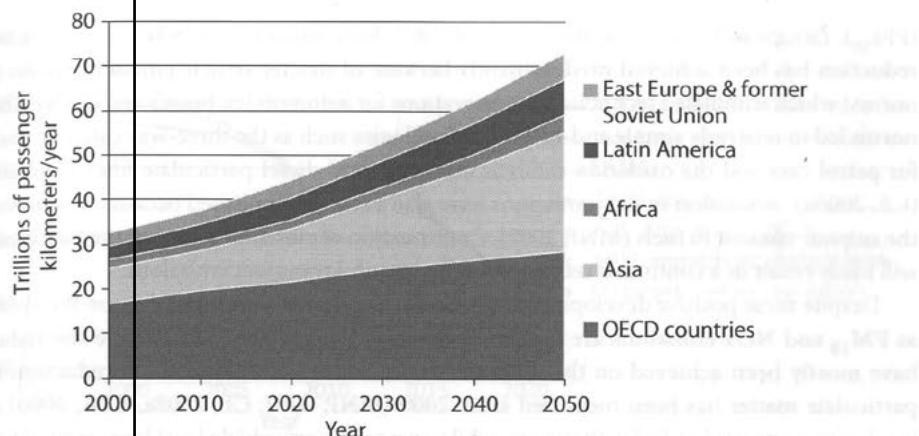


Figure 2.4. Projected worldwide growth in personal transport activity (adapted from WBCSD, 2004).

poorest air quality in Europe. The large media attention focused specifically on the dangers of poor air quality for public health. It was estimated that thousands of people in the Netherlands, especially those living in large urban centres and near intensively used roads, were suffering from a premature death due to high concentrations of harmful emissions. European-wide the number of premature deaths was estimated around 370,000 (EEA, 2006). The transport sector (including freight transport) is responsible for 40% of PM<sub>10</sub> emissions. Interestingly enough though, air quality has actually improved over the last decades, both in Europe and in the Netherlands (see MNP, 2007; CE, 2008a; CPB, 2006; EEA, 2006). Figure 2.5 shows that from 1990 onwards there has been a significant reduction in the most harmful emissions for local air quality emitted by road transport vehicles: NOx, SO<sub>2</sub>, volatile organic compounds (VOS) and fine particulate matter

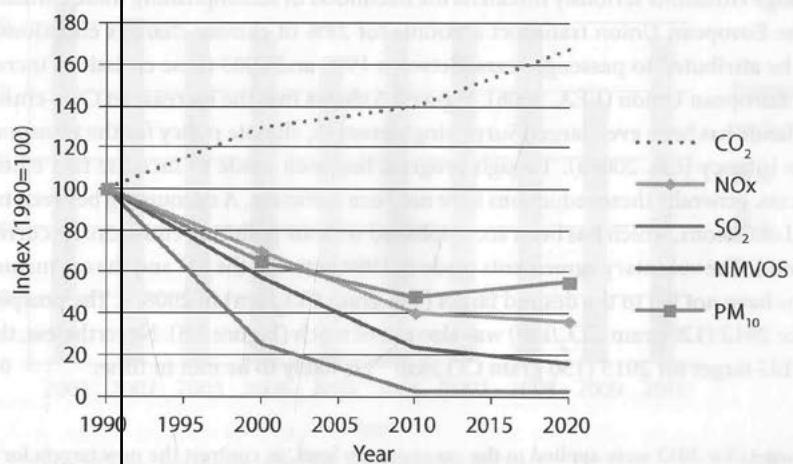


Figure 2.5. Development in the emissions of road vehicles (adapted from CE, 2008a).

(PM<sub>10</sub>). European Union wide from 1990 to 2003 this reduction was between 30 to 40%. This reduction has been achieved predominantly because of stricter vehicle emission norms (Euro-norms) which stimulated technological innovations for automobiles, busses and trucks. The Euro norms led to relatively simple end-of-pipe technologies such as the three-way catalytic converter for petrol cars and the oxidation catalytic converter and diesel particulate filter for diesel cars (CE, 2008a). Reduction in SO<sub>2</sub> emissions have also been accomplished because of a lowering of the sulphur content in fuels (MNP, 2007). Continuation of emission limits on the European level will likely result in a continued reduction of the harmful transport emissions.

Despite these positive developments, air quality continues to be a problem on the short term as PM<sub>10</sub> and NOx emissions are highly concentrated in specific areas. While the reductions have mostly been achieved on the national levels, in the Netherlands little reduction in fine particulate matter has been measured since 2000 (MNP, 2007; CE, 2008a, EEA, 2006) on the local (city or street) levels. Furthermore, while on a transport vehicle level large reductions have been accomplished; there is a so called rebound effect due to the increase in transport kilometres.

To reduce concentrations in fine particulate matter and NOx, EU-wide limits for PM<sub>10</sub> and NOx emissions have come into force. A number of cities in the Netherlands currently exceed these limits. To reduce these local concentrations many European cities currently target urban traffic as this is the largest source of pollution that can be influenced by local policy measures.

### *Climate change*

In recent years climate change has become *the* dominant environmental problem. In many public debates the environment has become almost synonymous with climate change. It is by now widely acknowledged that the global climate system is changing and that this is very likely the result of human behaviour. To limit the effects of climate change the European Union strives for a maximum temperature increase of two degrees Celsius. The EU target for the reduction of greenhouse gasses in 2020 is between 20 and 30% (as compared to 1990). However, the growth in transport-related climate change emissions seriously threatens the likelihood of accomplishing these climate change goals. In the European Union transport accounts for 28% of climate changes emissions, half of which can be attributed to passenger cars. Between 1990 and 2003 these emissions increased by 23% in the European Union (EEA, 2006). Figure 2.5 shows that the increase in CO<sub>2</sub>-emissions in the Netherlands has been even larger. Surprisingly enough, climate policy for the transport sector is still at its infancy (CE, 2008a). Though progress has been made to increase fuel efficiency of passenger cars, generally these reductions have not been sufficient. A decoupling between transport growth and emissions, which has been accomplished with air polluting emissions, is currently out of reach (*ibid.*). The voluntary agreements made in 1998 between the EU and the car manufacturer associations have not led to the desired target (140 gram CO<sub>2</sub>/km) in 2008/9. The postponed EU objective for 2012 (120 gram CO<sub>2</sub>/km) was also out of reach (Figure 2.6). Nevertheless, the newly appointed EU target for 2015 (130 gram CO<sub>2</sub>/km<sup>10</sup>) is likely to be met in time.

<sup>10</sup> The EU targets for 2012 were applied to the car company level, in contrast the new targets for 2015 are differentiated on the basis of the weight of the vehicles produced in 2015 compared with the average weight of the vehicles the entire industry will produce over the 2011-13 period (see T&E, 2010).

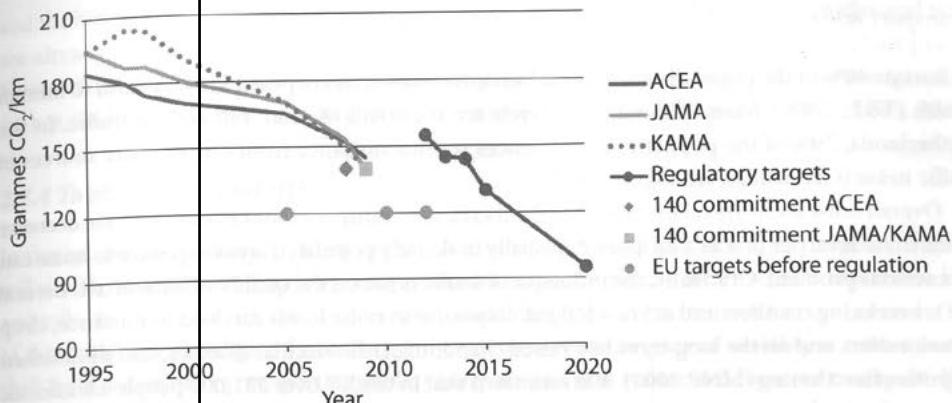


Figure 2.6. Progress over time in the CO<sub>2</sub> commitment of three car manufacturer associations in Europe, including historical and existing voluntary and regulatory targets (adapted from T&E, 2010).

Looking at car sales in the Netherlands specifically, a similar trend is visible. While the sales of energy efficient domestic appliances show substantial increases in the Netherlands (currently 90% of washing machines, dishwashers and refrigerators sold have an energy class of A, A+ or A++) since the introduction of the energy efficiency label in 1995, the sales of energy-efficient passenger cars remained relatively modest until quite recent times. However, the rapid growth of the share of energy efficient cars since 2008 might indicate a trend shift (Figure 2.7). The (changing) role of the environment in the practice of car purchasing will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

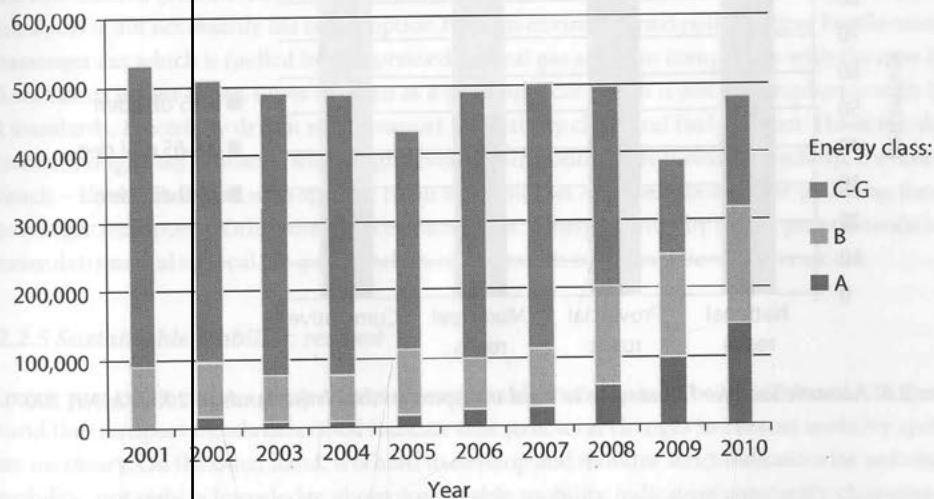


Figure 2.7. Sales of new passenger cars per energy class (RDW).

### Transport noise

In Europe 40% of the population is exposed to noise levels that are potentially harmful to human health (T&E, 2008). Most of these noise levels are the result of road, rail and air traffic. In the Netherlands, 29% of the population experiences serious nuisance from one or more sources of traffic noise (CE, 2008a), see Figure 2.8<sup>11</sup>.

Overall noise levels are on the rise since the increase in transport volume outweighs the decrease in the noise level per unit of transport. Especially in densely populated areas exposure to noise can be a serious problem. Gradually, the influence of traffic noise on the quality of human and natural life is becoming manifest and acknowledged. Exposure to noise levels can lead to nuisance, sleep deterioration, and on the long-term to a raised chance of cardiovascular diseases, and diminished cognitive functioning (MNP, 2007). It is estimated that in the EU over 231,000 people are affected by an ischemic heart disease due to traffic noise annually. About 20% (almost 50,000) of these people suffer fatal heart attacks (T&E, 2008). Nevertheless, in transport policy the reduction of noise is not given as much attention when compared to climate change and air quality. Surprisingly, currently no European standards exist to protect citizens against unhealthy noise levels (MNP, 2007). The only EU obligation is to measure traffic noise and to develop action plans to reduce exposure to noise. EU member states do have their own national norms and policies. However, these norms are generally not strict enough to sufficiently negate the negative effects of transport noise. Furthermore, transport noise policies are mostly focused on reducing the effects of noise, not on prevention them. Adaptation measures have to deal with the problem of restricted space

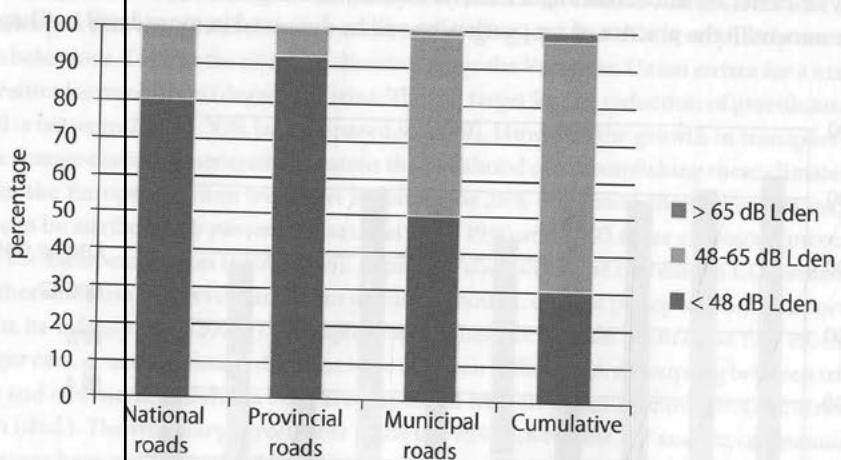


Figure 2.8. Acoustic load for houses due to road transport in the Netherlands in 2005 (MNP, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Environmental noise above 40-50 dBA is likely to lead to significant annoyance. Outdoor noise levels of 40-60 dBA may disturb sleep. Noise levels between 65-70 dBA may be risk factors for school performance and ischemic heart disease. Traffic noise of 70 dB(A) may cause hearing impairment (T&E, 2008).

and the high costs of installing noise barriers and insulating houses. More silent vehicles and tyres are already available on the market (with equal characteristics and often equal purchase price). However, prevention at the source, though likely more cost-effective than adaption measures, so far has not taken off because of stagnating and ineffective noise policies (CE, 2008a; T&E, 2008).

#### **2.2.4 To shift or not to shift?**

In this section the relation between the various transport modes and their environmental impact will shortly be addressed. Contemporary research and policy making are directed to understanding and influencing choices for specific transport modalities from an environmental point of view. One of the dominant paradigms for reducing the environmental impact of mobility is rooted in the shift from automotive transport to public transport and non-motorized forms of transport. Key element of this paradigm is the assumption that public transport modes are more environmentally friendly when compared to automobiles. Without doubt non-motorized forms of transport (cycling and walking) are more environmentally friendly than motorized forms of transport. However, it is very hard to make generalizations about the most environmentally friendly forms of motorized transportation. In an attempt to calculate the environmental effects of different modalities, CE conducted a thorough life cycle analysis in 2003 and 2008 (CE, 2003, 2008b). The main message is that the cleanest modality does not exist (CE, 2008b). The number of passengers and the specific technology often play a more important role than the specific transport mode. Per capita, a car occupied by four persons is also four times as efficient as a car occupied by one person. Considering the average occupation rate of passenger cars, the private car generally has higher CO<sub>2</sub>-emissions than public transport (*ibid.*). However, occupation rates are very different for distinct mobility practices. During the daily commute a passenger car on average shows an occupation rate of 1.1. During leisure time related mobility practices car occupation rates are 2.0 or higher in 54% of the movements (Harms, 2006). If the occupation rate is higher than two persons per car, public transport is not necessarily the better option from an environmental point of view. Furthermore, a passenger car which is fuelled by compressed natural gas and is in compliance with the new Euro 5 standards is four to ten times as clean as a passenger car which is just in compliance with Euro 1 standards. Electricity driven rail transport is relatively clean and fuel efficient. However, diesel trains, though fuel efficient, show high levels of air polluting emissions. Similarly, the average coach – if not furnished with specific clean technologies – represents a rather polluting form of passenger transport. Within the built environment, transportation by bus in general tends to be more detrimental to local air quality when compared to transportation by private car.

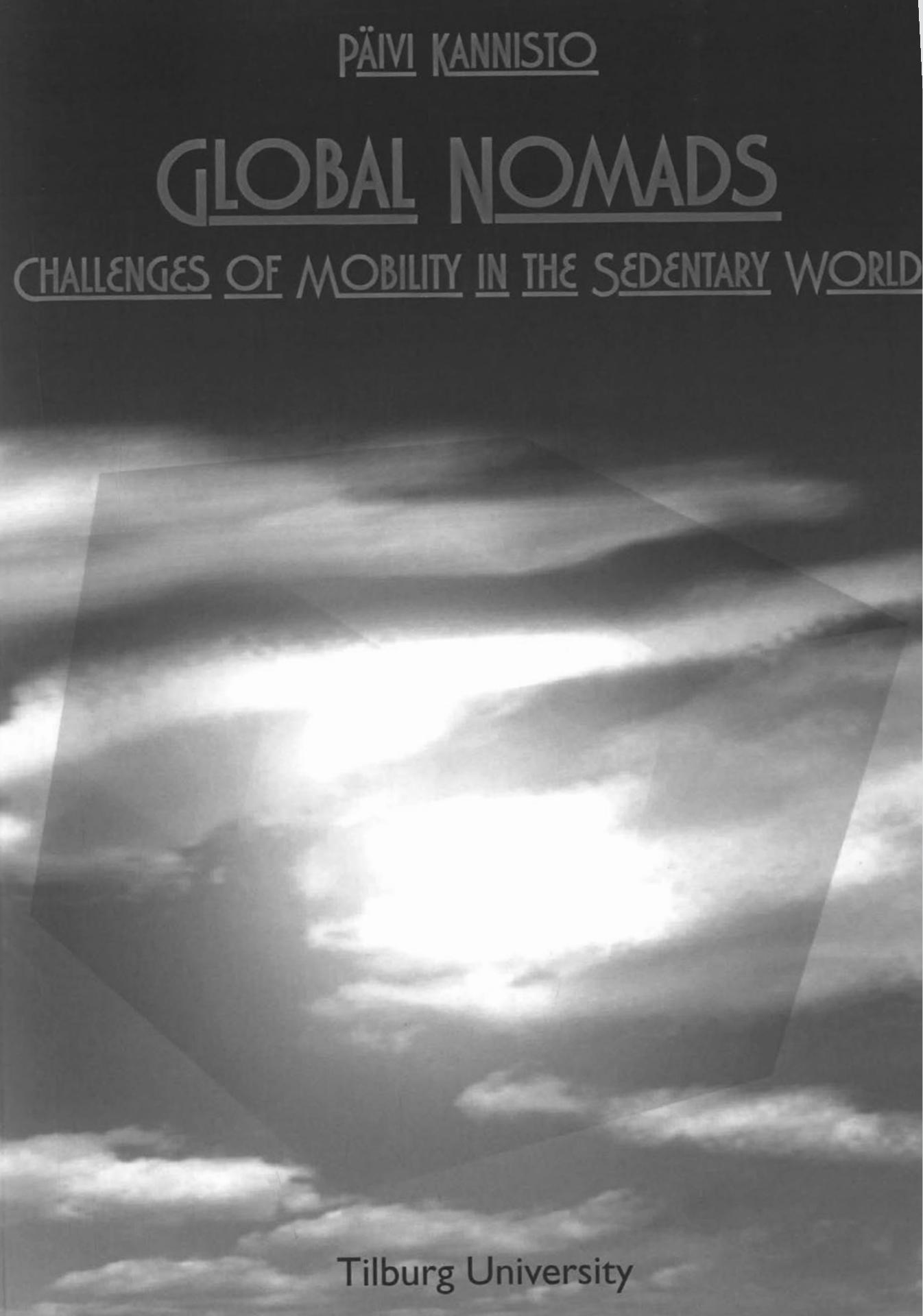
#### **2.2.5 Sustainable mobility: resumé**

In this paragraph various perspectives on sustainable mobility have been addressed. On the one hand the transport trends described indicate that structural changes in current mobility systems are necessary. On the other hand, it is hard to develop and monitor strict indicators for sustainable mobility: not only is knowledge about sustainable mobility indicators constantly changing, the weight attached to each of these indicators varies as well (e.g. per stakeholder, per country and per period of time). Finally, solutions for one mobility related problem can have adverse effect on

PÄIVI KANNISTO

# GLOBAL NOMADS

CHALLENGES OF MOBILITY IN THE SEDENTARY WORLD



Tilburg University

# New Mobilities Paradigm

## 2.3 New Mobilities Paradigm

As the two previous sections showed, the practice of differentiating between temporary moves such as tourist escapes and permanent migration is arbitrary.<sup>1</sup> Recent studies have suggested that it would be more productive to speak of the same continuum of mobilities in time and space.<sup>2</sup> In this research, this perspective is assumed in order to blur distinctions between different kinds of travellers—tourists, drifters, lifestyle travellers, backpackers, global nomads, and lifestyle migrants<sup>3</sup>—and to capture the similarities and changes that are essential to all mobilities alike.<sup>4</sup> As the new mobilities paradigm emphasises change and flux instead of stability and structures, it appears to be fit for the purpose. The paradigm also examines issues of power more explicitly than tourism and lifestyle migration studies,<sup>5</sup> and it can thus offer new horizons for analysing the manifold ways in which mobilities create and are the object of power struggles. This section aims to present some of the founding ideas of the paradigm (2.3.1 Societies or Mobilities?) and the challenges that mobilities research face (2.3.2 Mobilities or Immobilities?).

### 2.3.1 Societies or Mobilities?

The new mobilities paradigm was born at the turn of the new millennium as a critique of sedentarism, stillness, and rootedness that were viewed to prevail in social sciences.<sup>6</sup> British sociologist John Urry was in the vanguard of the movement with a mobilities manifesto *Sociology beyond Societies* (2001), suggesting

<sup>1</sup> Bell & Ward 2000, 88, 104; Frello 2008, 27.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. O'Reilly 2003; Molz & Gibson 2007, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cohen 2011, 1539, 1546.

<sup>4</sup> See also Cohen 2004, 57; O'Reilly 2003, 315.

<sup>5</sup> Church & Coles 2007, 278–279.

<sup>6</sup> Cresswell 2011, 648.

that mobilities rather than societies should be at the heart of the reconstituted sociology. Urry maintained that 'people's rights and duties are increasingly owed to, and derived from, entities whose topologies criss-cross those of society'.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is not through the inhabitation of a shared sedentary structure or space, such as a society or a nation-state, that people produce meaningful subjectivities and lifestyles. Instead, they are produced through networks of people, ideas, and things moving.<sup>2</sup>

For Urry, the point of view of mobilities is productive. It draws from a multitude of disciplines, and it employs various theories, methods, questions, and solutions.<sup>3</sup> It is clearly one of the advantages of the paradigm that it is not producing a totalising theory, nor is it trying to suppress different kinds of travellers, mobility devices, travelling cultures, and tourism and travelling infrastructures into one—hence the use of the plural both in the name of the paradigm and in its research objects.<sup>4</sup>

The new mobilities paradigm examines corporeal, imaginative, virtual, and communicative travel thus broadening the concept of 'mobility' which has traditionally been a synonym for 'social mobility', an individual's movement up or down in the social hierarchy.<sup>5</sup> The paradigm covers a wide range of subjects from different modes of transportation to various implications mobilities have for example for social inequality, networks, governmentality, control, the nature of places, and future scenarios. The paradigm looks at both movements and those forces that drive, constrain, and are produced by those movements, and thus it offers useful approaches also for the study of global nomads, particularly from the point of view of power. As mobilities researcher Tim Cresswell notes, rather than just smooth movement, mobility is always accompanied by friction, turbulence, and power asymmetries.<sup>6</sup> It is both empowerment and disempowerment.<sup>7</sup>

This research adopts the paradigm's view of mobilities as power. Mobilities are viewed as practices that make visible individuals' relationships to societies rather than as a mere collection of intrinsic or extrinsic motivations that prompt people to travel, migrate, or stay still. When issues of power are acknowledged in this way, the question is not only 'who travels but when, how, and under what circumstances,' as sociologist Avtar Brah notes, which directs the analysis to contextual issues.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Urry 2001, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Urry 2001, 210. See also Cresswell 2010, 551; Cohen & Cohen 2012, 2181.

<sup>3</sup> Urry 2007, 18; Sheller 2011, 1–2.

<sup>4</sup> See also Verbeek 2009, 13.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Byrne 2005, 133–142; Hirsch 2005, 80.

<sup>6</sup> Cresswell 2010b.

<sup>7</sup> Cresswell 2011, 650.

<sup>8</sup> Brah 1996, 179.

By placing mobilities in the centre of contemporary societies and questioning the pre-eminence of stable structures such as societies and nation-states, and searching for viable options for concepts of social location (such as home, class, occupational group, ethnicity, gender, religion, social layer, citizenship, and nationality),<sup>1</sup> the new mobilities paradigm gives way to (non)-typologies of the precarious, the ambivalent, and the transient which seem to characterise also global nomads' location-independence.<sup>2</sup> Having left their countries of origin behind and having lowered their social status by choosing homelessness, global nomads experiment with many of these things in practice. Thus the new mobilities paradigm has paved way for posing such questions as in this research that challenge some of the foundations that form the basis of our thinking, and for conceptualising them.

### 2.3.2 Mobilities or Immobilities?

When applying an emerging paradigm that is still searching for a way out of the dominant scientific discourses in related fields, researchers are bound to encounter challenges. In regard to the new mobilities paradigm these challenges include—from the point of view of this research—the shift from theory to empirical research, and the varying definitions and valorisations of ‘mobilities’.

To start with, while some of the differing theoretical motivations and orientations within the new mobilities paradigm challenge and shape research,<sup>3</sup> some also create fundamental discrepancies. It has been questioned, for instance, whether mobilities theories form a fully-fledged paradigm at all, or whether they simply represent new perspectives which ‘foreground aspects of society that have been allegedly neglected by earlier theories,’ as Erik Cohen and Scott Cohen argue.<sup>4</sup>

To date, mobilities research has remained on a rather abstract level, mapping opportunities and main areas of concern. It has found few followers for instance in tourism studies although mobilities are, without doubt, part of their very essence. Cohen and Cohen suggest that the gap between innovative theories and more conventional approaches in empirical research has been too great: there is no set of basic propositions which could be applied. The two critics also argue that the scope of the paradigm’s claims is vague as they are meant to be of universal significance.<sup>5</sup> While these claims are accurate, it should also be remembered that not all the people involved in mobilities studies see themselves

<sup>1</sup> Baerenholdt 2013, 21.

<sup>2</sup> See Sheller 2011, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Büscher & Urry 2009, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Cohen & Cohen 2012, 2185.

<sup>5</sup> Cohen & Cohen 2012, 2185–2186, 2195. See also Baerenholdt 2013, 26.

as part of the new paradigm.<sup>1</sup> Thus the actual scope of mobilities research is much wider than it seems.

The second challenge is related to the characteristics of mobility. It has been hyped and used as an evocative keyword for understanding contemporary social and cultural phenomena,<sup>2</sup> and a similar fascination has occasionally marked the paradigm's views on technologies. While it is true that technologies enable mobility, from the social construction viewpoint that guides this thesis,<sup>3</sup> the interesting questions about mobilities start with people and the ways in which they use technology to reach their aims.<sup>4</sup> Technology is like a bottle-opener: it is fairly useless if there are no bottles to be opened. The new mobilities paradigm, on the other hand, is sometimes fascinated by new technologies and applications themselves.<sup>5</sup>

The excitement around mobilities (and technologies) is related to the fact that they seem to generate 'new social relations, new ways of living, new ties to space, new places, new forms of consumption and leisure, and new aesthetic sensibilities,' as tourist researchers Adriah Franklin and Mike Crang argue.<sup>6</sup> Mobility as a phenomenon, however, is not as novel and unforeseen as visionaries lead us to understand, nor is it unprecedented in speed and scale; it had its equivalents already in the distant past, as researcher of politics Roxanne Euben reminds us.<sup>7</sup> Even though global nomads, for instance, seem to represent a novel and extreme case of mobility, they too reproduce age-old forms modelling themselves after conquerors, explorers, philosophers, poets, gypsies, hoboes, and wandering monks, as will be shown in Chapter five (see 5.3 Two Discourses).<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, while mobilities are widespread, the whole world is not on the move now, nor is mobility always desired. In the economic, social, and political context where this dissertation was made, the American and European financial crisis that began in 2008 prompted the media to represent very different images about mobilities. The crisis, which resulted in cuts across both public and private sectors, forced many people to give up their houses and familiar living surroundings because they had become, almost overnight, too expensive for them. TV

<sup>1</sup> Cresswell 2010, 555.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Ateljevic & Hannam 2008, 253; Cresswell 2010, 555; Frello 2008, 29. Cf. Giddens 1991, 16; D'Andrea, Ciolfi, & Gray 2011, 150.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Hacking 1999; Berger & Luckmann 1966.

<sup>4</sup> Verbeek 2009, 71. Cf. Urry 2001, e.g. 33, 35.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Urry 2001 and 2007; Hannam et al. 2006, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Franklin & Crang 2001, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Euben 2006, 174. See also Cresswell 2010, 555; Cresswell 2011, 646. Cf. Rojek 2005, 1; Sheller 2011, 1.

<sup>8</sup> The mobilities paradigm itself is not without predecessors either. It stems from the Chicago School that studied the itinerant lives of hoboes, gangs, prostitutes, and migrants in the first half of the twentieth century (Cresswell 2006, 18).

cameras showed villages of tents where people lived trying to transform their identities to better suit their new mobile and transient circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

Judging from the desperate images that the media created about the mobility of the age, people hardly yearned for fluidity in their lives but rather stable coordinates—whether in a form of a house or a job, or social relationships tied to their home environment. These material and social anchors are one of the most important means for gaining access, belonging, inclusion, and, ultimately, power in societies, historian Todd DePastino argues.<sup>2</sup> This issue is particularly interesting in relation to global nomads who are homeless and, in this sense, powerless from the point of view of sedentary societies.<sup>3</sup> The question that arises is, whether their kinds of mobilities are wanted and encouraged, or rather the opposite.

It seems that there are different kinds of mobilities, mobilities mean different things to different people, and they are enacted in different ways, as geographer Peter Adey points out.<sup>4</sup> Mobilities gain meaning through their embeddedness within societies, cultures, politics, and histories where power is involved, and thus they have to be analysed in these specific contexts. Some mobilities may turn out to be coerced, all mobilities are distributed unevenly, and some include wars, illegal mobility, forced migration, and statelessness, as mobilities researcher Mimi Sheller maintains.<sup>5</sup> Thus, a mere celebration of mobility does not necessarily do justice to this diversity of movements.

The hype around mobilities derives not only from the possibilities that it seems to offer but also from the very concept. ‘Mobility’ has judgemental connotations that value physical and emotional distance over the concrete attachments to particular cultures and places, as Euben argues. The judgemental standpoint is evoked because ‘mobility’ is associated with travel, imagination, curiosity, knowledge, and reflexive self-understanding in the travel tradition that views it as education. These synonymous relations produce an opposite image of those who do not or cannot travel, and thus immobility becomes implicitly linked to stagnation, inertia, narrow-mindedness, and provincialism. It makes those who do not travel look like they lack curiosity and philosophical reflectiveness, Euben says.<sup>6</sup> Mobilities researcher Cresswell goes even further by arguing that privileging of mobility is one of the foundational narratives of modernity.<sup>7</sup>

Although mobilities seem to be comprehensible only when contrasted to more

<sup>1</sup> Chernoff 2011.

<sup>2</sup> See also DePastino 2003, 271. See also Arnold 2004, 164.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Clok, May, & Johnsen 2010.

<sup>4</sup> Adey 2006, 83.

<sup>5</sup> Sheller 2011, 2. See also Franklin & Crang 2001, 11.

<sup>6</sup> Euben 2006, 29. See also Cresswell 2011, 648; Frello 2008, 46.

<sup>7</sup> Cresswell 2008, 9–10.

sedentary lifestyles, it is doubtful that the two actually are opposites. This is not a return to the metaphysics of sedentarism; rather, it is a realisation that mobilities can only be considered in relation to stillness and relative immobility, as Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller, and John Urry maintain.<sup>1</sup> Lifestyle migration studies have, for instance, pointed out that privileged mobilities can lead to privileged forms of immobility, or to an achievement of a particular balance between mobility and immobility,<sup>2</sup> and this might also be the case for global nomads.

To conclude, all the alternative forms of mobility discussed in this chapter—global nomadism, long-term travel, and lifestyle migration—show that the ontological questions of what mobilities are, what are their functions, how they should be conceived, and whether they should be encouraged are ambiguous. In tourism studies, discussions on long-term travel have been heated. It has been viewed as dubious and rebellious (drifting), but also as a beneficial rite of passage which strengthens travellers' ties to their home countries (backpacker travel). Also studies on lifestyle migration have shifted between similar interpretations. While some researchers view lifestyle migrants as fleeing problems in their home society,<sup>3</sup> others consider that these acts involve agency with which migrants are able to transform their lives and pursue a better quality of life.<sup>4</sup> In regard to mobilities, on the other hand, the two antagonistic representations have sometimes led researchers to analyse people either as static entities who are tied to specific places, or as nomads who search for globalised modes of existence.

What is global nomads' role in these discussions? Through their alternative lifestyles, they make visible societies' norms of mobility. At the moment we do not know where the fine line between accepted and rejected forms of travel lies, but as this literature review indicated, some mobilities clearly seem to be more desirable from the point of view of sedentary societies. This conclusion can also be drawn from the analysis of the concept of 'travel' which relates journeying to home (as opposed to being away) and to leisure activity (as opposed to work).<sup>5</sup> It seems to indicate that mobility is encouraged only as long as it strengthens the practices of sedentary societies.<sup>6</sup> Whether this assumption holds in the analysis, remains to be seen.

<sup>1</sup> Hannam et al. 2006. See also Adey 2006, 83–84; Cresswell 2010, 552; Cresswell 2011, 648; Franquesa 2011, 1019–1020; Molz 2009, 284.

<sup>2</sup> Benson 2011b, 226; Torkington 2012, 89.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Korpela 2009, 221.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. D'Andrea 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Cohen 1979; Urry 2002b, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Rojek 2010, 2.

# Consuming mobility

*A practice approach to  
sustainable mobility transitions*

**Jorrit O. Nijhuis**



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# Innovation and mobility

penetration of these policy notions into the mind-set and practices of the general public and in local communities, however, seemed to be much more questionable (Vigar, 2002, p. 193).

With regard to the Dutch situation in the late 1980s and early 1990s, demand-oriented mobility policy was implemented by way of promoting carpooling, the designation of carpool lanes, and the introduction of company transport plans. A change in the mobility behaviour of travellers was also attempted by mass media campaigns promoting a reduction in car use and a modal shift towards public transport. Characteristic of the mobility debate in this time-period was the strong moral appeal to the individual car user to restrict car use in order to preserve the environment. In this approach, based on social-psychological theories of behavioural change, a strong emphasis is put on the motives, values and beliefs of individual humans.

However, the SVV2 lacked a strong economic program to implement the firm objectives and was based to a significant extent on voluntary behavioural change from travellers. Furthermore, the disappointing results of the mass communication programs in the 1990s – intended to raise awareness about the negative consequences of car driving – for many professionals confirmed the strategic importance of a technology oriented mobility policy (see also Peters, 2003, p. 47). Boelie Elzen summarized the shift to technology provision in the following quote: ‘a shift has taken place towards almost exclusively relying on technical solutions to tackle mobility problems’ (Boelie Elzen, 2006, p. 332). The success of the catalytic converter as an end-of-pipe technology contributed to this policy shift significantly. In the mobility policy plans following up to the SVV2, demand-oriented policies (directly) targeting the mobility behaviours of travellers were explicitly dropped. It was deemed more effective to directly focus on environmental impacts instead of trying to influence modal choices (Nota Mobiliteit, Deel III, 2004, p. 151). Policy makers in this period had become increasingly sceptical about the possibilities of deliberately influencing traveller’s behaviour.

In the last five years multiple discourses have come into existence, resulting in a complex, multi-layered mobility policy. The dominant layer concerns the continuation of the predict and provide paradigm with an emphasis on road construction works to increase road network capacity. Accessibility as a prerequisite for economic development serves as the main storylines in this respect. However, at a different layer simultaneously more emphasis is given to the end-user and his or her travel demands. Environmental factors in the current discourses play on a very limited role.

To a large extent the supply-oriented approach was also present in the two platforms focusing on transitions to sustainable mobility (Platform Sustainable Mobility and Transumo). For example, the Platform sustainable mobility clearly focused on facilitating the adoption and diffusion of technological innovation within the Dutch car park. Modal shift as a shift in behaviour was not a pathway which was explicitly targeted. Furthermore environmental problems were defined as emission problems most notably greenhouse gas emissions, to be solved via technological means. Citizen-consumers were targeted only in their role of purchasers of automotive innovations, not in their practices of movement or in their everyday life as citizen-consumers. Within Transumo, the planet-side was very poorly developed as sustainable mobility was predominantly approached as economical and accessibility problem. With a few exceptions, the infrastructural and technological emphasis was even more present within Transumo, despite its explicit mission of a move towards demand-oriented mobility systems.

The analysis leaves us with the following conclusions. Firstly, in spite of the enormous policy efforts invested in mitigating the negative consequences of mobility, the effects remain far

behind the formulated policy objectives. While during the transition to a car based mobility system images of autonomy, flexibility and speed were dominant, in the current era mobility and mobility policy are first and for all about recognizing and confronting mobility problems as being structural, long term problems. The domain of daily passenger mobility clearly is faced with the existence of a set of persistent and complex problems (see also Geerlings & Peters, 2002; Avelino et al., 2007). Secondly, mobility policies show shifting emphases and problem definitions over time, while also the suggested directions for solving the problems vary accordingly. The policy measures implemented in the domain of passenger mobility reflect the ways in which the role of mobility in society is perceived. The adopted policy approaches also seem to reflect the changing perception of the role of citizen-consumers in everyday mobility practices. The disappointing experiences with the failed attempts to change consumer behaviour in the context of a demand driven mobility policy in the late 1980s and early 1990s resulted in a drastic shift in the dominant policy approaches in the Netherlands. At the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a strong supply orientation in mobility policy characterized Dutch mobility policy, showing little or no interest in attempts to change consumer behaviour in the field of mobility. The possibilities to effectively influence everyday mobility practices of travellers along the suggested policy lines (modal shift, polluter pays, etc.) were judged to be very limited. It is only in recent years that the attention for demand-oriented approaches re-emerged again. In the next paragraph it is explained why a focus on to the role of citizen-consumers and social practices in transitions to sustainable passenger mobility, despite of the hesitations expressed by policy-makers, deserves special attention.

## 2.4 Innovation and mobility, the role of citizen-consumers in sustainability transitions

The previous paragraph showed how contemporary mobility policies tend to be strongly supply-oriented in character, thereby lacking a clear cut and convincing orientation on citizen-consumers and their everyday life mobility behaviours. Even worse, in many occasions citizen-consumers are considered as barriers to the successful realisation of sustainable transitions. Citizen-consumers, as the argument goes, are not willing to accept and/or able to implement structural changes in their everyday life mobility patterns. In this paragraph I will provide some arguments why an orientation on the perceptions, behaviours and experiences of citizen-consumer can be regarded as of crucial importance to sustainable mobility transitions. Such a focus on citizen-consumers is not pre-given and obvious, since both researchers and policy makers have been keen in formulating and emphasizing legitimate arguments for deliberately moving away from citizen-consumer oriented environmental policies. Drawing upon the previous sections and reflecting upon more general debates on the role of citizen-consumers in sustainable consumption policies, I start by describing some of the reasons for not bothering citizen-consumers in the context of a behavioural approach to sustainable mobility transitions:

1. There is a gap between citizen and consumer, and between saying and doing. By far the most cited argument is that the behaviour of consumers is often not in line with the ideas and viewpoints which that same person has a citizen. As citizens and voters we would like, and even demand, a high environmental quality. However, as consumers we predominantly

tend to shop with our wallet. Therefore there clearly is an inconsistency in the everyday behaviour of citizen-consumers<sup>16</sup>. Research has also indicated that the environmental impact of consumption patterns is mostly dependant on the household income levels and does not show a (direct) relationship with environmental awareness, value patterns, problem perception and motivation (Vringer, 2005; Vringer *et al.*, 2007; MNP, 2007b). Thus, as the argument goes, consumers are clearly unwilling to change their existing behaviour and are too opportunistic to start consuming in a more sustainable manner. To indicate this viewpoint: Rein Willems (at the time President-Director of Shell, and Chair of the Dutch Energy Transition) during the launch of the transition networks in 2005 requested: 'I hope that the knowledge networks within the transition network will explicitly unleash their scientific expertise on the 'schizophrenic consumer'<sup>17</sup>. This consumer invariably mentions that behavioural change is tremendously important. However, with the same breath he states that this should begin with his neighbour, to unfortunately halt at his own door because he is an exceptional case' (2005, author's translation). In the same year, the Director Climate Change and Industry of the Dutch Ministry of Environment expressed that: '(1) consumers hold on to mobility and car preferences, (2) consumers are unwilling to pay for fuel-efficient cars and technology'.

2. The focus on behavioural changes is not effective. As the previous paragraphs indicated, technological innovations, such as the catalytic converter, have been responsible for large reductions in environmental impact. In addition, policies directly targeting behavioural changes so far have generally shown limited effects and are therefore considered, in comparison to technological innovations, a less feasible and effective option to realize the substantial reductions needed.
3. There should always be 'freedom of choice'. A more principal argument is that a government has no right to impose policies which directly inhibit or exclude certain behavioural options or types of (environmentally relevant) practices as it erodes the fundamental freedom and sovereignty of the consumer. For example, Van Soest (2007) rebels against policies that prohibits terrace heaters, regular light bulbs, and SUVs in urban centres, also arguing there is no legal basis to do so.
4. Citizens demand national government to take action. When asked who is mainly responsible for solving current structural environmental problems, citizens tend to collectively point towards the national government and to the larger corporations (see for example Insnet, 2007). Furthermore, citizens would prefer policy measures which do not directly interfere with their everyday lives. E.g. with regard to climate change policy, the largest public acceptance is for

<sup>16</sup> Spaargaren (2003) distinguishes two types of inconsistencies: between attitudes and behaviour, and between citizen roles and consumer roles. After portraying these inconsistencies he describes how a social practices approach could address these issues.

<sup>17</sup> Hopefully this thesis indeed is considered as providing new knowledge about the role of the 'schizophrenic consumer' in sustainable transitions.

reduction targets in electricity production and energy savings amongst producers which result only in moderate increase in household energy prices (MNP, 2007b).

5. Information about pro-environmental behaviour and technology. A final argument used is that environmental problems are too complex for consumers to understand. Because environmental problems and policies are subject to permanent changes, consumers cannot be informed in a reliable way about the best environmental choices. It takes a lot of time and effort for people to get accustomed to a certain environmentally friendly social practice, while the best available environmental technologies and options are subject to quick changes. Furthermore, ordinary people do not understand the feedback mechanisms and (negative) relationships between the various environmental problems and problem solutions<sup>18</sup>.

Considering these five arguments, at first sight there seem to be good reasons for not developing a consumer-oriented sustainable mobility policy. However, it can also be argued that the arguments are invalid or out-dated and connected to (mobility policies) that are in urgent need of reform. Numerous scientific and policy studies in one way or the other have stressed the importance of a citizen-consumer orientation in sustainable transitions (see for example Hoogma & Schot, 2001; Jackson, 2006; MNP 2006, 2007a; Putman & Nijhuis, 2006; SER, 2003; Spaargaren, 1997; Spaargaren & Van Vliet, 2000; VROM-Raad, 2005). Citizen-consumer involvement in environmental and mobility policies can be argued to be relevant and even necessary for again five (interrelated) reasons:

1. The environmental impacts of contemporary consumption behaviours are too significant to be ignored. A general but very convincing argument for taking the changing practices of citizen-consumers into consideration is the fact that consumption patterns form the largest contribution to global environmental impacts (World Watch Institute, 2004; MNP, 2006, 2007a). Sustainable consumption and production policies traditionally focus on the supply side (SER, 2003). According to the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency however, technological improvements in the production processes have been insufficient to compensate for the increasing environmental pressures originating from an increase in consumption growth (MNP, 2006, 2007). According to the VROM-raad (the primary advisory council for the Ministry of Environment) it is exactly this aspect which makes contemporary environmental problems so persistent (VROM-raad, 2005). Persistent environmental problems are thus inherently consumption related.
2. Understanding the interaction between innovations and everyday life practices is necessary for the development and diffusion of sustainable innovations. As potential buyers citizen-consumers play an obvious role of importance in the adoption or rejection of sustainable innovations. However, providers of sustainable innovations also have to take the use of a product or service in the everyday life into account. Firstly, the diffusion of sustainable

<sup>18</sup>The information deficit and the complexity of environmental impacts also play a significant role in Chapter 5 where these aspects are related to the purchase of a new car.

innovations may fail because they do not fit into the lifestyles and everyday routines of modern citizen-consumers. Secondly, the use phase is relevant because it can greatly influence the effectiveness of an environmental innovation. Well-known are the rebound effects that can take place when environmental advantages disappear because of increase in use with increased eco-efficiency. Also, environmental advantages can be dependent on the correct use of sustainable innovations<sup>19</sup>.

3. Connecting to the life world of citizen consumers is a prerequisite for developing societal support and public acceptance of unavoidable hard-to-digest sustainable policy measures. Societal support and public acceptance for stringent measures, is a well-known and well-researched topic in the domain of mobility, especially in relation to various road pricing schemes. While transport economists have campaigned for decades to implement different forms of road pricing, tradable emissions permits etcetera, these measures have only been marginally implemented, usually due to a lack of public and political acceptability. Research into public acceptability (Schade & Schlag, 2003; PODOII, 2004; Whittles, 2003) shows how various citizen-consumer related aspects (e.g. equality and fairness, privacy issue, ways of charging, trust, problem definition) have an enormous effect on public acceptance.
4. Understanding the behaviours of citizen-consumers is essential for dealing effectively with the new relations between private sector, public policy, and citizen-consumers. A large part of the (Dutch) population feels adequately informed about the environment. However, environmental policy is seen as abstract and to a significant extent incomprehensible which has resulted into a gap in the communication between the environmental professional and citizen-consumers (Vrom-raad, 2005, p. 52). The traditional approach based upon a strong technocratic steering by the national government, with an environmental policy dominated by environmental professionals in which the citizens are only addressed in their roles of builders of public support, does not seem the best way for dealing with the persistent and complex environmental problems facing contemporary society (*ibid.*, p. 9). Adding to the complexity is the globalisation of environmental problems and politics and the consequences for a citizen-consumer orientation in environmental policies (see Spaargaren & Martens, 2004). Globalisation of environmental politics can offer opportunities, but also demands a further strengthening of the relationship between 'the environment', environmental policies and everyday life of citizen-consumers.
5. Citizen-consumers are crucial for developing attractive long-term sustainability visions in an interactive way. In addition to the previous point, Ingold has argued that the current discourse of global environmental change which depicts the environment as a set of issues, global in scope and physical in origin, is a configuration that remains detached and abstract from everyday

<sup>19</sup> In the Netherlands around 300,000 houses have been built with a so-called 'balance ventilation system' which automatically regulates the supply and outlet of air. These systems have been built in highly insulated houses to reduce the need for manual ventilation (by opening windows) and thus contributing to the energy efficiency of newly build houses. The practical use of these systems can differ from the prescribed (theoretical) use in many ways, thereby influencing not only the energy efficiency but also the health conditions of the indoor climate (see Soldaat, 2007).

life (Ingold, 1993, in Macnaghten, 2003). Various authors (Macnaghten, 2003; Spaargaren & Martens, 2004; Steg & Gifford, 2005; VROM-raad, 2005) all stress the point that there should be more attention to the social-cultural context in which sustainable innovation takes place. Existing environmental policy goals, formulated in abstract and 'eco-technocratic' terms, should be better adjusted to the everyday life-worlds of citizen-consumers. Citizen-consumers do not think in terms of environmental impact but in terms of needs and functions (VROM-raad, 2005). To strengthen the involvement and commitment of citizen-consumers in sustainable transitions, instead of a goal in itself, environmental policy should therefore be formulated as a means to accomplish inspiring future visions. 'The environment' should be translated into quality of life indicators, or in terms of the VROM-raad: the art of the good life.

With these arguments I have tried to stipulate that a citizen-consumer orientation is not only a fruitful but also a necessary part of (policies targeting) transitions towards sustainable mobility. This requires a different policy approach as conventional policy frameworks are not compatible with a citizen-consumer oriented approach. However, this implies that citizen-consumers are seen in a broader perspective than purely as adopters or rejecters of sustainable innovations, or to solely see them as users or non-users, for that matter. Also the dominant distinction of citizens acting as voters, and consumers acting as economists is only part of the whole story (see Spaargaren, 2003).

In Chapters 3 and 5 the theoretical underpinnings of how a citizen-consumer oriented policy focused upon transitions towards sustainable mobility could look like are addressed. There, a social practices approach towards transitions to sustainable mobility is introduced.

# GLOBALISING MIGRATION HISTORY

THE EURASIAN EXPERIENCE  
(16TH-21ST CENTURIES)

EDITED BY  
JAN LUCASSEN AND LEO LUCASSEN



BRILL

Globalising Migration  
History

Jan Lucassen  
Leo Lucassen

# Summary and Concluding Remarks



ILLUSTRATION 5     *Arrival of the family of an Italian guest worker at Amsterdam Central Station, 1961*  
Source: Nationaal Archief/Spaarnestad Photo/ Theo van Houts. SFA

# Summary and Concluding Remarks<sup>1</sup>

Jan Lucassen & Leo Lucassen

## Expanding the CCMR Method to Eurasia

As we explained in the introduction, the field of (historical) migration studies suffers from a lack of clear definitions as to what constitutes 'migration.' Some include people who move from one village to another, whereas others would classify such relocations merely as mobility. The same holds true for temporary moves, whether over short or long distances. In particular, the dominant political perspective, which assumes national boundaries and one-way moves as key elements, privileges scholarly interests in international over internal migrations, thus excluding, for example, the hundreds of millions of Chinese who currently migrate, often over long distances, from the countryside to booming urban centers. Even less attention is paid to seasonal or other temporal forms of migration, as exemplified by the blind spot in almost all studies with regard to soldiers and sailors as cross-cultural migrants. With a phenomenon that changes its guise so often, it is very difficult, and often impossible, to systematically compare its different expressions over time and between areas. This lack of agreement is reflected in the diversity of typologies, which further adds to the definitional and analytical confusion.

In this volume we therefore developed a comprehensive definition and typology of cross-cultural migrations that offers a comparative framework for measuring and qualifying such movements, in this case restricted to Eurasia in the past half-millennium for practical reasons. The flexibility of this *cross-cultural migration rate* (CCMR) method enables us to encompass regional and historical variations in the ways humans have moved across cultural boundaries. We first applied this approach to Europe in the past half a millennium and then asked specialists on Asia to test its usefulness and relevance for their part

<sup>1</sup> We thank Ulbe Bosma, Dirk Hoerder, Gijs Kessler and Jelle van Lottum for their valuable criticism on an earlier version.

of the world. Although we expected that the method would turn out to be too 'European'—as that was the first continent that served as a testing ground—to our surprise most of our colleagues had no major problems in applying this method to other parts of Eurasia, especially pertaining to the three great empires Russia, China, and Japan.

This does not imply that the patterns they found were similar to those in Europe. On the contrary, in terms of both the development of total rates over time and the different types of cross-cultural migrations, important and interesting differences became evident. Not unimportantly, and similar to our earlier conclusions for Europe, overall rates in Asia were much higher than had so far been assumed, at least before the mid-nineteenth century. In this sense, the volume confirms our earlier conclusion that—in contrast to the basic assumption of the 'mobility transition' as put forward by Wilbur Zelinsky in 1971<sup>2</sup>—in most parts of Europe and Asia cross-cultural migration rates were already relatively high long before the Industrial Revolution. At the same time, throughout Eurasia there was a significant increase in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which was caused by a combination of an acceleration of the urbanization process, the transport revolution, and the emergence of a global economy. This can be interpreted as a 'Zelinskian take-off,' but one that started in societies that were already highly mobile. Furthermore, this volume has shown the importance of war throughout the past five centuries, but especially during the first half of the twentieth century throughout Eurasia.

Many types of migrations which contribute to the CCM rates for Russia, China, and Japan, as reconstructed in this volume, have so far been underestimated or completely neglected in the literature that focused predominantly on Asians working as indentured workers in the western hemisphere.<sup>3</sup> The large Russian and Chinese empires in particular had significantly greater shares of 'colonization' (to land) migrations than western European countries, where rural to urban as well as the military migrations ('temporal multi-annual') stand out. For Russia the movement of people to cities in great numbers lasted until the early twentieth and for China until the late twentieth century, a development that started much earlier in Europe. Japan finds itself somewhere in the middle, with a similar urbanization rate to that of Europe in the beginning of the seventeenth century, which, after centuries of stagnation, picked up again in the late nineteenth century. Migration to land in Japan coincided with the expansive imperial ambitions that became evident at the end of the

2 Lucassen & Lucassen 2009.

3 McKeown 2004.

nineteenth century, culminating in the military occupations of large parts of East and Southeast Asia in the 1930s and 1940s.

For the other two major Eurasian empires in this period, Mughal India (sixteenth to eighteenth century) and the Ottoman empire (fourteenth to twentieth century), a lot of work still needs to be done, but so far we have no indications that the CCMR method of calculating migration rates according to one common taxonomy would not be applicable there also.<sup>4</sup> The key question here is to what extent trends between Asian empires converged or diverged in the past half-millennium and why. We know that both Mughal India and the Ottoman empire experienced increasing urbanization in the early modern period, but joined a worldwide decrease in the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Around 1800 (Mughal) India as a whole was much less urbanized than Japan or the Middle East (and North Africa), but it did not lag far behind Europe and was ahead of China, Africa, and North America. A century later this ranking had not changed much, in spite of the explosive acceleration of rural to urban migrations (both internal and intercontinental) in western Europe and the United States.<sup>6</sup> In the Middle Eastern and North African parts of the Ottoman empire, together with Japan, for a long time one of the most urbanized regions of the world, urbanization rates and likely also migration to cities leveled off in the nineteenth century, but remained well above the world average.

These partly converging and diverging trends between empires and parts of the world in the past half-millennium, which have been uncovered thanks to the CCMR tool, shows that Europe does not represent a master pattern.<sup>7</sup> The Eurasian comparison suggests that its range is *not* specifically European and that it has universal characteristics, which are semi-independent from prevailing idiosyncratic cultural and political constellations. At the same time it should be stressed that this approach does not apply exclusively to large units such as the major empires mentioned here. CCMRs of smaller geographical units, whether organized as strong polities or not, may also be reconstructed

<sup>4</sup> On urbanization in the Ottoman empire see Karpat 1985; Faroqhi 2000; Canbakal 2007; Sluglett 2008 and Kuran 2011. For Mughal India see Singh 1991; Hasan 2004; Biswas 2007; Parthasarathi 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Malanima 2010: 238.

<sup>6</sup> De Vries 1984: 349; Malanima 2009: 242; and Malanima 2010: Utvik 2003: 44.

<sup>7</sup> For a fundamental critique on such reductionist and default thinking, see Bin Wong's arguments (Wong 2000).

and compared. This has been done already for parts of Europe and may be extended as much as scholarly curiosity allows.<sup>8</sup>

The comparisons in this volume have also yielded types of migration which, in principle, were covered by the CCMR taxonomy, but were virtually non-existent in the western parts of Eurasia. This concerns especially plantation-bound migrations. With the exception of sugar plantations in Palestine, Cyprus, and other Mediterranean islands (up to southern Portugal in the Early Modern period),<sup>9</sup> they are not typical for Europe, but widespread in South and Southeast Asia. Plantations and their specific labor recruitment policies were introduced by European powers in parts of Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and much earlier in the Americas, especially the Caribbean).<sup>10</sup> As the chapters of Amrith, Bosma, and Van Lottum show, this landlocked concentration of capital caused millions of Asian labor migrants to trade places and work through various indentured labor schemes.<sup>11</sup> The CCMR tool is flexible enough to include the massive temporary and often circular migrations that they engendered in Asia and elsewhere. Depending on the specific form of labor migration, migrants to plantations can be subsumed under 'seasonal' (temporal less than a year), temporal multi-annual, or migration 'to land' (more or less permanent 'colonization').<sup>12</sup>

### Where To Go from Here?

If we can agree that the historical migration taxonomy as it has been developed and tested until now for important parts of Eurasia is useful to measure

<sup>8</sup> The European pattern in our working papers (Lucassen & Lucassen 2010 and Lucassen et al. 2014) result from national overviews per migration type, and sometimes even from data on the city level.

<sup>9</sup> We exclude the English 'plantations' in Ireland since the 16th and 17th centuries, which—notwithstanding the name—were of a different economic order (Canny 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Bosma 2013. Although production of sugar cane on peasant farms has a very long tradition in India and China, the sugar cane plantation system seems to stem from the Eastern Mediterranean, from where it expanded.

<sup>11</sup> Hoerder 2002: chapters 10 and 15; Mohapatra 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Mining areas were also heavily dependent on migrant labor, but it depended on the specific labor regime whether miners settled for good and became urbanites (as in the Ruhr area) or that they were kept outside urban areas and settled as temporary multi-annual migrants in labor camps or compounds without the right to bring over family members, as was the practice in South Africa (Greenberg 1980).

and quantify cross-cultural migration rates (CCMRS), then a number of new questions arise:

- How should it be expanded to parts of the world and periods which are not, or insufficiently, covered so far?
- Do all cross-cultural types of migration discerned in the taxonomy as such have an equally transforming social and cultural effect on the migrants and on the societies they (permanently or temporarily) join and leave, as assumed in Manning's initiative theorizing?<sup>13</sup>
- In particular, to what degree does coercion play a role?
- What role do settlement regimes and rules of engagement, and the institutions involved in it, play in the region of departure as well as arrival on the possibilities of cross-cultural contact?
- And, finally, what is the explanatory value of migration, expressed as CCMRS, in the major debates in global history that try to explain different economic, social, and cultural performance worldwide, for example the 'Great Divergence' debate?

We will try to address these five issues briefly, by way of a possible program for future research, not only in migration history as a subdiscipline in its own right, but also in migration history as an integral part of global history at large.

### **Expanding the Evidence**

First of all we would like to test, and where necessary modify, our approach in the western and southern parts of Asia, which are not, or not sufficiently, covered in this volume, as well as in Africa, the Middle East, and the Americas. Next, it is an open question as to whether the practical considerations that have determined our choice for the past five centuries have restricted our view. Which new theoretical insights could be gained by extending the test further back in time, where possible to the Neolithic revolution and the emergence

<sup>13</sup> Manning 2005, 2006, and 2013. Please note that Manning distinguishes between different types of human migrations: apart from cross-community also whole-community migration, colonization (N.B. defined in a different way than in our CCMR method!) and home-community migration. Apart from the latter, our method pertains to all of these, although in our discussion of the transforming effects of migrations our emphasis is on cross-cultural migrations.

of agriculture?<sup>14</sup> It also should be noted that those parts of Eurasia that have already been covered need much more refined research, as will be clear from a glance at the quantitative data collected so far.<sup>15</sup>

### The Cross-Cultural Impact of Different Types of Migration

A second scientific wasteland is the in-depth (at both the microlevel and the mesolevel) study of under what conditions different forms of cross-cultural migrations lead to social changes as predicted by Patrick Manning, and what the impact of various types of migration is. One determinant is the specific composition of the migrants, in terms of human capital,<sup>16</sup> beliefs, and migration motives. Is it indeed true, as several contributions in this volume have hinted at,<sup>17</sup> that migration to cities has a much greater transformative effect than migration to the countryside, as a result of a much greater social and spatial density and cultural diversity of interpersonal contacts? And does it matter whether cities are characterized by an 'open access order,'<sup>18</sup> which creates a much more intense platform for cross-cultural interactions and thus social change? This approach implies the more technical question to be explored of whether we can attribute a certain 'weight' to the six main types of cross-cultural migration and what determines such a weight? By 'weight' we mean the propensity of migrants to interact with inhabitants of the region of destination and vice versa, as well as the chance this will offer for cross-cultural (ex) change.

Before we start our concise attempt at answering these questions, which are at the heart of migration history, we have to distinguish between different time perspectives. The settlement process of migrants during which cross-cultural interactions take place, and thus may be 'weighed' or measured, extends over many years, if not over many generations. At least three time horizons may be distinguished: the initial propensity of migrants at their arrival to interact with inhabitants of the region of destination and vice versa; the development of this propensity during the migration process and the life of the migrant him-

<sup>14</sup> Using Manning (2013) as point of departure. And further Lucassen, Lucassen & Manning 2010.

<sup>15</sup> See Lucassen & Lucassen 2010 and Lucassen et al. 2014. These results will be integrated in the Clio-Infra database of the IISH.

<sup>16</sup> Van Lottum 2011.

<sup>17</sup> Especially the chapters on Russia, China and Japan.

<sup>18</sup> North et al. 2009.

or herself; and this development over generations. Let us give one example that actually dominates the public debate in western Europe: the interaction between 'guest workers' from the Mediterranean and the receiving societies of western Europe. Initially both migrants and society at large supposed that the interaction would be only temporal and encounters mostly superficial, but not unfriendly. After the oil crisis and the ensuing 'family reunification,' while at the same time the guest workers themselves fell victim to unemployment in large numbers, relations deteriorated. This had a negative impact on the willingness and possibility of both first and second generation migrants to integrate into western European societies. The 'integration pessimism' in Europe received an extra stimulus over the past decade which has led, it seems, to the outright rejection of 'western values' by some of the second or even third generation youngsters. This is certainly also a form of cultural interaction, but definitely of a completely different nature from that at the start of the process in the 1960s.<sup>19</sup>

This is not to say that cross-cultural exchange is absent here. As this example demonstrates, the experience of exclusion by migrants and their descendants, as well as the experience of feeling excluded, in itself is a highly transformative cross-cultural experience for all those involved. In other words, cross-cultural exchanges can have very different outcomes and the nature of the process can vary widely. If we strip Manning's argument to the bare bone, we might say that without cross-community migration there is far less chance of cross-cultural exchange.

In the framework of this last chapter only the first time perspective—the mutual propensity to interact immediately after the moment of migration—can receive full attention. In order to do this, we have to consider first the degree of freedom or compulsion involved in the migration process itself.

### Degrees of Coercion and the Cross-Cultural Impact

The taxonomy used here tells us nothing about the degree of freedom or coercion involved in migrations over cross-cultural boundaries. At this general level of analysis this is on purpose: we have to know first who is migrating before we can investigate why and to what effect this is happening. However, in order to measure the cross-cultural impact, it is important to consider the degree of freedom to move. Those who move more or less out of free will may

<sup>19</sup> Lucassen & Lucassen 2011 and 2014.

be supposed to be more open to cross-cultural exchange than those who are forced to do so by others. This is true at least initially, as after settlement this propensity may increase. The opposite is also an option: immigrants may lose the will to interact because of bad experiences in the encounters with the populations they join, as we mentioned previously.

Freedom and coercion are difficult categories to apply. In many migration studies compulsion is highlighted because scholars assume that humans normally like to stay put and that, consequently, all migration is forced, if only because migrants are convinced that they do not earn enough or that their job or occupation does not meet their ambitions. The contrary position is found among scholars who maintain that freedom is a relevant concept and that individuals in situations of compulsion, within limits, also make their own choices.<sup>20</sup>

As there is no consensus about where the line between free and unfree labor migration should be drawn, most scholars prefer a middle position: perceiving a sliding scale of different types of unfree migratory labor, while acknowledging that some distinctions need to be made. One is between capture, abduction, and (chattel) slavery, on the one hand, and coerced migrations and various recruitment systems leading to coerced labor conditions, on the other. Recruitment systems by definition involve the consent of the migrant or their parents. 'Forced migrations' overlap to a certain extent with migration by abduction, as is the case for example with prison work camps and more generally the requisitioning and deportation of labor for modernization and the population or repopulation of areas. Another subcategory of coerced labor migrations consists of convict migrations: deportations of convicts are usually also a feature of global coerced labor movements. Again, if one is engaged by a recruiter, even if this is to escape from hunger or severe oppression by relatives or local authorities, it still involves a choice.

Besides, the nature and origin of the compulsion determine to a great extent the will of the migrants to stay or eventually to return, and thus the chances of interaction. Economic compulsion and the ensuing disappointment in the chances at home may be a good basis for open encounters in the region of destination, whether conceived as temporal or permanent. Compulsion in the form of enslavement and forced migration may lead to the will to escape the new situation (the marrons) and if not feasible, at least to the impossibility of cultural exchange at an equal level between the society of free masters

<sup>20</sup> Lucassen & Lucassen 1997; Hoerder 2002; McKeown 2004; Manning 2013.

and unfree slaves.<sup>21</sup> Forced displacement of religious communities or of entire populations may lead to the will to stick together in order to survive culturally in the hope of eventual return.

The studies in this book and previous studies on Eurasia provide a number of examples of more and less compulsion involved in different types of migration (see Figure 1).<sup>22</sup> In this scheme we distinguish first relatively free migrations, to be followed by a distinction between different types of unfree or coerced migration, on the one hand, and abduction resulting in slavery, on the other. Free migration may of course still contain an element of coercion for the individual. In this respect, we can refer to the 'new economics of migration' which, in contrast to the neo-classical economic theories of migration, foregrounds that migration decisions are made collectively, usually at the household level and often to spread economic risks or generate remittances for investments.<sup>23</sup> For this reason we prefer to speak about a 'high degree of freedom' rather than 'free migration.' Finally, the threefold typology in Figure 1 is helpful in making a distinction between the effects of cross-cultural migration in the short and long run. In particular, the third category (slavery), over time, often leads to processes of creolization, when convicts and slaves settle, which is much less the case with coerced migration.

### Institutions at Arrival and Departure

A combination of the qualities of the migrant and the degree of freedom or compulsion under which he/she migrates over cross-cultural borders determines the chances of cross-cultural exchange. But that is certainly not all: the 'receiving society' is equally crucial, as it sets the boundaries for the intensity, nature, and equality of interactions between migrants and the established population. The more segregated the relationship, the less chances at transformative effects. In a recent volume on membership regimes in different parts of the world in the past two millennia, institutions in the receiving societies take

<sup>21</sup> Here an important task is ahead for migration historians of Eurasia. Most studies of slavery refer to the situation in the Americas, but we should not forget the economic role of slavery and migration in southern and Southeastern Europe (cf. Lucassen & Lucassen 2010) as well as in particularly, but not exclusively, the Muslim parts of Asia. For some literature on the Ottoman Empire see Toledano 1982, 1998, and 2007, Clarence-Smith 2006, and Zilfi 2010. For India see Chatterjee & Eaton 2006, and Campbell 2011. See also Ennaji 2013.

<sup>22</sup> Lucassen & Lucassen 1997; Hoerder 2002; McKeown 2004; Manning 2013.

<sup>23</sup> Stark & Bloom 1985; see also Massey et al. 1993: 436.

	High degree of freedom	Intermediate degree of freedom (coerced migration)	High degree of compulsion (abduction resulting in slavery)
Emigration	(High) skilled non-organizational migrants	Various kinds of refugees; organizational migrants (soldiers, missionaries, diplomats, expats working for transnational companies)	Captives taken into slavery from southern Russia to the Ottoman empire and subsequently southern Europe
Immigration	(High) skilled non-organizational migrants	Colonial migrants during the First World War	Slaves from Africa to (southern and southeastern) Europe
Colonization	Farmers invited by empires of states	Subjects sent to the frontiers of empires (Russian/Ottoman). Indentured laborers on plantations.	Inmates of the Gulag and similar concentration camp systems
To cities	In western, central and southern Europe	Limitations in eastern Europe	Labor corvées in road maintenance, hauling and carting for state purposes, etc., such as in Russia. Furthermore domestic slavery (e.g. Dutch East Indies)
Temporal: seasonal	Seasonal workers in Europe	Peasant serfs sent to other feudal employers (Russia)	Possibly nonexistent
Temporal: multi-annual	Mercenary recruits in general	Compulsory military service	Janissary recruits (Ottoman empire)

FIGURE 1 *Types of migration and degrees of compulsion to migrate: examples from Eurasia, 1500–2000*

center stage.<sup>24</sup> In situations in which migrants join rather than take over existing polities, we can conclude that 'open access' societies that allow newcomers to take part in core institutions (work, education, politics, religion) have the greatest propensity to social, economic, and cultural change. This is irrespective of whether such changes are seen, by migrants or the established popula-

24 Bosma, Kessler & Lucassen 2013.

tion, in terms of loss of gain.<sup>25</sup> In most cases, however, institutions (at the city, national, or imperial level) tend to have differential effects and often exclude newcomers to some extent, which may also influence the migration behavior and patterns. In India and sub-Saharan Africa, for example, rural migrants often do return to their village of origin and foster ethnic ties. Here circular migrations are the result of the necessity to spread social, economic, and emotional risks.<sup>26</sup>

The outcome, in the shorter or longer term, also depends on the characteristics of the migrants in terms of human capital, social, and cultural capital, and not least in terms of gender. Our mentioning of the gender issue is not a lame excuse or a feeling of remorse at the end of a book in which it has not received much attention. The breakdown of the numbers in gender and age categories is a task in itself after overall numbers have been reconstructed. Only for the emigration and immigration figures do we have enough information,<sup>27</sup> but when comparing big entities like Europe, Russia, China, and Japan. In some migration categories we may expect more or less equal numbers, for example in colonization.<sup>28</sup> Among migrants to cities numbers vary greatly, as the abundant literature shows, and overall conclusions for Eurasia are not available yet. Seasonal migrants in western Europe were mostly male, and the same may be true for other parts of Eurasia, but this we simply do not know yet.<sup>29</sup> Temporal, multi-annual migrants are highly gender-specific across all Eurasia: sailors were male, soldiers too, although this does not apply for the huge numbers of camp-followers before the nineteenth century, or the tramping artisans, whereas migrant domestic servants were mainly—but not exclusively!—female.<sup>30</sup>

Apart from the level and transferability of human capital, cultural dispositions and institutions also play an important role. Religious beliefs of migrants, for example, can be an obstacle as well as a stimulus for interactions with members of the host polity and so can family systems, which set rules for marriage

<sup>25</sup> For a recent example see Lucassen & Lucassen 2011 and 2014.

<sup>26</sup> L. Lucassen 2013.

<sup>27</sup> Schrover & Moloney 2013.

<sup>28</sup> In these cases states or empires were primarily interested in attracting or relocating entire families.

<sup>29</sup> Lucassen 1987.

<sup>30</sup> Parenna 2001; Moch 2003; Ehmer 2003; Gabaccia 2006; Moya 2007; Hahn 2008; Zürcher 2013.

patterns which, in turn, can have a considerable influence on the intensity and (gendered) nature of interactions between newcomers and natives.<sup>31</sup>

### **Migration History and Global History**

Finally, the explanatory value of migration, expressed as CCMRS, in the major debates in global history, tries to explain the differences in economic, social, and cultural performance worldwide. Migration can either be used as *explanandum* or as *explanans*. In the latter instance CCMRS may contribute to explaining economic growth or its absence,<sup>32</sup> changing labor relations, changes in political systems, social developments, but also various cultural changes. On the other hand, economic, political, or cultural factors can be identified to explain the volume and nature (the positive and negative effects for the different parties involved) of cross-cultural migrations. In the remainder of this conclusion we will show how a more explicit use of migration as a dependent or independent factor can enrich current debates and why in a number of cases it could prove to be the missing link.

### **From Analysis to Explanation: Migration, Markets, and State Formation**

In the current debates in comparative global history about the performance of societies, two types of explanations stand out: the success of markets in institutional economic history and the success of states in political history, whereas cultural explanations, for the prevailing centuries, have lost much but not all of their attraction.<sup>33</sup> The economic and political explanations may also be combined as in Charles Tilly's characterization of 'capital intensive' and 'capitalized coercion' paths of state formation in western Europe since the Middle

<sup>31</sup> Kok 2010; Moch 2007.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Lucassen 1987; Foldvari, Van Leeuwen & Van Zanden 2013; Van Lottum 2011.

<sup>33</sup> Judging by the harsh criticism David Landes' magnum opus from 1998 received (e.g. Mokyr 1999). For recent (albeit different) cultural models see e.g. McCloskey 2010 and Clark 2007. See also Davids 2013.

Ages.<sup>34</sup> Recently, attempts have been made by institutional economic historians to combine economic and political explanations.<sup>35</sup>

By looking carefully at the relationship between types of state formation and types and patterns of migration, many of the chapters in this book show that migration matters. Two solutions, involving different types of migration, are represented in the Eurasian case since about 1500. Both urbanization migration ('to cities') and military migration ('temporary multi-annual') fit Tilly's explanatory model for European states since the Middle Ages. One type of society fostered the position of city dwellers, who had enough surplus to be taxed in order to pay professional, migratory soldiers. The other type, putting much greater stress on migration to land ('colonization'), seems to be a typical feature of empires and thus of the 'coercion intensive' state formation path, so visible in what Barrington Moore called the peasant empires of Russia and China.<sup>36</sup> The coercive element in Tilly's work referred to the centralist power of state authorities over (urban-based) merchants and landlords, which curtailed urbanization and (agricultural) commercialization. This power constellation involved not only low rates of urbanization and high rates of 'colonization', but it also finds expression in the systemic use of force to move people to land in the (perceived) interest of the central state. The most extreme cases were Russia under Stalin and China under Mao, but these twentieth-century coercive expressions have deep imperial roots and path dependencies.

As we have observed earlier,<sup>37</sup> it is striking that in larger debates on economic growth, state formation, and social and cultural changes over time, migration does not play a role. As far as migration is mentioned (in whatever form), it is assumed to be an omnipresent 'natural' phenomenon that needs no further explanation. At most it is regarded as a consequence or corollary of other (more interesting) developments, such as urbanization, wars, and imperialism. Although it is certainly legitimate to use such a 'proxy perspective,' it obstructs the development of a causal perspective, in which specific forms of migration and certainly also their long-term effects (as indicated above) have a semi-autonomous dynamic which cannot just be interpreted as

<sup>34</sup> Tilly 1990.

<sup>35</sup> Van Zanden & Prak 2006; Acemoglu & Robinson 2006; North et al. 2009. Van Zanden 2013. We do realize that institutions are to a large extent the reflection of cultural dispositions. Recently Ian Morris (2013) has brought the economic and the political together, combined with social characteristics.

<sup>36</sup> Moore 1966.

<sup>37</sup> Lucassen & Lucassen 2009.

a reaction to larger forces. In other words, our plea is to study migration both as a dependent (*explanans*) and as an independent (*explanandum*) factor. A telling example in this book is the recent mass migration to Chinese cities, which was enabled by political decisions in the late 1970s, but once under way developed a dynamic of its own which not only makes it almost impossible to roll back, but which also fundamentally changes the socio-cultural (family systems) and economic characteristics of Chinese society and more broadly the global economy. Another example is the path-dependent continuity in labor recruiting schemes that have survived European colonialism, as the current situation of millions of Asian migrants in Malaysia and the Middle East shows.<sup>38</sup> Finally, we point to the transforming experience of migration for the people involved: the migrants, the people they join, and those to whom they may return. As Joshua Sanborn has convincingly argued in his study on Russian soldiers during the First World War, the mobilization and the experiences at the front changed these men profoundly, and their uprooting and military socialization contributed considerably to their support for the Russian Revolution.<sup>39</sup> Others have pointed to the transformative experiences of soldier migrations for the societies they return to. The best example is that of the hundred thousands of African American soldiers based in postwar Germany, whose stay abroad made them realize that Jim Crow segregation in the American South was not normal; an experience which, after their return to the USA, contributed importantly to the support for the Civil Rights movement.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, to the extent that migration historians will come up with answers to these questions, their results will be taken seriously in the larger debates on the determinants of economically, politically, and culturally 'successful' societies. A good example is the 'Great Divergence' debate, which centers around the question of why Europe (or more precisely northwestern Europe, followed by North America) surpassed China (or India) in the eighteenth century (and even earlier) and became a global power, whose influence is only waning in the past decade or so.<sup>41</sup>

The migration trends provided in this volume seem to suggest that Asian empires do not so much lack cross-cultural migrations as such, but rather are characterized by coercive and less commercial types, whereas in Europe we see more of the opposite pattern (migration to cities and free mercenary migrations), with Japan and the Middle East in between. We therefore argue

<sup>38</sup> Hoerder 2002: 536–550.

<sup>39</sup> Sanborn 2005. See also Moch & Siegelbaum 2014 (forthcoming).

<sup>40</sup> Höhn & Klimke 2010.

<sup>41</sup> See e.g. Pomeranz 2000, Rosenthal & Wong 2011, Vries 2013 and Bosma 2014.

that institutional arrangements, as stressed by Tilly, North, Acemoglu & Robinson, and Van Zanden,<sup>42</sup> should also be studied in relation to migration, both as influencing who moves and in what way, and also as being influenced by different types of migration.

This is not the place to perform this task. However, in the future the cross-cultural implications of both (coercive-intensive and capital-intensive) solutions will have to be studied in detail. As to their economic implications, we have to distinguish between the supply and demand of migrants as producers in the receiving society and the opportunities for cultural exchange with the receiving population. We would like to suggest here that the positive outcomes of mass migrations to cities have been of primary importance. The effects of migratory mercenary work may have been more indirect, as it liberated the population at large from military obligations, leaving them free to produce. The income transfer to the regions of origin of mercenaries (Switzerland, southern Germany, Ireland, and Scotland, to mention some important ones) does not seem to have played an important role. Forced colonization in the Russian and Chinese cases has had an extensive rather than an intensive effect on the development of these economies. If this interpretation holds true, it follows that what matters for economic growth (as suggested by the history of the USA as interpreted by Zelinsky) is not so much the sheer levels of mobility, but rather the composition of the types of migration.

As the economic developments in the early (Russia) and late (China) twentieth century show, the specific imperial path dependencies of these countries did not prevent spectacular urbanization waves, and—certainly in the case of modern China—concomitant high growth rates. On the other hand, the Chinese put up various barriers pertaining to migrants moving to cities. First, the *hukou* system, which prevented internal rural migrants from enjoying the same rights and benefits as the native urban population and treated them as second-rate citizens, who for this reason had to maintain their attachments with the rural regions they came from.<sup>43</sup> Secondly, foreigners (including Africans) have recently been allowed to settle in China as traders and experts, but it is impossible for them to become citizens and acquire permanent residence permits.<sup>44</sup> When we assume that equal and prolonged cross-cultural interactions in urban settings are crucial for cultural changes and innovations, these barriers in the long run may slow down economic growth and limit the

42 Tilly 1990; North 2002; Acemoglu & Robinson 2006 and 2012 and Van Zanden & Prak 2006.

43 See the chapter of Shen in this volume, and Lucassen 2013.

44 Pieke 2012.

full potential of this type of migration for the region of destination. This does not exclude, in the short run, low production costs because underpaid workers without rights may be profitable, but does result in the neglect of the opportunities provided by inter-cultural exchange.

This brings us to the relationship between the human, cultural, and social capital of migrants and social change, as defined by Manning,<sup>45</sup> in the societies of both destination and origin (through return migration(s)). Whereas Manning is not very explicit about the way cross-cultural migration forges social change and seems to be primarily interested in changes over very long stretches of time, this volume is more concerned with changes over decades and centuries, instead of millennia. Moreover, our methodology offers a more layered approach, by distinguishing at least four different types of cross-cultural migration: to cities, colonization, seasonal, and temporal multi-annual.

By combining the results and methodological rigor of this volume with the focus on membership regimes in the previous volume in this series,<sup>46</sup> we have a potentially strong analytical instrument to compare specific configurations of migrants (and their various forms of 'capital') with the possibilities to develop this further at destination and interact with the 'natives.' This varies from total exclusion (chattel slavery) to complete 'open access' and being on a level playing field with those already present. This is an important extra layer in the CCMR tool, as it introduces power relationships as well as migrants' agency and characteristics. It is also the logical place to add gender, which in this volume has largely been left implicit, but which is an essential variable once we move from the macro-perspective of this volume to the meso- and microplane.

Finally, we hope that such an approach will enable us to free migration studies from its own, specialist, confines and integrate it into global history. When we want to understand the relationship between specific 'membership regimes' and types of migration, on the one hand, and the development of societies, on the other, migration is an essential ingredient. And, to use a culinary metaphor, when added to the right mold, quantity and (at the right moment) globally comparative migration studies will improve the quality of the 'dish' considerably. With this volume we therefore make a plea to include migration as an important variable in global comparative history and to combine (new) institutional approaches in (economic) history with the varying cultural effects of cross-cultural interactions between diverse human communities.

45 Manning 2005 and 2006.

46 Bosma, Kessler & Lucassen 2013.

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# Consuming mobility

*A practice approach to  
sustainable mobility transitions*

**Jorrit O. Nijhuis**



**Environmental Policy  
Series**  
**Volume 10**

# Towards a practical based approach of everyday mobility

#### 4.8.4 Changing consumer attitudes?

The improvement in the eco-efficiency of consumer vehicles in the Netherlands, surging roughly from 2010 onwards, had taken many by surprise. The commonly held perspective has always been that 'consumers are just not interested in eco-efficient vehicles'. A more fundamental question is therefore whether or not this recent phenomenon truly reflects a structural change in the consumer demand for eco-efficient vehicles (see also Dijk *et al.*, 2012).

The dominant view among policy-makers and industry representatives has always been that environmental considerations play a very minor role in decisions on car purchasing. Type, price, colour, distinction and so on are all considered to be more important. On the one hand, this is confirmed by the consumer focus group, where consumers first mentioned these aspects as being most important. Only a small niche exists for consumers who purchase environmentally friendly cars mainly because of environmental performance of these cars. On the other hand, we see that through various mechanisms an ecological rationality has slowly but gradually permeated the practice of new car purchasing.

Whether or not a structural shift in consumer preferences for alternative vehicles will take place also depends on the ways that car producers and environmental policies are able to connect to the everyday life world perspective of car purchasers. Research by Dijk (2011) indicates that car consumers consist roughly of three sub-groups with regard to engine preferences: one group for which engine price is most important (35%), one group for which engine size is most important (60%), and a green car segment (5%). It is likely that the strong focus of the Dutch government on fiscal strategies has appealed to the first consumer group thereby broadening the market of fuel efficient vehicles from the green car segment only, to the more price aware consumer.

However, these fiscal strategies have also placed a strong economic burden on the Dutch government<sup>66</sup>. To maintain the strong environmental improvement of the last few years in the future a more structural connection must be made with the values and preferences of the car purchasers as it is unlikely that the massive subsidies will be maintained. Environmental information tools and fiscal measures are consumer-oriented strategies which aim to influence car purchase decisions at a rather rational and cognitive level. Chapter 3, however, showed the enormous importance of symbolic meanings attached to the car. Car companies, as the main providers of green cars, are crucial for the success of that incorporation process of environmental aspects and the life world of car consumers.

<sup>66</sup> In 2010 the reduced governmental income due to the taxation strategies for green new cars was approximately 500 million Euro.

## Chapter 5. Towards a practice-based approach of everyday mobility

*The analysis of why people travel, and whether they should travel in the way they currently are, is to interrogate a complex set of social practices, social practices that involve old and emerging technologies that reconstruct notions of proximity and distance, closeness and farness, stasis and movement, the body and the other.*

John Urry (Mobility and proximity, 2002)

### 5.1 Introduction

In this theoretical chapter the aim is to establish an account of a practice-based approach to everyday mobility. This implies that the social practices model, as described in Chapter 3, is conceptually elaborated and specified for everyday mobility in order to understand the key dynamics of social behaviours and (environmental) change in this consumption domain. The different components of the social practices model need to be adequately translated in order to be useful for the analysis of practices of mobility.

As discussed before, there is not one specific practice theory which automatically candidates as the best approach to the study of mobility. Moreover, notwithstanding a few exceptions, so far a practice-approach is almost completely absent from the domain of mobility. Therefore, in this chapter the intention is to establish a practice approach to mobility by answering three sets of questions derived from the practice based approach presented in Chapter 3. First, we ask which core elements are implicated in a practice to be labelled a mobility practice. Which types of mobility practices can we discern and what are their major characteristics? Second, we explore how practices relate to the socio-material structures which enable and constrain mobility-routines in everyday life. What contextual factors do mobility practices have in common? Thirdly, we try to establish which variables help explain the individual variation at the life-style side of the social practices model. How do we analyse the diverging ways in which citizen-consumers conduct their mobility practices? What kind of mobility strategies and patterns do citizen-consumers employ to realize their projects and plans? These questions indicate that the central theme of this chapter is focused on understanding how mobility is constructed, not in the sense of analysing the socio-economic drivers behind the increase of (auto)mobility, but in the sense of what elements are essential for being mobile and which strategies human agents employ to effect movement.

In the next paragraph 'mobility practices' are explored by diving deeper into the 'social bases' of everyday mobility. As mobility generally is considered to derive from 'demand' in the sense of being undertaken by human agents in order to be able to perform certain activities at a certain

destination, it is important to investigate the role of physical co-presence in mobility. Furthermore, in this paragraph the basic characteristics of mobility practices are introduced and elaborated. Although there are many types of mobility practices, it is argued that they all share the same four dimensions: a temporal dimension, a spatial dimension, a material/technological dimension, and an experience dimension.

In Paragraph 5.3 the concept of 'motility', as it has been developed by Kaufmann (2002) is explored. Motility refers to the potential of human agents to be or become mobile. This notion is useful to conceptualize the human agents' side of the social practices model as applied to the domain of mobility. It defines the structural dimension of mobility practices not (only) at the system-of-provision side of the model, in terms of available transport networks and technological infrastructures (place and location accessibility) but discusses the rules and resources of mobility practices specifically in terms of human agent's access to mobilities (portfolio), and their skills and cognitive appropriation which are all needed to participate in specific mobility practices. By focusing on the character of human agents' motility it is possible to better understand the differences between individual human agents in performing 'similar' mobility practices. The chapter is concluded with a first exploration and conceptualisation of practitioners and their mobility portfolios, a theme to be taken up in more detail in Chapter 6.

## 5.2 Practices of mobility

### 5.2.1 Co-presence: the social base of travel

Before describing the different elements of a practice-based approach it is important to consider the question why people travel in the first place. While it is easy to understand that people travel to perform activities at certain locations, it is vital to consider that these activities are often socially inferred. Therefore, in this section we will focus on the 'social bases' of travel in order to better understand why people meet and come together at specific locations. The word 'social', in this respect, should be considered in its broadest sense. The purpose of grocery shopping is more than just acquiring the goods you need as fast and convenient as possible. Similarly, the purpose of non-daily shopping for clothes and furniture has not merely a utilitarian function but has many social elements as well. Hence, the term 'fun-shopping' which has been introduced to indicate that the 'purpose' of this type of shopping is as much about undertaking a leisure activity (relaxing, looking around, experiencing new stores, and being together with family or friends) as it is about acquiring a new product.

According to John Urry (2002), geographers and transport experts have insufficiently focused on the social bases of corporeal travel. Transport researchers, so Urry claims, have treated mobility as a black box in which the demand for movement is taken for granted. Understanding the connectivity of social life should not begin with the types and forms of transport as they are mostly a means to socially patterned activities (Urry, 2003b, p. 156). Therefore, Urry asks the question why

people travel physically in the first place: 'why bother with the risks, uncertainties and frustrations of corporeal movement' (Urry, 2002, p. 256). The answer for the desire to travel has to be found in the significance of corporeal co-presence (*ibid.*). This is in line with the sociology of Anthony Giddens who states that 'in the course of their daily activities individuals encounter each other in situated contexts of interaction – interaction with others who are physically co-present'<sup>67</sup> (Giddens, 1984, p. 64). So even though social life, due to the importance of internet and mobile communication, is increasingly becoming virtual and mediated by network, physical co-presence is still a central, constitutive feature of social life (Urry, 2003b; Collins, 2004).

Giddens uses a multitude of concepts, many of them derived from Goffman's typology of interaction, to discuss the meaning of co-presence. Gatherings refer to assemblages of people in contexts of co-presence. Context in this respect includes on the one hand the strips of time-space within which the gathering takes place, and on the other hand the physical environment (or 'locale') of interaction with its associated norms and values (Giddens, 1984, p. 71). Social occasions are formalized contexts in which gatherings occur; they can be said to provide the structuring social contexts of gatherings. So, while gatherings may have a very loose form with barely any social interaction, social occasions typically have a specific pattern of conduct (the work day at the office is a good example of a social occasion). Simultaneously, the same physical space can be the site of several social occasions. During gatherings and social occasions interaction between individuals may occur. This interaction comes in the form of focused and unfocused interaction. It is especially focused interaction which is important, not only because individuals coordinate their activities through facial expression and talk, but also because it introduces an enclosure of those involved from those not involved (*ibid.*, p. 72). A 'unit' of focused interaction is called an encounter. It are these encounters, sustained by talk, as Giddens explains, which form the guiding threads of social interaction.

Giddens adds to the work of Goffman that most encounters occur as routines with a rather complex structure. What might seem at first sight to be an insignificant interaction is actually very substantial but hidden from view by routinization: 'what is striking about the interaction skills that actors display in the production and reproduction of encounters is their anchoring in practical consciousness' (*ibid.*, p. 75). That is, most of the time all participants of a face-to-face encounter make use of the same collectively shared rules indicating the appropriateness of talk and behaviour in a specific context. These interaction skills are taken for granted and used in an 'automatic' way. When investigating these interactions in detail, they turn out to be guided by a rather complex configuration of rules and resources which actors draw upon to make the practice happen. The smooth, routine-like reproduction of social practices is essential for creating and maintaining trust of people in other people, in technologies, and more general their socio-physical surrounding.

Like Giddens, Urry (2002, 2003b) draws upon Goffman to indicate that travel is rooted in the demand for physical proximity to other people, places and events. Social life (of work, family, education and leisure) thus involves continuous processes of shifting between being present with

<sup>67</sup> Both Urry and Giddens make extensive use of the term co-presence as it is originally employed by Goffman. The full conditions of co-presence are found whenever agents sense that they are close enough to be perceived in whatever they are doing, including their experiencing of others, and close enough to be perceived in this sensing of being perceived (Goffman, 1963, in Giddens, 1984).

certain people, places and events and with being distant (Urry, 2007, p. 47). Urry defines five social bases of travel which generate the necessity for proximity (Urry, 2003b, p. 163). First, travel for legal, economic and familial obligations involves proximity to people for formal obligations such as travel to work, weddings, court, etc. Second, social obligations involve less formal meetings with family and friends which are associated with spending quality time. This can also involve travelling to specific locations away from the normal patterns of everyday work and family life. Third, object obligations involve travel in which persons come together for a specific object, for instance, to work on an object or text which has a specific location. Fourth, co-presence for place obligations involves travel to sense a place directly, to experience a leisure place (*ibid.*). While the first three social bases of travel are face-to-face, this social base is 'face-the-place' (Urry, 2002). For instance, while cities have always been places of work and habitation, increasingly cities are also perceived, and indeed marketed, as centres of consumption: 'they are places in which advertising, shopping, and entertainment are incorporated into every aspect of urban life' (Hannigan, 1998, p. 65). Mommaas (2000) emphasizes the strategic dual character of the media and leisure industry in shaping the experiences of places. Both are mediators of experiences, the media because it digitalizes and broadcasts the experiences, and the leisure industry because it attracts people physically to the location of experiences. As such, there is an increasing integration between the global media-industry and the local physical world of leisure (*ibid.*). Finally, event obligations are about experiencing a particular event. As these events occur at a specific moment in time they are also labelled 'face-the-moment' (Urry, 2002).

Face-to-face encounters are important because they contribute to the establishment and confirmation of trust. Social talk is an important part of establishing trust, and this can seemingly be conducted without being co-present. However, during face-to-face encounters individuals can literally look each other in the eye while discussing a variety of topics and trying to correct possible misunderstandings (Urry, 2007, p. 236). Indeed, some conversations and decisions are only possible, or at least deemed appropriate, in physical co-presence<sup>68</sup>: 'trust is something that gets worked at and involves a joint performance by those in such co-present conversations' (Urry, 2002, p. 260). It is this joint performance which Giddens emphasizes when he notes that the interaction skills that actors display in the production and reproduction of encounters are anchored in practical consciousness. In contrast to face-to-face encounters, face-less commitments and communications are characterized as being more functional and task-oriented, less rich and multi-faceted. They are in some respects less effective in establishing long-term trust relations (Urry, 2003, p. 170). In a similar vein, Randall Collins in his theory of Interaction Rituals states that co-presence and mutual focus are key factors in bringing about a process of collective effervescence. People travel along interaction ritual chains in order to meet, look each other in the eye, get 'excited' and become energized with 'emotional energy' (Collins, 2004; Spaargaren, 2011).

The social bases of travel must be considered as highly relevant for the study of sustainable mobility. For instance they are part of the social context in which mobility innovations have to be embedded. The importance of this becomes clear when looking at, for instance, the question to

<sup>68</sup> For example, while it can be considered appropriate to notify a person by phone of a positive outcome of a job interview, reversely, it is often considered highly inappropriate to tell the same person he/she is fired via this same medium.

what extent virtual travel can become a substitute for physical travel. Geels and Smit (2000) have labelled the neglect of social aspects in technological trajectories a form of 'narrow functional thinking' which helps explain the numerous failed technology forecasts in the mobility sector. They ask the question why so many images about technology futures, such as the envisioned impacts of ICT on traffic and transportation, were wrong. Famous examples are the promise of a reduction of business travel due to teleconferencing, a reduction of commuting due to teleworking, and a reduction of shopping travel due to virtual or internet shopping. Geels and Smit note that purely functional thinking about shopping activities in which virtual shopping substitutes for physical shopping neglects the social aspects that are involved, such as elderly shoppers who like to talk with retailers, neighbours and acquaintances they encounter in the shop (*ibid.*). Illustrative too in this respect is research with regard to teleworking in the Netherlands (Walrave & De Bie, 2005). While 77% of the non-teleworkers is interested in teleworking, many of them feel that the job is not feasible for teleworking because they need frequent face-to-face contact with colleagues (38%) or face-to-face contact with customers (28%). Furthermore, while according to 50% of the teleworkers the productivity of their work has increased due to working from a distance of the office, 60% of the teleworkers claim that the alternative work-type has a negative effect on their promotional opportunities. Both teleworkers and non-teleworkers strongly believe that teleworking has a negative effect on the social contacts with colleagues and that one becomes less involved in corporate activities, and one experiences a lack of company information. While managers of non-teleworking companies fear a lack of control and high ICT-costs, managers of teleworking companies are much more positive about these aspects (*ibid.*). So, considering the abovementioned role of trust in face-to-face meetings, it is therefore no coincidence that lack of possibilities for trust-performances is one of the greatest obstacles for the introduction of teleworking in non-teleworking companies. As Geels and Smit (2000, p. 876) remark: 'the process of the societal embedding of teleworking does not proceed automatically and smoothly. Instead, all kinds of practices need to be adjusted and changed'.

Because of the social bases of travel the prophesized death of distance (see Cairncross, 1997; Makimoto & Manners, 1997) remains improbable. These remarks are not suggesting that virtual travel and virtual co-presence can never simulate (to use Urry's terms) some forms of physical travel. On the contrary, activities such as teleshopping, telecommuting and teleconferencing have increased tremendously in recent years and might indeed on the long run substitute for certain trips. Indeed, the main message of the research by Walrave and De Bie (2005) is that many teleworkers are very enthusiastic about the possibilities of teleworking. In an increasingly networked society there are clearly significant opportunities for virtual travel to 'simulate' some social bases for physical proximity, while simultaneously there are many other social bases for which virtual proximity is no substitute (Urry, 2002, p. 269). Instead of 'eliminating' distance, it is more likely that transport and communication technologies are becoming 'travel partners'. According to Urry (2007, p. 179) this leads to processes in which new information and communication technologies co-evolve with extensive forms of physical travel.

The specific mobility practices and their characteristics, which we have shown to be based on patterns of social occasions and encounters, are described in the next section.

### 5.2.2 Defining mobility practices

In this section the specific mobility practices will be described and selected. This is a matter which deserves special attention because these practices will be used as the unit of analysis and for the formulation of a citizen-consumer oriented environmental policy in the domain of mobility. However, as the paragraphs on practice-theory in chapter three showed, practices are not a clearly defined unit of analysis. To circumvent this problem Spaargaren *et al.* (2002) have formulated two general requirements for selecting sets of social practices which can be said to be relevant for environment and climate policies. The first criterion is that social practices should be environmentally relevant. That is, the formulated social practice should be policy-relevant because of the environmental impact that is implicated in the social practice. While every social practice to a more or lesser extent has an environmental impact, it is more worthwhile to focus on the 'larger fishes in the pond' than on the smaller ones. The relevance for environmental policy is also related to the question whether or not the social practice can be targeted with (existing) environmental policy instruments. The second criterion, formulated by Spaargaren *et al.* (2002), is that social practices should be relevant for and recognizable by citizen-consumers. The practices have an everyday character in the sense that they constitute familiar repetitive activities of day-to-day social life. Furthermore, citizen-consumers recognize and acknowledge that the social practice generates environmental pressure, that this pressure is related to their own consumption behaviour and that there are means and methods available to help reduce the environmental pressure.

While there has been very limited research conducted on mobility from the specific viewpoint of practices, the majority of practice approaches to mobility are based on transport modalities and the networks surrounding these modalities. Deriving their analysis predominantly from science and technology studies, especially actor-network theory, many of these practice approaches focus on the interaction between mobility behaviour and mobility technologies. For example, Peters (1999) illustrates this aspect by looking at the travel practice of cycling in different contextual settings. He explains that although the bicycle itself and its (physical) way of being used have not gone through major changes, the historical changes in the networks surrounding the bicycle have significantly altered the practice of cycling and the meaning associated with cycling. Simultaneously, Peters describes that specific cycling policies, including the design of cycling infrastructures, provide a contextual setting which highly influences the practice of cycling<sup>69</sup>. Similar to Peters, Urry (2007) describes the multiple kinds of movement (such as the different modes of 'doing walking', car driving, etc.) and the systems that move human actors. In sum, the majority of practice approaches to mobility focus on the systems of mobility and the way that a specific modality and its user interact.

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<sup>69</sup>A famous example is 'bicycle-city' Houten which was constructed (literally) with a spatial and infrastructural design in which precedence is explicitly given to slower modes of transport. The bicycle infrastructure forms the frame for major facilities such as schools and shops while the connections by car are largely restricted to a central ring around the town. Peters indicates that the construction of Houten as a bicycle city is a clear product of the 1970s during which the modal shift from car use to other means of transport was highly promoted (see Peters, 1999, p. 37). More recent examples of innovative biking infrastructures are to be found in the many city-biking-projects which have been developed to deal with urban pollution and congestion problems while making the city accessible to bikers and biking tourists in particular.

Quite a different practice-based approach is provided by Stock & Duhamel (2005) who have developed a typology based on the 'geographical code of practice'. This code takes into account the conditions in which the movement occurs and the qualities of the geographical place involved. In focusing on the geographical code Stock and Duhamel emphasize the influence of the character of places on the experience and conduct of different mobility practices (Table 5.1).

For example, tourism mobility is always based on the first two elements of the code in the sense that it always involves a non-daily activity and a personal choice of movement, while all the other elements may vary (familiar/unfamiliar, far-away/near, non-exotic/exotic). The fundamental difference between tourism mobility and business trips to these authors is the distinction between obligation and choice to go on the journey. The five elements of which the geographical code is constructed leads to 64 possible combinations of the conditions of practices in relation to qualities of a place (*ibid.*).

Distinguishing practices on these journey types is interesting because it corresponds with the social bases of travelling which we have discussed in Paragraph 5.2.1. Meeting relatives and friends, travelling from home to work, visiting places and events during leisure time, bringing kids to school, going on business trips to meet clients; these are just a few cases of social practices in daily life which involve mobility. These everyday journeys, as Pooley *et al.* (2005) argue, form an important part of the social fabric that constructs our daily life.

Therefore, based on the considerations mentioned above we suggest the following set of mobility practices to be considered in the context of environment and climate policies: commuting, business travel, home-school travel, shopping, leisure travel en visiting family/friends (Figure 5.1). In addition to this, the practices of shopping and leisure travel can further be divided into a set of less commonly recognized sub-practices. Leisure travel, for instance, is made up of event travel, day trips, etc. It is clear that these practices are not necessarily mutually exclusive, neither is mobility

*Table 5.1. Examples of a geographical code of practices (Stock & Duhamel, 2005).*

Example of practice	Geographical code <sup>1</sup>	Type of practice
A Londoner going on holiday in Morocco	non-daily/choice/unfamiliar/ far-away/exotic	tourist practice
A Londoner going to Marrakech for a conference	non-daily/obligation/ unfamiliar/far-away/exotic	business trip
A Brightonian going to work in London	daily/obligation/ familiar/near/ non-exotic	commuting
A Londoner going on to Brighton to stroll on the beach	daily/choice/ familiar/near/ non-exotic	leisure

<sup>1</sup> The distinction of daily/non-daily refers to habitual and non-habitual mobility; choice/obligation refers to the autonomy in the decision-making; familiar/unfamiliar refers to whether or not the place is regularly visited; far-away/near refers to the accessibility to the place; and non-exotic/exotic refers to differences in language, habits, food, etc. (Stock & Duhamel, 2005, pp. 64-65).

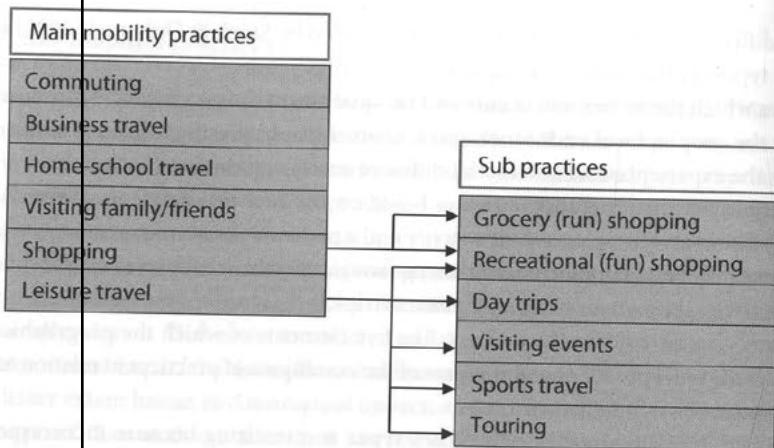


Figure 5.1. Main mobility practices.

limited to these practices. However, these six practices are the most commonly distinguished journeys in research, and are recognized by travellers all over.

Furthermore, this conceptualisation of mobility practices is interesting because it relates closely to the specific target group approach developed under the heading of mobility management. The European Platform on Mobility Management distinguishes a multitude of trip purposes which all have certain characteristics and provide specific opportunities and problems for the implementation of mobility management strategies: 'depending on their trip purpose, people visit different places, and origin/destination patterns may vary from "close" to "dispersed". The degree of freedom may differ from "limited" (e.g. in the case of commuting) to "high" (e.g. in case of leisure trips), and people are more or less flexible in their time management. Additionally, people will have different demands or preferences according to the properties of the chosen mode of transport for example if they need to carry goods or if they "only" want to enjoy the landscape' ([www.epomm.org](http://www.epomm.org)). This quote illustrates two relevant aspects. First, conceptualising mobility practices on the social bases of travel gives clear opportunities for mobility policies such as mobility management. Second, mobility practices are made up of a variety of dimensions. These dimensions will be further discussed in the next section.

### 5.2.3 Characterizing mobility practices: four dimensions of mobility

So far I have argued that mobility practices can best be conceived of as resulting from the participation of human agents in social occasions and social activities which take place at specific sites. Mobility is thus the result of situated human interaction at specific moments in time which take place at specific locations. The purpose of this section is to further define some of these core characteristics of mobility practices. The focus will be on the specific elements or dimensions which constitute mobility practices. Mobility practices can be described as the interplay between four different constitutive dimensions: the temporal, the spatial, the material and the symbolic dimension (Figure 5.2).

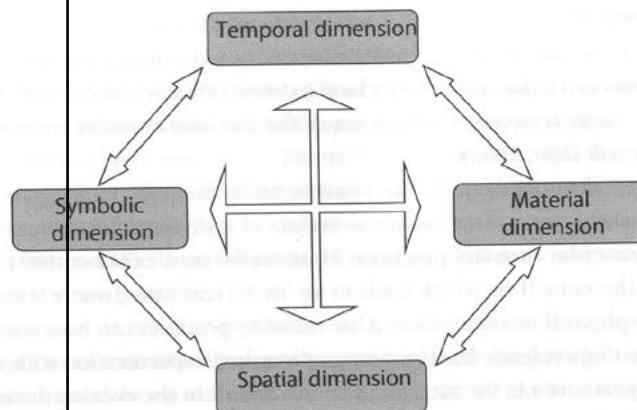


Figure 5.2. Four dimensions of mobility practices.

On the one hand movement implies that human agents negotiate space and time to create specific space-time paths. So, all mobility practices have a temporal and a spatial dimension. That is, the structuration of daily activities is connected with the specific space-time trajectories of human encounters. On the other hand, the concept of contextuality implies that social practices occur at determinate locations (with specific properties) in space and time. We will focus on structuration theory and time-geography to specify these concepts of space and time and how they relate to human agents, social practices and social structures. Next to temporal and spatial dimensions, mobility practices are dependent on the physical and material infrastructures of transport systems. So, the modal dimension of mobility practices refers to the use of a specific transport technology embedded in socio-material transport systems serving as systems of provision for mobility practices. Finally, the dimension of (lifestyle) experience is important to understand the instrumental and affective factors in the different mobility practices. Mobility practices cannot solely be understood by the temporal-spatial separation of locations and the different modalities that link them. To understand mobility practices it is important to know about the cultural aspects of mobility in modern society and the place and role assigned to being mobile. The four dimensions will briefly be introduced in what follows.

The importance attached in structuration theory to interaction in situations of co-presence in time and space makes it clear that mobility practices have both a temporal and a spatial dimension<sup>70</sup>. Indeed it is seemingly impossible to analyse mobility without considering the time-spatial patterns of mobility practices. The temporal dimension indicates that practices are

<sup>70</sup> The focus on timing and spacing correlates with classic time-geography which shares the focus on the routinized character of everyday life with the structuration theory. Time-geography is based on the premise that every action and event in a person's life has both spatial and temporal attributes (Pred, 1981). It is a geographical approach to understanding human behaviour in which time and space are resources which human agents draw upon to realize personal projects and plans. The possibilities to realize these projects and plans in time-space are shaped by various types of contextual constraints such as shop opening hours (Hägerstrand, 1970).

carried out over time: they have a certain duration or length of time, and they are undertaken at a certain moment in time. The temporal rhythm of opening and closing times of shops, companies, educational institutes and childcare facilities have a strong influence on the mobility patterns that people undertake. These temporal rhythms break the day into available time intervals or time windows (Schwanen & Dijst, 2003).

Furthermore, the majority of traffic jams can be understood as resulting from the temporal synchronicity of institutions and the collective impact of individual behaviour of human agents in the conduct of everyday mobility practices. Thus, traffic jams exist because too many people are on the road at the same time which leads to an 'inefficient' use (from a transport economic perspective) of the physical infrastructure. Also, mobility practices can have a distinct temporal patterning. Commuting evidently has the strongest temporal structuration with strong temporal peaks around half past seven in the morning and five o'clock in the evening during weekdays. In contrast, leisure related mobility practices have a different temporal structure, with less tight levels of synchronization<sup>71</sup>. Furthermore, leisure related mobility takes place more often in the evening hours during weekdays and during the weekend as a whole (see Harms, 2008).

Social occasions are made to happen at specific socio-spatial locations. The spatial dimension of mobility practices therefore refers to the place and space in which activities are undertaken, as well as the spatial distance travelled. Locations (or locales) are sites of interaction where people work, eat, sleep, visit friends and relatives, and are entertained. In everyday mobility the home is often the dominant location, it is the starting point of a trip and at the end of the day the home is generally speaking the final destination. An important point made by Giddens is that locations are not mere 'stopping points in space' (a criticism on traditional time-geographical approaches) but are also sites with a certain identity which influences the interactions that are occurring at the location. Giddens uses the term 'locale' to indicate the setting of interaction spaces (Giddens, 1984, p. 118). Locales not only contain material elements but also contain information, knowledge, rules, signs and images<sup>72</sup>. Thus, places and the practices conducted there are highly interwoven and co-constitutive (Urry, 2007). For example, hospitals, business parks, theme parks, and homes are all places between which people travel but which all exert a different contextual influence on the social occasions and often also on the modes of travel. This is related to the point that locales have a specific geographical location and a geographical spread which makes them more or less accessible. Especially in the Netherlands, with its strong planning tradition, more and more attention is being paid to the relation between spatial planning and mobility. Another significance of the spatial dimension becomes clear when we look at the distinction between different types of shopping practices. Run-shopping, which mostly consists of shopping for groceries, takes place only at a short distance from the home. Grocery shops are geographically dispersed as they are frequently visited by people. They are also much less centred when compared to shops for fun-shopping (clothing, multi-media) which are often clustered in city-centres.

<sup>71</sup> However, temporal synchronization is visible in the yearly peaks at airports and main roads connecting favourite holiday destinations in Europe.

<sup>72</sup> See Holloway and Hubbard (2001) for an overview of perspectives on the relation between people and place in everyday life.

The first two dimensions of mobility practices are thus related to the temporal and spatial aspects of more or less institutionalized practices and they refer to the creation of time-spatial paths by human agents. Peter Peters (2003) speaks of 'passages' to indicate the strong relation between the two dimensions. A passage indicates the creation of time-spatial orders in which space and time cannot be separated from each other. Peters stresses the point that the history of mobility must be seen as a sequence of mobility innovations (e.g. timetables, traffic information) which have been introduced to ascertain not only a faster, but especially a trouble-free and predictable journey (Peters, 2003, p. 221). Thus, the passages make routinization and trust in travelling and the transportation systems possible.

The third dimension of mobility practices refers to the material dimension. It is composed of the different modes of mobility which enable and constrain the possibilities for practitioners to be on the move. Indeed, being mobile is dependent on the means human agents have at their disposition when making use of different transport modalities. As knowledgeable and capable mobile actors, people have to know about the ways in which travelling by car, train or plane 'works' and about the many implicit and explicit rules that are implied in the successful use of technical objects and systems. While being labelled as the material dimension, it is important to keep in mind that a mode of mobility is reliant upon a whole set of socio-technical systems and infrastructures which are surrounding the material artefact and which help constitute it as modality. Each form of mobility, be it walking, cycling, car driving or train travel, presupposes the use of a mobility system (Geels, 2005c; Urry, 2007, 2004). 'The private car on leaving the assembly line is only a semi-finished product, since it requires a system of collective or public roads, signs, lights, etc. without which it becomes valueless' (Simonsen, 1973, in Otnes, 1988, p. 131). When people know how to drive a car, they are not just capable of driving the physical object but they know how to apply the rules of the traffic system, how to maintain the car, where and how to fuel it, where and how to buy a new one, etcetera. The fact of physical objects being interwoven into complex mobility systems also means that changes in the social practices of mobility entails not so much a case of substituting old technologies or technological artefacts with new ones; it might involve radical shifts from one kind of socio-technical system into another (Geels, 2005c; Hoogma *et al.*, 2002). These systems may function both as an inhibiting or facilitating factor in mobility transitions. However, because of the characteristics of mobility systems (or infra-systems in general) they have a tendency for incremental change and are less likely to undergo radical changes (Frantzeskaki & Loorbach, 2010).

The fourth dimension of mobility practices relates to the symbolic or cultural dimension of mobility. In Chapter 3 I have already outlined the various cultural and symbolic dimensions with which the automobile is associated. The car has not only become a dominant cultural symbol, it is also being associated with a specific type or modus of 'being on the move'. Urry (2004) talks about cocooning or dwelling the car to indicate that the car is increasingly becoming a home away from home in which car-drivers are skilled multi-taskers who can communicate with work or home, listen to music or simply enjoy a moment of privacy.

The symbolic dimension is not only related to the cultural framing of the transport modality but also includes the specific mobility experience of actors when being involved in the different mobility practices. Salomon & Mokhtarian describe that over two-thirds of the travellers disagree that the only important thing about travelling is arriving at the destination. Nearly half their respondents

agree that getting there is half the fun. Also research has shown that travel experience may differ for different mobility practices. Generally speaking people like social and leisure journeys better than mandatory travel such as school and commuting journeys (Ory & Mokhtarian, 2005; Anable & Gatersleben, 2005). This means that travel experience in commuting is different from the travel experience when travelling to a leisure activity such as a large-scale event. As more and more trips are recreational by nature, this is reflected in the way people experience mobility in general.

In home-school trips children's safety is a major concern. Even though in most Western societies the number of traffic accidents with children has decreased for a number of years in a row, the social construction of risk perception together with the importance attached to safety concerns has a major influence on the modal choice in home-school trips. When parents have the feeling that an unguided bicycle trip to school is risky, they are hesitant to choose for this travel mode.

In commuting and business travel, traditionally, productivity of travel time is very important (Lyons & Urry, 2005). While most travel time in the car is currently unproductive time, the possibility to work and study in a train is argued to result in heightened productivity<sup>73</sup>. The trend of providing internet access in public transport systems in order to increase the possibilities of work and study, fits perfectly with the tendency of experiencing commuting and business travel as productive ways of being mobile.

In sum, the journey itself is therefore something that is worked upon in the sense that it consists of a multitude of activities which influences the way it is framed and experienced by the actors involved.

Herewith we have shortly introduced the four separate dimensions of mobility practices. However, what is most characteristic and informative of a practice-based approach to mobility is the integrated analysis of mobility conduct which does not give precedence to one specific aspect of mobility, but which investigates the core constitutive elements of mobility and their interrelations as a whole (Peters, 1999; Stock & Duhamel, 2005). These interrelations are also visible when the characteristics of the train system and the automobile system are compared. The train system is a system which is characterised by collective time-tables, fixed routes, clock-times, and public spaces in which it is more difficult to 'maintain' and 'repair' spatio-temporal orders of passages (to use Peters terminology) in a way that they fit specific lifestyles of end users. Furthermore, in order to reach one's destination with collective public transport it is often necessary to shift between different modes of transport at fixed nodes in the network. The system of automobility, in contrast, provides almost maximum (individualized) time-space flexibility: it has shifted clock time towards instantaneous time (Urry, 2007). Importantly, the automobile has made mobility patterns possible that seem hardly possible with non-automotive transport. So, the different systems of mobility do not only enable people to enact certain practices in a more efficient way, they simultaneously modify and define what those practices are about, how they are experienced and how they are configured and structured as 'normal practices' (Shove, 2002).

Most theoretical approaches to mobility tend to focus on one specific dimension, for example, in the sense that most mobility innovations are judged on the aspects of travel time and time

<sup>73</sup> Lyons and Urry (2005) agree that the specific journey also influences the productivity because of aspects such as the degree of crowding, availability of seating, ride quality, temperature, noise level, the degree to which the journey is familiar, reliable, and the duration and stage of the journey.

reduction. In contrast, a practice approach concerns an 'amalgam of issues, actors, and materials' (Peters, 1999, p. 42). In a similar vein, many policy strategies in the field of mobility which target mobility behaviour can be said to have a limited scope (Dijst, 1995). While policy strategies focusing on the use of mobility systems seem to imply that only the supply and demand is changed, in fact more is at stake. For example, Dijst (1995) points out that strategies aiming for a modal split (such as parking policies, and price mechanisms) not only have an effect on how people move, but also on the activity patterns of those people. That is, when people shift from car use to other modes of transport the pattern of time-spatially dispersed activities in a certain period of time changes as well, as do their ways of experiencing travel (*ibid.*). Thus, there is close connection between the spatio-temporal order, the system of mobility and its way of being used and experienced by practitioners. These interrelations in mobility practices are summarized in Table 5.2 in which the mobility practices are characterised.

*Table 5.2. Characterisation of mobility practices.*

Practices	Characterisation
Commuting	Commuting is the most habitually conducted mobility practice. It is undertaken very frequently and at fixed time periods resulting in high peaks in traffic around eight o'clock in the morning and around half past six in the evening. Also commuting journeys tend to be longer in time (30 minutes) and distance than other practices. The far majority of commuter trips are conducted by car (60%), though there is a relatively high percentage for public transport (10%) especially in the larger cities which have better access to public transport networks. Commuting is almost always a solitary activity and is the practice most associated with necessity. Because of the routinized character of commuting, the problems with congestion and the strong influence of the employers most policies have focused on this mobility practice. Employers increasingly consider their employee's mobility, and how it is conducted, as part of their responsibility and as a means of cost reduction.
Business travel	As business travel occurs during working hours it is the only practice which is not conducted in private time. Therefore the phrase '(travel) time is money' does indeed apply to business travel. Because of the lease-cars, the long distances travelled and the high value placed on flexibility, punctuality and representativeness, business travel traditionally is the practice with the highest car usage of all mobility practices. Because lease-cars make up approximately 40% of new car sales this practice is also important for the car purchasing practice. As with commuting, recently there is a massive increase in the number of private and public policy measures aiming to increase the number of green lease cars and the use non-automotive means of travel modes.

Table 5.2. *Continued.*

Home-school travel	This practice refers to journeys to and from primary school, secondary school and childcare facilities and is typically short-distance. How children and adolescents go to school depends for a large part on the children's ability, and the parent's approval, to travel to school independently. While the far majority of children (especially adolescents) still go to school by non-automotive transport there is an increase in car usage. Safety, and especially safety perception, is an enormous issue in this practice as children are one of the most vulnerable practitioners due to their fragility and their inexperience. Low safety (perception) in the vicinity of schools can lead to a downward spiral in which parents increasingly bring children to school by car, thereby adding to a disorderly and unsafe traffic situation, and simultaneously reducing their children's independency. There is increasing attention for this issue and schools, often by including traffic education, show an accommodating role in this.
Grocery shopping (run-shopping)	Grocery shopping involves main food shopping at the local shops and supermarkets, and the purchase of everyday household products. This type of shopping takes place very often, entails little time, and is done closely to home (with an average distanced travelled of 2.3 km). On average, each year people make around 230 trips to and from shops (this number includes fun-shopping). The quality and size of the supermarket (which has a market share of 70% in this practice) strongly determines the pull to the local shopping centre. However, the way that grocery shopping is conducted, that is on a weekly or on a daily basis, also highly influences the modal share. Grocery shopping conducted on a daily basis is done most often by walking and cycling. Regardless of the distance to the shops, most people who conduct grocery shopping on a weekly basis do their shopping by car. This is obviously related to the large quantities of shopping goods purchased (see AVV, 2006a; Mackett, 2003).
Recreational shopping (fun-shopping)	Fun-shopping occurs much less frequently than grocery shopping and has much more of a recreational character. The activity itself (having fun, relaxing, looking around, being together with family or friends) is often as important as the purchase of new products. Time is therefore much less of importance when compared to run-shopping. In this practice trendy and fashion-sensitive supply of products and services is very important. Large department and fashion stores, located traditionally at the city centre, are the most dominant pull factors. In recent years new retail formulas focusing on multimedia and sport have become attractors as well. Finally, because fun-shops are often concentrated in city centres these shops are more accessible by public transport. As a result fun-shopping has a relatively high share of public transport use. The choice of destination is often more flexible and may differ per shopping trip. Currently, there is only a limited knowledge about shopping trips and the impact of transport policy on shopping (see Harms, 2006; TTR, 2002; Van Beynen de Hoog & Brookhuis, 2005).
Touring	Touring concerns travelling (walking, cycling, touring by car/motorcycle) for its experience and intrinsic benefits: physical exercise, adventure-seeking, enjoying the scenery, relaxation, getting a fresh air (see Ory & Mokhtarian, 2005).

Table 5.2. *Continued.*

Day-trip	This leisure practice refers to going to theme parks and other recreational locations in which people enjoy a special day out. Spending leisure time together and having fun is considered very important. It differs from visiting large-scale events in that it is not a temporarily organised event and therefore the location is more used to high traffic flows. Often attractions are located far from city centres because of the space required. Also, increasingly municipalities and the larger entertainment parks recognise the importance of maintaining high levels of accessibility and also in promoting non-automotive mobility. With regard to the latter it is suggested that the journey itself can (and should) be part of the leisure experience (see KPVV, 2006; KiM, 2008).
Visiting large-scale event	An event is an organised recreational happening aimed at the general public which, due to its size and peak traffic flows, temporally disrupts the normal ways of life in the surrounding area (a single event may attract millions of visitors in a few days which overexert the available infrastructure). Events most often occur on holidays and/or weekends in the centre of large cities and they attract people from a wide range (on average the distance travelled is 30 km). Events are a joyful experience for the visitors which incite feelings of expectations and willingness to do and learn new things (see CROW, 2007; Ecorys, 2006).
Travel to sport activity	This practice refers to trips to either participate in or watch sport activities. Next to home-school travel and grocery shopping, this practice is conducted most closely at home. This practice is most often conducted during the weekdays after seven o'clock and during weekends at the end of the morning.
Visiting family and friends	This practice is primarily about being close with friends and family. Visiting family and friends accounts for 15% in number of trips and for 21% in distance travelled. Half of these journeys are conducted during weekends, especially the longer ones (during the weekends the distance travelled for social travel is at least twice as high as during weekdays). Because of the relatively long distance travelled and the low accessibility of many residential areas by public transport, often the car is used as a means of transport. Also this practice is more than other practices conducted by partners or by the whole family resulting in a high (car) occupancy rate.

### 5.3 Conceptualizing practitioners in the conduct of mobility practices

In the remainder of this chapter we will go deeper into how practitioners conduct their mobility practices and which elements are necessary to be able to participate in mobility practices. According to the methodology suggested by Giddens in the context of his structuration theory, social practices can be analysed from two different angles. First, in the mode of 'institutional analysis', the focus is on the rules and resources as chronically reproduced features of social systems (Giddens, 1984, p. 288, 375). In this type of analysis attention for the structural properties of social systems is favoured over the skills, awareness and actions of individual actors. Visualized in Spaargaren's social

practices model this means that practices are analysed from the right side of the model (Figure 5.3). When pursuing an institutional analysis of the reproduction of social practices, the researcher is bracketing the motives, values and interests of the situated agents and their lifestyles as they are involved in the reproduction of the practices. These 'actor-related elements and questions' are the central focus of the second mode or modality of researching social practices: the analysis of strategic conduct. In this mode the focus is on how actors reflexively monitor what they do and draw upon rules and resources in the constitution of interaction (*ibid.*, p. 288, 373). This means that in the latter primacy is given to the discursive and practical consciousness of human agents, their motives and their strategies within specific contexts. Similar, this means that in terms of the social practices model, practices are analysed from the left side. Though methodologically the institutionalized properties of the practices are bracketed or taken as a given in the analysis of strategic conduct, Giddens reminds us that these properties are still subject to the reproductive capacities of human agents. *Vice versa*, human agents remain subject to the (changes in) institutionalized properties and their influence on human agents' ability to participate in social activities (see Appendix B).

In order to be mobile, practitioners need to acquire and put to use various modes of mobility. Part of this competence refers to the point that throughout their lives practitioners become acquainted with various systems of mobility. What is interesting about the conduct of human agents in mobility practices is that on the one hand it can be characterized by a clearly existing inertia; this refers to the difficulty that policy-makers experience in trying to influence people's everyday mobility patterns in order to reduce congestion, to improve traffic safety, and to reduce environmental impacts. Thus, practitioners seem to be persistently resistant to change once a particular habit has been established. On the other hand, throughout their lives people continuously give shape to their mobility patterns, often in a changing infrastructural context. The development of (social and technological) innovations continuously makes new modes of mobility available to practitioners, thereby increasing the possibilities to be mobile. In a historical analysis Pooley *et al.* (2005) describe how in various UK cities citizens have, apparently without much difficulty, throughout their life-course integrated various modalities into their mobility patterns. So, human agent's conduct in

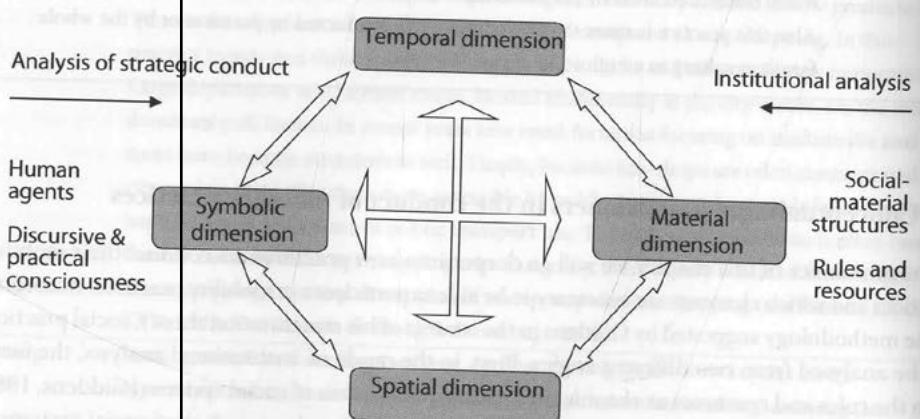


Figure 5.3. Institutional analysis and the analysis of strategic conduct.

mobility practices is both inert due to the routinized character of daily mobility, while simultaneously human agents adopt and adapt to the new mobility options (made) available to them.

An important question is how the variation in the conduct of human agents in mobility practices can be conceptualized. Especially the material dimension, involving how people travel, is relevant because herein lie important possibilities for the reduction in the environmental impact of mobility practices. Partially this conceptualization clearly involves the ownership of various 'mobility tools' by human agents such as cars, bicycles and public transport passes. Beige & Axhausen (2008) have indicated that through the ownership of mobility tools people to a certain extent commit themselves to a specific type of travel behaviour. Due to the habitual nature of mobility patterns and because of the investment costs put into acquiring these mobility tools, the specific set of mobility tools available to practitioners can have a substantial influence on how people travel. In their analysis they have identified how the ownership of automobiles and various public transport passes shifts during the life course. However, while the concept of ownership of mobility tools is interesting, it does not quite grasp the complexity in the available modalities and the conduct of mobility practices. Firstly, as has been described, for instance by Jeremy Rifkin in 'The age of access' (2001), access to modalities is broader than the mere ownership of mobility tools. The widespread existence of car-leasing and the more recent development in the collective use of private transport modes such as car-sharing and bike-sharing, increasingly blur the boundary between mobility ownership and mobility services. Instead of ownership of mobility tools, the concept of 'access' better accounts for all the different modalities that human agents may put to use in order to be mobile. Secondly, as we described in Chapter 3, the conduct of practices involves more than the access to different modalities. It is also related to the knowledge and competences of human agents, and the evaluation of the different transport modalities.

A much more rich concept to understand the logic of human agent's conduct in mobility practices has been developed by Kaufmann (see Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006; Kaufmann, 2002, 2004; Kaufmann *et al.* 2004). His notion of 'motility', which focuses on human agent's potential to be mobile, encompasses and integrates the various elements which are important to be able to participate in practices. Motility is defined as 'how an individual or a group takes possession of the realm of possibilities for mobility and builds on it to develop personal projects' (Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006, p. 168). The motility or mobility potential of human agents is constructed out of three components: (1) access to different forms of mobility; (2) the competence and knowledge to recognize and make use of these forms of mobility; and (3) the cognitive appropriation which describes how human agents assess and evaluate (perceived) access and skills. In short, motility therefore is about the ways that human agents access and appropriate the capacity for mobility (Kaufmann, 2004).

In order to broaden the scope of ownership of mobility tools, Flamm & Kaufmann (2006) use the term 'personal portfolio of access rights' to indicate all the mobility products and services available to individuals or households. This mobility portfolio includes the privately owned automobiles and light vehicles (bicycles, scooters, etc.), and access to mobility services provided by mobility providers through public transport passes, membership(s) of new mobility services such as car-sharing, bike-sharing, etc.). Evidently, access is also heavily influenced by the specific mobility context such as the spatial morphology (population density, number of parking spaces, etc.) and the available public transport networks within a geographical area.

Competence refers to the physical ability, the acquired skills and the organizational capacity of human agents to make use of the available modes of mobility. For example, as indicated in Chapter 4, the lack of a bicycle culture and the lack of cycling skills is an important barrier for (female) immigrants in the Netherlands to use a bicycle. Similarly, Kaufmann indicates that the act of travelling involves a complex set of cognitive and physical activities which not only involves the obvious skills of driving a vehicle, but also the skills of planning and timing a trip with a specific modality. Especially when one has the choice between different modalities and/or when one is unfamiliar with the destination of the trip the organization of a journey can be a highly complex decision process in which different modalities and uncertainties need to be weighed. In particular multi-modal trips can be difficult to organise for inexperienced multi-modal travellers, while these trips are also surrounded with uncertainty in the travel schedule in cases of delays. Especially the last 'chain' in a multi-modal trip is considered the weakest link as it is surrounded with high levels of uncertainty. While, the supply of new mobility services could strengthen the links in multi-modal trips, most travellers have no knowledge about, or access to, these mobility innovations. Also, research on multimodal traveller information has repeatedly revealed that most travellers do not consider their modal choice for the majority of the trips (see also Kenyon & Lyons, 2003).

The final component of motility refers to the human agent's strategies, values and representations of the various systems of mobility. This cognitive appropriation is based on the social and individual representation and the evaluation of the extent in which various modes of mobility suit the realization of everyday activities in the domain of mobility. Because this process of appropriation involves a normative assessment of the functional and symbolic suitability of various forms of mobility, it is the most subjective component of motility. Cognitive appropriation is mainly dependent upon one question: 'which criteria are people likely to apply when evaluating a particular means of transportation to satisfy their way of organizing daily life, taking into account their overall lifestyle?' (Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006, p. 178). The criteria's used to assess the functional suitability of a trip predominantly refer to aspects such as travel time, flexibility, accessibility, reliability, travel costs, comfort and the capacity to convey goods. While it is evident that some modalities are better suited to fulfil these criteria, more important is the question how certain habits in the use of modalities are constructed. Flamm & Kaufmann indicate that personal experiences are very important because of the way that skills and cognitive appropriation are constructed. Skills are to a large extent specific to a certain travel mode and these skills need to be maintained with regular conduct. The authors indicate that on the individual level the learning-process of acquiring skills and cognitive appropriation of travel modes is often a self-reinforcing process. The more a human agent becomes acquainted with a travel mode, the more skilful the agent becomes at travelling with this travel mode and the more this means of transport is appreciated. This relation is also confirmed by Harms (2008) who indicates that there is a positive relation between the use and the evaluation of a mode of transport. Nevertheless, the functional characteristics of public transport are assessed much more negatively than the car and the bicycle, even by frequent public transport users.

Why is this conceptualization of human agents on the basis of motility such a promising approach? Clearly, motility allows us to conceptualize differences between groups of human agents in the conduct of mobility practices on the basis of meaningful characteristics. One of the interesting aspects of the portfolio of access rights (and of the concept of motility in general) is that the choice for a specific (component of a) portfolio is part of an individual's or a household

mobility strategy. Flamm & Kaufmann (2006, p. 185) see this strategy in the light of controlling uncertainty. What these authors mean is that certain access rights are not purchased because of a desire to use them immediately, but more to be able to deal with uncertain or exceptional situations. Comparable with a savings account 'excess motility' may be acquired only or primarily to be used in times of need. In addition, it is clear that there are major differences in the motility of human agents: 'Depending on context, individual actors, groups and institutions differ in access, competence and appropriation, and have thus at their disposal different motility options' (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2004, p. 754). As mobility serves human agents to accomplish personal projects and plans, motility is an important factor in social positioning. The authors use the concept of motility therefore as much to explain and conceptualize social stratification as they do to understand spatial mobility (in that sense they focus both on the vertical and horizontal dimension of social position). Social and spatial mobility, they argue, are highly interrelated and because of it motility can be seen as a (new) form of capital, comparable to economic, cultural and social capital. Because of this argumentation motility is highly relevant for studying social in- and exclusion in relation to mobility.

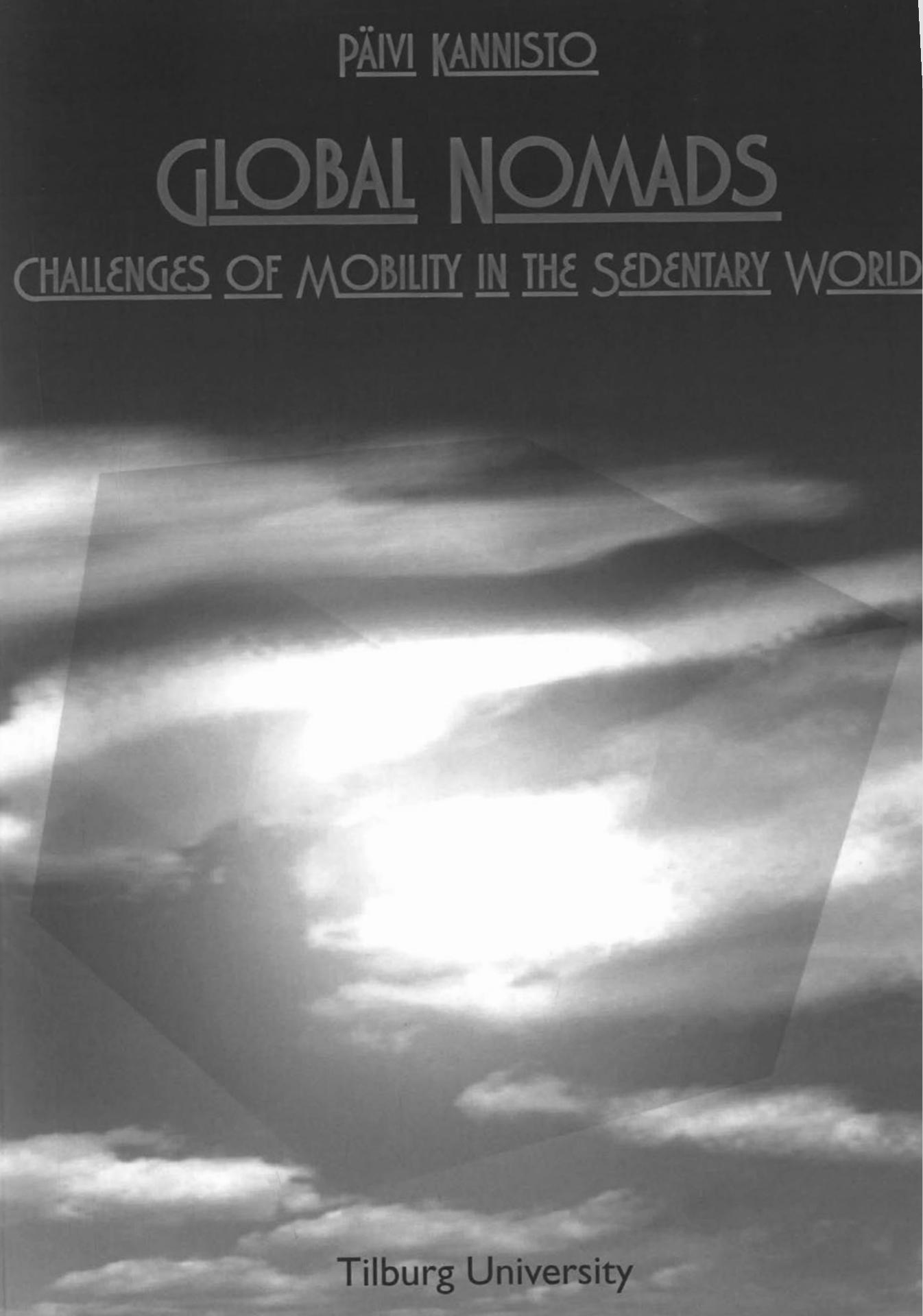
Thus, motility influences human agent's (possibilities) to participate in mobility practices. On the one hand we intend to use the notion of motility, especially the concept of portfolio of access rights, to understand which mobility portfolios are prone to more sustainable mobility practices. Can we distinguish greener or less green mobility portfolios on the basis of accessibility to sustainable mobility innovations? Are green mobility portfolios in any way related to green attitudes and lifestyles? And, when mobility innovations become part of the mobility portfolio of human agents, thereby increasing the possibilities of the green conduct in mobility practices, does this indeed lead to more sustainable mobility practices? These specific questions will be addressed in full detail in chapter seven.

On the other hand we aim to use the concept of motility to better understand whether changes in the mobility portfolio of human agents lead to greener conduct in mobility practices. While Kaufmann analyses motility from the viewpoint of individual human agents in relation to a specific geographical area with a specific supply of transport modalities, we want to add the focus on the role of mobility providers and stakeholders in shaping human agent's motility. This addition not only makes the rather static concept of motility much more dynamic, it also provides information on how the system of provision has a structuring influence on how motility is constituted. Under the heading of mobility management increasingly stakeholders from the public and private sector (such as employers, lease companies, and governmental agencies) aim to influence the mobility choice of human agents. Often in these cases mobility innovations are 'made' accessible to human agents. While it is unproblematic to assume that in theory the motility of human agents may increase in such a changing context, the question is whether this newly acquired green mobility portfolio automatically leads to more sustainable mobility practices. For example, Weert Canzler, on the basis of an innovative car-sharing project, concludes that: 'the tendency of road users to consciously weigh the various transport possibilities does not automatically grow with the range of those services' (Canzler, 2008, p. 113). This corresponds with one of the theoretical starting-points of the CONTRAST-project, namely that merely increasing the supply of sustainable socio-technical innovations does not guarantee that sustainable consumption practices will emerge. As important is the question if and how sustainable innovations become integrated into mobility practices. This question will be addressed in the next chapter.

PÄIVI KANNISTO

# GLOBAL NOMADS

CHALLENGES OF MOBILITY IN THE SEDENTARY WORLD



Tilburg University

# Global citizens and the Stateless

## **7.1 Nationalistic Attachments**

This first section analyses interviewees' nationalistic attachments. We start with the effects of nationality to global nomads' location-independent lifestyles (7.1.1 Global Citizens and the Stateless) and then move on to examine whether their lives are constrained by more implicit measures of biopower that might attach them to their country of origin even when overtly rejecting nationalistic discourses (7.1.2 Cultural Baggage and Biopower).

### **7.1.1 Global Citizens and the Stateless**

What are global nomads' nationalistic affiliations? The interviewees do not seem to nurture strong feelings of homesickness, nor do they assume nationalistic subject positions.<sup>1</sup>

*I'm not in the least interested in being an American in the world, I'm much more interested in being wherever I am.*

RITA, 72

For the great majority, their home countries' cities, sceneries, nature, and culture failed to evoke enthusiasm and nostalgia. Only few mentioned mountains, lakes and national parks, or a specific regional culture to which they feel attached, whereas in the nineteenth century when nationalism was born, it was most often such cultural bonds and natural sights that provided narrative possibilities for imagining one's home country and home community, the nation.<sup>2</sup> Even rebellious hobo culture was nationalistic. Author Jack London, who was otherwise a fierce critic of middle-class values, proudly stated, 'I was the American hobo'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Butcher 2010, 27–28.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson 1991.

<sup>3</sup> London 2006, 59.

For global nomads, home country is not a piece of land, nor is it an imaginary community of anonymous compatriots. It consists of their friends and family wherever their loved ones happen to be.

*England is our home country because of friends and relatives, but the country we [Glen and her husband] feel like home is Australia.*

GLEN, 53

As the statement suggests, as long as global nomads have significant others in their country of origin, a special connection to the 'roots' remains, otherwise the connection is bound to weaken. This seems to be an indication of the intimacy trend that Giddens spoke about: only things that matter personally have a meaning (see 2.1.3 Lifestyle Travellers),<sup>1</sup> while home country as such is merely an empty concept.

Towards nationalistic discourses in general global nomads are critical, and they would like to liberate themselves from related power relations. From their point of view, nations and borders are means to control.

*The powers that are really in control, they don't recognise boundaries.*

*They want to convince us that we should be patriotic towards our countries because it keeps us separate.*

BARBARA, 52

It appears that nationalistic feelings are perhaps not the glue that attaches global nomads to their countries of origin. However, one's nationality cannot be ignored in the contemporary world based on nation-states. Borders and national regulatory regimes 'refuse to allow foreigners to forget who they are' and where they come from, as researcher Melissa Butcher observes.<sup>2</sup>

Thanks to their mostly Western passports, global nomads can travel almost anywhere in the world, and thus nationality for them is one of the keys for location-independent lifestyles. At the same time, nationality also restricts their freedom of choice by restricting their play with subjectivities. Although global nomads develop new attachments on the way which can be just as important for subjectivity forming as the ones tied in childhood, their nationality remains unchanged.<sup>3</sup> Global nomads are thus fixed to one coherent, immutable identity, although they themselves would like to have more freedom in terms of deciding where they want to belong, and also freedom to change their mind at will.

1 Giddens 1991, 81, 171, 181.

2 Butcher 2010, 33. See also Conradson & McKay 2007, 169.

3 Cf. The Latin 'patria' was a multi-layered concept which allowed more allegiances from family to city-state implying that patriotism originally allowed multiple attachments. It was only in the nineteenth century when it was related exclusively to one's home country. See Sarsila 1994, 21; Held 2005, 10.

*We're a bit like chameleons: we change. Maybe when I'm in Japan, I'm a little bit like Japanese.*

GUSTAVO, 51

From global nomads' point of view, it is precisely the lack of alternatives which is one of the greatest problems of nationality. Nationality cannot be chosen, neither can it be renounced unless a tedious process of legally exchanging it to another is undertaken.

*When someone becomes a traveller they slowly come to realise that nationality no longer matters, as blood type or other trivial things we are born with, yet have no control over. My home country has never been defined, except by passport. Norway, Canada, America? For me, I would be unable to give a home country if someone were to ask for it. Those terms simply don't register as comfortable for me.*

JEFF, 25

Nations are mandatory communities entered by birth and exited by death only which is in an interesting contradiction to any human rights: governments have unilaterally imposed citizenship and assumed arbitrary jurisdiction over their citizens. After all, no-one was born as a citizen of any state.<sup>1</sup> Citizenship, and the related set of responsibilities, were simply designated to them.<sup>2</sup> This is a strong measure of sovereign power in which citizens have little to say.

Although citizens are states' property, this is naturally a bargain: the citizens gain rights in return for obligations as the next subsection shows. At a global scale, however, there are no opportunities to opt out of the bargain. Officially assuming a stateless status would mean that legal travel would become impossible. For global nomads, whose lifestyles are dependent on freedom of movement, this is not an option.

What are then global nomads' alternatives—statelessness, rootlessness, global citizenship, cosmopolitanism?<sup>3</sup> From the point of view of states, these are all negative concepts because they renounce its power. It is no wonder then that for example the word 'stateless' has similar unfavourable connotations in the dominant discourses as 'unemployed' and 'homeless': they all imply a lack. Most global nomads like to challenge such notions by consciously making allowance for multiple attachments.

*I see the world as a house. My kitchen is France, my recreation centre is*

1 See e.g. Wolff 1996, 45.

2 Naturally, this mainly applies to Western citizens as there are also many stateless people in the world, and some nationalities that might not be useful for the individual at all.

3 On cosmopolitanism and world citizenship e.g. Held 2005; Calhoun 2002; Hanmerz 1992, 246–248.

*maybe South America, and my den or sort of is Poland. They are just neighbourhoods in my little village.*

MAX, 39

In Max's statement, the attention is drawn to the fact that he does not mention his country of origin, the USA, at all. For global nomads, their detachment from nationalistic subject positions is a conscious move in favour of statelessness or world citizenship, or, they refuse any of these labels in a post-nationalistic game. To borrow the words of Scottish nomadic author Alastair Reid, they seem to have elected 'a deliberate, chosen strangeness' of their respective countries of origin and become 'enmeshed' with the people, places, and cultures they visit.<sup>1</sup>

### 7.1.2 Cultural Baggage and Biopower

When rejecting nationalism and criticising the current system based on nation-states, do the interviewees also reject the dominant discourses of their country of origin? Analysing the question shows the ultimate level to which global nomads are either detached from their origins or still tied to them.

To start with, we need to know what exactly makes up a society. These constitutive factors are hard to pin down when nationalism is put aside just as Hobsbawm and Hroch suggested in the introduction to this chapter. This is because the aim of nationalism is precisely to bind disparate spheres, such as culture and politics together in order to form a whole. Thus the concepts of 'society' and 'nation-state' seem to be entwined, perhaps in an inexorable manner.

Naturally, there is also the possibility of integration through values, which was the driving force of classical sociology, but it is now viewed sceptically among sociologists. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim argue that as people make varying connections (of which Max's statement about the world being his house is an example) the very foundations on which value communities could be based are eaten away.<sup>2</sup>

If the question what makes up a society is approached from the point of view of Foucauldian theories, 'society' can be tentatively defined as something that is kept together by dominant discourses and biopower that guide the way people organise their lives together.<sup>3</sup> They produce collective practices that people follow trying to ensure desirable behaviours,<sup>4</sup> and they define how people view themselves, other people, and the society.

The questions that follow, and to which this subsection seeks answers are: what are these dominant discourses and what kind of practices do they involve?

<sup>1</sup> Reid 1990, 31, 36. See also Hannerz 1990.

<sup>2</sup> Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, 17–18.

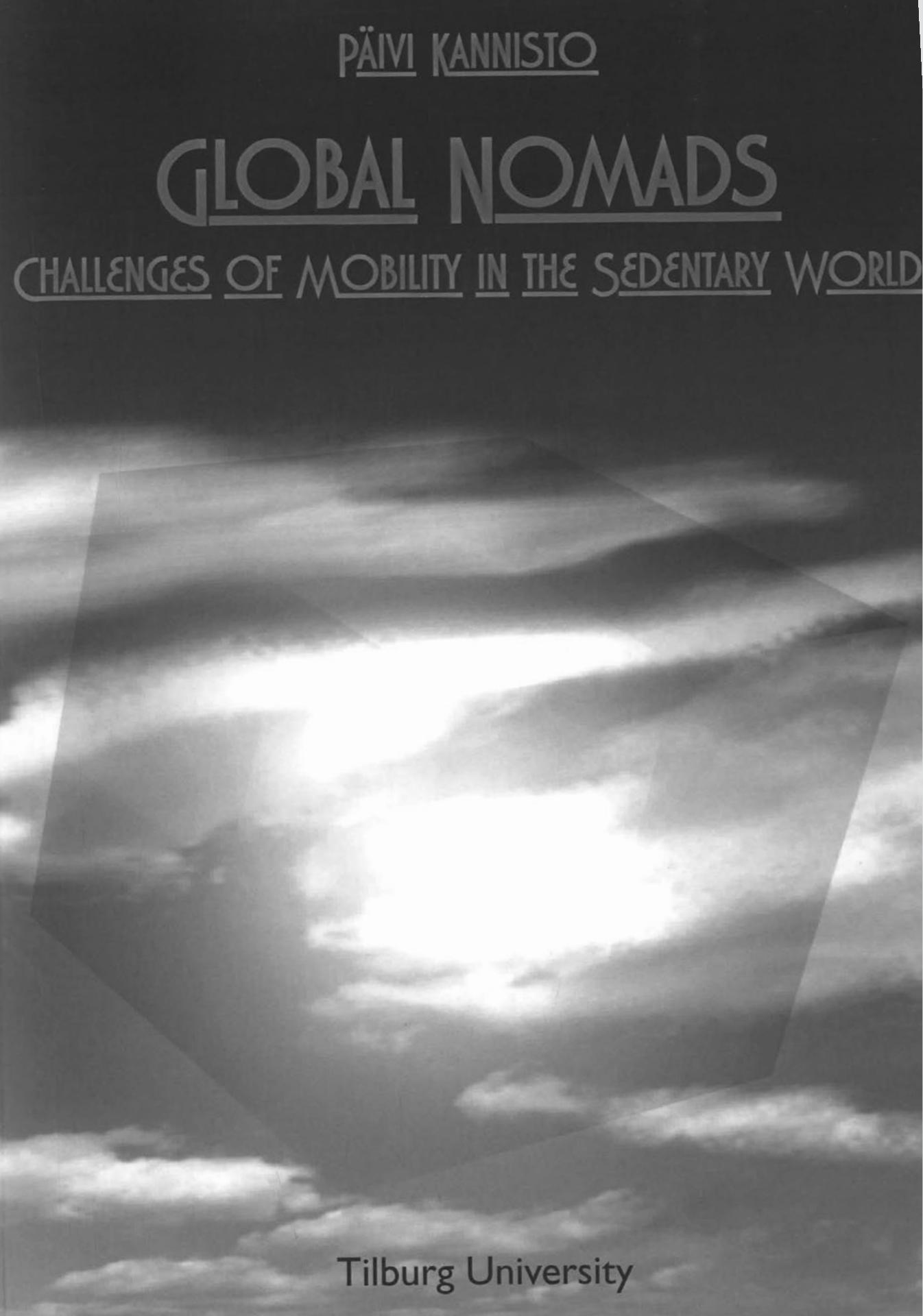
<sup>3</sup> Foucault 2002b, 404.

<sup>4</sup> Foucault 1991, 183, 199, 304.

PÄIVI KANNISTO

# GLOBAL NOMADS

CHALLENGES OF MOBILITY IN THE SEDENTARY WORLD



Tilburg University

# Borders and Visas

## **7.3 Travel-Related Attachments**

Having loosened their ties and obligations to their country of origin, are global nomads able to avoid networks of power in other societies? This section discusses the constraints they have to negotiate during their travels: both sovereign and biopolitical measures of states of which borders, surveillance (7.3.1 Borders), and travel documents such as visas are concrete examples (7.3.2 Visas).

### **7.3.1 Borders**

Borders are central to tourism studies as they limit, channel, and regulate movement or anticipated movement as Hannam et al. note.<sup>1</sup> This is all the more true for global nomads who are often required to obtain visas, work permits, and residence permits to legitimise their stay in their destinations. As such requirements pose many restrictions on global nomads, it is perhaps no wonder that many of them would rather opt out of the current system.

*I would love a world without cultural, mental and physical borders where there it would be an understanding in every way.*  
CIRO, 29

While getting the necessary travel documents is rarely a problem for Western holidaymakers and business travellers, longer stays are anomalies in the eyes of the international passport and visa system. States have difficulties in handling location-independent people who are not on a tourist trip, travelling for work, or accompanying an expatriate spouse. Sometimes global nomads have to find their way through legal loopholes or corrupted systems.

*It's [acquiring visas] a pain in the ass. Sometimes I try to scam it by paying*

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<sup>1</sup> Hannam et al. 2006, 11.

*bribes, but it costs a lot of money.*

ELISA, 54

Anthony (35), who has visited 192 countries, considers crossing borders 'a mess.' Having a European Union passport, fifty countries let him in easily, but there are still one hundred and fifty countries left where Anthony is in the same situation as everybody else. Some countries also ask travellers to obtain a visa in their country of residence. These travels have to be planned well in advance, and they are expensive because an extra trip to the country of residence has to be included. For Anthony, the worst yet are corrupted countries, where officials make borders their own private businesses. He tells about an incident in Central Africa:

*We [Anthony and his partner] had three big bags. At the border the guy told us: 'I'm in a good mood today. You can choose which one of your three bags is going to be mine.' They [the border guards] are stoned or drunk and they are heavily armed, machine guns sometimes. You have to be very patient and start negotiating so that he doesn't get one of the bags. I usually have a packet of cigarettes although I don't smoke so that I can offer one.*

ANTHONY, 36

Other similar annoyances, where border guards use arbitrary power over citizens, include, according to the interviewees, prohibitions that make crossing the border on foot or by bicycle impossible so that local authorities get their share of the profits from taxi drivers. Sometimes imaginary health check or health certificate costs are collected, and getting the actual stamp in one's passport might require paying a stamp fee or a tax for the maintenance of the border building.

Despite the reported difficulties, global nomads are in many ways privileged in the view that there are many people who do not have a possibility to travel at all. Global nomads are aware of their freedoms and they are not willing to compromise them. At borders, they consciously change their usual practices. While they are otherwise critical of societies and nations, when dealing with border guards and officials they are cautious and assume the subject positions that the dominant discourses offer. Their will to see the world exceeds their will to criticise and resist biopower.

*When I'm dealing with officials—customs and immigration—I'm careful about my behaviour. I'm consciously humble and respectful and quiet and patient, because they have the power to make my life miserable.*

TOR, 61

Passport controls for global nomads represent a classic Althusserian subjectification discussed in Chapter three (see 3.3.1 Subject Positions). They give authorities

permission to ask in the name of law: 'Who are you?' which positions global nomads as subjects of law.<sup>1</sup> The police can also stop them in the street and ask to see their papers. Travelling, and simply the need to have a passport, can be associated with bad intentions. The whole idea of passport is based on a suspicion that passport bearers might lie when their identity is being checked, and thus official documents are needed.<sup>2</sup>

While some of these problems merely add exotic flavour to tourists' trips, for global nomads they are part of their everyday life, and can thus become tiring. Another problem is that border controls are guided by various prejudices such as the passport bearers' physical appearance or race. They are measures of power which are based on random and arbitrary regulations, sometimes favouring Western nationals, at other times local citizens.

*In South-African Republic the other passengers in the bus didn't have any papers but they passed because they were locals. We [Anthony and his partner] had papers, but we were stopped. Of course then other people on the bus were very angry at us, because the bus had to stop because of us sometimes for ten minutes, sometimes for five hours.*

ANTHONY, 35

However, global nomads are hardly under particular scrutiny, as most often regulatory bodies are not even aware of such a lifestyle. On the contrary, the elaborate bureaucracies and technologies, that have been created for the establishment of border controls in the West, entwine all citizens in the same faceless network where power is used for collecting variegated data. The data includes fingerprints, DNA, blood samples, medical records, location information, and bank account information.<sup>3</sup> In the streets and public places, cameras follow people; passport RFIDs (a microchip that broadcasts information for remotely identifying a person), mobile phone SIM cards, and bank transactions provide authorities with location information; banks also have to release financial information about their accounts and transactions; internet users are spied through email and online transactions; shopping malls and stations have surveillance which Urry compares to the Panopticon.<sup>4</sup> All of these controls represent anonymous biopolitical networks that lack any single source of responsibility, as Arnold maintains, and which subject all citizens alike to surveillance.<sup>5</sup>

The gathering of the data has been legitimised by biopolitical care: the state has an opportunity to help its citizens if necessary. The passport, for instance,

1 Torpey 2000, 33–37.

2 Torpey 2000, 166. See also Foucault 1978, 59–60.

3 Torpey 2000, 16.

4 Urry 2002b, 134.

5 Arnold 2004, 41.

should vouchsafe the issuing state's guarantee of aid to its bearer while in the jurisdiction of other states,<sup>1</sup> but there is also another reason for obtaining the information: state control over individual movement. In order to maintain and strengthen its power, the state needs to govern mobilities. Habermas elaborates the theme by stating that in the welfare-state democracies of the West, the spread of legal regulation has the structure of a dilemma: 'It is the legal means for securing freedom that themselves endanger the freedom of their presumptive beneficiaries.'<sup>2</sup> This is also the case for global nomads. Without any legal alternatives to passports, they have to accept that the same documents which are issued in the name of freedom are also used for restricting that freedom and for miring them into an anonymous biopolitical network.

Paradoxically, this leads to a situation where global nomads, despite their criticism of states and borders, also vigorously support these structures through their travel practices. Every time they cross borders, they encourage their making and maintenance and the related power structures. Borders also attract and organise global nomads' mobilities in many ways and add to their travel experience. The more borders global nomads cross, the more the number of countries visited grows, which is something the sedentary always ask from global nomads as a proof of their travel experience. Even though global nomads do not believe in state structures or societies' care as the previous sections showed, many of them keep country lists and they gather knowledge of border crossings to show their travel expertise. Thus, as mobilities researcher Baerenholdt suggests, borders should be studied not only from the point of view of resistance, but in the view of 'people's tactics and strategies in coping with, transcending, ignoring, overcoming, using and not least building borders'.<sup>3</sup>

### 7.3.2 Visas

In addition to passports, global travel requires visas. Despite the inconveniences these travel documents pose to their lifestyle, most of the interviewees have a down-to-earth attitude about rules and regulations constraining their travels. If a visa is needed, they will get one however stupid and unnecessary that might feel, and they try to make the process as easy as possible for themselves.

*My work is my writing and I don't need any permit for that. I get visas when I need them. Sometimes I have to convince people that I don't have to go back to the United States to get them. A nice smile, a connection, and*

<sup>1</sup> Torpey 2000, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Habermas 1987, 291. See also Sassen 2008, 284; Bauman 2008, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Baerenholdt 2013, 31.

*you can pretty much get what you want.*

RITA, 72

Whenever global nomads criticise visas, the criticism is usually not targeted at the visa system itself, but at the process of applying and the short length of visas.

*I'm not against visas but for cyclists they are always too short.*

CLAUDE, 50

Visas can also be costly, especially for those travelling on a shoestring budget. Sometimes asking for example one hundred Euro for a one-month-visa to a poor country, where that money probably equals to six month's average wages (and one third or quarter of global nomads' monthly budget), can make one wonder where that money ends up. This might incite more severe criticism.

*You can see very clearly that it's just for making money from tourists. It is a rip-off, especially because it doesn't go towards anything except government officials' pockets.*

GUSTAVO, 51

For global nomads, visa costs not only include the visa itself and administrative fees, but a journey into a city where the embassy can be found, and the accommodation for the waiting period which may vary from one day to several weeks. The visa also takes a whole page of passport and on nomadic travels, passports tend to fill up quickly, which costs money as well. Furthermore, visas are sometimes issued selectively. Applicants might have to show bank statements to prove they have sufficient funds for staying in the country.

The process of applying visas positions global nomads as subjects. Visa rules can be arbitrary favouring some individuals over others, and if the visa is not admitted, no explanations are given, nor is there any instance where to complain. For global nomads, being in a position where local authorities can make decisions over them is frustrating. Some of the interviewees suggest that they should be exempted from the rules.

*Visas, work permits, and living permits are all designed for a reason. I believe these things should not apply to travellers like myself. Nevertheless we are constrained by these modern rules. Long-term travellers are not here to stay, in fact, in my opinion, you will never find a more sincere group of people who desire to learn a people's culture or language. To me, those are the people you want to have in your country.*

JEFF, 25

Jeff's statement implies that visas are a biopolitical sanction for those people countries do not want to let in. Most of the interviewees see themselves in

opposite terms, as net benefits.

*I'm a net benefit to a country. I don't use their social service, I don't take anything away from them, I generally spend money there and I'm a good citizen who doesn't create any sort of problem for the organisation. I don't really see any objective reason why anybody would complain about my presence in any particular area.*

MAX, 39

That global nomads really were a net benefit to their destinations, is not a straightforward conclusion and merits a short discussion both for and against, because it represents an important power struggle with which global nomads negotiate their lifestyles with sedentary societies.

As most global nomads travel on a low budget and favour moneyless transactions (see 5.2.3 Downshifting), the money they leave in their destinations is not necessarily plenty. However, this does not automatically speak against them although many destinations do consider good tourists to be those who spend the most.<sup>1</sup> Backpacker research has shown that budget travellers who spend only a little amount of money daily, bring altogether more money in than those who are on a week or two package tour. Budget travellers might stay for months smoothing out the effect of seasonal fluctuations for local entrepreneurs, and they also provide a more direct income into the community and spread their spending over a wider geographic area by travelling to marginal and economically depressed regions in less developed parts of the world.<sup>2</sup>

Naturally, there are also those global nomads who spend more, and thus also leave more money behind, and what we have to consider yet is that global nomads utilise economic inequalities when they go to countries with cheaper living costs while having earned at least part of their money in the West. Yet another point of view is that many global nomads work in the informal economy, or they avoid taxes (see 7.2.1 Citizenship). Thus, although they do not see themselves as taking advantage of the local welfare system, they are not contributing to it either. On the contrary, all global nomads use some collective resources without necessarily contributing towards such as roads and airports which facilitate travel, although most of these infrastructures have to be paid for as well in the form of airport taxes, departure fees, fuel taxes, and road tolls. As these examples show, being a net benefit or a net loss has to be considered from various viewpoints and in the context in question.

For global nomads, the idea of being a net benefit and harmless, as Max's statement suggested, seems to be a claim with which they not only justify their stay in particular destinations but with which they also try to take power from

<sup>1</sup> Crick 1996, 24; Speed 2008, 54.

<sup>2</sup> Speed 2008, 65-67; Scheyvens 2002, 157.

local officials back to themselves. It is a negotiation which can lead to various practices. Whenever the interviewees consider themselves as useful and wanted, they might take liberties where they can. Usually this happens in relation to work visas which are easier to dodge than entry permits or visas.

*I've never had a work permit. Everything I do is street vending and free-lance writing. I never try to make it the legal way.*

ELISA, 54

One of the interviewees mentioned having and using the right to multiple passports. With his two travel documents, he can avoid excessive bureaucracy and payments by choosing the passport with which he can most easily enter a country, although keeping several passports costs time and money as well.

*I hate visas. That's one reason I have many passports. If I for example want to go to Indonesia, I would have to get a visa with my [other] passport but with the Argentinian one I don't.<sup>1</sup>*

GUSTAVO, 51

According to some legal scholars, such dual or even multiple nationalities might become the norm in the future.<sup>2</sup> From global nomads' point of view, however, there are still many countries that are difficult to visit no matter what kind of passport one has. Saudi Arabia, for instance, does not currently allow people to go there unless they are Muslims or on business, and North Korea only allows tourists in groups. Furthermore, visas are not the only constraint for travel. Immigration officials and airline companies can require two-way flight tickets or onward tickets from their passengers.

*It's odd that the whole world wants return tickets. They always want to me to have a return ticket to Austria, but for me it's a one-way travel.*

STEFAN, 47

Although these requirements are not always checked by immigration, airline companies might refuse to sell one-way tickets for fear of immigration rules, or, they use the rules as an excuse to make more money, thus practising sovereign power. Another challenge are visa-runs which in some countries have to be done every three months, monthly, or even every two weeks. Foreigners are made to exit the country in order to get a new entry stamp on their passports.

Despite the obvious downsides of visa regulations, many of the global nomads interviewed are masters at turning negatives into positives, thus consciously ignoring the constraints of their travels:

<sup>1</sup> The other nationality has been omitted in order to protect the respondent's privacy.

<sup>2</sup> See Sassen 2008, 283.

*Do I approve [visas]? Yes. It's hard but it's almost like work which feels good to me, I mean, the more difficult it is, the better experience it makes because it's more real.*

GEORGE, 31

*Who had believed that so many countries, like Soviet Union, opened for travellers. You can get a visa, it's like a respiration. It's relative on historical scale.*

CLAUDE, 50

Research has shown that lifestyle migrants might give, in a similar manner, other kinds of explanations for their departures than visas, although leaving or staying in a country might not always be a matter of choice.<sup>1</sup> This implies that both lifestyle migrants and global nomads emphasise their agency even in those situations where it is constrained. Freedom for them is the ultimate value and goal for which they are paradoxically ready to give up some of their other freedoms.

To summarise this section, one of the few dominant discourses and forms of sovereign power that global nomads do not oppose but vigorously and paradoxically support are borders. Their will to travel exceeding their will to criticise, they accept the downsides that borders and travel documents might bring along: biases, injustices, limitations of freedom of movement, and abuses of power such as corruption.

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<sup>1</sup> Korpela 2009, 19, 188.

# Peripheral Visions in the Globalizing Present

## *Space, Mobility, Aesthetics*

**Editors** Esther Peeren  
Hanneke Stuit  
Astrid Van Weyenberg



Peripheral Visions in  
the Globalizing Present

Magdalena Slusarczyk  
Paula Pustulka

# Mobile Peripheries?



# Mobile Peripheries? Contesting and Negotiating Peripheries in the Global Era of Mobility

*Magdalena Ślusarczyk and Paula Pustułka*

## Introduction

To my friends from work I am not an immigrant. To them an immigrant is someone poor, from Africa or Asia. Even with the “Polish Tsunami,” I still do not qualify: I am white, highly educated and from a capital city [Warsaw] – I am somehow more cosmopolitan than some of the girls from the industrial North-West [of England]. So I have trouble associating myself with migrants – Polish or others.<sup>1</sup>

BOGUSIA, Corporate Accountant, UK<sup>2</sup>

There is a growing confusion regarding the labels that scholars who deal with migration and mobility use to signify people participating in the contemporary, globalized cross-border flows of people, especially within the context of the free movement policy implemented in the intra-European landscape. This chapter seeks to investigate the conceptual boundaries between the often polarized categories of, on the one hand, the economically framed labor migrants and guest workers, and, on the other, the often well-educated cosmopolitan expats equipped with high human (as well as cultural and educational) capital. The latter transgress the neatly demarcated boundary between what is considered “the center” and what remains “the periphery.” Overall, the growing scholarship on the interconnectedness of periphery and center in the global era is useful for looking at people on the move and at whether they are seen

<sup>1</sup> “Polish Tsunami” was a headline used by the British press to describe a mass-migration wave from Poland following its EU accession in 2004. It is estimated that 200,000 Polish citizens entered the UK in 2004–2005, and that a further 160,000 arrived the following year, according to the Workers Registration Scheme. The increase is further illuminated by the National Census Data, which show just over 60,000 Poles registered in the UK in 2001 compared to 580,000 in England and Wales alone in 2011. The Office for National Statistics issued an estimate of 853,000 Polish inhabitants of the UK in 2015.

<sup>2</sup> When using narratives of people interviewed, we use brackets to provide a coded name (pseudonym), profession and destination country, the latter abbreviated to UK for United Kingdom, DE for Germany and NOR for Norway.

(and see themselves) as “migrants” or as belonging to their new surroundings. This distinction still practically impacts migrant identities, as people are often classified through polarized categories (migrant/native/ethnic minority/local majority), subjected to processes of othering (white/non-white, us/them) and affected by peripheralization, not only in a geographic, but also in an economic and cultural sense. It is crucial, however, to see these processes as having potentially different meanings and consequences for individual biographies and trajectories of migrants. The growing heterogeneity of the Polish mobile population evidences the pitfalls of applying universal characteristics to a group that is not necessarily bound by any collective spirit and shape.

The value of conceptualizing a “periphery” lies in its potential to shed light on what it means *not* to be in the center. In the context of intensified human mobility, it is more specifically able to challenge the labor-centered paradigm, which continues to foreground economic issues and categorizes migrants from certain global regions, such as Central America and Southeast Asia, as *mobile peripherals*. Similarly, in the context of Poland as a periphery of Europe that is discussed here, migrating peripherals signify lower-educated employees who often take on the non-desirable “3D type” (dirty, difficult, dangerous) jobs in the destination country (Anderson). In the receiving states’ discourses, migrant populations in general are almost exclusively portrayed as temporary, regardless of the number of decades they have been there and of the many signs of successful integration. In addition, they are problematized as causing social unrest and as abusing the local welfare and benefit systems. This occurs despite growing evidence attesting to long-term settlement, non-economic migration motivations, high levels of professional achievement and traits of a cosmopolitan (rather than simply transnational) disposition (see Ignatowicz; Trevena; Favell; Ciupijus; White).

This chapter deals with the tensions between the strategic employment of the notion of “periphery” in public discourse and nation-state-representing institutions on the one hand, and the notions, conceptions or visions that migrants themselves have about how their peripheral origin may or may not be framed through “backwardness.” We argue that the ways in which people express and handle their standing in terms of peripheral vision can result either in empowerment or, conversely, in a strengthening of a peripheral position. In a manner similar to the reservations gender and migration scholarship now expresses about the way “the arrow of progress” assumes that mobility to the center (i.e. to a gender equal country) unequivocally results in empowerment (see, for example, Szczepanikova; Hondagneu-Sotelo; Morokvasic 2007), we also demonstrate a more nuanced perspective on outcomes of periphery-to-center mobilities. Overall, we argue that some migrants can indeed overcome

the discourse of exclusion and move towards globally recognized central positions in various dimensions of their lives (place of residence, position in the labor market, political power), while others experience a worsened status as peripherals who cannot escape their position and are pushed away further from the center.

The empirical material used for the analyses presented here stems from two distinct yet thematically connected research projects. The data subset pertaining to the cases of migrant families in the UK and Germany originates from Pustulka's doctoral research, the findings of which are presented in more detail in the thesis "Polish Mothers on the Move – Gendering Migratory Experiences of Polish Women Parenting in Germany and the United Kingdom."<sup>3</sup> This data subset comprises a total of 37 biographic/semi-structured interviews conducted between 2011 and 2013 with Polish women parenting abroad.<sup>4</sup> The second dataset belongs to the TRANSFAM Project "Doing Family in a Transnational Context: Demographic Choices, Welfare Adaptations, School Integration and Every-day Life of Polish Families Living in Polish-Norwegian Transnationality."<sup>5</sup> Specifically, it consists of the interviews with Polish migrant families in Norway conducted in 2014 for Work Package 2 – "Migrant Families in Norway: Structure of Power Relations and Negotiating Values and Norms in Transnational Families." The respondent pool contains 40 members of 30 households (cases), and covers individual mothers (18) and fathers (2), as well as migrant parenting couples interviewed together (10).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The PhD study was funded by the 125th Anniversary Research Scholarship awarded by Bangor University for the 2010–2013 period. Supplementary funding for fieldwork was obtained from the DAAD grant (2011) and the PON UJ London short-term summer grant (2013).

<sup>4</sup> All study participants were female, married, between the ages of 23 and 64 (avg. = 37.9), having arrived in their destination countries between 1980 and 2010 (with an average length of stay amounting to just below 9 years) and residing outside of the metropolitan urban centers (in villages, small towns and city outskirts/suburbs). The women mostly led middle-class lives but represented an array of educational and professional backgrounds, as well as diverse migratory characteristics.

<sup>5</sup> The research leading to these results has received funding from the Polish-Norwegian Research Programme operated by the National Centre for Research and Development under the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2009–2014 in the frame of Project Contract No. Pol-Nor/197905/4/2013. Magdalena Ślusarczyk is the WP 2 Leader.

<sup>6</sup> Coincidentally, the socio-demographic portrait of this group determines an age average similar to that for Germany and the UK at 37.5 years old and a slightly shifted 29–54 age range. The migrants settled in Norway between 1990 and 2013, which yields a corresponding average of just below 8.5 years spent abroad. In Norway, the respondents also represented diverse educational and professional backgrounds, yet their residence was concentrated in the capital of Oslo and its surrounding area within a 200-kilometer radius.

This cumulative approach to data analysis was dictated by the goal of broadening the geographical scope and increasing the internal validity of the data by means of observing saturation, meaning that a robust analytical framework could be built through coding procedures applied to the substantial and rich material. As the number of the surveyed household was rather high for a qualitative study, the similarities and discrepancies in the narratives collected across the three countries could be noted, compared and analyzed.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, this chapter largely relies on both comparative and case-by-case analysis of the interviews and of the biographical accounts of the migration history of a respondent and his or her family. It also presents extensive details gathered from questions about the meaning of migration in the respondents' lives and about their evaluation of the decision to migrate and live abroad.

### Situating Mobile Peripheries

The ideologies involved in demarcating peripheries have been problematized and challenged since the long nineteenth century, especially with regard to Central and Eastern Europe, often deemed a zone of violence where a clash of civilizations occurs. Intellectuals looked at this sensitive borderland or in-between land situated between the generally established (Western) centers and the presumably (economically, sometimes also culturally) "underdeveloped" lands in the East, inventing and mapping them from the position of central power (Wolff 1–16; Petrakos 5–7). Toponymic ideas include the "continental centrality" label assigned to the region by prominent writers (Kundera, Konrad, Stasiuk) and recent historians' underlining of its conflicted positionality as "the lands between" (Prusin), which endured a detour but essentially moved "from the periphery to the periphery" (Berend 1996; see also

<sup>7</sup> The destination countries of the migrants that we focus on are not accidental, but rather crucial in the broader landscape of Polish post-EU accession mobility in the past decade (Burrell 9; Iglicka and Gmaj). While Germany was always listed among the main destinations of migrant Poles – likely due to its geographic proximity – it was earlier accompanied by the United States and the Benelux countries. It was primarily the order in which EU countries opened their labor market to Poles that determined the key statistical (and later also socio-cultural) significance of the UK and Ireland. Similarly, as a consequence of macro-economic conditions, primarily the 2008 financial collapse, Norway joined the list of Polish destinations as relatively less affected by the crisis. At the same time, the transatlantic direction of flows has been losing importance.

Berend 2005), confirming the relatively stable global order of liminality and core (Bordo; Flandreau 418). Scholars have also tackled the applicability of critical postcolonial notions, such as Said's "adjacency," to the region (Sandru; Wolff).

Not only economic ideologies that analyze Central Eastern Europe (CEE) as a European periphery (Karasavvoglou et al.) are anchored by these notions, but sociological and anthropological scholarship too. Appadurai, for instance, has long propagated the contextualization of central-peripheral dynamics in qualitative and ethnographic approaches to places, regions, and world geographies more broadly (1986; 1990). In his world system analysis, Wallerstein also details the core-periphery antinomy on the macro-level of the nation-state, concurring that the set ways of capitalist modes of production defy the relational potentiality for change in the world orders. In global economic, political and social theory, CEE, including Poland, has consistently been ranked or described as a global semi-periphery.

Importantly, certain strategies can be employed by people in these systematically constructed global peripheries to overcome this disadvantageous position. Concentrating on global reference points (economic globalization, global culture) rather than national identity provides such a competence – and a capital-based option for contemporary cosmopolitan and mobile elites (Hannerz; Bauman; Skrbíš et al.; Beck 2006, 2007; Vertovec and Cohen). Indeed, examining migration shows how national and ethnic identities are arguably becoming (to a degree) replaceable by different identifications (such as pan-European, global, transnational, cosmopolitan or Western; see Castells; Temple 2011a, 2011b; Cinpoes; Wagner). However, this framing has only tentatively been applied to Polish migrants, who continue to be positioned as peripheral. It is also common for even skilled Polish migrants in the post-EU accession context to be normatively split into the categories of "winners" and "losers" (Kaczmarczyk; Tyrowicz). These labels are assigned on the basis of the so-called objective variables of the labor market (e.g. income levels, types of contracts, job sector, match between education and work position) rather than on the basis of – in our opinion more relevant – subjective evaluations (e.g. expressed degree of well-being, satisfaction with family life or work/life balance, being able to spend quality time with one's family). This fission of migrant experiences makes it rather typical for Polish migrants to end up in the periphery, especially in the eyes of policy-makers, scholars and politicians.

The 2001 edited volume *People on a Swing: Migrations between the Peripheries of Poland and the West* (edited by Jaźwińska-Motylska and Okolski) marks the closure of a certain era of migration scholarship by summing up

the trends in the spatial movements of Poles in the twentieth century, which largely encompassed pendular and temporary migration. In addition, the collection highlights and forecasts certain new trends, such as the increase of family reunifications abroad and of settlement-oriented mobility, that have emerged since the start of the new millennium, particularly as a result of Poland's European Union accession in May 2004, and that are our focus here. Poland's post-1989 "fast-tracked" neo-liberal politics emphasized labor market privatization and the flexibility of workers in the context of global competition, leading to a race to embrace more and more cuts and worsening working conditions (Kurian 200; see also Płomień; Shields). The domestic sphere in Poland continues to be "invisible" and fosters a rebirth of what Sassen calls a class of servants (262) and Ehrenreich terms a servant economy (103; see also Cox), which is permanently confined to the periphery. Those who are said to have lost in this transformation, especially laborers formerly employed in the state-industry, have been similarly excluded and marginalized (Mrozowicki; Dunn; Petrakos).

At the same time, Polish migration debates rarely move away from economy- and periphery-focused framings, and oftentimes include *all* migrants in the category of "in trouble" or "entrapped" economically "redundant" citizens affected by hardship, seeking opportunities through (somewhat forced and unavoidable) mobility. This "washes out" the most underprivileged and peripheral categories (Anacka and Fihel; Kaczmarczyk; Dyczewski; Korczyńska). Within this context, we focus on how the notion of "periphery" has changed (or retained) its meaning, shape and place in the Polish migratory research landscape, as well as on how it functions in the stories of contemporary Polish migrants in Norway, Germany and the United Kingdom.

### **Examining Migrant Narratives: Who Can Escape the Periphery?**

The stories of migrants arriving to countries perceived as central from what is considered the periphery take the shape of either a scenario of perceived success or one of perceived failure. Determining the distinction in the general pattern of "periphery-to-center" migration are differences in skill and education levels. These features are seen to define the individual's peripheral (low capital) or central (high capital) position, both in the country of origin and the country of residence.

Echoing the opening quotation from Bogusia (UK), the stories heard from Adam (NOR), Lena (UK), Kaja (DE) and Sławek (NOR), which are presented

below, depict how migratory identity narratives are constructed by underscoring success and, concurrently, by distancing oneself from how one *might be* perceived or labeled more broadly. These are all stories of rather high-skilled, well-educated global or transnational professionals (Wagner). A snapshot comparison is presented in the Table below. The columns show (1) the respondents' biographical details; (2) the respondents' education trajectory and their motivations for emigrating; (3) interview quotations highlighting the respondents' self-perceived position with regard to peripherality; (4) the way in which the respondents would have been categorized in the terms of the Polish migration discourse.

Name, age, profession/occupation destination country	Migration/Life path nexus	"Distancing" and self-perception, visions of peripherality	"Statistical"/Discursive portrait
Bogusia, 34, HR Consultant, UK	Raised and educated (Psychology & Business) in Warsaw; wanted an "adventure," found prestigious job and received multiple promotions, has a British upper-class husband.	"I am not an immigrant" – class, status, education-driven explanations (see the opening quotation). "I don't understand Polish women anymore." Self-proclaimed exit from the national group; perceiving oneself as "different," also due to inter-ethnic marriage.	Labor migrant – "young and educated" representative of the EU accession wave.
Adam, 38, Engineer, NOR	Well educated, had a good job in Poland, then was offered a better one in Norway – transfer within a company.	"This was a kind of attempt, it was not like we were coming and had to stay, exactly that, because when I started working in 2001 at a Polish company which closely cooperated with a Norwegian one, so I have known all that and indeed we had it easy because we were going but also had a place to go back to, since I continued to be employed in Poland, despite working in Norway." "That was the best time for me because I was earning really good money ... and, most importantly, had opportunities to return."	Expat mobility, often not at all seen as "migration," assumed to be temporary.

Name, age, profession/occupation destination country	Migration/Life path nexus	"Distancing" and self- perception, visions of peripherality	"Statistical"/ Discursive portrait
Lena, 35, Doctor, UK	Post-graduation "traveling" with then-boyfriend (now husband), both have prestigious education (M.D. & Therapist), raised in Warsaw, elite family.	"Migrant is such a derogatory term. Especially in Britain – multicultural means you have different cultural baggage, but can learn from one another, ... we have friends from all over – Africa, Middle East, I don't really think it's morally acceptable to differentiate between us, them and the posh British locals." Equality and inclusion ideology, denying the existence of peripheries/centers; somewhat naïve in refuting the existing differences.	Medical personnel migration; treated as "temporary assignment."
Kaja, 34, Retail Manager, DE	Followed her mother to Germany (family migration) prior to EU accession (in 1999), brought her future husband along; has a dual-degree (PL/DE) in Management.	"It might sound strange but I feel very European, like I have developed this extra-special term to describe that I feel at home here in Germany, but Poland is also my home. And I do not feel like a stranger in France or The Netherlands, when we go [there]." "I'm a migrant. So what? Who isn't one here? It's really not a big deal, I made something of myself here." Empowered pan-national identification.	Family/economic migrant, young and educated post-EU mobility.
Slawek, 46, Engineer, NOR	Sees his own decisions as "career mobility" rather than migration. A migrant is somebody forced to leave his/her country not by choice but by "fate"/war/persecution.	"Well, first and foremost, I am NOT a migrant, I have never thought of myself as an emigrant." "It is like, I was even getting annoyed when someone was categorizing me as emigrant, because emigration is a kind of word that has a negative meaning."	Global mobility paths for well-educated individuals – "specialists."

The presented narratives are stories of people who migrated despite having a relatively good position in their country of origin. For them, life in the perceived periphery of Poland did not include many struggles; they were well-educated, economically established people with a professional network, located in what could be seen as the centers of the periphery. In their case, mobility confirmed their high status, which generally translated to even better (prestige- or income-wise) positions abroad. The narratives ascertain what is known about the mobility of those in high demand, such as sought-after medical specialists or other so-called "expats" (see Plüss; Favell). However, the way in which the respondents "distance" themselves from other Polish migrants demonstrates how coming from a central position in a peripheral country affects one's actions in the destination country. Even these well-off migrants from CEE may be seen as oscillating in a permanent state of competition for rank and order (Wallerstein 79–83), as they need to reassure their status as desired and welcome members of an ethnic minority group.

Slightly different in character, but nevertheless similar in their implications, are the stories of migrants who struggled in the perceived European periphery, but possessed qualifications or skills that could be transferred and advantageously used abroad. This was the case for the family of Sabina (35, Office Worker, NOR). In Poland, her husband could be classified as a discarded skilled laborer, an exemplary "loser of the post-communist transformation period" (Mrozowicki; Jarosz; Kaczmarczyk). In Norway, however, he acquired a lucrative job at a garage as a car mechanic specialized in painting and panel beating, earning more money than the family could have ever imagined. Their disappointment in Poland translated into narratives of integration, limited transnationality and full satisfaction with becoming Norwegian. Though they see Poland as a "periphery," they address it as something in their past, no longer a part of who they are "in the world," or, more precisely, in Norway.

The biography of Alina (57, Dentist, DE) reveals a similar perspective. Her husband also became a car mechanic, in this case in Germany in the 1980s, when political engagement prevented him from finding employment in his original profession in Poland. As a dentist, Alina struggled initially, especially since the couple had small children, no language competency, and the husband's employer had them living in a completely rural and secluded village. Learning to navigate the "local periphery" of Germany on the basis of her experiences in the small-town "Polish periphery," Alina eventually managed to acquire knowledge that allowed for successful integration and "centrally" global educational pathways for her children, who were sent to live and study in the United States and Canada during high school, attended language and culture summer programs in Italy and France, and then obtained degrees in

the sciences and arts from top-ranked universities in Germany. Alina also returned to her profession as a dentist and now insists that migration actually enabled her to be in the center of progress in the field, performing cutting-edge treatments with top-notch equipment. Though the couple still plans to return to Poland “someday,” their vision of themselves and their positionalities has changed. Alina explains:

Initially I was a “nobody” here, came from somewhere no one knew, I was invisible ... But times changed, and I guess we changed. And my children are very global – traveling all over the world, having all the opportunities that we did not have growing up in Poland. ... Germany is a global power, it is not the worst place to be a citizen of, opens many doors – back in Poland, in America, almost everywhere ... I also think that small towns are somewhat alike, so growing up in one in Poland actually made me aware of how to handle the mentality of the villages and tiny towns here.

As demonstrated, the line between “peripheral” and “central” social, professional and spatial locations becomes blurred in Alina’s narrative. Though she clearly identifies as someone “from the (European and Polish spatial) periphery,” she uses her knowledge and pairs it with an “in demand” medical qualification to move herself towards the “center,” bettering her position in many ways. While she could be simply viewed as a politically and economically motivated 1980s migrant, her self-identification proclaims complexity and challenges the simplifications common within dominant discursive framings of migration.

A distinctly different scenario is the search for a new life from a peripheral position in “peripheral” Poland. Interestingly, these migrants oftentimes choose to follow a path of periphery-to-periphery (or rural-to-rural) migration, moving to socially and geographically underprivileged sectors and areas in Norway, Germany and the UK. The migrants following this path are not at all prepared for migration, lacking language skills, education, and labor-market translatable/desirable qualifications and/or experience:

Had my husband prepared for his migration? No, he did not. He came here with no language knowledge, and just when he was awaiting all the documents for family reunification, then I taught him a little bit, we studied together and only then he went to classes.

JULIA, 41, Nurse, NOR

A similar “all over the place” narrative of life and employment is presented by Sonia, whose upbringing took place in the Polish periphery and who, in spite of her efforts, was only marginally successful in terms of her education (part-time

studies at the local and little respected school, dropping out and restarting) and her position in the labor market (part-time employment, rotation, changing jobs, sectors, using networks):

I graduated ... well I actually started to study for a B.A. in Sociology, psycho-social studies for advising others. Sometime later I finished this B.A., then I worked contract hours, part-time. But it was, well, thanks to the fact that a friend started her own fitness center and I was a receptionist there.

SONIA, 36, Bakery Assistant, NOR

Following migration to Norway, Sonia still does not hold the most prestigious position as a bakery employee, but she nevertheless lives in Oslo and has upgraded the social status of her family. This is typical for migrants who use niches in the destination country's labor market and take on jobs that many local inhabitants do not find attractive enough; as noted, these are often low-paid 3D jobs (dirty, difficult, dangerous):

Looking back at Poland now, we compare it and think that in Poland one does not live, one just vegetates. This is our opinion ... In Poland we thought it was okay but we did not know the reality here and could not fathom how one can actually live. So we really aren't God knows who in Norway – we have common professions.

ILONA and ADRIAN, both 41, Office Worker and Carpenter, NOR

Helena (63, Nanny, UK) followed a similar path. As another person affected by the post-communist transformation, she lost her income source and was left to her own devices with a vocational training (as a mining employee) that was no longer usable in the new Polish labor market. Although Helena had never left her Polish town in the Silesia region, she was suddenly forced to explore the option of labor migration, eventually following her son to the UK and becoming a nanny for Polish children in the suburban area near Liverpool. She can be seen as consistently confined to the periphery, from which she has little chance to escape. Yet Helena has accepted that she is now in a space that, if still peripheral, is perhaps less so in terms of the income she earns and her proximity to family members who have managed to secure better social positions in the global center. She says:

I never had much, and never expected much ... I was born in the wrong period, probably also in the wrong place, so I don't think I could do things differently. You could not just pick up and leave in my youth – government,

poverty, family obligations. We did not know that there was a world out there because we mostly had what we needed ... In the end I am glad my son and grandson live here in Britain, this means chances.

Helena's story foregrounds the importance of the historical dimension of peripherality/centrality dilemmas, which can be embedded in distinct understandings of one's position in relation to what the surroundings provide or deny. It cannot be said that Helena significantly altered her own peripheral vision and trajectory, but she seems to assume that a more "centralized" position and life experience will be beneficial for the next generations of her family. This is especially evident as she repeatedly mentions in the interview that her grandson has plans to study law in London – a dream that could never have been a part of Helena's own life story.

Finally, Zosia (41) and Maciek (43) constitute a family with a plethora of migratory experience gathered over several decades. They both were (at different times) working seasonally in Germany, and then moved back and forth between Poland and Norway between 2003 and 2007. In 2007, they settled in Oslo, both starting out by doing seasonal agriculture jobs (fruit picking) and then moving on to construction work (Maciek, 43, NOR) and hospital work (Zosia, 41, NOR). For them, migration became a way of life, not because they could not find work in Poland, but because the wages they could have counted on there were not satisfactory and their employment conditions there persistently precarious. This provided them with little opportunity to become an economically independent young family:

Everything was just to get by, to survive, the income was really only for that, it was difficult to start something, to become independent, have one's own flat ... We were then ... highly relying on our parents all the time.

Their first trips abroad were largely chaotic and strictly temporary, regardless of the potential they offered to earn more money:

There were perspectives [to stay in Germany], but as I went our child had just been born. My wife stayed behind, so I was really eager to go home; at present there is Skype and all sorts of other communication tools, but then [in the 1980s], it was almost impossible to call from a payphone, the cost was enormous. During the entire time I am not sure if we even spoke once.

Accepting an old house as part of an inheritance turned out to be a catalyst for further mobility, as costs incurred by renovations required Zosia and Maciek to expand their migratory pathways. The couple made rotational arrangements during this time, and the wife went to Germany as a cleaner (substituting for her friend for a year). Finally, the couple decided to try Norway, which was presented to them as a country of unbelievably high basic wages. By then, they had fallen into debt. They got to know a farmer in Norway who spoke some German and who was a lifeline at a time when they were struggling to make ends meet. They admit: "We caught the bug – we realized that you could earn more money elsewhere." After a period of some turbulence, in which only one of the spouses was able to go abroad, they followed the advice of the local priest to reunite their family for the sake of their marriage.

Drawing on the migrants' narratives, it can be stated that the basic predictor for leaving the peripheries behind is one's original position in the country of origin, making it that much more important to look at the complexity of migrant trajectories. Arriving at the center does not magically revoke the former status, nor does it allow the migrants to simply "start afresh." On the one hand, those migrating with high capital usually acquire central positions in the social hierarchy of their destination countries, though they do need to periodically ascertain their desirability and belonging with the locals. On the other hand, low capital that translates into a low social position in the periphery of the center may be fully accepted by some migrants, who subjectively experience a positive improvement of their status as a result of their mobility.

### Patterns of Peripherality

The relationships between perceived centers and peripheries should be analyzed in a holistic manner that takes macro-, meso- and microsocial contexts into account. The macro-level is strongly present in theoretical conceptualizations and tied to discursive framings, primarily pinpointing the inequalities and uneven development between emigration and immigration countries in international, mobility-focused scenarios (Wallerstein). The belief in a symbiotic relation between center and periphery obscures the fact that the character of exchange actually heightens and increases the existing global differentiation and distribution of resources. It is also important to note that the center/periphery relation has long ceased to be seen as a dichotomy adequate for describing nation-states' positionalities, which should instead be seen as lying along a continuum, as evidenced by the post-socialist countries, for example.

The establishment of global spatial and economic centrality translates to other dimensions of social relations and exemplifies how global power struggles affect everyday lives. The micro-social individual identifications and self-labeling processes analyzed here shift the focus from the level of international, geopolitical and macroeconomic relations to that of migrants' places of residence and their economic and social worlds. Looking at the labor market and at the social meaning of positions occupied by migrants in what can be seen as "central" societies, we can delineate two patterns of how mobile individuals from the "periphery" function.

First, "expats" or highly-skilled migrants seem to execute an "exit" from Poland as a "peripheral" nation. Importantly, their journey is considerably eased by the fact that many of them already occupy privileged "central" positions in Poland. Often, they originate from the capital city, have lived in major towns, have worked at prestigious international companies and have studied at top universities in Poland, then, could be summed up as a move from the "center's center," as they change geographic and abroad. Their trajectories, modification's positive consequences. Second, the pathway of those who similarly originate from the periphery, but from less privileged positions within it, and who then move to a more advantageous but not locally privileged position in a central location, is deemed a movement from the "periphery's periphery" to the "center's periphery." Those Polish nationals with limited qualifications and skills seem substantially more peripheral in the "periphery" than their highly-skilled counterparts. As a result, they are unable to leave the peripheral space even when moving abroad, ending up in second-tier employment and substandard residential areas in the "center's peripheries."

The two patterns can also be distinguished in terms of the degree of "agency" migrants have, an approach well-described in gender and migration scholarship (see Hondagneu-Sotelo; Morokvasic 2004; Lutz 2010, 2011; Palenga; Dunn; Coyle; Ehrenreich and Hochschild). Though there is clearly a relationship between mobility, gender and social class, migration can have similarly intersectional consequences, as recalling the distinction between "migration as a system-determined fate" versus "migration as a system-determined choice" (Slany) demonstrates. Evidently, the first group of privileged migrants falls into the latter category, while the former covers low-skilled individuals with less valued capacities.

It is especially noteworthy that the low-skilled group of migrants, in general, does not benefit much from the centrality of their destination country and tends to become marginalized, separated in peripheral social, geographic and citizenship-related locations:

In Stavanger all city bus drivers are Polish, I also sometimes talk to them and hear very interesting stories, like, people coming without their families, so one may also imagine that this is a type of emigration, that it is all nice and pretty, but it is all based on chaos, on the concerns of people who have no money in Poland and have to do something to get it, families are falling apart and so on.

KALINA, 38, Teacher, NOR

The narratives of these migrants show that their satisfaction with their improved living standards and considerably higher income does not mean that they feel like locals, citizens or even inhabitants. Administratively, Polish migrants, sometimes also those from the more privileged group, can remain confined to the second-class categories of "temporary resident" or "temporary worker," experiencing their peripheral status and the bad treatment that results from this in their daily lives. Such experiences may be independent from their actual social status:

When I called the police, they simply did not listen to me, told me to bugger off.

ADRIAN, 41, Carpenter, NOR

He could not communicate, he spoke Norwegian but he did not have the confidence that he'd understand everything and he did not really jump at [the police] with information, calling their attention or arguing his stance. They first said they do not have time, then this and that, they had to do something in the city center. And now it is completely different, knowing the language well changes everything, it gives a confidence boost.

ILONA, 41, Office Worker, NOR

It was like this: a friend of my boss came as a substitute for a while and then suddenly it turned out that they didn't need me anymore. After a month they told me goodbye and this lady took my place. Yes, these things really happen, that's the truth.

MALWINA, 43, Unemployed, NOR

Feeling unwelcome or at least experiencing a greater distance from society is often due, migrants explain, to being associated with a particular country of origin:

I am extremely careful at work. I mean now not so much anymore, because now the people know me there, at least a little bit, because I have

worked there for some time already. But in the beginning, because in my bakery there is also a French girl, she works there like me. So the Norwegians can tell from the accent and ask her where she's from and she says she is from Paris and they are fully blown away, in awe. They sing "oh my Jesus, Paris! Wow!" And the compliments and all begin. And when I'd say I come from Poland, then a surprise followed, shock or something different even – appalment.

SONIA, 36, Bakery Assistant, NOR

Even when the migrants do not directly state that they feel unwelcome, their experiences showcase the existence of institutional and individual discriminatory practices touching the lives of certain national or ethnic groups:

Earlier on here when we were not in the EU, the regulations and restrictions really were a bother. For example, being Polish meant that I had to exchange my driving license to have a Norwegian document, that was a law then. I had to pass an exam, take lessons to show that I can drive, had to take ten hours of driving lessons in order to be even allowed to take a driving test, even though I had my driving license for over ten years then. [Conversely, a] friend from Australia who has been driving on the left side for all his life ..., who has never seen snow, he was given a new driving license just like that, because he was on this "green list," and I was on a list together with Africa ... such examples. Later on, however, it was when I was planting some flowers in front of the house, we were not married yet, and a neighbor just came over to me and said: "So, three months have passed now, so you have to go back to Poland, right?" – this is how much they were checking whether I did not stay for too long.

SŁAWEK, 46, Engineer, NOR

Some migrants seem to be able to create their own strategies for handling their position of peripherality. This is less of a challenge for the highly skilled group, in which people often choose to reject their origin and engage in citizenship practices that orient them towards centrality. They often unsubscribe from their national belonging, cease to engage in transnational practices and confirm their status through a legal process of obtaining a citizenship status in their destination country (see Bogusia). Others, however, transgress the normative and conceptual boundaries of the central/non-central dichotomy and follow a path of pan-national and beyond-border identifications that disregards inequalities and differences (Lena, Kaja). Though this might eventually

become a trap, as Polish framings of migrants' non-negotiable roles of loyal family caretakers and guarantors of family heritage have come to argue over the years, this strategy is facilitated by the marketable skills possessed by these migrants. Such skills allow them to participate in social worlds on terms they have partially negotiated and partially received on the basis of their systemic privilege (in terms of their education, skills, whiteness).

Another strategy that deserves further discussion pertains to a conscious pro-periphery choice, meaning a wish to operate on the peripheries of both destination and sending societies. This might not fully mirror the classic "migration as a system-determined choice" (Slany 2008), but can be linked to a phenomenon we call translocal peripherals. Expanding on White's discussion of translocalism in the Polish case, we see a possibility for people who engage in translocal lives to escape the center-periphery discourse, particularly when they realize they will never achieve centrality. Just as nations and economies have been described in terms of avoiding confrontation and resisting change due to their "fear of floating" (Bordo; Flandreau 418), the biographies of Polish migrants suggest that gambling everything on a shot for a central position may not seem unambiguously worthwhile to all. Unlike that of the transnationals and global professionals described above, the existence of translocals is split between two local peripheries (of home and destination countries) and their daily and broader self-identification practices are grounded in their connections with particular locations (for example in Poland and Germany). Even how these translocal migrants travel foregrounds locality and peripheral embeddedness, with anchors in provincial airports, bus stops and no visits to capital cities ever (White). Essentially, their behaviors can be called "home oriented" (Lutz; Palenga), lacking much engagement in broader public life, both prior to migration and following it, as Sonia's case, discussed in detail above, illustrates:

I have really been on cloud nine here, so to speak. I am extremely happy with my job, I work full-time, my boss is happy with me thus far, I would never have found a similarly good job elsewhere ... with my Norwegian, because my language skills are very basic, very poor, only those terms I need for work ... I know I would not have managed elsewhere, not right now.

SONIA, 36, Bakery Assistant, NOR

A conscious decision to situate oneself on the perceived peripheries of home country and destination country facilitates something of an escape from instability:

I go to work and I know I will get my salary. I know what I can buy with this salary. I know I will be able to pay the bills, I will be able to afford an extravagant purchase once in a while, yes ... We can afford a normal life here ... I really appreciate this tranquility, I really like the calm of it all.

SONIA, 36, Bakery Assistant, NOR & PAWEŁ, 37, Unemployed, NOR

When honing in on migrants making a choice to remain in the peripheries, it must be said that acceptance and decision do not necessarily exclude contestations. It remains a fact that while migrants may perceive their country of origin as a "periphery," they rarely see themselves as people living on the social periphery. A majority of the recounted narratives demonstrate that migrants prefer to see themselves not as forced into a particular position but as taking advantage of the opportunities presented by the contemporary globalized world, and as doing so with ease:

After those couple of years here I believe that going to Norway is no different than moving from Cracow to Warsaw, I am telling you – no difference whatsoever.

KALINA, 38, Teacher, NOR

Truthfully, it is sometimes quicker to go to Gdańsk [from Norway] than to go to Hel from Gdańsk [two not too distant Polish cities].

ILONA & ADRIAN

### Conclusions

The narrative evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates that there is a range of discrepancies between people's accounts of their positionalities/identities and the labels that scholars who deal with mobility use to describe the participants in globalized cross-border migration flows. The center-periphery dichotomy in particular may no longer be sufficient to explain how migrants view their own paths. Empirical data from several research projects focusing on recent migration between Poland and the West (UK, Germany, Norway) were used to illustrate how the categories of rural/urban, peripheral/central and local/global were destabilized in the migrants' narratives. Building on the example of the transitional society of Poland as an aspiring (semi?)-periphery, we have attempted to show nuances of experiences that neither signify inescapable exclusion and marginality nor are fully explained by the

"world-system" development lens. Our approach to peripherality and centrality follows the path created by migration scholarship, in which the exclusivity of countries of origin and destination is abandoned. Instead, it is necessary to underscore the multiplicity of sites around the world where migrants can be active because of their feelings of familiarity and connectedness to home, regardless of their "central" or "peripheral" status. We put forward the argument that, while macro-level categories may aid group-centered analysis, they are less relevant for understanding individual migration narratives. The divisions that stem from social and educational capital, as well as from migrants' original position in the specific country of origin, are mitigated by the modern landscape of "global" access facilitated through new technologies of communication and transportation, as well as by new discourses that, to a certain extent, redefine the meaning of peripherality. This redefinition is due to the interplay of peripheral social locations (e.g. deskilled employment, social marginality) with concurrent spatial centrality (e.g. living in Western Europe, benefitting from the destination country's welfare regime). In such situations, individuals may be inclined to disregard their peripheral standing in the latter realm.

Zooming in on the "periphery" concept, we have tackled questions about whether it can still be used in its objective or generic sense, and about which categories we need to explore in times of globally intensified movements of people that represent diverse and intersected social localities. In order to show the different possible meanings of periphery on social, cultural and economic, as well as intertwined micro-, meso- and macro-levels, we examined framings of peripherality expressed by people migrating from both the centers and the peripheries of their own country to the centers and peripheries of the destination society. The stark differences among those who left "global" (Poland) and "local" (rural Poland) peripheries behind (spatially and metaphorically) calls for less universalism in social research. This is especially urgent where the pre-emptive situatedness of the "neither-nor" Polish context is concerned. Some Polish spaces (e.g. urban metropolises) and groups (highly-skilled internationally educated young generations) can clearly be considered more centralized and European than others (those from certain regions – e.g. Southeastern Poland, losers of the Polish transformation, the uneducated), who remain bound to their position on the fringes.

On the basis of this, we have contextualized how migrants frame their own positionality with regard to being "from the peripheries" through negotiating their place to live, investing in their social, cultural and economic capital, and contesting the rooted dichotomies of East/West, Europe/non-Europe, minority/majority and, last but not least, high-skilled/low-skilled laborer.

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# Consuming mobility

*A practice approach to  
sustainable mobility transitions*

**Jorrit O. Nijhuis**



Environmental Policy

Series

Volume 10

# Conclusions

citizen-consumers with high environmental concerns also show a higher than average attraction to multimodal travelling (as portrayed in Figure 7.23), this does not translate into a higher receptiveness to provider strategies. Nor are citizen-consumers with high environmental concerns more adept at multi-modal travelling.

What do these outcomes tell us? The contextual approach adopted in this chapter is a relatively novel one. The focus adopted differs from that of the dominant literature in social psychology and transport studies which often try to trace back the variables for car use and public transport use to general individual characteristics (e.g. socioeconomic groups, value patterns, etc.) or attributes of transport modes (Diana & Mokhtarian, 2009). Theoretically, the three-step exploration is therefore more important and interesting than the question which sustainable mobility option citizen-consumers prefer over the other, or to illustrate the specific barriers and possibilities for the five sustainable alternatives presented. Partly this chapter is a confirmation of earlier conducted research which emphasized that a policy solely based on increasing citizen-consumer's environmental knowledge and awareness will be ineffective.

However, even though micro-based analyses of sustainable consumption is criticized, it is important to note that we do not claim to label the widely used social and cognitive psychology approaches to environmentally relevant consumer behaviour redundant. That would do great injustice to the many relevant studies which have been conducted in the field of sustainable consumption. Undoubtedly environmental concerns do play a role, one way or the other, in environment-relevant behaviour. Nevertheless, we are indeed in search of different explanatory variables which will likely lead to a different type of suggestions for consumer-oriented environmental policy. Environmental consciousness predominantly plays a role in consumption behaviour in which the behavioural alternative requires little effort. This is clearly not the case for alternatives to car driving.

To point out the relevance, this chapter supports the active provision of socio-technical innovations to citizen-consumers such as integrated mobility cards, product-to-service systems, etc. The example of multimodal travelling clearly showed that the high mobility portfolio groups are above average found in the 'choice traveller' groups while the solely car drivers are underrepresented. As access to and experience with mobility innovations has a positive relation with multimodal travelling, the initiatives of mobility management must be seen as a positive development. Nevertheless, not every sole car users will be 'persuaded' to become a modal merger, nor is that necessary. The evaluation of the five sustainable mobility alternatives by citizen-consumers indicates that for solely car travellers the purchase of a green car and teleworking might be more easily attainable.

## Chapter 8. Conclusions

*The travelling consumer of the future might not be a 'consumer' anymore. This individual above all wants control over his surroundings and ways of moving. He values sustainability and safety and searches for meaning. He is a creative, self-developing individual who values 'authenticity'. He or she travels, depending on the specific need, alternately by public transport, custom-made car or design folding-bike. For government and market there lies a challenge how they will deal with this 'renewed travelling consumer'.*

Ministry of Transport, special edition on the Traveller of the Future (2005).

### 8.1 Introduction

The possibility to be mobile forms an essential part of society and economy. More than other consumption domains everyday mobility is inherently intertwined with the fabric of social life. Everyday mobility connects a wide array of time-spatially dispersed social practices that make up our daily life. Mobility forms the cement without which other social practices would only be loose bricks. The freedom to invest mobility capital for work, social life and recreation is therefore seen by society as an unconditional right.

While it is virtually impossible not to participate in mobility practices, the problem with the currently dominant socio-technical system of the car is that it is associated with many negative societal consequences. Furthermore, characteristic of these mobility-related problems is that they are multi-faceted (congestion, climate change, air pollution, and safety), that many actors are involved and that due to the large infrastructural investments one can speak of an inert system. On the other hand we can witness that actors such as citizen-consumers, producers and policy makers acknowledge that the current system of mobility has reached its (ecological) boundaries, or even exceeded them. With the term sustainable mobility various actors have aimed to develop systems of mobility that are able to provide for the societal need for mobility while simultaneously taking the (ecological) boundaries into account. Structural changes in the form of a societal or socio-technical transition are required to deal with the ecological, social and economic issues related to the current socio-technical regime of the car. Nevertheless, there is still a wide diversity of visions on the form and pathway of such a sustainable mobility system. Consensus primarily consists on the urgency and persistency of problems while even the problems themselves have a tendency to differ on the (political) agendas.

The transition (management) perspective offers promising ways to analyse and facilitate various potential system innovations within the domain of everyday mobility. However, despite various pilot projects, policy measures and scientific research the perspective on the role of citizen-consumers in sustainable mobility transitions is still relatively underdeveloped. In this thesis the challenge to facilitate a socio-technical transition in the domain of everyday mobility has been investigated from a citizen-consumer perspective. Investigating and emphasizing the role of

human agents in mobility transitions has particular relevance for mobility policies and scientific debate. In the theoretical and empirical chapters an attempt has been made to contribute to the growing body of scientific knowledge of (sustainable) transition processes in the field of mobility. The specific contribution to this body of literature consists of an elaborate attempt to analyse the role of human agency in mobility transitions. With the use of the social practices model, the role of human agents and their ways of thinking, saying and doing with respect to more sustainable mobilities have been put centre stage. In this concluding chapter the fruits of this investigation will be presented by answering the research questions which were posted in the introduction. The focus will be primarily on the question which new insights for research and policy have been gained by the conceptualisation of the social practices model for everyday mobility. The chapter will also address the strategic consequences of this thesis for research and policy on everyday mobility. Based on the current discourse on the role of citizen-consumers in strategies to sustainable mobility, we will elaborate on the sustainable development strategies which should be further pursued in order to better incorporate citizen-consumers in their strategies towards sustainable mobility transitions.

## **8.2 A practice based approach to study socio-technical transitions**

One of the main propositions in this thesis is that citizen-consumer engagement is an essential pre-requisite for sustainable transitions. Only when a connection can be made with the concerns and everyday practices of citizen-consumers, and when the inclusion of citizen-consumers is no longer approached as an obstacle to change but rather as a source for it, transitions to sustainable development can be realized. From a theoretical point of view, in order to make this connection the problem that needed to be addressed is the question how to fill the gap between theories on individual everyday action of citizen-consumers with theories on (socio-technical) transitions. Since the role of agency in transitions has not been well developed so far, we aimed to explore the theme of agency in transitions and discuss the added value of this theoretical approach in comparison with other – more individualist and voluntaristic – approaches to changing mobility behaviour. By combining scientific insights from transition studies, sociology of consumption and (social) psychology a research approach has been described which aims to bridge this divide between actor-oriented approaches and system-oriented approaches to sustainable consumption in general, and everyday mobility specifically.

Especially practice theories contain characteristics which enable them to study the role of agency in sustainable transitions precisely because they connect human agency with structural properties of socio-technical systems. Drawing upon the work of scholars in the field of contemporary theories of practice it was shown how co-evolution of practices, innovations and systems provides meaningful insight into the ways expectations and technologies may change. The social practices approach was presented as a potentially promising and fruitful practice-based framework to investigate the active involvement of citizen-consumers in transition processes to sustainable development. Throughout this thesis the social practices approach has been applied to study stability and change in everyday mobility practices. From this practice perspective we have investigated both the persistence of mobility related environmental problems and the robustness

of unsustainable mobility practices as well as the leverage points for green transformations in the field of mobility.

The three components of the social practices model (systems of provision, practices, individual and lifestyle) provided an intricate way to investigate these dynamics. A complex and core part of this thesis was to define and specify what social practices of mobility actually are as to date virtually no practice-specific mobility research has been conducted. An important element of this thesis therefore focused on the question which types of mobility practices we can discern and what their major characteristics are. We described mobility as the result of participation of human agents in social occasions and social activities which take place at specific moments in time at specific sites. We therefore distinguished the main mobility practices on these social bases of travelling, namely: commuting, business travel, home-school travel, visiting family/friends, shopping and leisure travel. These everyday journeys allow travellers to connect the most important social activities and encounters which construct daily life. In addition to defining these mobility practices, we investigated which basic analytical characteristics are shared by these mobility practices. It was argued that mobility practices can be described as the interplay between four different constitutive dimensions: the temporal, the spatial, the material and the symbolic dimension.

The individual and lifestyle part of the social practices approach was conceptualised to understand individual differences in mobility practices. As practices are internally differentiated, and with individuals differing in levels of understandings, skills and attributions of meaning, there are multiple ways of doing things in practices. We used the notions of 'motility', a human agent's potential to be mobile, and 'mobility portfolios' (Flamm & Kaufmann, 2006) to describe the ways that human agents get access to and appropriate the capacity for mobility.

With three empirical case studies the working of the social practices approach in the domain of everyday mobility has been investigated. The fruits of this conceptual model has been illustrated, both qualitatively and quantitatively with these case studies. The first case study focused on environmental monitoring and monitarisation in the practice of new car-purchasing. It centred on the question how environmental information is provided in the automotive production-consumption chain, at which access points (consumption junctions) and how citizen-consumers integrate this environmental information into their car purchasing various decision. The second case study concerned mobility management in commuting practices. It centred on the question how, for the practice of commuting, existing mobility routines may be (deliberately) altered and new routines may be formed by using positive and negative trigger moment. In the third and final case study the interaction between the modes of access and the modes of provision in the domain of everyday mobility was investigated. On the one hand it focused on citizen-consumer assessment of potential provider strategies for sustainable mobility alternatives. On the other hand the aim was to explore, quantitatively, the role of (green) mobility portfolios in explaining individual differences in mobility practices.

The investigation of these three empirical cases is naturally not enough to make hard propositions about the added value of mobility practices. In order to do so one needs to perform an in-depth analysis of multiple policy-relevant mobility practices. However, with this thesis a new research and policy agenda has been opened up which allows to investigate thoroughly the role of end-users in the (co-) construction of sustainable mobility transitions. In the remainder of

this chapter these insights will be elaborated, thereby showing why it is worthwhile to investigate transitions in practices.

### 8.3 Scientific insights on sustainable innovation and everyday mobility

Research question 3: *What can the social practices model, and the conceptualisation for everyday mobility, contribute to the knowledge on transitions and system innovations?*

#### 8.3.1 The role of context in consumer behaviour

An important scientific insight is that each of the empirical case studies has shown the important role of contextual factors in understanding and influencing consumer behaviour in general, and mobility behaviour specifically. The system of provision makes clear that the possibilities for sustainable consumption to a large extent depend on the amount and kind of socio-technical innovations available in a specific domain. This is clearly the case when comparing practices from different consumption domains (such as food consumption, housing and everyday mobility). As Fine & Leopold (2002, p. 5) have emphasized: 'different systems of provision ... are the consequence of distinct relationships between the various material and cultural practices comprising the production, distribution, circulation and consumption of the goods concerned'. Clearly, in the practice of purchasing a car other producers, distributors and consumer preferences play a role than in purchasing a house or food consumption. Not only the actors and locations (consumption junctions) are different for each of these production-consumptions chains, also the historically grown social connotations vary tremendously. An important implication for consumer behaviour is that innovation processes are similarly domain-specific. Depending on the quality and quantity of socio-technical innovations on offer, it is more or less easy for citizen-consumers to integrate innovations in their social practices in the various consumption domains. What we have seen in the consumer survey is that the (perceived) quality and quantity of the sustainable products and services on offer differ vastly for each consumption domain. This contextual variation is also an important explanation why a citizen-consumer may have different environmental profiles for each consumption domain.

Contextual factors, such as the system of provision, have dynamic properties as well, thereby exerting an dynamic influence on social practices. The practice of new car purchasing showed that the automotive market has gone through a significant change in the way information is available for citizen-consumers. The internet has become one of the most dominant sources of information and the role of the salesmen likewise has shifted from leading to guiding, and from salesman to advisor. Also, formerly fixed customer-dealer ties have become more and more fluid. An important outcome of the abovementioned trend is that the information age has disclosed information about the environmental impact of automobiles that was until recently inaccessible to consumers. At the access points where producers and consumers meet, environmental information is displayed in various ways. Especially information about the fuel efficiency of vehicles is a lot easier to find and compare than a few years ago. This case study showed that it is worthwhile to analyse specifically what information is provided, via which structures of provisions and how they are meaningful supported at important sites of the consumption junction.

In the case of mobility management in commuting practices it was shown how most long-term changes in consumer behaviour require that a change in the contextual situation occurs. In each of the three examples of mobility management influential actors in the system of provision of commuting attempted to orchestrate a shift in the mobility practices of a designated group of commuters. With these strategies alterations were made in the socio-technical mobility options available to commuters. More importantly it was shown how commuting is not a solitary practice but is connected intricately with the way work itself is organised. It demonstrated how the various institutional arrangements which surround commuting and work practices are important elements in a mobility strategy.

Finally, in the consumer survey we investigated how the receptiveness of citizen-consumers for socio-technical innovations in the domain of mobility is also dependent on the specific system of provision and provider strategies. With the assessment of provider strategies it was shown how these strategies may target barriers for the integration of socio-technical innovations in mobility practices.

### **8.3.2 The dynamics of mobility portfolios and practices**

A focus on mobility practices may provide an important contribution to the analysis of innovation processes in the domain of mobility. As shown in the theoretical Chapters 3 and 5 and empirical Chapters 4, 6 and 7 this thesis contributed to relevant questions such as: how do citizen-consumers come into contact with mobility innovations? How do socio-technical innovations become integrated into mobility practices? Concepts like mobility practices, motility and mobility portfolios offer new ways to investigate transformation and resistance to change in the domain of everyday mobility.

The concept of mobility portfolios illustrate how the individual and lifestyle component of human agents not only contains general attitudes and values of citizen-consumers but also includes practice-specific knowledge and skills. Certain skills, appropriation and access portfolios are prerequisites for conducting mobility practices in a certain way. The existing mobility portfolio, as we have seen, provides an important clue to the question how flexible travellers are in their practices. These mobility portfolios of groups of citizen-consumers are therefore important indicators for the possibility to conduct mobility practices in a greener or less green manner.

Theoretically interesting is that motility and mobility portfolios provide the means to analyse mobility behaviour between the level of the individual and lifestyle on the one hand and the social practices and collective conventions on the other, an issue addressed in Chapter 3. There the question was postulated how (individual) differences in habits and routines relate to the specific way of using objects in practices and in the formation of new practices. Practices, on a societal level, have a certain cohesion in the sense that they consist of routinized ways of doing things, based on the specific integration of objects, meanings and skills. Simultaneously, it is clear that practitioners show differences in levels of understandings, in access to objects and in levels of competences of handling the objects. By showing how citizen-consumers have different levels of understandings, competences and access to mobility options, and more importantly, how these have an impact on the way citizen-consumers participate in practices, a relevant contribution has been made to theories of practice.

Motility provides not only important clues how to investigate and explain differences in practices. Another contribution of the empirical case studies is that they have shown how motility and mobility portfolios are not static but dynamic aspects of the individual and lifestyle component of citizen-consumers. While citizen-consumers may instigate an active search for environmental socio-technical innovations without an external impetus, often innovations are made accessible to citizen-consumers. By analysing the effects of orchestrated attempts to increase the mobility portfolios of commuters this thesis has provided information on the structuring influence of mobility providers, employers and governmental organisation in the constitution of mobility portfolios. Empirically interesting is that there were varying ways in which the mobility portfolios can be deliberately influenced by the relevant actors in the practice. These types of strategies may lead to alterations in the mobility portfolio by making already existing means of mobility more easily accessible, by making new modes of mobility available, or by altering the decision context that keep the routine locked into place.

However, as the case of new car purchasing has showed how one cannot assume that citizen-consumers are empowered with information solely by increasing the amount of environmental information available, the same applies for motility. The social shaping of access, as described in Chapter 4, focuses on the question if and how consumers can put the acquired environmental information to use. This same principle applies to mobility practices as merely increasing the mobility portfolio of human agents does not automatically lead to alterations in the conduct of mobility. Socio-technical innovations need to be integrated in the specific mobility practices which require adjustments from practitioners in their daily life routines. It is exactly the perspective of mobility practices that helps to understand that each human agent has to make more or less similar alterations when integrating specific socio-technical innovations in their everyday life practices. The acknowledgement that mobility practices consist of multiple dimensions (temporal, spatial, material/technological and symbolical) helps to clarify the complexity of alterations in mobility practices. As we have shown in the case studies, aside from learning how to manually operate socio-technical innovations, practitioners need to learn how to apply socio-technical mobility innovations in their time-spatially dispersed activities. The case study of commuting showed how a modal shift from car use to public transport use implies not only a change in the technological means of transportation but that it also encompasses different time-spatial patterns and symbolic connotations. The same dynamics take place in a shift from 'conventional' cars to electric vehicles, or an increase in telecommuting and teleconferencing. When mobility is perceived from the viewpoint of practices it is easier to understand how all these elements are connected.

### **8.3.3 Suggestions for further research**

With this thesis only the first few steps have been taken for a new research agenda of a practice based approach to everyday mobility. While a new agenda has been opened up, further investigation on the role of motility on mobility practices is recommended to better understand the intricate relationships between these two elements. Also cohort analysis would provide further information on the mobility options that are available to practitioners throughout their lifetime and how these options are put to use in various mobility practices. Furthermore, cohort analysis would show which transformations takes place in the motility of citizen-consumers thereby allowing us to

distinguish increases and decreases in the various mobility options, competences and assessments. But most importantly, a more thorough investigation of the various mobility practices would provide information about the potential leverage points of green transformation both from the perspective of the individual and lifestyle component of citizen-consumers as from the perspective of the system of provision. While in this thesis most of the attention has been dedicated to the practices of commuting and business travel, a similar examination of the other mobility practices would provide useful insight into the dynamics taking place in those mobility practices which are likely to have their own distinct characteristics.

Finally, transition research would benefit from a thorough investigation of large-scale shifts in user preferences, practices and social-cultural images. While it is widely acknowledged that culture, symbolism and user practices are of crucial importance in transitions, what does this mean when we think about the current regime and (possible) regime shifts? As there is a clear increase in the environmental socio-technical innovations available, are we already seeing a shift which can be labelled as radical? Furthermore, what is it that makes a regime shift radical or not? Radical change in this respect is not only a matter of a radical alteration in technologies. Maybe radical change is more necessary in the meaning structures associates with current cars. In the theoretical chapter and the empirical chapter on car purchasing we see that citizen-consumers are especially focused on engine power and speed. In these chapters we have seen that people have all kinds of associations with the car and that these historically grown images and associations are held into place via a variety of mechanisms. The electric car is currently seen as one of the biggest competitors of the ICE car. However, many electric cars are trying to build on the existing images of the car while one could question whether the biggest contribution of the electric car lies herein. Can we not already witness a shift in user practices and associates structures of meaning which point towards another direction? In recent years cars have become more compact again, thereby breaking the trend of increasing car size. Furthermore, we see that ICT and in-car technologies have become more important. The question is whether or not for future generations cars will be judged on the power and torque or on which types of communication is available.

#### 8.4 Recommendations for governance

Research question: *By which means can environmental policy better incorporate citizen-consumers as agents of change in strategies towards sustainable mobility?*

*Recommendation 1: citizen-consumer engagement is an essential element in the transition to sustainable mobility*

Over time mobility policies, both inside and outside of the Netherlands, shift in the way mobility related problems are defined, while the suggested directions for solving the problems vary accordingly. We have illustrated that similar shifts occur in the storylines of policy-makers and in political debate on the role of citizen-consumers to solve mobility related problems. One can see fluctuations between demand and supply oriented approaches in the discourse and policies in the field of mobility. The specific policy measures implemented (such as increasing road network capacity, traffic management, mobility management or communication campaigns) reflect how

the role of mobility in society is perceived at that moment in time. Moreover, the adopted policy approaches reflect the (changing) perception of the role of citizen-consumers in everyday mobility practices and in environmental policy in general. Contemporary mobility policies tend to be supply-oriented in character, thereby lacking a clear cut and convincing orientation on citizen-consumers and their everyday life mobility behaviours. The far majority of public spending in the domain of mobility is invested in large-scale infrastructure development with the aim to solve location-specific congestion. Infrastructure construction requires huge public investments while it is uncertain that congestion levels in the future will be as high as currently projected. Furthermore, demand-oriented approaches to facilitate mobility patterns may prove to be just as (cost-)effective considering the huge infrastructure investments.

While in the last years the situation has changed somewhat for the better, citizen-consumers are often seen as actors which are not willing or able to implement structural changes in their everyday life patterns and are therefore frequently considered as barriers to the successful realisation of sustainable transitions. We provided arguments why a citizen-consumer orientation in mobility is not only a fruitful but also an essential ingredient in (policies targeting) transitions towards sustainable mobility. This requires a different approach as conventional supply-oriented frameworks are often not compatible with a citizen-consumer oriented approach and purely voluntaristic policies have proven to be unsuccessful in the past.

In this thesis citizen-consumers are considered as ecologically more or less committed actors which may become involved in the process of the ecological transformation of production-consumption chains. The research question presupposed that it is possible and also important to make better use of citizen-consumers as agents of change in transitions to sustainable mobility. The empirical chapters provide a clear indication that, contrary to most scientific and policy viewpoints, citizen-consumers do actually acknowledge the need for structural changes in the field of mobility. A majority of the Dutch citizen-consumers perceives environmental issues related to everyday mobility as problematic and feels, at least partly, co-responsible for dealing with these issues. Though this outcome may not come as a complete surprise, more interesting is the acknowledgement of citizen-consumers that the petrol-based system of automobility is seen as problematic and that large-scale systemic changes are supported by a majority. Especially when compared to other consumption domains, in the domain of everyday mobility in the last few years groups of end-users have become enmeshed with sustainable mobility initiatives.

While previous studies often stress that the car-based system of mobility is amongst the most stable regimes the empirical chapters in this thesis have shown that the potential for sustainable mobility behaviour in the Netherlands is on the rise. All the three empirical chapters support the outcome that in a relatively short time-period in the domain of mobility possibilities for sustainable change have emerged. Partially this is also the result of deliberate consumer-oriented environmental strategies such as in the practices of new car purchasing and the practice of commuting.

*Recommendation 2: the existence of various groups of citizen-consumers implies that there is not one dominant transition path towards sustainable mobility*

While the abovementioned acknowledgement of the need for systemic change is an important and, from an environmental point of view, positive outcome, it does not automatically mean that citizen-

consumers are actively investigating new ways of doing things because they are environmentally committed to do so! While there is a small group of citizen-consumers which indeed chooses an energy-efficient car or travels by public transport to work primarily because of environmental reasons, in general citizen-consumers are not actively searching for ways to make their mobility patterns more sustainable. To be able to participate in or potentially alter social practices, citizen-consumers need to be invited and challenged with attractive visions and ideas about sustainability, while at the same time being actively supported to get involved in transition processes. This also implies that citizen-consumers are seen in a broader perspective than purely as adopters or rejecters of sustainable innovations, or to solely see them as users or non-users. In addition to targeting citizen-consumers as (non-) adopters of sustainable innovations it is important to connect green provider strategies with the development of attractive story-lines. As environmental aspects are rarely the main reason for the actions of citizen-consumers, environmental policy also needs to develop inspiring sustainability visions that make a connection with people's quality of life. These visions show citizen-consumers attractive sustainable alternatives in the domain of everyday mobility.

Even more important is that environmental policy should recognize the existence of various groups of citizen-consumers which brings with it the important conclusion that there is not one dominant strategy towards facilitating structural changes to sustainable mobility. There are different groups of end-users with different mobility portfolios and different perspectives on sustainability. We have shown that there is not one sustainable strategy that works for all of these groups. Clearly, there is not one story-line of sustainable mobility, but there is a multitude of possibilities by which means the system of mobility might become more sustainable. The greening of automobility, localism and modal flexibility are three distinct sustainable mobility paradigms which show the various ways in which citizen-consumers can embed environmental socio-technical innovations into their normal ways of doing things. Localism, with its focus on mobility-reduced lifestyles (car-free environments, slow travelling and virtual travelling) provide different sustainable visions than green automobility which focuses on the greening of car-dependent lifestyles. The idea behind these visions is that it is much likelier for car-adepts to become entwined with sustainable automobility than with modal shifts to alternative transport modes. By supplying a multitude of sustainable alternatives in the field of everyday mobility it is possible for end-users to meet their needs and requirements in the shaping of social life while simultaneously greening their mobility patterns. The perspective to keep multiple (sustainable mobility) options open fits well with the fundamentals of transition management. One of the key elements of transition management is to develop a shared transition agenda (Loorbach, 2007). Instead of focusing on the most optimal societal blueprint, this agenda consists of a multitude of transition pathways leading towards a basket of shared visions. Precisely by providing a basket of initiatives, each based on different story-lines, it is possible for end-users to become enmeshed with sustainable mobility.

*Recommendation 3: mobility policy could benefit by targeting generic mobility portfolios and specific mobility practices*

So far we have concluded that there is great potential for citizen-consumers to become enmeshed with sustainable mobility alternatives. The final piece of the puzzle is how policy can develop

strategies to assist citizen-consumers in integrating the various environmental socio-technical innovations in their everyday mobility practices.

In this thesis the concept of mobility portfolio was presented as an important element in the ability of citizen-consumers to participate in mobility practices. To illustrate the importance of mobility portfolios for multimodality the consumer survey showed that citizen-consumers with a high mobility portfolio are more adept at multi-modal travelling than citizen-consumers with a low mobility portfolio. Moreover, citizen-consumers with a high mobility portfolio are more receptive to alterations in practices when provider strategies are implemented. The question arises how citizen-consumers end up in these various mobility portfolios. Also important is the question how policy can assist the transformation in mobility portfolios.

Mobility management can be seen as an active form of mobility portfolio development. The three cases of mobility management in the practice of commuting, as well as the consumer survey, support the active provision of socio-technical innovations to citizen-consumers such as integrated mobility cards, the facilitation of telecommuting, and product-to-service systems (bike- and car-sharing). As access to and experience with mobility innovations has a positive relation with multimodal travelling, the initiatives of mobility management must be seen as a positive development. By deliberately broadening up the mobility portfolios of citizen-consumers their potential for mobility increases allowing citizen-consumers to have modal flexibility.

Policy makers from governments, but even more so from service providers and employers, should build on these principles to increase the modal choices of citizen-consumers. In addition to merely making socio-technical innovations available it is important to focus on the learning processes that are needed to alter mobility patterns in the various mobility practices. Whether or not an innovation becomes integrated in a specific social practice also depends on the historically acquired experience, knowledge and skills, as well as the framing by and evaluation of the practitioner. The de- and reroutinization of mobility practices, however, is not (only) an individual endeavour of citizen-consumers but this process may be actively supported by relevant actors such as employers. Mobility management not only supports portfolio development, by making more socio-technical mobility options available, it can also assist in altering the decision-framework and conventions surrounding work and travel. Actors surrounding the mobility practices play an important role in the question whether or not second-order learning takes place and existing ideas and beliefs on mobility are reflected upon, and potentially changed. Institutional arrangements such as corporate management style, human resource management, and fiscal arrangements in combination with the specific company culture are therefore important elements in the practice of commuting.

Although it is a worthwhile policy approach to focus on mobility portfolio development as a generic consumer-oriented strategy, it is important to recognize that mobility practices differ from each other. Even though citizen-consumers apply the same mobility portfolio in various mobility practices and these practices are closely connected with each other, in the practice of commuting other regulations, institutions and actors play a role than in the practice of leisure travel and home-school travel. It is therefore not surprising that the ecological modernisation of these mobility practices shows an uneven development. While some practices, such as commuting and business travel, show great potential for multimodal travelling and down-sizing (teleconferencing, telecommuting), other practices such as social travel, leisure travel and home-school travel show

increasing levels of car-usage. Policy-makers aiming to green the consumer behaviour in the domain of mobility could benefit from this knowledge by developing practice-specific consumer-oriented strategies. Though this thesis does not provide ready-to-use consumer-oriented strategies for all of these practices it is an important policy tactic to investigate further. Indeed, it is precisely the (challenging) task of mobility governance to orchestrate and facilitate sustainable mobility alternatives for each of the mobility practices.

*Recommendation 4: in mobility governance, take citizen-consumer trends into consideration*

The final recommendation is that sustainable mobility governance should not only take the current, but also the future traveller into consideration. As the current supply-oriented approach in mobility governance focuses heavily on infrastructure development, insufficient attention is given to current and future consumer trends. The last years much public spending has been invested in increasing highway capacity based on existing congestion bottlenecks and projected increases in mobility. However, instead of a general increase in (auto)mobility, it is much more likely that mobility will develop in more complex patterns with variations depending on aspects such as region (urban-rural continuum), demographics and lifestyles (age-groups, education levels, ethnicity), and mobility practices.

It is clear that for many people, especially in the field of higher education, the travel and work culture is changing. First, there is more fluidity between work life and private life, allowing more citizen-consumers to work from home and to work at different time-periods. Second, we see an increasing demand for and use of meet and greet and co-working facilities which are predominantly located in the vicinity of public transport services. This new work and travel culture poses promising possibilities for non-automobile transport modes in urban areas. The work and travel culture shows that it is increasingly important for commuters and business travels to have flexibility and the possibility of multimodality in their mobility portfolio. To build upon this trend the barriers between the various modal networks need to be diminished as up to now the Netherlands has not been very proficient in the provision of multimodal networks.

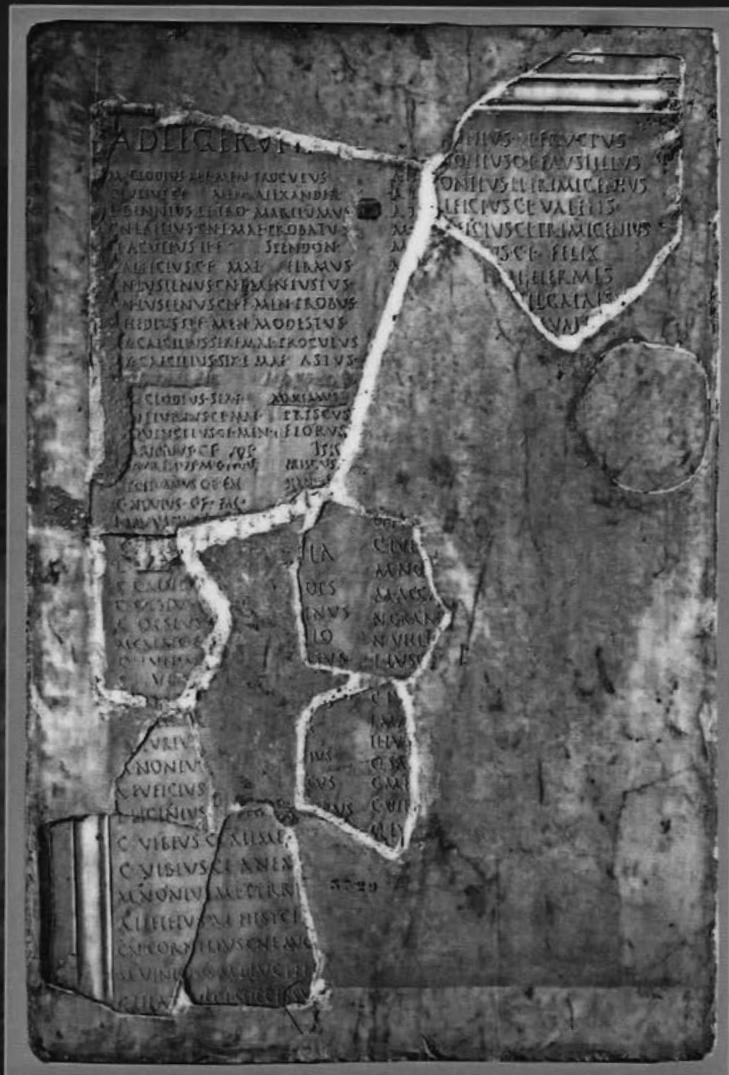
Furthermore, due to increasing levels of urbanisation, the amount of 'cosmopolites' with an inner city-orientation is expected to increase in the next decades. Especially important for these newer generations are flexibility, availability of information and access to services. It is therefore likely that there will be a trend towards increasingly large mobility portfolios of urban citizen-consumers as their strategy is to maximize motility and to have multiple options open. In line with this trend it also probable that access to mobility services might become more important than direct ownership of products (most notably the car) which brings with it possibilities for a policy focusing on a modal shift and multimodality.

While it is plausible that non-automotive transport modes have a great potential in urban areas, the opposite is true in rural areas. Population decline, increasing car ownership and privatisation of public transport already have led to reduced service levels of public transport in rural areas. In non-urban environments car-dependency is therefore more likely to increase than to decrease. While a minimum service level of public transport should be maintained, for instance to ensure the continued participation of elderly people in social activities, from a sustainable mobility perspective it makes more sense to focus on the greening of automobile.

# Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire

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BRILL

Migration and Mobility in  
the Early Roman Empire

Tracy L. Prowse

# Isotopes and Mobility in the Ancient Roman World

TABLE 9.4 Women from the Isola Sacra cemetery at Ostia-Portus (cont.)

No	Age	M1	M3	Comment
148	40-50	5.1	4.9	stationary
150	40-50	4.8	5.1	stationary
159	40-50	6.6	6.1	came later
161	30-40	3.6	5.2	moved to Ostia
169	20-30	4.9	4.2	stationary
193	25-30	6.3	4.0	moved to Ostia
194	40-45	4.7	4.0	stationary
199	35-40	4.8	3.6	moved away as teenager (and back later)
201	35-40	4.1	5.4	stationary
245	35-40	5.3	4.4	stationary
305	20-25	7.0	3.2	came later
306	20-25	5.0	5.5	stationary
320	20-25	7.5	5.1	moved to Ostia
406	18-20	6.8	4.9	moved to Ostia
426	25-30	4.7	2.8	moved away when teenager (and back later)
437	50±	5.4	6.6	moved away when teenager (and back later)
444	18-20	4.7	4.8	stationary
479	30-40	5.1	5.1	stationary
510	30-40	3.7	4.1	moved to Ostia
568	25-30	4.7	3.8	moved away when teenager (and back later)
711	40-50	5.1	4.5	stationary

a Data from Prowse *et al.* 2007.

# Isotopes and Mobility in the Ancient Roman World

Tracy L. Prowse

## Introduction

Stable isotopes are routinely used in anthropology to investigate diet and mobility in past human populations. Anthropological research using isotopes started in the mid-1980s when archaeologists and biological anthropologists began to use them to investigate migration in prehistoric and historic human populations.<sup>1</sup> There has been a consistent increase in isotopic research on human remains in the past 30 years, but the results of these studies have remained largely confined to anthropological audiences through selective publication in specialised journals.<sup>2</sup> It has only been within the last 15 years that interdisciplinary research has started to encompass time periods and geographic regions not typically studied by anthropologists, such as the ancient Roman world. In this paper, I maintain that integration of isotopic evidence with historical, epigraphic and archaeological evidence provides a new opportunity for exploring human mobility, at both the individual and population levels, and can contribute to a more nuanced picture of mobility in the past. Isotopes can give us information on who was moving within a specific population and provide information on where they may have come from. What we cannot gather from the remains is why they moved (e.g. slavery, tourism, pilgrimage, wars, trade) and that is where historical, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence can enrich our understanding of the motives for human movement. I argue that these are complementary, not contradictory, lines of evidence. Sometimes the various lines of evidence may not agree, but this does not mean that one source of information is right or wrong, and a more constructive way forward is to explore how, and perhaps why, these different lines of evidence tell a different story about the past.

The first part of this paper reviews isotopic studies that have explored mobility in different regions of the Roman Empire to highlight the breadth of

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Ericson 1985; Schwarcz et al. 1991; Price et al. 1994a, 1994b.

<sup>2</sup> Research using isotopes to investigate human mobility in past populations is typically published in the following journals, among others: the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, the *Journal of Archaeological Sciences*, *Applied Geochemistry*, *Archaeometry*, and the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*.

research that has been conducted, and the contributions this research makes to understanding mobility in the Roman world. The discussion concerns raised by Christer Bruun about the use of oxygen isotopes to study mobility in Roman Italy, specifically at the site of Isola Sacra including a discussion of the recognised limitations of isotopic analysis. Finally, a case study is presented from the Roman Imperial (1st–4th century AD) cemetery of Vagnari in southern Italy to investigate questions concerning origins, mobility and identity in this rural Roman cemetery, and how this evidence can contribute to our understanding of Roman expansion in Europe.

### The Use of Oxygen and Strontium Isotopes to Study Human Mobility in the Roman World

Isotopes are variants of natural elements (e.g. carbon, nitrogen, oxygen) which differ slightly from each other due to the presence of a different number of neutrons. The isotopes of an element will react in a similar manner in chemical reactions, but slight differences in atomic weight will affect the chemical reactions. Isotopes are categorised as stable or unstable, and stable isotopes of elements do not decay over time. One of the most widely used stable isotopes is carbon, which has three isotopes; two stable ( $^{12}\text{C}$ ,  $^{13}\text{C}$ ) and one unstable ( $^{14}\text{C}$ ). The unstable isotope of carbon decays at a known rate, widely used for dating organic material from archaeological sites, known as carbon-14 dating. Stable isotopes do not decay over time, so the 'signal' for oxygen is preserved in the bone or tooth. Oxygen has three stable isotopes ( $^{16}\text{O}$ ,  $^{17}\text{O}$ , and  $^{18}\text{O}$ ). Stable isotopes are typically represented by the delta symbol ( $\delta$ ), which represents the ratio of a heavier to lighter isotope in relation to a recognised international standard ( $\delta^{18}\text{O} = ^{18}\text{O}/^{16}\text{O}$ ). Unlike oxygen, strontium is typically reported using delta ( $\delta$ ) values, but rather as a ratio of the two isotopes ( $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ ).<sup>4</sup> The variation in these ratios is very small, so the results are reported in parts per thousand ('per mil' or ‰).

The two isotopes used to study mobility in the past are oxygen and strontium. The oxygen isotopes found in bones and teeth are derived primarily from water consumed during life, whereas strontium isotopes are obtained mainly from the diet. Although some variability in oxygen isotope values may be due

<sup>3</sup> Bruun 2010; id., in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> The isotope  $^{87}\text{Sr}$  is a radiogenic isotope that is the decay product of rubidium ( $^{87}\text{Rb}$ ). Rocks that are very old (>100 mya) have higher  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  values, whereas relatively younger rocks (<1–10 mya) have lower values (Bentley 2006:139).

search diet, the values seen in bones and teeth are largely determined by the oxygen in local precipitation.<sup>5</sup> Oxygen values in rain vary in relation to local air temperature, humidity, distance from coastlines, latitude and elevation.<sup>6</sup> In general, this means that oxygen values decrease further inland, with increased elevation and latitude, and with decreased temperature of rainfall. The  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  of precipitation varies across the globe in a regular fashion, and both global and regional maps of annual average  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  in modern precipitation have been developed.<sup>7</sup> Oxygen isotopes go through a metabolic process called fractionation as they are incorporated into body water, and eventually into skeletal and dental tissues, which means that the oxygen signal obtained from these tissues is slightly different than the signal of the water consumed. Oxygen values from human remains need to be converted to drinking water values using equations for comparison with regional rainwater  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values. A number of equations have been developed to make these conversions.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast, strontium undergoes very little change as it is incorporated into body tissues. Strontium enters the body through the diet, and the isotopic composition of the foods consumed is related to the  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  values in the soils that produced the food, although environmental factors can cause variability in strontium values in soils (e.g. due to sediment drift).<sup>9</sup> To control for this, isotope studies use 'bioavailable'  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  values from non-migratory animals or modern plant remains from the same region to act as local values.<sup>10</sup> It is assumed that these values reflect the average  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  values of food available to humans in the region.

Teeth and bones are the materials used to obtain isotopic information from skeletal remains. If a researcher is trying to learn about place of birth, then tooth enamel is the ideal material to use, because it forms early in life and, once formed, its isotopic signal remains unchanged throughout the lifetime of an individual. This means that tooth enamel is a record of infancy and childhood, regardless of the age at which an individual dies. In contrast, bone goes through a period of growth and development during childhood and adolescence, and once growth is complete bone continues to remodel at a relatively constant rate throughout life, although research has shown that bone turnover decreases

5 Luz and Kolodny 1989; Longinelli 1984.

6 Yurtsever and Gat 1981; Gat 1996.

7 Bowen 2010.

8 Pollard et al. 2011; Chenery et al. 2012.

9 Chenery et al. 2011.

10 Evans et al. 2010; Chenery et al. 2011; Nafplioti 2011; Bataille and Bowen 2012.

with advanced age.<sup>11</sup> Isotopic signals in bone, therefore, are an average of the last few decades of an individual's life, although strontium cannot be measured in archaeological bone due to exchange with strontium in the soil after burial.<sup>12</sup>

The use of oxygen isotopes to explore past human mobility began with a seminal study by Schwarcz and colleagues on the geographic origins of soldiers from the War of 1812 in Canada.<sup>13</sup> Researchers in many fields now regularly use both strontium (Sr) and oxygen (O) isotopic data to study geographic origins and migration of both animals and humans, past and present, with the majority of the human studies concentrated on skeletal material from the Americas and western Europe. Isotopic analysis of samples from various parts of the Roman world has been growing steadily since 2001. A number of studies on material from Roman Britain have investigated the complex relationship between geographic origins and identity (e.g. gender, ethnicity, status) as revealed through burial practices.<sup>14</sup> These and other studies from the Roman world are reviewed, below.

One of the first Romano-British studies examined nine 'immigrant' burials in the late Roman cemetery (c. 4th century CE) at Lankhills, Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*), and found evidence for diverse geographic origins of some of the individuals analysed.<sup>15</sup> The immigrants were identified based on personal ornaments found in the burials suggesting origins in Roman *Pannonia* (modern Hungary), along with the absence of 'local' burial rites seen in the majority of other burials at the site.<sup>16</sup> The strontium and oxygen isotope data indicated that five of the nine individuals were not from southern Britain, and were likely from different regions of central and southern Europe (i.e. not exclusively from one location in eastern Europe). The remaining four individuals clustered isotopically with the locals, suggesting that these may have been second generation immigrants born in the region, but whose cultural identity was expressed and maintained through burial ritual. Thus, the integration of archaeological and isotopic evidence can provide more detailed information about specific individuals identified archaeologically as 'immigrants' and can also address

<sup>11</sup> Hedges et al. 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Snoeck et al. 2015, however, recently reported that calcined (i.e. cremated) bone is more resistant to post-mortem exchange and in vivo strontium values are retained. This opens up the possibility of analysing cremated bone for strontium isotopes.

<sup>13</sup> Schwarcz et al. 1991.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Budd et al. 2004; Chenery et al. 2010, 2011; Eckardt et al. 2009, 2010, 2014; Evans et al. 2006; Leach et al. 2009, 2010; Montgomery et al. 2010, 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Evans et al. 2006.

<sup>16</sup> 'Local' burial practices included the presence of a coin in the mouth and burial with hob-nailed footwear (Evans et al. 2006: 267).

issues of cultural identity in diaspora communities. A later study analysed strontium and oxygen isotopes in an additional 40 individuals from the same Lankhills cemetery and found that at least one-quarter of the sample was composed of immigrants, but only 11 individuals were likely from outside Britain, possibly from the Hungarian Basin and the southern Mediterranean region.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, three individuals with the highest oxygen values were females, suggesting that both men and women were migrating, and the authors raised the possibility of intermarriage and economic factors as explanations for the mobility of women.<sup>18</sup>

Eckardt used the concept of diaspora as an organisational framework for her edited volume on mobility in the Roman Empire, and her co-authored paper in the volume discussed evidence for the presence of foreigners in Roman Britain, integrating evidence from epigraphy, material culture and stable isotope analysis.<sup>19</sup> A recent re-examination of previously published isotopic data from Roman Britain explored the relationship between burial practices, grave goods and isotopic indicators of geographic origin.<sup>20</sup> Unsurprisingly, this analysis showed that people can appear 'local' based on grave goods or burial customs while appearing 'foreign' isotopically. The opposite was also true, with cases of burial rites that appeared to suggest non-local origins of the deceased and childhood isotopic values consistent with local origins. This evidence was discussed within the framework of diaspora theory, and the relationship between biological origins and the use of burials and grave goods as evidence of cultural identity.

Leach and co-workers analysed skeletal material from Roman York (*Eboracum*), integrating oxygen and strontium analysis with cranial measurements to examine population diversity and geographic origins.<sup>21</sup> The craniometric analysis revealed that just over 10% of individuals in two samples studied displayed biological affinities with populations from North Africa. The oxygen data identified

<sup>17</sup> Eckardt et al. 2009.

<sup>18</sup> Eckardt et al. 2009: 2823 suggested that the movement of people to Roman Winchester may have been related to its status as a *civitas* capital in southern England, along with the possible presence of an imperial weaving workshop in the area.

<sup>19</sup> Diaspora theory refers to the idea that dispersed communities can create new identities and maintain cultural continuity with homelands at the same time (Eckardt 2010; Eckardt et al. 2010). The chapter summarised isotopic research by Eckardt and colleagues on Roman period samples from York, Catterick, Gloucester, and Winchester. The theme of diaspora in the ancient world has also been recently discussed by Woolf 2013b.

<sup>20</sup> Eckardt et al. 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Leach et al. 2009.

four non-locals (out of 43 individuals), three of whom likely came from warmer climates. According to the authors, their presence can be explained through military and economic activities at York that created a diverse and multi-ethnic centre. A subsequent study on the 4th century CE 'Lady of York' used the same combination of craniometrics and isotopic evidence to investigate the possible origins of a wealthy woman from York.<sup>22</sup> The authors found that the woman had cranial features indicating mixed ancestry, possibly with some African heritage, although her isotopic values placed her geographic origins in western Britain or along coastal areas of western Europe. They concluded that their study helps to dispel stereotypes about who were migrants (i.e. low status and male) and that people of African descent were typically slaves.

Another Roman period cemetery excavated in York revealed a predominantly all-male skeletal sample, more than half of whom (46/80) were decapitated with the cranium deposited between the knees or at the feet.<sup>23</sup> Many of the individuals also showed evidence of trauma, suggesting that these were soldiers, slaves, gladiators, or high-status executions. The researchers used a combination of strontium, oxygen, carbon and nitrogen isotopes to investigate this unusual skeletal sample, and the isotopic evidence indicated that these men came from much more diverse geographic origins than seen in other Roman cemeteries at York, although there was no consistent pattern between geographic origin and whether or not the individual was decapitated.<sup>24</sup> The authors concluded that this was likely a military cemetery, given the age and sex distribution of the skeletons, the presence of trauma and the diverse geographic origins of the sample. A similar multi-isotopic analysis was undertaken on skeletons from Roman Catterick (*Cataractonium*), a small fort town in North Yorkshire, and the results were compared to more cosmopolitan Roman settlements in Britain.<sup>25</sup> Epigraphic and archaeological evidence attests to the presence of Greek, Italian, Germanic, and/or Danubian immigrants in the area, yet the combined strontium and oxygen data on 29 individuals indicated that all but two of these people were born within Britain, so this was a much more homogeneous population than seen in the larger towns of Gloucester, Winchester and York.

<sup>22</sup> The burial included a wide variety of high status grave goods, including some that appear to have come from 'exotic' locales, such as numerous ivory bracelets (Leach et al. 2010:134).

<sup>23</sup> Müldner et al. 2011; Montgomery et al. 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Müldner et al. 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Chenery et al. 2011. The results from this study were compared to those in Leach et al. 2009, 2010; and Müldner et al. 2011.

Remains from a mass grave detected in a 2nd century CE cemetery in Gloucester (*Glevum*) were analysed to investigate geographic origins of this catastrophic skeletal sample, which were likely the remains of individuals who died from epidemic disease.<sup>26</sup> The isotopic values of the individuals in the mass grave were compared to those from 'regular' interments in a nearby cemetery, in order to investigate whether or not individuals in the mass grave were isotopically distinct. The results showed that there was diversity of origins in both the mass grave and regular interments, indicating a diverse population living and dying at Gloucester. At least six of the 21 individuals analysed (28%) were immigrants who likely came from an area of Europe with a warmer, and more coastal, climate than Britain.<sup>27</sup>

Comparatively fewer studies have done mobility research on skeletal samples from other parts of the Roman world, with a small number of isotopic studies on material from Roman Egypt, the Middle East and mainland Europe. A study of variability in oxygen values in Roman period skeletons (c. 250 CE) from the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt, found that all but two individuals (out of 34) consumed local water.<sup>28</sup> The two male outliers had isotopic values that were consistent with samples from ancient Nubia analysed in an earlier study, and one of the non-local individuals was diagnosed with leprosy (based on skeletal lesions). The authors suggested that he may have been sent to the oasis because of this illness.<sup>29</sup> The integration of isotopic data with palaeopathological evidence to investigate motives for mobility and the possible differential health of migrants is a promising area of future research.

Geographic origins and mobility were investigated at Roman (1st–3rd c. CE) and Byzantine period (4th–7th c. CE) sites in southern Jordan. The teeth of 12 adults from the 2nd century CE site of Khirbet edh-Dharih were analysed for strontium isotopes, and results of this study indicated that one adult male was not local to the area and likely came from an area further to the North in Jordan or southern Syria.<sup>30</sup> Strontium and oxygen isotope analysis of 31 individuals buried at the mining camp of Phaeno revealed that only one male had isotopic values indicating a non-local origin, suggesting that this mine was run by

<sup>26</sup> Chennery et al. 2010.

<sup>27</sup> Chennery et al. 2010: 158. Ten individuals were from the main cemetery, and 11 were from the mass grave.

<sup>28</sup> Dupras and Schwarcz 2001.

<sup>29</sup> Dupras and Schwarcz 2001 compared their results to research conducted by Iacumin et al. 1996, which used oxygen, carbon and nitrogen isotopes to explore patterns of diet and climate change in the Nile Valley over time (5000 BCE–250 CE).

<sup>30</sup> Perry et al. 2008.

locals, in contrast to historical sources that suggested the mines were staffed by outsiders and/or criminals sent to the mines.<sup>31</sup>

Strontium analysis of bone and tooth pairs from the site of Neuburg/Donau (330–400 CE), Germany, associated with the late Roman fortress of Venaxamodurum revealed that 56% of females and 37% of males were non-local; the highest number of non-locals were females between the ages of 20 and 40 years.<sup>32</sup> Individuals identified as non-locals based on their grave goods also had non-local isotope values, but the strontium isotopes detected an additional 11 individuals who were not identified as immigrants due to the lack of graves goods in the burials. The authors concluded that all of the immigrants originated from areas to the NE of the Danube river, and that the relatively high percentage of female immigrants was best explained by exogamy.<sup>33</sup>

Turning to the centre of the Roman Empire, one of the first studies to examine oxygen isotopes in Italy analysed the teeth of 61 people buried in the necropolis of Isola Sacra (1st–3rd c. CE). This study concluded that approximately one-third of the individuals studied came from outside Rome, and a comparison of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values between 1st and 3rd molars from the same individuals suggested that some of these immigrants were women and children.<sup>34</sup> This was interpreted within the historical context of population growth and replacement in the Roman period, and the relatively high proportion of 'outsiders' in the sample was not surprising given the multinational nature of port cities (e.g. Portus and Ostia) along Italy's western coast.

A subsequent analysis of strontium isotopes in 105 Imperial period skeletons from the suburbs of Rome found that five of the people buried in the Casal Bertone cemetery were non-local, while only two people from Castellaccio Europarco were born outside of Rome, suggesting a lower rate of mobility in these samples.<sup>35</sup> This study did not find evidence of female migration into the capital of the Roman Empire, and those migrants who were identified likely came short distances (i.e. within Italy). The combined analysis of strontium and oxygen isotopes reported in Killgrove's PhD dissertation suggested higher levels of mobility. At Casal Bertone 15 immigrants were identified. Two of these were women and a third individual was identified as a 'probable female'. At Castellaccio Europarco 4 out of 14 individuals who were subjected to strontium and oxygen (and carbon) isotope analysis appeared to be of non-local origin.

<sup>31</sup> Perry et al. 2009, 2011.

<sup>32</sup> Females 10/18 and males 17/41. See Schweissing and Grupe 2003: 377.

<sup>33</sup> Schweissing and Grupe 2003.

<sup>34</sup> Prowse et al. 2007. See the subsequent critique by Bruun 2010, discussed further below.

<sup>35</sup> Killgrove 2010b: 164.

Two of the non-local individuals were men, another was identified as a 'probable male'; the sex of the fourth individual could not be determined. Based on these findings, the rate of immigration was 37% at Casal Bertone and 29% at Catellaccio Europarco.<sup>36</sup>

More recently, oxygen and strontium data from a small ( $n = 10$ ) Republican period sample from Castellaccio Europarco found another single individual who appeared to be an immigrant to Rome.<sup>37</sup> Like other isotopic studies, the precise geographic origins of these individuals could not be determined because there can be more than one location with similar isotopic profiles. This study suggests relatively small-scale mobility during the Republican period, although the sample size is small. These studies from in and around the city of Rome demonstrate that mobility into the centre of the Roman Empire was complex, and that there was no standard pattern of migration, although it appears that there was a greater level of movement to the Roman capital during the Imperial period.

One of the only studies to-date to combine stable isotope and ancient DNA (adNA) analysis was a preliminary study on a rural Roman (1st–3rd c. CE) skeletal sample from the site of Vagnari in southern Italy. One of the questions about this population is the source of the workers who lived on this imperial estate – were they local labourers or non-locals brought in to work on this estate? Oxygen isotope analysis on 23 individuals revealed that six people were not born locally, and two of ten individuals analysed for adNA showed evidence of biological ancestry with populations from sub-Saharan Africa and Asia.<sup>38</sup> An expanded analysis of oxygen isotopes from this site is discussed below.

### Concerns about Stable Isotopes and Migration

In 2007, my colleagues and I published a paper in the American *Journal of Physical Anthropology* on stable isotope evidence for migration to the city of *Portus Romae*. The skeletal sample used in this study was from the necropolis of Isola Sacra, a site that was excavated at various times starting in 1925.<sup>39</sup> The

<sup>36</sup> Killgrove 2010a: 276–277. Note that the sex of 8 out of 15 immigrants at Casal Bertone could not be determined.

<sup>37</sup> Killgrove 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Prowse et al. 2010.

<sup>39</sup> The cemetery was first excavated between 1925 and 1940 by Calza, who uncovered some of the large monumental tombs. Between 1973 and 1982, the Archaeological Superintendency

The establishment of global spatial and economic centrality translates to other dimensions of social relations and exemplifies how global power struggles affect everyday lives. The micro-social individual identifications and self-labeling processes analyzed here shift the focus from the level of international, geopolitical and macroeconomic relations to that of migrants' places of residence and their economic and social worlds. Looking at the labor market and at the social meaning of positions occupied by migrants in what can be seen as "central" societies, we can delineate two patterns of how mobile individuals from the "periphery" function.

First, "expats" or highly-skilled migrants seem to execute an "exit" from Poland as a "peripheral" nation. Importantly, their journey is considerably eased by the fact that many of them already occupy privileged "central" positions in Poland. Often, they originate from the capital city, have lived in major towns, have worked at prestigious international companies and have studied at top universities in Poland and abroad. Their trajectories, then, could be summed up as a move from the "periphery's center" to the "center's center," as they change geographic location and benefit from this modification's positive consequences. Second, the pathway of those who similarly originate from the periphery, but from less privileged positions within it, and who then move to a more advantageous but not locally privileged position in a central location, is deemed a movement from the "periphery's periphery" to the "center's periphery." Those Polish nationals with limited qualifications and skills seem substantially more peripheral in the "periphery" than their highly-skilled counterparts. As a result, they are unable to leave the peripheral space even when moving abroad, ending up in second-tier employment and substandard residential areas in the "center's peripheries."

The two patterns can also be distinguished in terms of the degree of "agency" migrants have, an approach well-described in gender and migration scholarship (see Hondagneu-Sotelo; Morokvasic 2004; Lutz 2010, 2011; Palenga; Dunn; Coyle; Ehrenreich and Hochschild). Though there is clearly a relationship between mobility, gender and social class, migration can have similarly intersectional consequences, as recalling the distinction between "migration as a system-determined fate" versus "migration as a system-determined choice" (Slany) demonstrates. Evidently, the first group of privileged migrants falls into the latter category, while the former covers low-skilled individuals with less valued capacities.

It is especially noteworthy that the low-skilled group of migrants, in general, does not benefit much from the centrality of their destination country and tends to become marginalized, separated in peripheral social, geographic and citizenship-related locations:

oxygen isotopes linked to laboratory methods and standardisation, so it is important that the methods used are made available.<sup>44</sup> The relative proportions of each isotope are measured using an isotope ratio mass spectrometer (IRMS).<sup>45</sup> Thus 'human error' is minimised, and there is often a portion of the sample left intact in the event that samples need to be reanalysed in the future, thus samples are not permanently 'lost'.

One of the issues with using oxygen isotopes is that often  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values cannot pinpoint a specific geographic location, because  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values of precipitation ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{ppt}}$ ) are similar in different regions of the world.<sup>46</sup> Longinelli and Selmo published a contour map of Italy showing the weighted annual average of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values in modern precipitation, which was used in our 2007 study.<sup>47</sup> In order to contend with the issue of multiple locations having similar isotopic values, a local signature can be established using other lines of evidence. In our study, the 'local' range for the area in and around Rome was estimated based on oxygen values from a modern sample of deciduous teeth from school children in Rome. These teeth were originally collected for a modern weaning study and the remaining parts of the teeth were later used for isotopic analysis. The majority of the modern oxygen data fell within a 2‰ range, which was used to represent the local range.<sup>48</sup> Some of the modern values fell outside this range, and Bruun took issue with our contention that modern data falling outside the 2‰ range represented variability due to dietary factors, or due to maternal influences while the deciduous teeth were forming, since birth records indicated that the children were born in Rome. If analyses are conducted on teeth that form during fetal development, then the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values in those teeth reflect maternal water consumption, not the individual being analysed.

An important point that we did not emphasise sufficiently in our article is that the distribution of the modern data fell on both the heavier and lighter side of the proposed local range, whereas all but one the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values of the proposed 'outsiders' from Isola Sacra were lighter (i.e. more negative), so the distribution of the data is clearly different between the historic and modern sample. This suggests that different factors were influencing the two sets of data. The teeth of these modern children were forming at a time when they were still breastfeeding, so they were registering an isotopic signal related to

<sup>44</sup> Chinery et al. 2012.

<sup>45</sup> For further details on analytical methods and mass spectrometry, see Katzenberg 2008, Pollard et al. 2007, and Sharp 2007.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Bruun, in this volume.

<sup>47</sup> Longinelli and Selmo 2003; see Prowse et al. 2007: 513.

<sup>48</sup> Prowse et al. 2007: 515 (Figure 10.3).

the mother's water consumption, which likely introduced some variability in the results.

Bruun was correct in arguing that there are a number of places in the Mediterranean region that share similar isotopic values, and this is one limitation of using  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values, as mentioned above. We presented some possible regions where these outsiders might have come from, but the main point of the article was that people were moving and, we argued, they were moving at a young age. Bruun argued that there are many possible scenarios and motivations for the movement of people, which is true, as human mobility is a complex phenomenon that is not uni-directional. I would argue, however, that without additional evidence the most parsimonious explanation is the best one, that is, that the shift in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values between 1st molars (that form at birth) and 3rd molars (that form during adolescence) represents movement to Rome from another location. How and when a person moved between the time the 3rd molar formed and his/her death cannot be determined from the teeth alone (we can examine the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  in bone to get a value closer to the time of death), but we know that person ended up buried in the necropolis of Isola Sacra. Bruun argued that only 11 of the 61 individuals in the sample can "possibly be relevant to the question of childhood migration to Portus", because they died and were buried at Isola Sacra at an age of 19 years or younger.<sup>49</sup> He assumed that childhood mobility cannot be investigated in the remaining older individuals (i.e. those over 20 years of age), but this is not true. Teeth act as a permanent archive of what was happening during infancy and childhood when the teeth formed, regardless of what happened to that individual as an adult, where he or she travelled, and where death ultimately occurred. His exclusive focus on only a small portion of the sample excludes individuals who, isotopically, showed clear evidence of movement during the ages when those teeth were forming (i.e. during childhood). Further, Bruun incorrectly assumed that young children living near seawater would ingest sufficient vapour through inhalation to change their isotopic signals.<sup>50</sup> It is clear that isotopic signals in the bones and teeth are derived mainly from drinking water, so sea spray would have no significant effect on body isotope values.<sup>51</sup>

Bruun also discussed a 'missed opportunity' in not considering the epigraphic evidence in conjunction with the isotopic evidence, along with a consideration of Roman slavery and marriage practices. This is a valid point, but the epigraphic record only records the origins of individuals in a small number

<sup>49</sup> Bruun 2010: 121; *id.*, in this volume.

<sup>50</sup> Bruun 2010: 122.

<sup>51</sup> See also the response by Killgrove 2010c.

of cases, usually elite males. Since only those who could afford inscriptions are represented, this is a small subset of the people who were buried at Isola Sacra.

Further, there were a number of obstacles in attempting to connect inscriptions from the cemetery to specific skeletons in the collection. The first is that Calza's excavations in the 1920s reportedly removed all of the skeletons from the tombs, which were then haphazardly dumped back into the tombs once the excavations were complete.<sup>52</sup> We cannot be certain that the skeletons recovered from the tombs were the people who were originally interred there. Second, the only information that could be obtained at the time of writing was the type of tomb structure and the general location of the burial in the necropolis. It was, therefore, not clear if an inscription could be matched to a particular burial, particularly for those burials found in the areas around the monumental tombs.

I agree with Bruun that there was large-scale immigration to Portus; however, he argued that the "data from the dental enamel is still crude compared with the information offered by inscriptions".<sup>53</sup> He is correct that isotopes can only provide broad indications of where people may have come from; however, given the inability to connect specific individuals with specific funerary inscriptions the human remains provide an opportunity to explore the mobility of some of the people buried in the necropolis. Not everyone buried at Isola Sacra could afford an inscription, and these inscriptions are not necessarily representative of all the people buried there, whereas their skeletons do represent a rich record of individual lives. This means that we can actually learn about people who couldn't necessarily afford an inscription, which is the vast majority of the Roman population. I also agree with Bruun's concluding statement that 'soft data' make 'hard data' meaningful, but I think this creates a false dichotomy between historical/epigraphic evidence on the one hand and skeletal/isotopic evidence on the other. I contend that these are simply different, not conflicting, types of analyses.

Finally, isotopic variability may reflect geographic variation, but this does not necessarily correspond to cultural variation.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, two neighbouring regions may be isotopically indistinguishable, but represent two distinct societies, so isotopic analyses on their own may not be able to discern complex social relationships. A related criticism was raised by Bruun, in which he argued that isotopic evidence for migration at the Portus could not explain whether the presence of children at the site was the result of families migrating, or from

<sup>52</sup> Baldassare 1984 and 1990.

<sup>53</sup> Bruun 2010: 126.

<sup>54</sup> Meiggs and Freiwald 2014.

other factors such as slavery, young brides, or children who died while traveling with merchant fathers.<sup>55</sup> All of these are plausible interpretations that can be made based on Roman textual accounts and epigraphic evidence, and the isotopic data alone may not be able to differentiate these scenarios. These ideas were elaborated further by Killgrove, who discussed the limitations of isotopic data in addressing issues related to issues of identity, ethnicity and social integration.<sup>56</sup> We can determine if someone appears to have been born in a location different than where he or she was buried, but without other types of contextual evidence we may not be able to assess his or her role(s) in society associated with mobility. It is therefore necessary to use multiple lines of evidence when available (e.g. mortuary context, artifacts, palaeopathological evidence, historical records, epigraphic evidence, etc....) to not only discern non-locals within a sample, but to explore the 'lived experience' of both locals and migrants.

### Some Limitations of Isotopic Data

While stable isotope analysis can provide invaluable information about human mobility in the past, the limitations of the method need to be recognised. One of the main limitations of isotopic evidence is that the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  and  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  values are not necessarily unique to a particular region, so in some cases there may be more than one possible location where an individual came from. In other words, we can identify the presence of migrants in a skeletal sample, but not always their places of origin, so it is a problem of 'resolution'.<sup>57</sup> Researchers have called for more comparable human isotope data from all geographic areas, as well as more information on local drinking water values (for oxygen) and biogenic strontium isotopic signatures from local plants and animals in order to refine the ranges for specific geographic areas.<sup>58</sup> Another way forward is through the integration of dietary (C, N) and mobility (O, Sr) isotopic data, which may help to further clarify the geographic origins of individuals.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Bruun 2010.

<sup>56</sup> Killgrove 2010a and 2010b.

<sup>57</sup> Budd et al. 2004.

<sup>58</sup> Daux et al. 2008; Chenery et al. 2010.

<sup>59</sup> Pollard et al. 2011b used carbon, oxygen and strontium isotopes to clarify the life history of a Roman period skeleton from Kent that appeared to be 'foreign' based on a relatively uncommon carbon value for the UK (i.e. indicating the consumption of C<sub>4</sub> plants such as millet), whereas the oxygen and strontium values indicated local origins. This study also demonstrated that archaeological context is essential for interpreting isotopic data.

Isotopic studies are also limited in their ability to account for short-term residency or repeated movement. Humans do not necessarily move only once in a lifetime, and often will live in multiple locations prior to death. This may not have been quite as widespread in antiquity, but humans have always been on the move. Most isotopic studies examine residence at birth (or childhood) and at a period prior to death, thus implicitly assuming a one-time migration event. This can be dealt with, in part, by analysing multiple tooth and bone samples from the same individual that represent different periods of formation during life.

Finally, the complexity of human behaviour in the past can introduce variability into the isotopic results. Recent work examined behavioural factors that might cause a person to consume water that is not isotopically the same as local precipitation (e.g. water coming from other areas via aqueducts), and demonstrated that researchers need to consider the range of potential sources of drinking water when conducting isotopic research.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, culturally defined food preparation activities, such as brewing, boiling, stewing, can cause a slight shift in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values of liquids consumed by people, and ultimately affect their tooth enamel values.<sup>61</sup> Researchers need to be aware of the potential sources of variability in isotopic data, and the more we learn about the factors that impact isotopic values, the better we are able to interpret our results. This provides the opportunity to explore issues of potential interest, including socially mediated access to resources, food and drink preparation techniques, and other anthropogenic effects on isotopic values.

#### Case Study: Geographic Origins of a Roman Imperial Workforce

A significant amount of isotopic research has been conducted at sites where population mobility is likely, such as much of the work done on Romano-British skeletal samples, and there has been a call for additional studies on rural populations where we would expect a comparatively lower level of mobility and a more local diet (vs. a bustling urban centre or military outpost).<sup>62</sup> The case study presented here explores geographic origins in a skeletal sample from a Roman imperial estate located in the region of Puglia in southern Italy. A preliminary isotope and aDNA study on this skeletal sample found oxygen ( $n = 23$ ) and aDNA ( $n = 10$ ) evidence for the presence of a small number of

<sup>60</sup> Lightfoot et al. 2014.

<sup>61</sup> Brettell et al. 2012. This was also noted by Killgrove 2010c.

<sup>62</sup> Chenery et al. 2010: 159.

immigrants in the cemetery.<sup>63</sup> For the present study, a further 30 individuals excavated between 2006 and 2009 were analysed, and the oxygen isotope data are examined in relation to historical evidence for social and economic change with the expanding Roman empire. The question to be investigated is whether the people who lived and worked on this imperial estate were local to the area, or if they moved to the region (or were brought there by the manager(s) of the estate). I also examine the relationship between the stable isotope values of the people who are identified isotopically as non-local and the quality and quantity of grave goods in their burials to see if there is any evidence of differential burial treatment of people who were not born in the area.<sup>64</sup>

The site of Vagnari is located in the Basentello valley near the modern city of Gravina in Puglia, Italy (Figure 10.1). Excavations at Vagnari since 2001 indicated that a small settlement was present between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE.<sup>65</sup> Extensive field survey in the region showed that local Iron Age

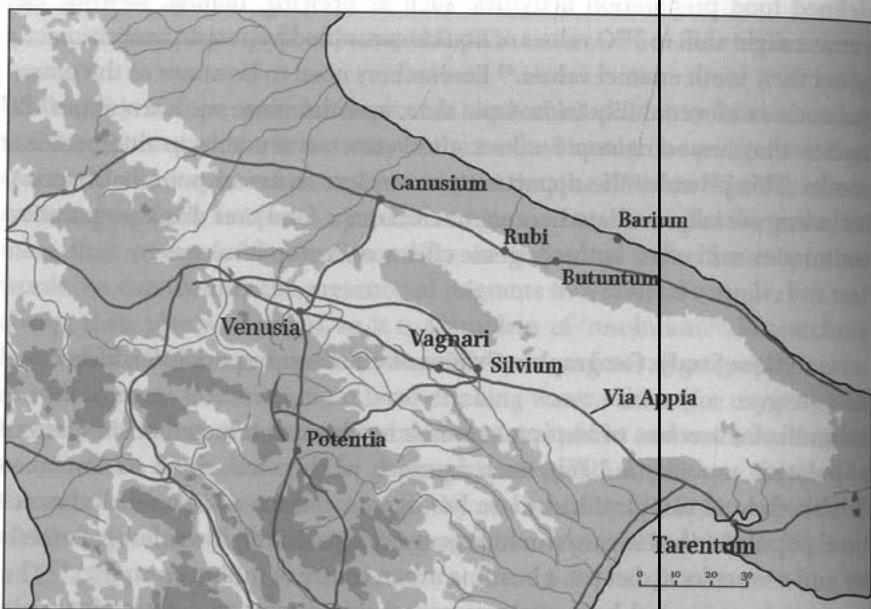


FIGURE 10.1 *Map of southern Italy showing the location of Vagnari*

<sup>63</sup> Prowse et al. 2010.

<sup>64</sup> For details on the preparation of the tooth samples for stable isotope analysis see Prowse et al. 2010: 183. The tooth samples were prepared at McMaster University and sent to the G.G. Hatch Stable Isotope Laboratory in Ottawa, Ontario, for analysis.

<sup>65</sup> Small and Small 2005.

settlements in Apulia fell into decline in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, and most were eventually abandoned by the 1st century BCE.<sup>66</sup> This is consistent with historical evidence for repeated political and social upheaval in central and southern Italy during the Samnite wars (4th–3rd centuries BCE), the Pyrrhic war (280–275 BCE), and the 2nd Punic war (218–202 BCE). The consequences for local populations after these wars was that many were enslaved and their land was confiscated by the Romans and became public land.<sup>67</sup>

A revival occurred in the region around Vagnari during the 1st century CE, the site expanded considerably between the late 1st and 3rd centuries and remained occupied through the 6th century CE.<sup>68</sup> This suggests that after the 1st century CE, political and economic stability in the area permitted rapid growth and development in the region until the eventual decline of the Roman Empire.

Archaeological evidence reveals a substantial settlement (3.5 hectares) on the site, likely a village (*vicus*), as well as an industrial zone with multiple kilns and iron working areas, which suggests that a substantial labour force was needed to work on this estate.<sup>69</sup> The site was likely located near the *via Appia*, a major trade route connecting the city of Rome to the southern coast, and stamped tiles recovered from the site and other locations in the region support the argument that this site and the surrounding territory belonged to the Roman state (*ager publicus*).<sup>70</sup> This raises the question of where this workforce came from. Were these locals who worked on this estate, or was this a (possibly enslaved) workforce that was brought to the region by the manager of the estate? Some inscribed gravestones of imperial slaves and freedmen have been found in the southern Italian countryside, but the human remains associated with them have not been preserved.<sup>71</sup> None of the burials at Vagnari have produced funerary inscriptions.

A total of 108 burials have been excavated to date, the majority of which date between the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, although a small number of burials date

<sup>66</sup> Small (2011: 16–17) noted that a number of Iron Age settlements in the region around Vagnari (e.g. Silvium and San Felice) and in Lucania and central Apulia (e.g. Monte Sannace) show evidence of decline and eventual abandonment during this period.

<sup>67</sup> Small (2011: 17) reported estimates by Livy of 60,000 people enslaved during the Samnite wars and 30,000 people enslaved after the fall of Tarentum in 209 BCE; cf. Rosehaar 2014.

<sup>68</sup> Favia et al. 2005; Small and Small 2005 and 2007a.

<sup>69</sup> Small 2011: 22.

<sup>70</sup> A tile with the stamp 'GRA[ti].../CAES[aris]' (Gratus, slave of Caesar) was found in the topsoil above a kiln on the North part of the site. According to Small (2011: 21), slaves of the emperor did not work for private estates, so the entire area likely belonged to the emperor.

<sup>71</sup> Russi 1975; Manacorda 1995.

to the 1st and 4th centuries CE.<sup>72</sup> Most of the burials at Vagnari are '*a cappuccina*', characterised by large *tegulae* (roof tiles) covering the deceased in an inverted 'V' shape. Within the burial, the deceased was laid out on a series of *tegulae* or interred in a simple unlined pit. Evidence of coffin use is rare at the site, although a small number of infant and child burials had traces of wood and small iron nails around the skeleton, indicating burial in a wooden container. The deceased was typically buried in an extended position with grave goods placed near the feet. A second type of burial found at Vagnari is a 'libation' tomb, consisting of pit burials covered with *tegulae* and a funnel made of two curved tiles inserted vertically above the burial, which was likely visible on the ground surface and used for making offerings to the deceased.<sup>73</sup> Other types of burial found at Vagnari include a small number of cremation burials ( $n = 3$ ) and simple pit burials often containing the remains of infants and young children.<sup>74</sup>

Nearly all of the burials contained one or more grave goods, most commonly a broken plain ware or painted ceramic vessel.<sup>75</sup> The highest number of grave goods comes from the burial of an adult male from the 3rd century CE (F213) who had 23 grave goods deposited in his burial. Two infants and two adults had no grave goods. Other items typically found in the burials include lamps, coins, glass vessels, tools, as well as personal items, including bone pins, fibulae and iron hobnails (found at the feet). Only a small number of graves contained jewellery, often in bronze alloy or iron (e.g. pendants, fibulae, rings, bracelets). Table 10.1 shows the percentage of grave goods, by category and sex, in the burials ( $n = 54$ ) used in this study.<sup>76</sup> The majority of burials (85.2%) contained at least one ceramic vessel (often broken and incomplete), whereas items made

<sup>72</sup> The date of each burial was established using pottery, coins and lamps, when possible. Not all burials could be assigned a specific date (Small and Small 2007b; Prowse and Small 2009).

<sup>73</sup> Toynbee 1971.

<sup>74</sup> In the current sample there were 36 cappuccina, 7 libation, 4 pit, and 7 disturbed/tile burials.

<sup>75</sup> 'Grave good' refers to any item that was intentionally included with the deceased, including items of clothing (e.g. footwear). An analysis of the burials and their contents up to 2012 found that 91% of the burials contained grave goods, with an average of five items in the burial (Brent and Prowse 2014). This study also found that the number of grave goods increased with age-at-death, so older individuals had (on average) more grave goods than infants and children, and males tended to have a higher number of grave goods, including 'luxury' items, such as bronze alloy vessels (Brent and Prowse 2014, 106–108). This suggests that status may have been gender and age-related.

<sup>76</sup> This includes burials excavated between 2001 and 2009.

TABLE 10.1 *Grave goods deposited in Vagnari burials (n = 54 individuals)*

	N	%	Male %	Female %
Buried with ceramic vessels	46	85.2	95.0	80.0
Buried with bronze items	10	18.5	20.0	20.0
Buried with glass	17	31.5	30.0	26.7
Buried with lamp	23	42.6	25.0	60.0
Buried with coin	14	25.9	25.0	26.7
Buried with 'other'	16	29.6	35.0	33.3
Buried with iron nail	23	42.6	60.0	40.0
Buried with metal	15	27.8	50.0	20.0
Buried with hobnails	16	29.6	55.0	26.7
Buried with gold	2	3.7	5.0	6.7

of precious metal (e.g. gold) were rarely present (3.7%). It is not clear whether the items placed in the burials were items belonging to the deceased during life, gifts deposited by the commemorators to reflect the role of the deceased during life, or a combination of both. There is evidence of charring on some vessels and lamp nozzles, but again it is not clear if this was due to regular use or if the charring occurred as part of the burial ritual.<sup>77</sup>

When the distribution of grave goods was explored by sex (Figure 10.2), male burials more frequently contained large iron nails (often bent), metal implements (usually knives or blades) and hobnails at the feet indicating that they were buried with footwear. In contrast, females tended to be buried more often with lamps (60%). Male burials contained an average of 6.5 items, whereas female burials contained an average of 5.4 items, and individuals of unknown sex (i.e. subadults under the age of 14 years) had, on average, 4.3 items. This suggests some association between gender, age and the quantity of grave goods. There is, however, no significant difference between the sexes in terms of the number of grave goods in each burial, nor is there a significant difference in the number of grave goods in association with age-at-death.<sup>78</sup>

The isotopic data were analysed to see if there was variability in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values in association with burial type, the number of grave goods, or with the presence

<sup>77</sup> Toynbee 1971 suggested that Romans believed the grave represented the houses of the dead and that grave goods were for their use after death.

<sup>78</sup> Mann-Whitney U-test ( $p < 0.05$ )

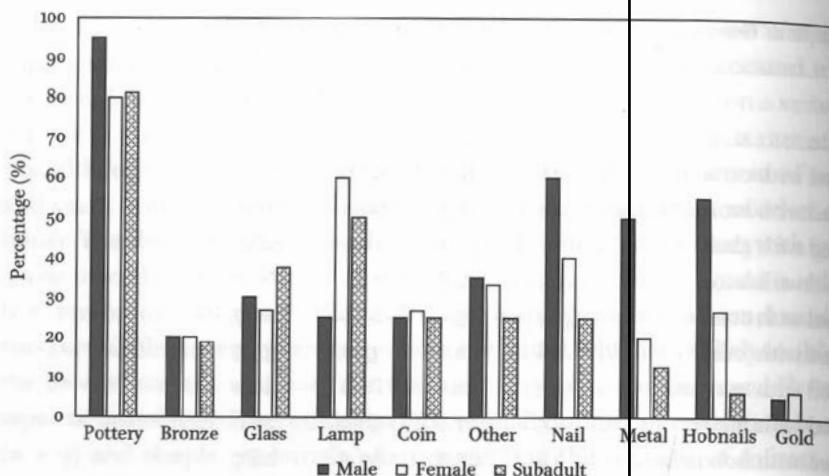


FIGURE 10.2 *Percentage of grave goods deposited in burials, by sex*

Note: subadult = <14 years of age

of certain types of grave goods (i.e. ceramic vessels, bronze items, glass vessels, coins, lamps, nails, metal implements, gold items, hobnails, or 'other' items).<sup>79</sup> There were no statistically significant differences in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values in association with any of these variables.

### Geographic Origins

The 23 teeth previously analysed in 2010 were resampled, and all 54 enamel samples were sent to the G.G. Hatch lab, Ottawa, for analysis, thus ensuring that any observed variability is due to actual differences in the teeth and not due to analytical technique.<sup>80</sup> The majority of the sample was composed of permanent 1st molars ( $n = 43$ ), which form during infancy and early childhood while the infant is still likely breastfeeding. Breast milk is enriched in  $^{18}\text{O}$  in relation to the water consumed by the mother, so this means that teeth forming during infancy will have higher (i.e. less negative)  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values (by ~0.7‰).<sup>81</sup>

79 'Other' items included: bone needles and pins, glass paste beads, worked stone, and animal teeth.

80 As noted elsewhere in this contribution (at n. 44), there is evidence for slight variability in oxygen isotope results linked to laboratory methods and standardisation. Analytical precision is  $\pm 0.1\text{‰}$ . Six duplicate samples were run to determine precision.

81 Roberts et al. 1998; Wright and Schwarcz 1998.

The  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values of the 1st molars were systematically adjusted by 0.7‰ in this study to compensate for this effect, so the adjusted average  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  value of the 1st molar samples analysed is  $-4.6\text{\textperthousand}$  ( $\pm 0.7$ ) (VPDB).<sup>82</sup> When all teeth are combined, the average is  $-4.5\text{\textperthousand}$  ( $\pm 0.8$ ). Statistical analysis of the data reveals that there is no significant difference in  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values between chronological time periods (i.e. 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries CE), so the data are combined together for further analysis.<sup>83</sup>

In order to compare the tooth  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values to regional precipitation maps, the data have been converted to drinking water values. In the past,  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{C}}$  (carbonate) values were converted to  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{P}}$  (phosphate) values and then to  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$  (drinking water) values, thus introducing a greater degree of error in the final estimates of the expected signal for drinking water. Chenery and colleagues recently refined the conversion equations to calculate estimated drinking water values directly from  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values, thus minimising the conversion error.<sup>84</sup> When all the  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  data are converted to drinking water values, the average  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$  is  $-7.0\text{\textperthousand}$  ( $\pm 1.5$ ) (VSMOW).<sup>85</sup> The range of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  of modern precipitation in this region of southern Italy is between  $-6$  to  $-8\text{\textperthousand}$ , so the average from the Vagnari sample is within the expected range for the region (Figure 10.3).<sup>86</sup>

These results are presented, however, with the qualification that the values obtained from these conversions should only be used as general indicators of the drinking water values in the region and not as precise values due to the error introduced through these conversions.<sup>87</sup>

The (unconverted)  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{C}}$  data are plotted in Figure 10.4, with the mean indicated by the solid black line and the dashed lines indicating a 1‰ standard deviation from the mean.<sup>88</sup>

Sedentary populations with a consistent water supply display only slight variation in their  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values by around 1‰.<sup>89</sup> Figure 10.4 shows that all but

<sup>82</sup> After White et al. 2000. The unadjusted average is  $-4.0 \pm 0.8\text{\textperthousand}$ . The 2nd and 3rd molars ( $n = 5$ ) have an average of  $-4.0\text{\textperthousand}$  ( $\pm 0.3$ ), and the 6 deciduous molars analysed have an average of  $-3.8\text{\textperthousand}$  ( $\pm 0.3$ ).

<sup>83</sup> The data are normally distributed, so the one way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used ( $p < 0.05$ ).

<sup>84</sup> Chenery et al. 2012 refined the equations developed by Daux et al. 2008.

<sup>85</sup> The estimated  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$  average for the 1st molar values alone is  $-7.3\text{\textperthousand}$  ( $\pm 1.5$ ).

<sup>86</sup> The precipitation  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  estimates were obtained from Longinelli and Selmo (2003: 80). To calculate drinking water values, the adjusted  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  data were first converted from VPDB to VSMOW, and then the drinking water values were calculating using the formula developed by Chenery et al. (2012: 316), derived from Daux et al. 2008, Equation 6.

<sup>87</sup> Chenery et al. 2012: 315.

<sup>88</sup> The data are presented in Table 10.3 (see the appendix at the end of this contribution).

<sup>89</sup> Budd et al. 2004; Bentley et al. 2007.

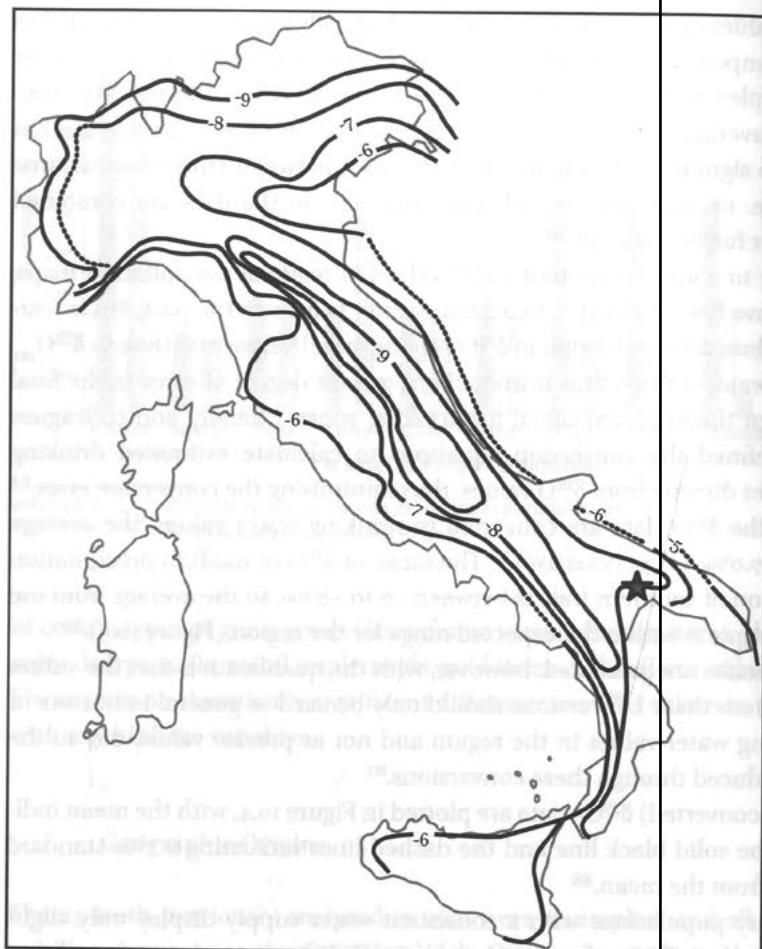
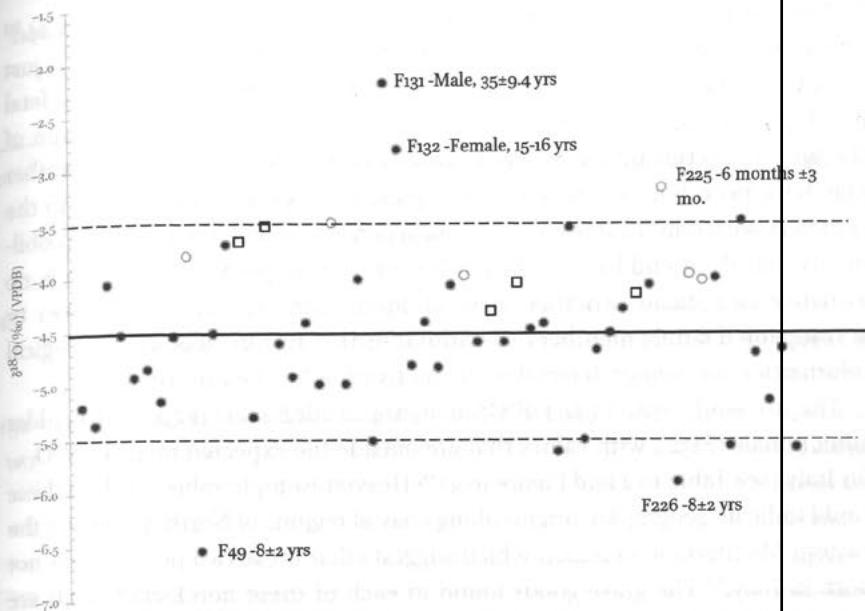


FIGURE 10.3 *Contour map of weighted annual average  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  (vs. SMOW) of meteoric precipitation in Italy*

Note: Modified version of map from Longinelli and Selmo 2003.  
The location of Vagnari is indicated with a star.

five individuals (F49, F130, F131, F225, F226) have  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values within the estimated 'local' range, indicating that 91% of the sample (49/54 teeth) were likely born in and around the region of Vagnari. There are three individuals who have  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values that are on the upper limit of the local range (-3.5‰), and five with values at or below the lower limit of the local range (-5.5‰), but since the precision of analysis is  $\pm 0.1\text{‰}$  I have conservatively placed them in the 'local' category. The original pilot study found that 17/23 (74%) of the 1st molars analysed indicated local origins, so the current, enlarged sample indicates that an even higher proportion of individuals were local to the area. Three individuals identified as non-locals in the pilot study (F49, F130, F131) were re-analysed and

FIGURE 10.4 Plot of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values

Note: The average ( $-4.5\text{\textperthousand}$ ) is indicated by the solid black line and 1 standard deviation on either side of the mean indicated by the dashed lines. First molars are the black dots, deciduous teeth are the circles, and 2nd/3rd molars are the squares. Potential non-locals are labelled.

were also identified as non-local in the present research, so the results are consistent between the two studies.

These results have significance for understanding the consequences of Roman subjugation of the area after the 3rd century BCE. The isotopic results suggest that the workforce on this imperial estate was mainly composed of local inhabitants, and not an imported workforce of slaves or freedmen from other parts of the Roman Empire. This suggests that although the historical evidence clearly indicates that large segments of the population in southern Italy were enslaved, and the archaeological evidence indicates that there was a decline in settlement size and density after the 2nd century BCE, there were still pockets of local residents who likely continued to live in the area and whose descendants formed the workforce of this imperial estate. Again, one limitation of only having the oxygen isotope data is that it is possible that some of these people came from other areas of Italy with similar isotopic ranges (see Figure 10.3), but the most parsimonious explanation is that they came from this area.

There are five individuals whose  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values lay outside the estimated local range. Two are children aged 8 years ( $\pm 2$  years), and they both have  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values indicating that they came from areas further inland and possibly at a

higher altitude due to their lower  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values (see Figure 10.3 and Table 10.2).<sup>90</sup> The youngest individual (F225) has a deciduous tooth  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  value that is just outside the local range (-3.2‰). Since the tooth was forming during fetal development, this signal more accurately reflects the water consumption of the mother, so this infant may not actually be non-local, but his/her mother may have been born elsewhere. The presence of at least two children in the cemetery with non-local isotopic signals is consistent with the idea that mobility also involved children. As Bruun has previously pointed out, there is no evidence to indicate whether these children came to Vagnari as slaves or accompanied family members, so without further historical or archaeological information we cannot determine the motivation for their movement.

The two adults with higher  $\delta^{18}\text{O}$  values are an adult male (F131) and an older adult female (F132), with values that are outside the expected range of  $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$  for Italy (see Table 10.2 and Figure 10.3).<sup>91</sup> Heavier isotopic values such as these could indicate geographic origins along coastal regions of North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean region which suggests that these two people were not born in Italy.<sup>92</sup> The grave goods found in each of these non-local burials are presented in Table 10.2. Both adults were buried with grave goods consistent with the type, quality and quantity of grave goods placed in the majority of burials at Vagnari – pottery, lamps, glass vessels, a coin in the female burial, and hobnails in the male burial. What this suggests is that even though these individuals were not born in the area around Vagnari, at the time of their death they were treated the same as any other member of the community. We do not know precisely when they came to Vagnari, except that it was sometime after early childhood, so the adults could have been living in the region for decades before death and may have been well and fully integrated into the community.

In terms of the location of the graves, the two adult burials are located in the NW corner of the cemetery, and the burial of the older adult female (F132) is somewhat separated from the rest of the burials (Figure 10.5), although it is not clear if the western edge of the cemetery has been reached.

The remaining three burials of the subadults are all located in a central part of the cemetery, so there does not seem to be a clear pattern associated with the location of the burials, again suggesting that socially these individuals were all integrated into the community at Vagnari.

<sup>90</sup> Age estimation was assessed using dental development and eruption (based on Gustafson and Koch 1974).

<sup>91</sup> These two individuals were analysed in the earlier pilot study (Prowse et al. 2010) and were also identified as non-locals likely coming from another part of the Mediterranean region.

<sup>92</sup> See Badertscher et al. 2011: 237 for a map of annual oxygen isotope values for the Mediterranean region.

TABLE 10.2 Oxygen isotope values ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}_c$ ) and calculated drinking water values ( $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$ ) for each burial identified as a potential outsider, along with information on age, sex, chronology and grave goods

ID	Sex	Age	$\delta^{18}\text{O}_c$ (VPDB)	Calculated $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$ (vsmow)	Burial type	Burial Date	Grave goods
F49	U	8 years ( $\pm 2$ years)	-6.5‰	-10.1‰	Cappuccina	Pre-3rd cent. CE	Ovoid jar (3/4); part of a bronze fibula. <sup>93</sup>
F132	F	Old Adult	-2.8‰	-4.1‰	Disturbed	2nd cent. CE	Bronze alloy coin (Faustina II), lamp; three ceramic bowls; fragments of a two-handled jar; two glass vessels ( <i>unguentaria</i> ).
F131	M	35 years ( $\pm 9.4$ years)	-2.2‰	-3.1‰	Libation	2nd cent. CE	Lamp; globular beaker; glass vessel; iron pruning knife; large iron nail; 23 hobnails at feet.
F225	U	6 months ( $\pm 3$ months)	-3.2‰	-4.6‰	Cappuccina	No date	No grave goods.
F226	U	8 years ( $\pm 2$ years)	-5.9‰	-9.1‰	Cappuccina	2nd cent. CE	Lamp; fragments of pottery.

### Conclusions

Discussions around mobility in the ancient Mediterranean region have, in the past, focused on the movement of men in association with colonisation, trade or military activities, and it was often assumed that women and children came along. Stable isotope analysis of human skeletal remains provides an opportunity

93 See Small and Small 2007b: 200–201.

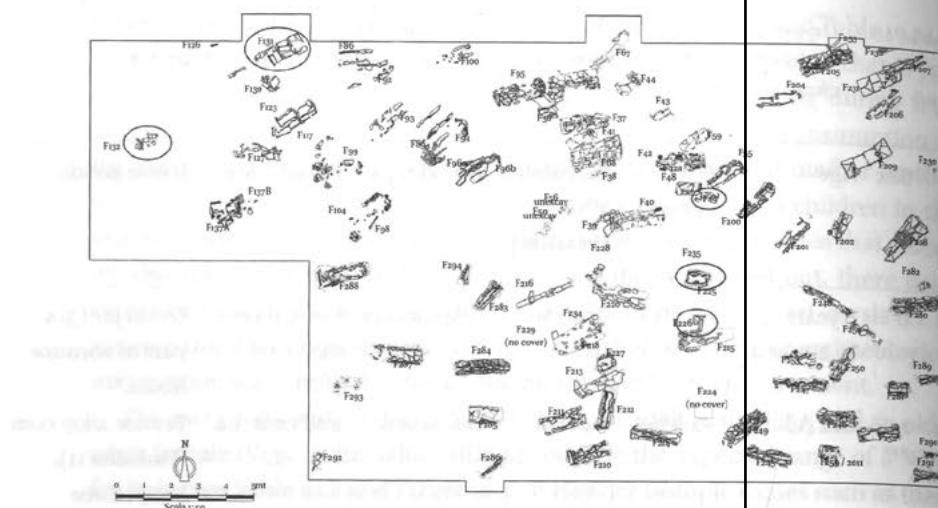


FIGURE 10.5 *Map of the Vagnari necropolis (2002–2009) showing the location of the 5 possible non-local burials*

MAP PREPARED BY C. SMALL AND F. TACCOGNA

to identify individuals of all ages and sexes who may have moved from one place to another during life. This gives researchers an opportunity to use the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence to discuss the motives and reasons for mobility in the ancient Mediterranean, which the stable isotope data cannot tell us. These separate lines of evidence have their own advantages and disadvantages, and they may not integrate together seamlessly, but part of the motivation to conduct isotopic analyses on the people from Vagnari and other skeletal samples is to gain further information about the people who actually lived at that time, particularly if we do not have clear archaeological or epigraphic information about their origins.

What stable isotope analysis does is provide the opportunity to test hypotheses about human movement in relation to archaeological and historical evidence. Our isotopic research has contributed to the growing discussion of the mobility of women, children and families in the Roman world, instead of assuming that women and children migrated simply because men did. It is therefore essential to try and integrate these disparate lines of evidence. Moving forward, it is important to aim for greater integration of the work of bioarchaeologists, classicists, historians and archaeologists in order to learn the most we can about life and death in the ancient Roman world.

### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the editors of this volume for the invitation to contribute this chapter. I am also grateful to the landlord of Vagnari, Dott. Mario DeGemmis Pellicciari, the Fondazione Ettore Pomarici Santomaso of Gravina, the British School at Rome, and the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia, in particular the Superintendent, Dott. Luigi LaRocca, as well as Dtsa. Francesca Radina and Dtsa. Maria-Rosaria Depalo of the Centro Operativo in Bari.

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### Appendix

TABLE 10.3 *Burial information and stable isotope data*  
M<sub>1</sub> = 1st molar, M<sub>2</sub> = 2nd molar, M<sub>3</sub> = 3rd molar

Sample ID	Date	Burial Type	Age-at-Death	Sex	Tooth	Number of Grave Goods	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) (VPDB)	Adjusted M <sub>1</sub> $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰)
F34	3rd c AD	cappuccina	adult	M	M <sub>1</sub>	5	-4.5	-5.2
F35	2nd c AD	libation	adult	M	M <sub>1</sub>	14	-4.7	-5.4
F39	3rd c AD	cappuccina	3 yrs ± 12	U	molar	2	-3.4	-4.1
			mo.		crown			
F40	2nd c AD	cappuccina	15–17 yrs	F	M <sub>1</sub>	0	-3.8	-4.5
F41	2nd c AD	libation	2 yrs ± 12	U	molar	9	-4.2	-4.9
			mo.		crown			
F42	4th c AD	cappuccina	28.7 yrs ± 6.5	M	M <sub>1</sub>	8	-4.2	-4.9
F42a	3rd c AD	disturbed	adult	M	M <sub>1</sub>	4	-4.5	-5.2
F43	2nd c AD	cappuccina	2 yrs ± 8 mo.	U	M <sub>1</sub>	3	-3.9	-4.6
F44	2nd c AD	libation	2 yrs ± 8	U	deciduous mo.	5	-3.8	
					molar			
F49	pre 3rd c AD	cappuccina	8 yrs ± 2 yrs	U	M <sub>1</sub>	2	-5.8	-6.5
F55	2nd c AD	cappuccina	5–6 yrs	U	M <sub>1</sub>	8+	-3.7	-4.4

TABLE 10.3 *Burial information and stable isotope data (cont.)*

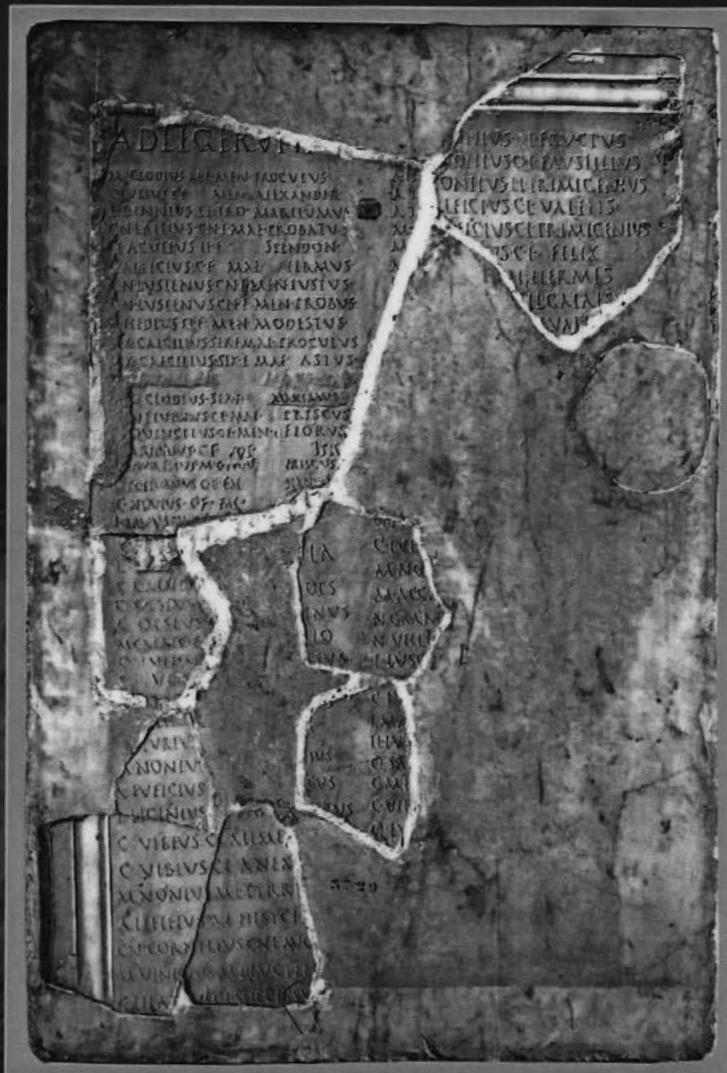
Sample ID	Date	Burial Type	Age-at-Death	Sex	Tooth	Number of Grave Goods	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) (VPDB)	Adjusted M <sub>1</sub> $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰)
F59	2nd c AD	libation	5 yrs ± 6 mo.	U	M <sub>1</sub>	7	-3.8	-4.5
F62	no date	pit	adult	M	M <sub>3</sub>	0	-3.7	
F67	2nd c AD	cappuccina	19–21 yrs	M	M <sub>1</sub>	9	-3.0	-3.7
F92	3rd c AD	cappuccina	old adult	M	M <sub>1</sub>	3	-4.6	-5.3
F92	3rd c AD (same)	cappuccina	old adult	M	M <sub>3</sub>	3	-3.5	
F93	2nd c AD	cappuccina	adult	F	M <sub>1</sub>	6	-3.9	-4.6
F95	4th c AD	cappuccina	young adult	F	M <sub>1</sub>	6	-4.2	-4.9
F96a	2nd c AD	disturbed	adult	M	M <sub>1</sub>	1	-3.7	-4.4
F117	2nd c AD	cappuccina	20–25	F	M <sub>1</sub>	22	-4.3	-5.0
F123	post 2nd c AD	cappuccina	1.5 yrs ± 6 mo.	U	deciduous molar	2	-3.5	
F126	no date	cappuccina	20–25 yrs	M	M <sub>1</sub>	3	-4.3	-5.0
F127	2nd c AD	disturbed	15–20 yrs	F	M <sub>1</sub>	1	-3.3	-4.0
F130	no date	disturbed	old adult	F	M <sub>1</sub>	1	-4.8	-5.5
F131	2nd c AD	libation	35.2 ± 9.4	M	M <sub>1</sub>	6	-1.5	-2.2
F132	2nd c AD	disturbed	15–16 yrs	F	M <sub>1</sub>	7+	-2.1	-2.8
F137A	post 2nd c AD	tile	21–24 yrs	M?	M <sub>1</sub>	0	-4.1	-4.8
F137B	2nd c AD	disturbed	adult	U	M <sub>1</sub>	6	-4.2	-4.9
F200	2nd c AD	cappuccina	old adult	M?	M <sub>2</sub>	8+	-4.1	
F202	2nd c AD	cappuccina	9 mo. ± 3 mo	U	deciduous m <sub>1</sub>	5	-4.0	
F204	2nd c AD	cappuccina	39.4 ± 9.1	F	M <sub>1</sub>	5	-3.9	-4.6
F205	2nd c AD	cappuccina	young adult	F	M <sub>3</sub>	5	-4.3	
F206	2nd c AD	cappuccina	old adult	F	M <sub>1</sub>	3	-3.9	-4.6
F207	no date	cappuccina	young adult	M	M <sub>1</sub>	5+	-3.4	-4.1
F208	1st c AD	cappuccina	12–14.5 yrs	F?	M <sub>1</sub>	5	-3.8	-4.5

Sample ID	Date	Burial Type	Age-at-Death	Sex	Tooth	Number of Grave Goods	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) (VPDB)	Adjusted M1 $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰)
F209	no date	libation	14–16 yrs	F	M1	15+	-3.8	-4.5
F210	3rd c AD	cappuccina	9 yrs ± 24 mo	U	M1	10	-4.9	-5.6
F211	no date	cappuccina	young adult	F	M1	1+	-2.9	-3.6
F212	no date	cappuccina	adult	U	M1	2	-4.8	-5.5
F214	2nd c AD	cappuccina	45–59 yrs	M	M1	4+	-4.0	-4.7
F215	no date	cappuccina	38.2 ± 10.9	F	M1	4+	-3.8	-4.5
F216	3rd c AD	cappuccina	35.2 ± 9.4	M	M1	23+	-3.6	-4.3
F220	no date	cappuccina	40–44 yrs	M	M2	9+	-4.2	
F221	no date	pit	9 mo. ± 3 mo	U	deciduous m1	0	-4.1	
F225	no date	cappuccina	6 mo. ± 3 mo	U	deciduous m2	0	-3.2	
F226	2nd c AD	cappuccina	8.0 yrs	U	M1	3+	-5.2	-5.9
F227	no date	pit	0–6 mo.	U	deciduous m1	1	-4.0	
F228	3rd c AD	cappuccina	1 yr ± 4 mo	U	M1	9+	-3.4	-4.1
F231	2nd c AD	libation	adult	M	M1	13+	-3.3	-4.0
F234	2nd c AD	cappuccina	35.2 ± 9.4	M	M1	4	-4.9	-5.6
F235	no date	pit	50 yrs ± 12.6	M	M1	2	-2.8	-3.5
F245	2nd c AD	cappuccina	19–22 yrs	F	M1	10+	-4.0	-4.7
F249	1st – 2nd c AD?	cappuccina	adult	M?	M1	5	-4.5	-5.2
F250	no date	cappuccina	35–39 years	M	M1	2	-4.0	-4.7
F252	no date	cappuccina	17–22.5 yrs	F	M1	1	-4.9	-5.6

# Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire

EDITED BY

LUUK DE LIGT AND LAURENS E. TACOMA



BRILL

Migration and Mobility in  
the Early Roman Empire

Andrea Zerbini

# Human Mobility in the Roman near East: Patterns and Motives

the prefect certainly suggests that there were some restrictions on travel and Theanous' promise that she will 'arrange' the journey of her brother Papelthos may hint at the financial aspects of travelling.

As a final observation, papyrological sources shed light on at least one aspect of human mobility which is rarely seen in other types of sources. When considering push and pull factors, scholars tend to concentrate on economic, political or material conditions, but several letters, including that of Hikane with which I started this article, call attention to the importance of emotional stimuli. While future research must take full account of the diversity of mobility and the connectivity of the Mediterranean people, it should also reckon with a whole range of 'subjective' motives that underlie mobility of men and women.

# Human Mobility in the Roman near East: Patterns and Motives

*Andrea Zerbini*

## Introduction

L'importance de la mobilité dans les sociétés précontemporaines n'est plus à démontrer... Dans l'espace méditerranéen et dans la très longue durée, de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne, la circulation des personnes constitue un fait structurel et structurant.<sup>1</sup>

On the opening page of their edited volume entitled *Gens de passage en Méditerranéen de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne*, Claudia Moatti and Wolfgang Kaiser acknowledged the importance of mobility and migration as a structural and structuring phenomenon in the history of pre-modern societies, dismissing earlier views, inherited from historical demographers, which depicted the past as a largely immobile society.<sup>2</sup> The recent, almost unanimous scholarly acceptance of the ancient world as a 'world of mobility' is largely the result of the 'historiography of connectivity', which has strongly influenced Mediterranean studies over the last fifteen years.<sup>3</sup>

As Greg Woolf points out in his contribution to this volume, there are many reasons for believing in high levels of mobility in Greco-Roman antiquity: the demographics of urbanisation (and the connected 'urban graveyard theory'); the features of Mediterranean ecology and climate, which make human mobility instrumental to survival; and, last but not least, the continuous references that ancient sources make to geographical mobility variously described as colonisation, migration to cities by people looking for work or education, flight from excessive taxation, enslavement and deportation, the movement of merchants and travellers, and so forth. While the existence and pervasiveness of

<sup>1</sup> Moatti and Kaiser 2007: 9.

<sup>2</sup> For the 'fixity' of pre-industrial populations see Zelinsky 1971.

<sup>3</sup> The obvious reference here is to Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000) and its impact on the study of human mobility in the Mediterranean. See Harris 2005. For more recent 'thalassographies' insisting on the issue of connectivity see Abulafia 2011; Broodbank 2013.

mobility is beyond dispute, Woolf adds, human mobility risks remaining a concept devoid of historical significance unless we are prepared to qualify it and, where possible, quantify it.

In this paper, I intend to address both of these concerns, despite being acutely aware of the problems surrounding either. The focus of this paper is on human mobility in the Roman Near East, comprising the provinces of Syria Coele, Syria Phoenice, Syria Palaestina, Arabia, Osroene and Mesopotamia, from the late-first century BCE to the end of the third century CE. Because the sources used for this study are mostly papyrological and epigraphic, the unit of investigation is necessarily the individual and the household, in other words, what migration theorists term the 'micro-level' or 'micro-theoretical' level of analysis.<sup>4</sup> This is not because we lack information regarding the movement of larger social groups or institutional approaches to mobility in the Roman Near East. Both of these topics are attested in the sources and have received scholarly attention in the past.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to this, individual mobility in this region has yet to be investigated in detail, hence my decision to focus on this phenomenon. Another factor that has prompted me to analyse individual mobility in the Near East is the incredible richness of the epigraphic evidence – encompassing tens of thousands of inscriptions in Greek, Latin Hatraean, Nabataean, Palmyrene and Syriac Aramaic, and in the north-Arabian dialects written in the Safaitic and Hismaic scripts. This multi-lingual milieu is found also in the smaller, but still considerable papyrological record for this region. While only a small portion of these documents provides convincing evidence of mobility or migration, those that do shed light on a wide range of aspects including temporary and seasonal mobility, marital mobility and return migration within both rural and urban environments.

While thought-provoking, this material presents a number of difficulties and limitations which generate complex theoretical problems. These must be analysed in detail before we can turn our attention to qualifying and quantifying mobility in the Roman Near East.

### Ancient Historians and Migration Theory

In a recent review of inter-disciplinary approaches to migration, Brettell and Hollifield describe the different approaches that anthropology, demography,

<sup>4</sup> Burmeister 2000: 546; Brettell and Hollifield 2008: 9.

<sup>5</sup> Institutional controls of mobility, for example, find ample treatment in Moatti 2004; Moatti and Kaiser 2007.

economics, geography, history, law, political science and sociology have adopted toward the study of migration.<sup>6</sup> Neither archaeology nor ancient history figure at any point in their discussion. Compared to social scientists, ancient historians and archaeologists have a rather poor record of engagement with migration theory. This is in great part due to the sources with which the two disciplines concern themselves, many types of evidence being fraught with difficulties. If archaeologists are faced with the 'methodological trilemma' of being unable to interpret an 'alien' form of material culture in terms of migration, trade or diffusion, ancient historians are faced with literary and documentary sources that rarely allow an appreciation of the spatial, chronological and modal qualifications of migration.<sup>7</sup>

Since David Anthony's landmark article which called upon archaeologists to construct a theoretical framework for research on pre-historic and historical migrations, more efforts have been made to establish methodologies for the study of human mobility.<sup>8</sup> In recent years, archaeologists have focused particularly on transnationalism and diaspora theory, with the objective of looking at migrants as integrated in a web of connections with sending and receiving communities, and also at identity formation among migrant communities.<sup>9</sup> While these developments in archaeology are encouraging, ancient historians have not followed suit: the difficulties and silences of the sources seriously limit their capacity to fully exploit these theoretical frameworks. For example, the study of the impact of economic and social remittances on sending communities, on which much of the literature on transnationalism has focused, remains mostly out of their reach.

Indeed, the very issue of how to distinguish migration from any other pattern of human mobility is contentious in this field. The former may be defined as "a rupture with daily activities and connections and a reorganization of life in a new place".<sup>10</sup> The problem is that the evidence does not often allow us to identify the extent of this rupture and reorganisation. Funerary inscriptions, which represent the bulk of the documentary sources for the study of micro-level migration, occasionally contain *ethnika* (adjectives indicating that an

6 Brettell and Hollifield 2008.

7 The definition of a 'methodological trilemma' in the archaeology of migration is owed to Burmeister 2000: 540. For a characterisation of the 'tri-nominal' typology of migration see Lesger et al. 2002.

8 Anthony 1990.

9 For recent applications of transnational and diaspora theories see Killgrove 2010a; Eckardt et al. 2010.

10 Kok 2010: 216.

individual thought of himself as belonging to a particular urban, rural or tribal community) or *origines* (toponyms indicating the place of origin of an individual) which allow us to determine the foreign identity of the deceased. Unfortunately, it can rarely be ascertained whether these individuals had been migrants in their lifetime, or whether they had died whilst travelling or in transit. Some of them might have been neither, sporting their *ethnika* only as cultural markers. Manning's four categories of migrants – settlers, sojourners, itinerants and invaders – are difficult to tell apart.<sup>11</sup>

These limitations go some way toward explaining why ancient historians have adopted a rather more pragmatic attitude toward the study of migration, one which continues to draw upon somewhat obsolete theoretical constructs, such as those informed by 'modernisation theory', in order to describe patterns and causes of ancient human mobility.<sup>12</sup> Push-pull factors play an important role in David Noy's account of the reasons that led people to migrate to Rome.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the urban-rural dichotomy used by Paul Erdkamp in his study of migration in late Republican Italy may appear to echo Redfield's much criticised binary of folk and urban.<sup>14</sup> While borrowing some of its heuristic tools, neither of these studies accepts the fundamental tenet of 'modernisation theory', namely the assumption that migration to urban centres represented an intrinsically positive development for the largely destitute countryside. Rather, push-pull factors and the urban-rural dichotomy are used by Noy and Erdkamp in order to categorise patterns and causes of human mobility. If archaeologists have recently tried to move away from these research priorities (in the wake of Anthony's call to abandon their 'paralysing fascination' for the causes of migration), they remain central concerns for historians of migration, regardless of the period under investigation.<sup>15</sup>

For these purposes, the work of historical demographers and sociologists has yielded perhaps the most useful contributions for historians. The work of Charles Tilly on the definition and categorisation of migration, for example, continues to be widely cited by ancient historians.<sup>16</sup> In an article published in 1978, Tilly distinguished four types of migration: (a) *local* migration, classified

<sup>11</sup> Manning 2012: 8–9.

<sup>12</sup> For a summary of the main tenets of 'modernisation theory' see Kearney 1986.

<sup>13</sup> Noy 2000: 85–139 (esp. 86–90). Apart from forced migration (as slaves or hostages), family migration and embassies, the reasons for migrating to Rome may all be seen as pull factors (whether cultural, social or economic).

<sup>14</sup> Erdkamp 2008: 420f.; Redfield 1941.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Lucassen et al. 2010.

<sup>16</sup> Particularly, Tilly 1978; Tilly 1990. Noy adopts Tilly's typology: Noy 2000: 53–56. More recently, see Mihailescu-Bîrliba et al. 2010; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2013.

as a movement to a 'geographically contiguous' market in labour, land or marriage; (b) *circular* migration, involving mobility over longer distances, but subject to return in the short- or medium-term; (c) *chain* migration, defined as the movement of individuals or households to a destination where people provide information and help to facilitate the move of new migrants; and (d) *career* migration, which involves individuals and households moving over considerable distances in order to pursue career opportunities which are created within the context of their organisation, mercantile networks, governments or armies.

Despite its influence, Tilly's categorisation of migration has recently undergone considerable updating. In an article published in 2002, Lesger, Lucassen and Schrover criticised Tilly's typology, noting that "it is composed of unlike quantities: local migration refers to distance (space), circular migration to the time that migrants stay in their new surroundings, and chain and career migration to the mode of migration".<sup>17</sup> Consequently, they proposed a 'tri-nominal typology' which distinguishes between three different planes of analysis: a spatial one, corresponding to the geographical range of migration (local, regional/national, international); a chronological one, indicating the length of time during which the migratory event unfolded (temporary, circular, permanent); and a modal one (personal network, organisational or non-personal, non-network or solitary). This typology may be applied to mobility in the Roman Near East, provided that a number of caveats be observed and further specifications added:

- (1) In *spatial* terms, we ought to distinguish between local and regional movements. By local, I intend all movements within a 100 km radius of the sending area. By regional, I refer to all movements within a radius of 1,000 km of the sending area. Within these two groups, I have reintroduced Erdkamp's urban-rural dichotomy in order to distinguish between four different patterns of mobility: between urban centres (urban-urban); between rural centres (rural-rural); from rural centres to cities (rural-urban); and from cities to villages (urban-rural). These distinctions are particularly useful for quantifying the geographical patterns that emerge from the sources.
- (2) In *chronological* terms, the distinction between temporary, circular and permanent migration is valid, but it is often impossible to tell them apart on the basis of the surviving evidence.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, it is difficult to draw the line between 'temporary migration' and forms of 'mobility'

<sup>17</sup> Lesger et al. 2002: 31.

<sup>18</sup> As pointed out by Erdkamp 2008: 421 and Solin 2007: 1367.

involving short stays at multiple locations. Seasonal mobility due to nomadic pastoralism might be grouped under the heading 'temporary migration', but the term 'mobility' seems more appropriate in the case of pilgrims and in that of itinerant workers who moved from one town to the other. These latter might be equated to Manning's 'sojourners'. Circular migration can only be inferred in a very limited number of cases; understandably, it rarely left a trace in funerary inscriptions.

- (3) In *modal* terms, personal network migration may be exemplified by the Jewish-Palmyrene community referred to in the inscriptions from Beth She'arim (cf. below) and by the Palmyrenes of Dura Europos. The numerous episodes of family migration following marriage can also be grouped under this heading. 'Organisational migration' best corresponds to that of soldiers, who migrated as members of army units. For the vast majority of sources, however, solitary or non-network mobility must be inferred, in the absence of other elements pointing to either of the other modal categories. Solitary migration involved the movement of individuals and their families who decided to migrate without the support of a personal or organisational network of contacts at the destination.

Having set the methodological framework which will be used to describe mobility in the Roman Near East, we may now turn to the criteria employed for the selection of the sources.

### The Sources: Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

This paper is based primarily on epigraphic and papyrological evidence, with some limited use of literary sources. The epigraphic record of the Near East is extraordinarily rich: more than 15,000 Greek and Latin inscriptions, c. 3,200 Palmyrene, c. 4,000 Nabataean inscriptions as well as tens of thousands of Safaitic and Hismaic graffiti.<sup>19</sup> Although not all of these inscriptions belong to the period under consideration here (i.e. the first century BCE and the first three centuries CE) and only a small group sheds light on human mobility, inscriptions – particularly funerary epitaphs – still make up the bulk of our sources.

<sup>19</sup> More than 27,000 Safaitic inscriptions and c. 5,000 Hismaic texts are known to date. The ambitious *Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia* aims to make them all available online (<http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/index.php>). Currently, only c. 3,000 Safaitic texts can be accessed via their database.

Papyri are not nearly as numerously preserved in this region as they are in Egypt. Yet, more than 600 documentary papyri written in Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Hebrew, Nabataean and Syriac provide valuable information on the first three centuries of the common era.<sup>20</sup> These come primarily from Dura-Europos on the middle course of the Euphrates (214 texts, mostly in Latin and Greek) and from the caves of the Judaean desert (*c.* 400 texts) where groups of Jewish fugitives found refuge at the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 CE).<sup>21</sup> Another important, if smaller, group of documents (21 papyri and parchments), known as *P.Euphr.*, comes from a region probably to be identified with the lower course of the Khabur.<sup>22</sup>

A database of 'episodes of mobility' has been created by drawing upon these sources. For practical reasons, the database is confined to sources coming from the region itself. Texts have been included only when mobility is either certain or very likely to have occurred. I have thus left out all cases in which mobility might be posited only on the basis of onomastic considerations. Various studies have shown the degree to which 'ethnic' personal names are an untrustworthy source for charting provenance.<sup>23</sup>

In order to be included in the dataset, sources must contain an *ethnikon* or an *origo* referring to a city or village of the Near East. There are, of course, problems in using these terms for the study of mobility: ethnicity, which *ethnika* and *origines* reflect, is a cultural construct which individuals adopt to define themselves in opposition to others; as such, it is "an ascription [...] or self-ascription rather than a mere fact".<sup>24</sup> Especially in inscriptions, ethnics do not necessarily imply origin, but rather a sense of belonging to a community which could be determined by common geographic origin, but also by culture and religion. This is particularly true of broad ethnic markers such as 'Syrian', 'Nabataean', 'Arab' or 'Jew' which occasionally (albeit comparatively rarely)

<sup>20</sup> For comprehensive surveys see Cotton et al. 1995; Gascou 2009.

<sup>21</sup> Dura: Welles et al. 1959; Judaean desert: Benoit et al. 1960; Lewis et al. 1989; Cotton and Geiger 1989; Cotton and Yardeni 1997; Charlesworth et al. 2000; Yadin et al. 2002.

<sup>22</sup> See Feissel and Gascou 1989; Feissel and Gascou 1995; Teixidor et al. 1997; Feissel and Gascou 2000. For the two Syriac documents see Teixidor 1990 and the updated readings in Drijvers and Healey 1999: 237–248. To these papyri we should also add two documents which are believed to come from Bostra (*P.Bostra 1* and *2*) and are dated to the mid-3rd c. CE. Only *P.Bostra 1* has received a preliminary publication: Gascou 1999: 71–73.

<sup>23</sup> Solin 1983: 643–651; Solin 2007: 1373ff.; Macdonald 1998: 186–189. An illuminating example is that of the common 'ethnic' name *Mambogaios*, the Semitic name of the sacred city of Hierapolis in northern Syria: Lightfoot 2001. Onomastics may be better employed for the study of ethnic hybridity: Peppard 2007.

<sup>24</sup> Millar 1987: 157.

appear in inscriptions. These markers have been excluded from my analysis.<sup>25</sup> Urban and village *ethnika* and *origines* have a stronger geographic connotation: even when it is not possible to distinguish between different usages (they might be used to denote an individual's birthplace, to refer to his or her place of residence or as markers of cultural identity), the assumption must be that they implied a strong attachment to the places to which they referred. In the absence of other evidence, ethnics and toponyms of this kind represent the most likely markers of a person's origin.

In order to suggest mobility, at least one of the following two criteria must be fulfilled:

- (a) The city or village referred to by an individual's *ethnikon* or *origo* differs from the place where the text was found or written. Information of the latter kind is often found in papyri, particularly in contracts and deeds.
- (b) The city or village referred to by an individual's *ethnikon* or *origo* differs from his or her place of residence. References to someone's place of residence in opposition to his or her birthplace are very rare in inscriptions (with only one case appearing in my dataset), but abound in papyri, most often preceded by the participle of the verb *obxēn* plus the preposition *ēv*.<sup>26</sup>

When condition (b) is met, we are almost certainly dealing with a migrant.<sup>27</sup> This is the case for 10 documents included in my dataset (yielding a total of 14 migrants). However, the vast majority (20 papyri and 58 inscriptions) of texts has been included solely on the basis of criterion (a), which does not allow us to distinguish between settlers, sojourners and itinerant people. Except in those cases where the documents provide additional clues to suggest that we are dealing 'migrants' the movements indicated by these texts will be treated as episodes of 'mobility' and be analysed from the point of view of their geographical patterning rather than from that of their causes and duration.

In addition to the texts which fulfil the above criteria, I have considered various other Nabataean, Palmyrene and Safaitic inscriptions whose contents or find spots suggest the non-local origin of writers/dedicants.<sup>28</sup> Most of these texts

<sup>25</sup> E.g. on the ethnic 'Nabataean' see Macdonald 1998: 185–186.

<sup>26</sup> In Nabataean and Syriac documents the residence clause is *DY M.R.*

<sup>27</sup> The 'Roman bureaucratese' of origin and residency is much richer for Roman Egypt, where we possess, of course, an infinitely larger number of papyri. For migration in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see Braunert 1964 and Adams, in this volume.

<sup>28</sup> 34 such texts have been considered.

shed light on seasonal nomadic movements, while others hint at the presence of non-local communities or individuals outside of their home region (such as the Palmyrenes at Beth She'arim and in the Lebanon). Of course, I am aware of the difficulties of associating ethnicity with a language or script.<sup>29</sup> Inscriptions written in a non-local language or script can only be meaningfully employed to discuss mobility when other evidence allows us to further define the identity of the writers. The Palmyrene graffiti of Wadi Miqat (located along the eastern edge of the *harra*, the black lava desert of north-eastern Jordan) can be associated with people who likely thought of themselves as Palmyrene not just because of its being written in Palmyrene Aramaic, but also, and more importantly, because it contains an explicit invocation to "gods of Palmyra" ('LHY TDMR).<sup>30</sup> Another example is that of the Palmyrene names written on the halls of the necropolis of Beth She'arim (10 in total). Since the epigraphic record from Beth She'arim includes two Greek epitaphs of Palmyrenes which provide their *ethnika*, it seems legitimate to infer the presence of a substantial Jewish-Palmyrene community there (see below). Even when these caveats are taken into account, I have thought it best to make a sparing use of this second group of texts, which are mostly discussed in the final section of this paper. The primary focus of my investigations will be on the 88 texts making up my first group. (These texts are listed in the Appendix at the end of this article).

Some categories of migrants have been excluded from my analysis. In particular, since this paper focuses on individual voluntary mobility, I have left out forced migration involving slaves or refugees and almost all references to the migration of groups. I have also excluded long-distance traders from the Persian Gulf who are recorded in the epigraphic record of Palmyra.<sup>31</sup> In this case the reason is the geographical boundaries of this paper, which are limited to that part of the Near East which was under direct or indirect Roman control. Repatriation or reburial practices involving the transportation of mortal remains have also been excluded from my enquiries.<sup>32</sup> Finally, and perhaps most controversially, I have decided to exclude soldiers from my analysis. Two reasons may be adduced. First, although mobility in the Roman army arguably represents the best example of 'organisational' migration in the Roman empire, soldiers, or at least the vast majority of them, did not willingly choose migration with a view to improving their condition. Rather, mobility was forced

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Macdonald 1998.

<sup>30</sup> For the inscription see Oxtoby 1968: 102 and Caquot 1970.

<sup>31</sup> I have included, however, the Nabataea as far south as Mada'in Saleh.

<sup>32</sup> Regarding post-mortem repatriation in inscriptive epigrams see Tybout, in this volume.

On Jewish ossuaries see Meyers 1971.

upon them. Secondly, movements of military units in the Roman Near East have received ample treatment.<sup>33</sup>

### Quantifying Mobility

As we have seen, 88 texts fulfil the conditions outlined above for detecting mobility; these provide a total of more than 106 cases of individual mobility.<sup>34</sup> To these we should add some 30 texts which, while not containing *ethnika*, shed light on human mobility in the Roman Near East during the first three centuries CE. Compared to the much larger number of cases that have been identified in some parts of the Western empire, such as Spain (c. 900 local, regional and long-range migrants) and Gaul (c. 600), let alone Rome itself (with almost 1,500 migrants attested epigraphically), this is a small sample.<sup>35</sup> Since the texts are also spread unevenly in space, they offer no basis for any statistical analysis. However, a disaggregated analysis of the data might help to provide a better framework of analysis for the subsequent sections. Figure 14.1 provides an overview of all the sites mentioned in this paper, including find spots as well as sending and receiving communities.

Two aspects emerge clearly: a concentration of evidence in the area around the Dead Sea (due to the preponderance of the papyri of the Judaean desert) and in the Jebel al-'Arab; and the primacy of the big population centres as sending communities. In particular, Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, was the hometown of at least five migrants recorded in the inscriptions. Sidon and Canatha follow suit with four, while Tyre, Gerasa and Petra are present with three migrants each. As far as receiving communities are concerned, the big pilgrimage site of Heliopolis/Baalbek is particularly well represented with five instances. A similar pattern would be expected for Hierapolis: its slim epigraphic record is no doubt to blame for the lack of immigrants. The 13 Palmyrene texts (two of which are bilingual Palmyrene-Safaitic) found in the wadi Hauran, c. 350 km south-east of Palmyra, are likely to be explained as reflecting the

33 E.g. Kennedy 1996.

34 In several instances, the number of migrants is impossible to ascertain, e.g. *P.Yadin II*, 54–5; 61 (132–5 CE), three Hebrew letters from Simon bar Kosiba (i.e. Bar Kokhba) in which a group of migrants from Tekoa<sup>4</sup> now resident in Engedi is mentioned.

35 The figures are approximations based on the work of Haley 1991 for Spain; Wierschowski 1995 for Gaul. For Rome: Noy 2000: 9. Our sample is similar in size to that drawn up for Lusitania by Stanley (143 individuals), although his dataset includes soldiers and veterans. See Stanley 1990.

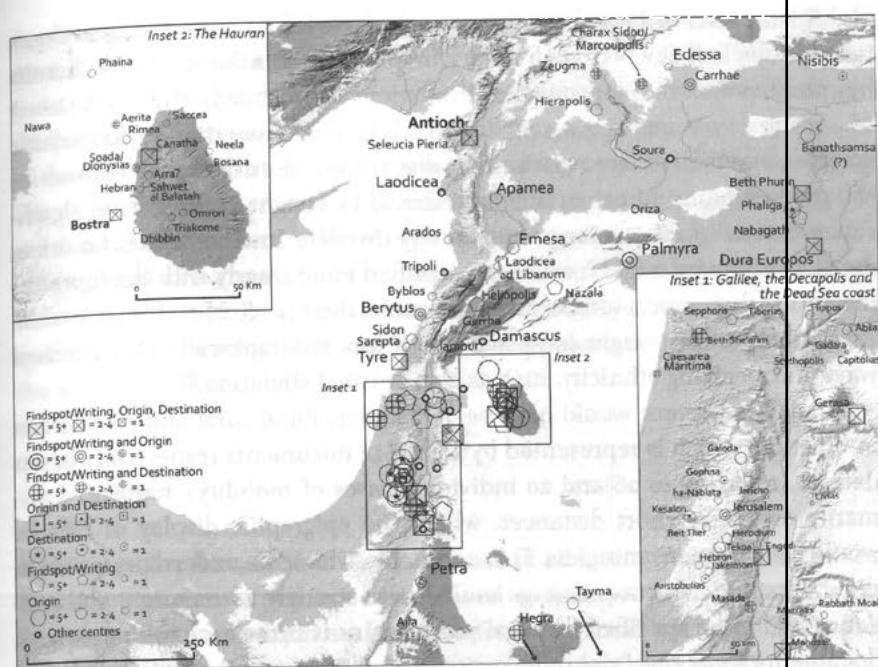


FIGURE 14.1 Mobility in the Roman Near East (limited to explicit occurrences of *ethnika/origines*)

seasonal migration of a tribal group of Palmyrene affiliation. Another hub was the site of Beth She'arim, an important Jewish necropolis which drew in diaspora Jews from nearby cities and villages as well as from locales further away. Finally, the five emigrants of 'Engedi who are attested in or around Malhoza bear witness to the strong connections that bound the Jewish communities on either side of the Dead Sea in the first and early-second centuries CE, a historical reality on which the papyri of the Judaean desert shed much light (see below).

Regarding geographical patterns, one should register the superiority of inter-urban and urban-rural mobility (which jointly provide 58 cases against 26 episodes of rural-rural mobility, or 20 cases of rural-urban mobility).<sup>36</sup> It is tempting to interpret these figures as reflecting a higher level of literacy in the cities. However, this view sits uneasily with the very rich rural epigraphy (both private and public) of the Roman Near East. The hilly territories of Antioch

<sup>36</sup> 'Urban centre' refers to a settlement that, at the time of the compilation of the source concerned, had received the status of *polis*. These and the following figures do not include texts without *ethnika/origines*.

and Apamea in northern Syria, for example, have left us more than 400 Greek inscriptions, half of which are funerary. In southern Syria the barren Trachonitis has produced more than 500 texts. Even more astonishingly, the Black Desert of southern Syria and north-east Jordan has yielded more than 27,000 Safaitic graffiti – and many more remain to be discovered. More likely, the reasons for the predominance of urban migrants should be sought in the greater significance that an *ethnikon* or *origo* had for city-dwellers. In other words, for urban dwellers ethnicity might have been identified more clearly with the toponym indicating their origin (or, we might presume, their place of residence), while rural communities might have had other, less geographically characterised ways of conceiving ethnicity, such as clan or tribal affiliation.<sup>37</sup>

Equally important would have been distance. Rural-rural and rural-urban interaction, which is represented by 20 and 14 documents respectively in our dataset (referring to 26 and 20 individual cases of mobility), happened primarily over very short distances, where the epigraphic display of *ethnika* would have been meaningless. These contacts, which are underrepresented in the epigraphic evidence, emerge much more strongly when origin and residence had to be specified for legal purposes, as it is the case in the papyrus documents from the Euphrates region and those from the Judaean desert. Of 26 cases of rural-rural mobility, 17 are known thanks to the papyri of the Judaean desert, which shed light on mobility between villages which were generally separated by no more than a two days' walk and sometimes by as little as 4 kilometres.

Finally, an analysis of the dataset as a whole sheds some light on gender-specific migration. It has often been assumed that the bulk of migration involved young males in the 20–30 age group.<sup>38</sup> The analysis of the data from the Near East suggests that males did indeed prevail by a large margin, numbering 82, while migrant women are reckoned at between 16 and 18.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, even where not explicitly mentioned, several inscriptions concerning female migrants suggest that they had migrated with their spouses and children, thus

37 This does not mean that city-dwellers did not have tribal affiliations (see, for the cases of Palmyra and Edessa, Healey 2001). However, as foreigners, they might have been more inclined to highlight their allegiance to their *polis* rather than to their tribe.

38 Burmeister 2000: 543.

39 The two uncertain cases are those of *P.Mur.* 115 (124 CE) and *P.Hey* 69 (130 CE), a re-marriage contract and a cancelled marriage contract, which both imply post-marriage movement of at least one of the spouses. While we would expect women to have been most affected by post-marriage migration, the Judaean desert documents suggest, in several cases, a rather different scenario.

suggesting the possibility of household migration possibly motivated by the choices of their husbands.<sup>40</sup>

In conclusion, quantitative analysis offers little help in trying to determine the prevailing patterns of mobility. When these seem to emerge, as in the case of the prevalence of urban over rural migrants, they appear to have been determined by different perceptions of ethnicity, and their display, rather than by the demographics of migration. At any rate, the small size of our sample and its geographical unevenness make it ill-suited to statistical analysis. This data may be more meaningfully employed to analyse mobility and migration from a qualitative and typological angle. This is the approach that will be followed in the remainder of this paper.

### Space

Mobility in the Roman Near East happened at all levels, from the micro-local to the interregional (perhaps best defined as 'interprovincial'). Perhaps the best example of migration at the micro-local and local-level mobility is provided by the papyrological documentation from early second-century Judaea and Arabia (Figure 14.2). The documents, which are written in Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean, belonged to Jewish families that played a leading role in the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–5 CE) and found refuge in the caves of wadi Murabba'at, wadi Khabra (better known as Nahal Ḥever), wadi Seiyal and wadi al-Mafjar, taking their documents and possessions with them.<sup>41</sup> Papyri shed light on the everyday life of the upper strata of society in the rural communities of Judaea and Arabia, and particularly in the two centres of 'Engedi (in the province of Judaea) and of Maḥoza in the province of Arabia (which had been part of the Nabataean kingdom before 106 CE). Deeds of sale, marriage contracts, repudiations, loans and other private documents attest to the close links existing between the village communities of the two neighbouring provinces, with people migrating from one to the other.

Marriage seems to have been a frequent cause for migration, an aspect which is particularly borne out by the archives of Babatha and Salome Komaise, two relatively wealthy Jewish ladies from the town of Maḥoza in the territory

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Wad. 2321 (2nd/3rd c.) from Suweyda; I.Gerasa 232 (mid-3rd c.) from Gerasa; Weber 2002: 310 n. IS65 (1st-3rd c.) from Sepphoris.

<sup>41</sup> The historical background to the revolt is provided by Yadin 1971. For the Roman point of view see Eck 1999. For a summary of the history of the purchase and discovery of the scrolls see Fields 2000.

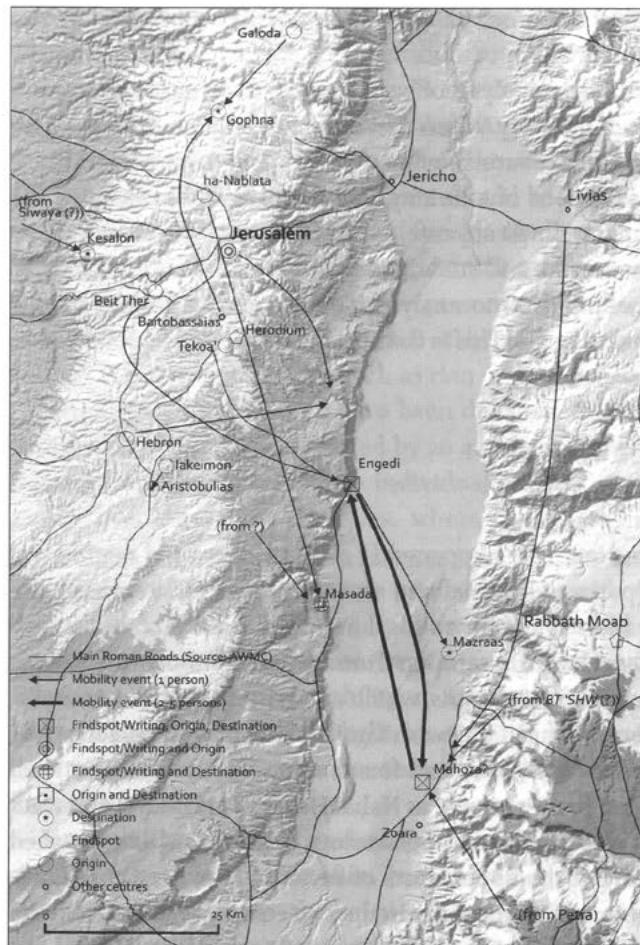


FIGURE 14.2 Migration in the papyri of the Judaean desert

of Zoara (modern Ghor as-Safi).<sup>42</sup> A case in point is *P.Yadin* 1, 37 (9 Jul 131), a marriage contract signed in Mahoza between Salome (through her guardian Menahem) from Mahoza and her second husband, Yeshua son of Menahem. This latter is said to be τῷ[ν οἰκούντων ἐν κώ]μῃ | Σοφφαθε[...]...περὶ πόλιν Λιουάδος τῆς Π[εραίας], i.e. 'of those living in the village of Sophphathe, near the city of Livias of the Peraea'. The meaning of this clause is heavily reliant on

<sup>42</sup> For the archive of Babatha see Isaac 1992 with corrections in Lewis 1994; for the archive of Salome Komaise: Cotton 1995. The exact location of Mahoza has yet to be determined. See Cotton and Greenfield 1995.

Lewis' and Isaac's restorations.<sup>43</sup> It has been assumed to be a domicile clause, indicating that Yeshua lived in Sophphathe. However, the fact that the marriage contract was signed in Mahoza and the use of the expression συμβιωσάτ[όν Ιησοῦν μετ'] αὐτῇ \ ζ / ώ[ζ κ]αὶ πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου – 'that Yeshua lives with her as he has done previously', suggesting pre-marital cohabitation on the basis of an 'unofficial marriage' (ἀγραφος γάμος) – make it far more likely that it indicated the origin of Yeshua, who had moved to Mahoza prior to his official marriage to Salome, perhaps as a consequence of this relationship.<sup>44</sup>

Another case of marriage-related migration is referred to in a cancelled marriage contract signed in Aristoboulias of the Zeiphene, presumably Khirbet Istabul in the territory of the village of Zif (modern Tell Zif).<sup>45</sup> The two parties were the mother of the bride Selampious and the groom Akabas, son of Meir. Both parties are referred to as τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Ἰκείμων τ[ῆς Ζειφενῆς ?], 'those from the village of Ikeimon of the Zeiphene'. This village has been tentatively identified with Khirbet Yuqim, which lies c. 3.5 km north of Kh. Istabul.<sup>46</sup> Quite clearly, Selampious and her mother must have resided in Aristoboulias. Whether the groom had also moved there from his native village of Ἰκείμων, we do not know. Certainly, at least one of the two spouses had moved to Aristoboulias either before or immediately after the marriage contract was drawn up. A similar case is referred to in *P.Mur. 115* (124 CE), a re-marriage contract signed in Baitobassaias in the toparchy of Herodium, between Elaios son of Simon and Salome daughter of Yohanan ben Galgoula. Elaios was a migrant: he was from the village of Galoda (modern Jaloud), but lived in Baitoardis, a village lying in the territory of Gophna (modern Jifna, c. 20 km north of Jerusalem).<sup>47</sup> Like in the previous case, we must presume that Baitobassaias was Salome's place of residence, and that either she or Elaios moved to the other person's place of residence as a consequence of the re-established relationship.

The private documents from the Judaean desert bear witness to a rural world in continuous motion. People from Jerusalem, Hebron, Beth Ther, ha-Luhit (in the vicinity of Mahoza) and various other villages of uncertain

43 See comments in *P.Yadin 1*, 37, line 3, and Isaac 1992: 69.

44 Cotton 1995: 206–207. On the use of the verb συμβιω to indicate co-habitation as opposed to γαμέω for the official act of marriage see Ilan 1999: 237f. *P.Yadin 1*, 37, line 11 suggests that at the time of signing the marriage contract Yeshua had not yet acquired any possessions of his own in Mahoza.

45 For a discussion of this document see Cotton 1994.

46 Cotton 1994: 73.

47 τῶν ἀπὸ κ(ώμης) Γαλωδῶν τῆς περὶ Ἀκραβατῶν οἰκῶν ἐν κώμῃ Βαιτοαρδοῖς τῆς περὶ Γοφνοῖς (*P.Mur. 115*, lines 2–3).

location are attested as witnesses and scribes in the contracts signed at 'Engedi before and during the Bar Kokhba revolt.<sup>48</sup> On the southern side of the Dead Sea, in Maḥoza, a similar pattern of migration and mobility is in evidence: alongside a sizeable community of Jewish Engedenes (whose ancestors might have moved to Maḥoza during the revolt of 66–73 CE, when 'Engedi was destroyed), we also find Nabataeans like Maras son of Abdalgos from Petra, who was Babatha's guardian in her litigation with Iulia Crispina over the contested property of Yeshua, son of Eleazar.<sup>49</sup>

Provincial boundaries seem to have mattered little for this rural population. People like Judas son of Eleazar, Babatha's second husband, lived lives which, if not 'transnational', were certainly 'trans-provincial':<sup>50</sup> Judas, an Engedene, is attested as renting out property of his own in the vicinity of Maḥoza as early as 119/20 CE. He must have been able to speak and read not only Aramaic and Hebrew, but also Nabataean, for the tenancy agreement was written in that language.<sup>51</sup> Whether he resided in Maḥoza at this time we do not know, for the papyrus only gives his *ethnikon* ('NGD[Y]'). It is possible that he remained in 'Engedi until perhaps 125 CE, for he is attested there as obtaining a seven-month loan from a centurion in May 124.<sup>52</sup> In October 125 we find him again in Maḥoza as the guardian and likely husband of Babatha (he is said to be her 'GWN, 'lord').<sup>53</sup> However, it is only in December 127 that we have confirmation of his having moved his domicile to Maḥoza, for he is said to be "from the village of 'Engedi of the territory of Jericho of Judaea, living in his property in the same town of Maḥoza".<sup>54</sup>

<sup>48</sup> On the mobility of witnesses during the Bar Kokhba revolt see Ilan 2001.

<sup>49</sup> *P.Yadin* 1, 25 (9 Jul 131).

<sup>50</sup> I borrow the concept of 'transnational livelihoods', adapted to a pre-nation-state context, from the work of migration theorists. For a brief discussion of the concept of 'transnationalism' see De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume. Cf. Schiller et al. (1995: 48) for whom 'transnational migrants' are "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders".

<sup>51</sup> *P.Yadin* 2, 6 (119/20 CE). Judas' knowledge of Greek seems to have been limited (although he may have understood it), for in his deeds he always signs in Aramaic (e.g. *P.Yadin* 1, 19, lines 28–9, written on 16 Apr 128 CE). In *P.Yadin* 1, 11, lines 29–30 (6 May 124) his declaration in Aramaic is translated by a scribe into Greek.

<sup>52</sup> *P.Yadin* 1, 11 (6 May 124). The loan must have been repaid on time for the courtyard remained in the possession of Judas's father and was later inherited by Judas and passed on to his daughter Selampious (*P.Yadin* 1, 19 (16 Apr 128)).

<sup>53</sup> *P.Yadin* 1, 15 (11 or 12 Oct 125).

<sup>54</sup> *P.Yadin* 1, 16 (2 and 4 Dec 127), lines 16–7: κώμης Αἰγαδδῶν περὶ Ἱερειχοῦντα τῆς Ἰουδαίας οἰκοῦντος ἐν Ἰδίοις ἐν αὐτῇ Μαωζά.

In this landscape, women moved among villages just as much as men did. Miriam, the first wife of Judas son of Eleazar, migrated to Maḥoza from 'Engedi at an unspecified time before Judas' death, which must have occurred between April 128 and September 130.<sup>55</sup> Almost sixty years earlier, toward the end of the First Revolt, a repudiation act signed in Masada involved two migrants from different villages, Joseph son of Naqsan, whose *origo* is not preserved, and his now ex-wife Miriam daughter of Jonathan, from the village of NBLT, identified with Bir Nabala c. 7 km north-west of Jerusalem.<sup>56</sup>

Whether this level of mobility is representative of society as a whole is impossible to say. The majority of the families that appear in the documents of the Judaean desert were middling or big landowners: Judas son of Eleazar owned a courtyard house in 'Engedi, land in the vicinity of Maḥoza and a house in this town; his daughter Selampious received a dowry of 500 *denarii* upon marrying.<sup>57</sup> Babatha was also very wealthy: she owned four separate date palm orchards in various areas around Maḥoza. The family of Salome Komaise was less well-off, but still belonged to Maḥoza's landowning élite.<sup>58</sup>

However, mobility also involved many other people whose economic status cannot be ascertained, such as scribes, witnesses and guardians from Jerusalem, Hebron, Beit Ther, Petra, etc. Three letters written by Bar Kokhba to his commanders in 'Engedi suggest the presence of a sizeable group there of illegal migrants from Tekoa (roughly a one day's walk away from 'Engedi).<sup>59</sup> Based on this evidence, one would be tempted to suggest that local migration – whether motivated by economic, familial or other reasons – concerned fairly diverse social groups.

A high level of mobility is also attested in the papyri and parchments from the Euphrates region (Figure 14.3).

The main difficulty in using these documents is that we are rarely able to identify the location of the toponyms appearing in them. This difficulty creates particular problems in the case of the so-called 'Middle-Euphrates' parchments,

<sup>55</sup> See discussion in Lewis 1996. Some commentators believe that Judas had lived with Miriam and Babatha in a regime of polygamy. See discussion in Katzoff 1995; Oudshoorn 2007: 221–228.

<sup>56</sup> *P.Mur. 19* (Oct 72). For a discussion of the dating see Goodblatt 1999. Since the papyrus was found in wadi Murabba'at, Miriam must have left Masada prior to the beginning of the Roman siege in late 73 CE.

<sup>57</sup> *P.Yadin 1, 18* (5 Apr 128).

<sup>58</sup> Salome Komaise received as a gift from her mother a date palm orchard and half a courtyard in 129 CE (*XHev/Se gr 1*, Nov 129). Her dowry was reckoned at 96 denarii (*P.Yadin 1, 37*, line 7 (7 Aug 131)).

<sup>59</sup> *P.Yadin 2, 54; 55; 61* (132–5 CE).

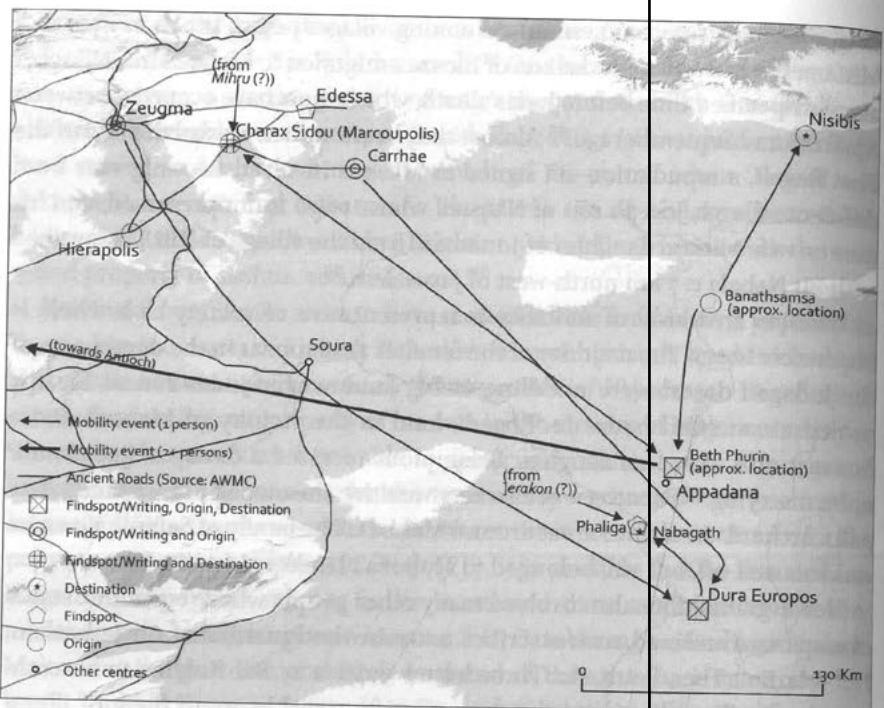


FIGURE 14.3 Mobility and migration flows in P. Dura and P. Euphr

a group of 21 texts (2 of them written in Syriac) which were probably hidden away (alongside other possessions) during the Persian offensive of 256 CE.<sup>60</sup> These documents belonged to one or more families of traders probably based in the village of Beth Phurin in the district of Appadana.<sup>61</sup> While the village remains unidentified, Appadana has been tentatively equated by some scholars with modern Tell Fudayn along the lower course of the Khabur.<sup>62</sup> The owners

60 The literature on these documents has been steadily growing since their publication, which was completed almost 15 years ago. See, *inter alia*, Gnoli 2000; Mazza 2007; Merola 2012.

61 For an attempt to reconstruct the family structure of the people mentioned in the documents see Mazza 2007. Cf. also Gnoli 2000: 22–30.

62 Dussaud 1927: 483; Gascou 1999: 64 n.11; Gnoli 1999: 350–1; 355. The editors of the texts, however, preferred to identify Appadana with the one mentioned in the *P.Dura* papyri, and located south of the confluence with the Khabur but north of Dura, on the Syrian side of the Euphrates (Feissel and Gascou 1989: 541ff.). This view is also backed by Merola (2012: 8–10). Beth Phurin lay along the Euphrates (*P.Mesopotamia* B, 7: BYT PWRY(N) QRYT DBPRT). The provincial attribution of the district of Appadana remains hotly

of the *P.Euphr.* texts had links across the region between the Euphrates and the Khabur, but also with more distant areas.

Inter-rural mobility between Beth Phurin, Appadana and the Abourene district (which lay somewhere between al-Hasaka to the north and Appadana to the south) is well attested. In *P.Euphr.* 8 (251 CE), a sale of a slave recorded in Beth Phurin, none of the two parties is a local resident: the seller, Absalmas, son of Abedrodakos, came from the village of Beathagae in the Abourene, while the buyer, Samsaios, son of Teias, came from Banathsamsa of the same district. The former had purchased his slave in Nisibis less than nine months prior to reselling him in Beth Phurin. A year later another villager of Banathsamsa, a certain Aurelius Aulaeias who was at the time resident in Beth Phurin, sold yet another slave acquired in Nisibis through the agency of Aurelia Victorina – a resident, but not a native, of Nisibis.<sup>63</sup> The temporary character of Aulaeias' residence in Beth Phurin is indicated by the expression [οἰκοῦντο]ς δὲ νῦν ἐν Βηπουρέῃ, 'who now lives in Beth Phurin', instead of the more usual οἰκῶν δὲ ἐν, 'living in [—]'.

Clearly, the high degree of mobility of the people appearing in the Euphrates papyri is to be explained primarily as a function of their commercial interests in the various centres of the region. Unsurprisingly, commerce attracted the villagers of Beth Phurin and the Abourene to the main cities of Mesopotamia and Osrohene. In addition to Nisibis, the cities of Charax Sidou (which became Marcopolis between 240 CE and 242 CE) and Charrae were visited by the people of *P.Euphr.* The former appears in the documents of Worod, son of Nisharyahab, from Beth Phurin, who resided there around 240–242 CE;<sup>64</sup> the latter is mentioned as the place where Nisharyahab son of Worod (probably the same man as the Worod mentioned in *P.Mesopotamia A* and *B*), himself from Beth Phurin, purchased a horse.<sup>65</sup>

In comparison with *P.Euphr.*, the documents from Dura Europos are much less informative, with only six documents providing information concerning human mobility. Four of them concern movements between Dura and the villages of its hinterland, while another two concern inter-urban mobility. To the first category belongs *P.Dura* 25 (180 CE), a deed of sale of a slave and half a vineyard located in Nabagath, a village lying c. 50 km upstream from

debated: Gnoli (1999, 2000) assigned it to Osrohene, while the editors of the documents, but also Merola (2010, 385 n.7; 2012: 4–10; 35–41) assign it to the province of Coele Syria.

<sup>63</sup> *P.Euphr.* 9 (252 CE). Aurelia Victorina's *origo* must have disappeared in the large lacuna at the beginning of line 14; she might have hailed from Banathsamsa, like the seller.

<sup>64</sup> *P.Mesopotamia A* (240 CE); *P.Mesopotamia B* (242 CE).

<sup>65</sup> *P.Euphr.* 10 (250 CE).

Dura.<sup>66</sup> The document was written in Europos and involved the brothers Lysias and Heliodoros sons of Lysias, whose onomastics suggest they belonged to the leading families of Dura, most of whom were of Macedonian descent.<sup>67</sup> Lysias is said to have been "a citizen of Europos residing in the village of Nabagath" (Εὐρωπαῖος οἰκῶν δὲ ἐν Ναβαγάτοις κώμη). We do not know whether his brother also lived there: the fact that the document was drawn up in Dura may suggest that he did not. The economic possibilities of the area near the confluence of the Khabur and the Euphrates, which is known from other papyri to have been a wine-producing area (e.g. *P.Dura* 23 (133 CE), 26 (226 CE)), may have acted as an economic pull factor for Lysias' family when they decided to migrate there. If that were the case, however, it would be difficult to explain why Lysias decided to sell his share of the vineyard to his brother only a month after taking possession of it, probably after inheriting it. Perhaps Lysias urgently needed money to settle some debt which he had incurred.

As far as inter-urban mobility is concerned, Dura is known to have hosted an important community of Palmyrene soldiers and merchants, but also people from the village of Anath and from Hatra.<sup>68</sup> To these groups we must add a group of migrants from Zeugma, at least for the period immediately preceding the end of Dura's occupation. Evidence for these migrants comes from a parchment, but also, and most importantly, from the painted inscriptions found in house C of block G5. Around 250–256 CE, this house was probably used to run a prostitution and entertainment business, which involved, at the peak of its use, as many as 90 people.<sup>69</sup> A series of *tabellae* painted on the walls of the main room of the house (C2) contains references to the movement of people to and from Zeugma. For a period of about nine months at least four separate arrivals of people are recorded. Among them were prostitutes but also male

<sup>66</sup> The village of Nabagath of the *hyparchia* of Gabalein is believed to have been located just south of the confluence between the Euphrates and the Khabur, likely on the left bank of the Euphrates: Dussaud 1927: 466; Gnoli 1999: 331–2; Gnoli 2000: 38.

<sup>67</sup> It is difficult to know whether the two were part of the family of the Lysiads that produced some of the city's *strategoi* and *epistatai*. As the editors rightly noted, neither of the two brothers is known from other documents, nor is Aristonicus, the name of their great-grandfather, known in the local onomastics.

<sup>68</sup> These will be discussed below.

<sup>69</sup> Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 202–265. 63 names are preserved on the plaster of C2. Estimating the total size of the inscription, Immerwehr guessed that as many 80–90 could have been given in total: Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 217. As McGinn 2004: 223–5 and Baird 2007: 428–9 have noted, this building would have functioned as 'headquarters of the entertainment/prostitution business, but the entertainers' lodgings and venues for their activities were likely located elsewhere in the neighbourhood.'

and female entertainers such as actors and singers. Many of the entertainers were slaves, as specified in one of the *tabellae*.<sup>70</sup> As Immerwahr noted many years ago, it is very likely that this business catered to the needs of the soldiers. It might even have been run by the army.<sup>71</sup> One of the free men involved in this enterprise could have been Aurelius Theodorus, whom we encounter in *P.Dura* 29 (251 CE). This document is an acknowledgement of a deposit of 100 *denarii* by Amaththabeile into the hands of Aurelia Gaia.<sup>72</sup> The latter, who was illiterate, delegated a certain Aurelius Theodorus, originating from Zeugma, but resident in Dura (Ζευγματεύς οἱ[χ]ών ἐνταῦθ[α], "a citizen of Zeugma living here") to confirm the receipt of the funds. The wall inscriptions of house C show that the business that was run from here provided the information and infrastructure to facilitate the relocation of people from Zeugma to Dura. 'Organisational migration' might be envisaged here, though the extent to which this label is appropriate depends on the status of the migrants. If they were all slaves (and we know that some of them were), their decision-making process would have counted for little.

Valuable information concerning the geographical range of mobility can also be gleaned from the rich epigraphic record of the Roman Near East. As we have seen, mobile urbanites are strongly represented in these texts. Many urbanites moved to other cities. Antiochenes are found in Caesarea Maritima, Gerasa and Soada-Dionysias; Gerasenes are attested in Antioch and Canatha; Emesenes are known from Berytus and Laodicea ad Libanum. The geographical distribution of the Palmyrenes differs from that of the other urbanites. Apart from Dura, they are mostly attested in the villages of the hinterland of Palmyra. When we take into account Palmyrene inscriptions found outside of the immediate surroundings of Palmyra, many texts appear to have been related to seasonal migrations (see below). On the whole, inscriptions provide a more heterogeneous picture of mobility than the papyri, with movements taking place at local, regional and 'interprovincial' level.

<sup>70</sup> Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 217. The status of the prostitutes and entertainers mentioned in Fr. I cols. 1–5 is not specified.

<sup>71</sup> Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 261. Pollard interprets the absence of prices in the painted inscriptions as evidence that no cash transactions took place in this building. This, and the presence of numerous slaves, led him to argue that the whole business was in the hands of the army: Pollard 1996: 225–6, Pollard 2000: 53–4; 188.

<sup>72</sup> Although the gentilician name Aurelius was obviously widespread in the mid-third century, it is tempting to see in this Aurelia Gaia the same person as the Aurelia mentioned on the painted *tabellae* as involved in the logistics of the entertaining business (Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 214–5, col. 5, lines 5f.; col. 6, line 1; col. 8).

### Time

Determining the chronological articulation of mobility is particularly challenging, owing to the very limited number of sources which allow us to distinguish between seasonal, temporary, circular and permanent mobility and migration. In the vast majority of cases, we are reduced to guesswork. In what follows, I will group seasonal mobility, which is related to pastoralism and nomadism, with temporary mobility, which I view as a function of itinerant work. A few words will also be said about circular mobility, of which very few instances appear in our dataset. Permanent mobility is even more difficult to study. From the point of view of inscriptions and papyri, only those cases in which mobility was followed by death can be grouped under this heading. In the vast majority of cases it cannot be determined, however, whether someone who died in a locality that was not their place of birth was a temporary resident or someone who had decided to spend the rest of his or her life in that locality.<sup>73</sup> For this reason, funerary inscriptions are of limited value in identifying cases of permanent migration.

Nomadism was a deep-rooted reality in the Roman Near East, and one which emerges clearly in the thousands of graffiti scattered across the Syrian and north-Arabian desert. Safaitic inscriptions attest to the seasonal movements between the *harra*, the black desert of southern Syria and north-east Jordan and the *hamad*, the 'open desert' which lies in modern western Syria and northern Saudi Arabia. As Macdonald has noted, nomads left the eastern edge of the *harra* at the end of the dry season (the QYZ of the Safaitic texts) in October, in order to 'migrate east' (as indicated by the verb 'SRQ') or south. There they spent the winter (STY) and early spring (DT) before moving again west for the summer (SYF and QYZ) when they travelled as far as the eastern (and occasionally the western) slopes of the jebel al-'Arab.<sup>74</sup> A major difficulty in mapping the geographic distribution of these movements is that nomads – because of their social organisation – did not employ ethnics with a geographical connotation, but rather used tribal affiliation as a means to

73 A case in point is that of Monica, the mother of Augustine, who died and was buried in Ostia while Augustine's company was waiting there to sail south to Africa. Without the *Confessiones*, we would have no means of knowing the story of this 'migrant in transfer'.

74 Macdonald 1992. Safaitic texts in the jebel al-'Arab have been found in considerable numbers: see Zeinaddin 2000 who lists more than 400 Safaitic graffiti, mostly from the eastern slopes of the jebel. See also Macdonald 2006: 300–1, who partially revises his own, earlier views on the topic.

represent their sense of belonging and ethnicity.<sup>75</sup> Unlike the towns that recur in the *ethnika* of the sedentaries, nomadic tribes are mobile entities whose homeland was not circumscribed by walls or boundary markers. Consequently, their seasonal movements are ill at ease with a classification of migration which insists on the process of human mobility between well-defined sending and receiving communities. There are a few exceptions, however. Some Safaitic texts contain toponyms that can be readily identified with known place names, thus allowing us to reconstruct the movements of their inscribers. For example, *sij* 463 found near Jawa was written by a Wadan b. Khulaq, "who pastured flocks in the Leja", the lava plateau to the north-west of the jebel al-'Arab. A text found in wadi Salma (north-east of Jordan) tells us that its writer travelled from Gilead (i.e. the region of north-west Jordan) to Palmyra.<sup>76</sup> Another intriguing case is that of a group of 13 Palmyrene graffiti (two of which are bilingual Palmyrene-Safaitic texts) found in wadi Rijelat Umm Kabar (western Iraq), which attest to the seasonal migration of a tribal group under the leadership of a certain Zubaida, son of Hawmal, during the Palmyrene *strategia* of someone whose name is not preserved. The group, who appear to have belonged to the BNY MŠKN DY TYM' ('Bani Mashkana of Tayma'), pitched their tents and pastured their animals around late February or March.<sup>77</sup> The tribe to which they belonged had probably come from Tayma in Arabia and may have had affiliations with the Bani Taymu present in Hatra, but the script, the onomastics, the *strategia* of *PAT* 2732 and the likely mention of 'the gods of Palmyra' in *PAT* 2740 all point to a Palmyrene cultural background for this group.<sup>78</sup> Whether Zubaida was just the leader of a culturally Palmyrene' tribal group or whether he had an official Palmyrene role in monitoring the pastoral activities of the area remains debated.<sup>79</sup> Certainly, Palmyrenes seem to have been involved in the exploitation of seasonal pasture lands and farm lands in the desert to the east and south-east of their city, as a Palmyrene text from the depression of Qa'ara mentions the presence of

75 The best discussion of the evidence of Safaitic inscriptions for the study of nomadism is still Macdonald 1992.

76 King 1990: 67 n. 17.

77 *PAT* 2732–2742 (98 CE).

78 See discussion in Safar 1964: 10; Teixidor 1967: 183; Segal 1986: 57–8. Teixidor 1967: 184, following a suggestion of Gawlikowski, suggest we should read 'LHY T(DMR)', the "gods of Palmyra". in line 5 of *PAT* 2740.

79 Smith 11, 2013: 52; 129. But Smith, perhaps building on Gawlikowski 1983: 58, wrongly assumes Zubaida to have been a *strategos* whereas *PAT* 2732 actually reads ZBYD' BR HWML B 'STRTGWT... (lines 2–3). See also Teixidor (1967) 187.

'harvesters' (HSDY') who had come to the 'borders'.<sup>80</sup> People who wrote in Palmyrene and worshipped the gods of Palmyra are also found in Wadi Miqat, far to the south-west of Palmyra, where their graffiti is surrounded by countless Safaitic ones.<sup>81</sup> Like the nomads who wrote in this latter script, the two Palmyrenes of Wadi Miqat – who incised their writing in the month of Nisan (April) – would have likely been nomads, retreating to the semi-perennial water sources of that region during the summer season.<sup>82</sup>

Temporary relocation is also found among the settled population of the Roman Near East. Some categories of people engaging in short-term mobility fit Manning's definition of 'sojourners'. These were mostly professionals who moved for a short period of time to a new locale with a specific, well-defined aim, and returned to their homes upon accomplishing it. An example of this behaviour is provided by athletes and actors, whose careers provided plenty of chances for short-term mobility. One such example is that of Aurelius Septimius Eirenaios from Laodicea, a boxer, runner and wrestler who won fame at athletic games all over the Near East (at Askalon, Scythopolis, Sidon, Tripolis, Hierapolis, Beroia, Zeugma, Apamea, Chalcis, Antioch, Mopsuestia), but also in Greece (Patrae and Salamis) and Italy (Tarentum).<sup>83</sup> Many other professions would have involved short-term mobility. Actors, for example, were also often on the move. One case is that provided by the comic actor Q. Caecilius Allous from Antioch, who erected a small marble column (probably to Dionysius) in the theatre of Caesarea Maritima, no doubt on occasion of his performing there.<sup>84</sup> Another is that of the pantomime Julius Paris, a citizen of both Apamea and Antioch, who was active in Berytus where he was honoured with the *seviratum*.<sup>85</sup> Another profession which likely involved short-term mobility is that of the stone-masons/architects. Various inscriptions from the Hawran suggest that builders of tombs and public buildings did not always come from the place where the structure was built.<sup>86</sup> Temporary relocation also involved dignitaries

<sup>80</sup> PAT 2730. A similar expression is used in the Palmyrene graffiti PAT 2810 (early third century), found in the area of the oil field T1 in the Euphrates valley, south-east of ancient Eddana. See also comments in Teixidor 1963; Smith II, 2013: 4.

<sup>81</sup> Caquot 1970: 413 on Oxtoby 1968: 102.

<sup>82</sup> Macdonald 1992: 9–10.

<sup>83</sup> IGLS 4, 1265 (221 CE).

<sup>84</sup> CIHP 2, 1135 (first to third century).

<sup>85</sup> AE 1976, 686 (117–138 CE).

<sup>86</sup> For example, PUAES IIIA, 735 (third century, from Busan) concerning a builder (?) from Canatha; Dunand, Musée n.222 (295 CE, from Salkhad) concerning Diogenes, a builder (?) from the nearby village of 'Orman (5 km from Salkhad). From a later period comes also Wad. 2381 (fourth century, from Sleim) which mentions a builder from Neapolis (Nablus).

and officials. A particularly numerous group is that of city councillors, whom inscriptions and papyri suggest to have sometimes lived in the villages around the city in whose *boule* they served. This was the case of Abedsautas son of Abediardas, who was a *bouleutes* of Neapolis (formerly Appadana) despite hailing from and residing in the nearby village of Beth Phurin.<sup>87</sup> Epigraphically, this case is particularly borne out by the cities of Bostra and Canatha, whose city councillors lived or at least owned property in the hinterland of the city.<sup>88</sup>

Another form of temporary relocation was that which involved judicial hearings. While several options and authorities for settling disputes were available at local level, unresolved lawsuits could be brought to the attention of the provincial governors or their legates, who held court in the provincial capital and in the cities at the head of a province's judiciary districts (the dioceses) on occasion of a governor's annual *conventus*.<sup>89</sup> Both the Judaean desert papyri and the Euphrates documents provide various examples of this. In the Babatha archive, we find evidence of three different court disputes. The best documented of these is a dispute over the possessions of the orphan sons of Jesus son of Eleazar, the brother of Babatha's second husband, which is illuminated by *P.Yadin* 1, 23–5. The guardians of the orphans accused Babatha of illegally taking over an orchard belonging to the heirs of Jesus, threatening court action if an agreement could not be reached. This happened between 130 CE and 131 CE, when first Besas (the *epitropos* of the orphans) and then Iulia Crispina (their *episkopos*), successfully petitioned the governor Haterius Nepos to make their case heard in Petra (*P.Yadin* 1, 24–5). Babatha replied suggesting that the case be heard in Rabbath Moab, where evidently the governor would hold his *conventus* at some point during the year. As Cotton and Eck have noted, she was probably playing for time. *P.Yadin* 1, 25 ends with a passage in which Iulia Crispina seems to reject Babatha's suggestion, once again summoning her to Petra.<sup>90</sup> Although we do not know how the dispute was concluded, it seems clear that both parties would have had to travel to Petra and presumably spend

A stone-cutter from the village of Phaina (Mismiyeh north-west of the Trachonitis) is also attested near Scythopolis (*BE* 1988, 216).

<sup>87</sup> *P.Euphr.* 3–4 (252–6 CE).

<sup>88</sup> For Bostra see e.g. Wad. 2302 (from Kraskeh, ed.pr.) and Wad. 2506 (3rd–4th c., from Shaqra). For Canatha see Wad. 2216 (from Neela/Mushannef). Sartre 1985: 56 observes that more than half of the c. 30 city councillors of Bostra are attested from inscriptions coming from the villages of the city's hinterland.

<sup>89</sup> The bibliography on the organisation of provincial courts and governors' *conventus* is very rich. See, among others, Bryen 2012; Burton 1975; Marshall 1966. For Egypt: Lewis 1981.

<sup>90</sup> On this case as a whole and the light it sheds on the judiciary system of the provinces of Judaea and Arabia, see Cotton and Eck 2005: 34ff.

several days there until their case would be heard.<sup>91</sup> Some litigants had to wait much longer. In *P.Euphr.* 1, a petition of 245 CE, four villagers from Beth Phurin state they had been waiting for eight months (*σχολάσαντες τῷ σῷ δικαστηρίῳ μῆνας ὅκτω*) before their case was finally submitted to the attention of Julius Priscus.<sup>92</sup> Presumably, the villagers would have taken up temporary residence in one of the inns of the city during the eight months that preceded the first hearing.

We may now turn to analysing the evidence for circular mobility. Perhaps the most likely case of circular mobility that appears in the sources is that of Worod son of Nisharyahab, a villager of Beth Phurin in Mesopotamia. *PMesopotamia A* (240 CE) refers to him as a Phourene (MN BYT PWRYN) resident in Charax (D'MR BKRK' HDT') and paying a compensation of 150 *denarii* on behalf of Ba'ishu son of Shamash'aqab on account of the latter's defaulting on a loan of that value; the document that was issued to Worod, a transfer of debt, gave him the right to reclaim his credit from Ba'ishu.<sup>93</sup> In *PMesopotamia B* (242 CE), a lease of a repossessed property, Worod is no longer said to be a resident of the city (which had by then been renamed Marcopolis, following the demise of the Edessene dynasty). Considering that his documents were part of the Beth Phurin 'cachette', it is likely that Worod himself took them back with him to his native village. Worod would appear to have been a money lender. In *PMesopotamia B* he is shown to have taken possession of an estate (including cultivable lands, houses and animal pens) which had been mortgaged by a certain Aurelius Shama son of Moqimai. Worod subsequently rented the property to Shama's son. If the author of *P.Euphr.* 16, a letter written after 239 CE, is to be identified with the same Worod, this strategy must have paid dividends: this document suggests that he possessed grazing lands (shepherds are mentioned) and was involved in interregional trade (the letter, perhaps sent from Antioch, mentions camel caravans going from Beroia to Zeugma).

Clues concerning other probable or possible cases of circular mobility are to be found in the epigraphic record. Two funerary epigrams from Soada and

<sup>91</sup> As Iulia Crispina's first summon confirms when saying that the parties would have had to wait in Hadriana Petra until they had been heard (*P.Yadin* 1, 25, lines 10–2).

<sup>92</sup> Julius Priscus was the brother of the emperor Philip and at the time of the petition also the holder of a superprovincial *imperium* which gave him judicial power not only on Mesopotamia, of which he was governor, but also on all the eastern provinces (as testified by his title of *rector Orientis* in *ILS* 9005 from Philippopolis). See Feissel and Gascou 1989: 552–4.

<sup>93</sup> The edition of *PMesopotamia A* used here is that in Drijvers and Healey 1999: 237–242.

Gerasa refer to Antiochene women who had died away from home.<sup>94</sup> In both cases the wording suggests that the deceased had been accompanied abroad by members of their family who then made their way back to Antioch. To judge from the inscription from Soada, Flavia Charis' children, and probably also her husband, had returned to Antioch after her death, or at least had the intention to do so. In the Gerasa text, Iuliane's husband clearly states that she had come to Gerasa with him and would not now be following him back, an expression likely alluding to his imminent return to Antioch. Neither of these two cases, which suggest return migration, allows us to further qualify the effects that the returnees would have had on the sending community, nor the reasons that led them to migrate in the first place.

### Modal Aspects

In this section, I intend to look briefly at the modes of mobility and migration and the reasons lying behind it. By modes, I refer to the modal articulations of mobility discussed above (Section 2); as far as the reasons for mobility are concerned, the following six types may be identified: personal or family-related (which covers migration following marriage); career; economic; religious; motivated by institutions; and coercion (which lies outside of the scope of this article).

The extent to which network migration, whether personal or organisational, played a role in the formation of diasporas in the Roman Near East can only be guessed at in the majority of cases. We have already encountered two probable cases of network migration. Personal networks no doubt existed among the tightly-knit Jewish communities of Maḥoza and 'Engedi; their family links would have greatly facilitated the exchange of information and consequently eased the process of relocation. The entertaining business of Dura Europos might be an example of guild-like 'organisational' network migration, though as we have seen, the Zeugmatene entertainers and prostitutes might have been slaves (in which case we would be dealing with a case of involuntary migration).

As far as other migrant communities are concerned, a degree of network migration may only be surmised from indirect elements. In the case of the Palmyrene community of Dura Europos, which has been studied in detail by Lucinda Dirven, the evolution of the religious practices of the diaspora mirrors developments in Palmyra, suggesting the survival of strong links between

<sup>94</sup> Wad. 2321 (2nd/3rd c. according to Merkelbach and Stauber 2002: 409) and *I. Gerasa* 232 (mid-3rd c.).

sending and receiving communities.<sup>95</sup> These links, in turn, point to the existence of personal migrant networks. While only one bilingual inscription explicitly mentions the ethnic *Palmyrenos*, the existence of a Palmyrene community in Dura from the late-first century BCE to the fall of the city in the mid-third century CE is beyond dispute.<sup>96</sup> A total of 55 Palmyrene graffiti and inscriptions have been found in Dura, particularly in the area of the temple of Bel in the necropolis, in that of the temple of the Gadde in block H1, in the temple of Zeus Kyrios/Baalshamin (M8/N7) and in the 'temple of the Palmyrene gods' (J3-5).<sup>97</sup> The community was mostly made up of traders and soldiers, the latter being particularly prominent after the Roman takeover of the city in 164 CE.<sup>98</sup> Dirven noted how the expatriate Palmyrenes preferred the worship of 'civic' over 'tribal' Palmyrene deities, emphasising particularly the cult of Bel and his associated deities (Iarhibol and Aglibol) as well as that of the Gad Tadmor (the tutelary deity of the city of Palmyra as a whole) rather than the ancestral gods of individual clans. In her own words, "family religion tends to become less important once people are detached from their home town and constitute a minority in a foreign place".<sup>99</sup> At the same time, the Palmyrenes of Dura retained ideal as well as practical connections with their native land. The reliefs of the Gad Tadmor and Dura were engraved in Palmyra rather than in Dura, and the priest Hairan, a member of a prominent Palmyrene family and the financer of the temple of the Gad, is represented wearing the garments and hat (the *modius*) which are typical of the Palmyrene clergy.<sup>100</sup>

Another Palmyrene community which may be understood in terms of personal networks might be that of the Palmyrene Jews buried in Beth She'arim. The small town of Beserna in Galilee hosted one of the largest and most impressive Jewish cemeteries, which included 27 catacombs of the second to

<sup>95</sup> Dirven 1999. See also Sommer 2004: 850–2 and Dirven 2011, who also posits the existence of a community of expatriate Anathenes (centred on the cult of Aphlad, god of Anath) and a smaller community from Hatra.

<sup>96</sup> The bilingual inscription which contains the *ethnikon* is PAT 1078 (244/5 CE).

<sup>97</sup> The inscriptions are PAT 1067–1121.

<sup>98</sup> The question of whether Dura Europos played a role in the caravan trade remains open. Building on suggestions first advanced by Gawlikowski 1988, Dirven 1999: 34–40 suggests that Dura acted as the last overland stopping point along the outgoing caravan route to the Persian Gulf, upon which goods were loaded onto ships sailing southward. Camels left in Dura would have been put to use in the local trade between Palmyra and Dura, which represented the main source of livelihood for the expatriate Palmyrene community of Dura.

<sup>99</sup> Dirven 1999: 110–1.

<sup>100</sup> Dirven 1999: 99ff.

fourth centuries CE (the necropolis apparently ceased to be used after the town was destroyed in 351/2 CE). The traditional argument according to which this was a kind of 'Jewish Mecca' for the Jewish diaspora, whose members came to die here (or were brought here *post mortem*) has been forcefully challenged in recent years.<sup>101</sup> Many of the burial chambers and *arcosolia* bear names which allow us to identify members of the Jewish diaspora, who came mostly from cities of the coastal Levant and from Palmyra. Among the foreign deceased, we find several prominent members of their native Jewish communities (*archisynagogoi* and *gerousiarchai*), but also various professionals, such as Leontios, a Palmyrene banker. The Palmyrene group, members of which appear in two Greek and ten Palmyrene inscriptions, is particularly large.<sup>102</sup> The archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that several generations of Palmyrene Jews were buried here from the third to the mid-fourth centuries, and the onomastic indications supplied by inscriptions found in the synagogue of Beserna imply that Palmyrenes were also among the benefactors who contributed to building the synagogue itself.<sup>103</sup> Considering the long time span involved and the concentration of Palmyrene burials – particularly in catacomb 1 – it is plausible that personal networks of inter-related families/clans might have played a role in facilitating the gradual growth of the local Palmyrene community. However, all of these comments should only be regarded as tentative, in the absence of decisive elements which would allow us to determine whether this expatriate community was formed as a result of one event (after which it retained its own cultural distinctiveness, expressed through language and onomastics, for generations), or whether a steady flow of migrants continued to reach Beserna over several decades.

The vast majority of our sources point to cases of solitary/non-network migration involving individuals or family groups. The reasons that led them to move varied. Family migration is particularly prominent in the texts of the Judaean desert, where marriage often led to relocation. Another possible case of family migration is to be found in Wad. 2143 (second or third century) from Shaqqa in the Auranitis, an epitaph for Alexander son of Akrabanos, who was laid to rest by his wife Namele, of Petra, and his son. Alexander was a *herme-neus*, an interpreter working for the Roman *procuratores*, probably the administrators of the imperial estates present in that area. He is also said to have

<sup>101</sup> The main credit should be given to Rajak 2001, to whom the definition of 'Jewish Mecca' also belongs (Rajak 2001: 480). For the earlier views see the original Beth She'arim publications: Schwabe and Lifshitz 1967; Avigad 1976.

<sup>102</sup> The Palmyrene texts are PAT 0132-141. For the Greek texts see the Appendix.

<sup>103</sup> Avigad 1976: 3.

been a priest and 'lover of his homeland', an attribute which, in the absence of a different *ethnikon*, suggests that he indeed hailed from Shaqqa or its vicinity in the Hauran. We do not know how Alexander and Namele had met; perhaps Alexander had visited Petra on an assignment at an earlier date.

Economic push-pull factors were also of importance in the migrant decision-making process. We have already discussed the likelihood that the wealthy Durene family of Lysias had moved to Phaliga, a village at the confluence with the Khabur, in order to exploit the region's potential for viticulture. Another interesting example of the role of economic pull factors is provided by Flavius Josephus. In his description of Herod's settlement policies in Batanaea and Trachonitis following his acquisition of these territories around 20 BCE, Josephus introduces the story of Zamaris and his 500 mounted archers, a group of Babylonian Jews who were at the time (that is, after c. 10–7 BCE) residing in the vicinity of Antioch.<sup>104</sup> Herod, who had recently settled 3,000 Idumaeans in Trachonitis in order to check the danger posed by the bandits hiding in that region, persuaded Zamaris to move to Batanaea with the prospect of receiving tax-free land (*ἀτελής*) and exemption from all other levies (*εισφοραῖς*) in exchange for military services.<sup>105</sup> The Babylonians responded positively and, upon arriving in the region, they founded the town of Bathyra, which Maurice Sartre has identified with modern Sha'rah on the western edge of Trachonitis.<sup>106</sup> More interestingly for the purposes of this article, the favourable fiscal conditions accorded by Herod to the Babylonian settlers were apparently extended to all Jews willing to move to Batanaea, for Josephus tells us that a great multitude of people from all places where the Jewish customs were observed, resettled in the areas controlled by Zamaris and his crew.<sup>107</sup> How we should interpret Josephus' statement that these settlers came 'from all places' (*ἀπανταχόθεν*) is debated. According to Schalit, most of them came from Herod's kingdom and should be regarded as the descendants of the dispossessed Jews who had been expelled from the territories of the cities whose autonomy was restored by Pompey in 63 BCE.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>104</sup> The episode is narrated in Jos. *Ant.* 17, 23–31.

<sup>105</sup> The land was also characterised as *ἀπρακτός*, i.e. it could not be seized in case of default on debt. See discussion in Applebaum 1989: 50ff., who characterises Zamaris' settlement in terms of a Hellenistic katoikic settlement.

<sup>106</sup> Sartre 2011.

<sup>107</sup> Jos. *Ant.* 17, 26–7: πολλοί τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἀπανταχόθεν, οἵς τα Ἰουδαίων θεραπεύεται πάτρια. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ χώρα σφόδρα πολυάνθρωπος ἀδείᾳ τοῦ ἐπι πάσιν ἀτελοῦς.

<sup>108</sup> Schalit 2001 [1969]: 323; 328.

Alongside economic push-pull factors, migration could also be motivated by career concerns. Among the possible cases of career-related migration we find architects and stone masons, such as a certain Arabianos from the village of Maaggas in Batanaea, who built shops in Canatha, or the unnamed stone-cutter (*λάχος*) from Phainea (modern Mismiyeh) who is attested in the vicinity of Scythopolis.<sup>109</sup> Other professions include the performers already mentioned (actors, entertainers etc.) and athletes.

People also moved in response to institutional obligations and legal necessities. Obtaining a hearing from the provincial governor, the highest source of jurisdiction in the provinces, could be a challenging and lengthy process, as we have seen in the case of the four villagers of Beth Phurin, who waited in Antioch for eight months in order to have their case heard by Iulius Priscus.<sup>110</sup> Censuses were another obvious cause of temporary mobility. Babatha briefly stayed in Rabbath Moab in order to register her landed properties, for a census held by the governor of Arabia, T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus, in 127 CE.<sup>111</sup> A far more famous census, the one called by the governor of Syria Sulpicius Quirinius, led Joseph and Mary to temporarily leave Nazareth for Bethlehem in order to register their persons and property on the eve of Jesus' birth.<sup>112</sup>

Finally, we should not disregard the importance of pilgrimage as a causative factor of mobility. Inscriptions from Heliopolis are particularly illustrative of this, attesting to pilgrims from Apamea, Arados, the unknown village of Maarra Samethou and Sidon.<sup>113</sup> The best known pilgrimage, of course, was that performed by the Jews who visited the Temple in Jerusalem. Jesus' parents, for example, left Galilee every year to celebrate Passover in Jerusalem.<sup>114</sup> In the late first century BCE, Babylonian Jews followed the road along the eastern edge of Trachonitis on their way to the Temple.<sup>115</sup> Other pilgrimage sites, such as the sanctuary of Atargatis at Hierapolis, attracted very large crowds from all places, as Lucian's *On the Syrian Goddess* suggests.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Respectively Dunand 1932 n. 63 and *BE* 1988, 216. Another likely case of a travelling architect is Wad. 2005 (from Triakome/Salkhad).

<sup>110</sup> *P.Euphr.* 1 (245 CE); Mazza 2007: 54.

<sup>111</sup> *P.Yadin* 1, 16 (2 and 4 Dec 127).

<sup>112</sup> Luke 2: 1–5. See discussion in Schürer 1973: 399–427; Kennedy 2006; Dabrowa 2011.

<sup>113</sup> Respectively *AE* 1939, 57 (211 CE); *IGLS* 6, 2729; 2731; 2855.

<sup>114</sup> Luke 2: 41–3.

<sup>115</sup> Jos., *Ant.* 17, 26.

<sup>116</sup> Lucian's authorship of this work has been often questioned. See most recently Dirven 1997.

### Conclusions

The foregoing survey of the epigraphic and papyrological evidence has attempted to shed some light on the complex geographical, chronological and causal articulations of mobility. Geographical mobility represented an important factor across the different strata of society in the Roman Near East: from the nomadic pastoralists and merchants, for whom mobility was an unavoidable fact of life, to the men and women who migrated to follow their spouse, from the Jews who settled in Batanaea to take advantage of Herod's favourable fiscal policies to the Mesopotamian villagers who travelled to Antioch to get their case heard by Julius Priscus, the documents show that there was no such thing as fixity in Antiquity.

Yet, a fundamental problem remains, namely that of the representativeness of our dataset. Fewer than 100 documents provide *ethnika* or *origines*. To these we may add the c. 30 inscriptions written in 'minority languages', whose use as evidence of migration remains problematic. When compared to the very large numbers of inscriptions discovered in this region, the smallness of the sample which sheds light on mobility cannot be simply brushed away as the result of chance discovery. Rather, it must bear historical significance. As such, it may be interpreted in two different ways: either few people migrated, or few people chose to display ethnicity by way of indicating their place of origin. Considering the frequency with which cases of mobility or migration appear in the papyrological record – where the official character of most documents made it necessary for the parties involved to declare their residency and origin – the latter explanation appears more likely. The case of the Palmyrene community of Dura Europos confirms this: despite the significant size of this community (especially in the late-second to mid-third century), which is confirmed by multiple Palmyrene religious sites and tens of inscriptions in the Palmyrene script, only one individual styled himself as *Palmyrenos*. At Beth She'arim, only two Palmyrenes sported their *ethnika*, but ten more people used Palmyrene Aramaic to write their names atop the entrances of their burial chambers and *arcosolia*. What this shows is that the epigraphic evidence, and particularly funerary epigraphy, can only catch a small glimpse of the realities of mobility and migration. Perhaps only recent migrants felt sufficiently attached to their places of origin to have them engraved on their epitaphs. Better data can be obtained from the papyrological documentation, but documents of this type are regrettably few.

Further developments along this line of enquiry require methodological refinements and integration with other disciplines.<sup>117</sup> For example, recent

<sup>117</sup> Interdisciplinary investigation of mobility in the Near East is the main aim of Yoo and Zerbini (forthcoming).

studies employing stable isotopes analysis on human teeth to establish the origin of individuals are beginning to provide new insights into the demographics of migration in Italy and Britain.<sup>118</sup> Preliminary results from samples in the Near East have produced encouraging, albeit contradictory results.<sup>119</sup> While most scholars would now agree with Moatti's and Kaiser's statement that migration was both a 'structural' and 'structuring' phenomenon in Antiquity, the historiography of migration in the Roman Near East is still in its infancy.

## Appendix

In the following table (Table 14.1), I have listed all of the documents which provide information concerning human mobility in the Roman Near East. Entries are listed in alphabetical order by the name of the place of finding or, in the case of papyri, by the place where the document was written. Each entry corresponds to one document only. When documents provide evidence for more than one episode of mobility, this is specified in the notes. On the other hand, if more than one document refers to the same individual, these are all listed. Sources included here always contain *ethnika/origines* (even if only partially preserved). Consequently, inscriptions such as PAT 0017, a bilingual Greek-Palmyrene which suggests, but does not ultimately prove mobility, are excluded.

### Abbreviations

D: Date of text

M: Name(s) of migrant(s)

L: Language of text: A = Aramaic; H = Hebrew; G = Greek; L = Latin; N = Nabataean;

P = Palmyrene; S = Syriac

N: Additional notes

<sup>118</sup> Chenery et al. 2010; Killgrove 2010a; 2010b; Bruun 2010, cautioning on the results of Prowse et al. 2007. For a good reassessment of the promises held out by this technique see Prowse's contribution to this volume.

<sup>119</sup> See Perry et al. 2008; Perry et al. 2011; Al-Shorman and El-Khoury 2011; Prowse, in this volume.

TABLE 14.1 A list of papyrological and epigraphic sources for migrants in the Roman Near East  
(1st c. BCE–3rd c. CE)

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
? (found in w.Murabba'at)		ha-Kar[, Jerusalem; Hebron	XHev/Se 50 + PMur. 26	D: ?; M: NN; NN, NN; L: A; N: deed of sale; none of the names of the migrants is preserved
Aerita ('Ariqah)		Palmyra	IGLS 15/2 352	D: after 129/30 CE; M: ?; L: G
Antioch		Beth Phurin	P.Euphr. 1	D: 245 CE; M: Archodos f. Phallaios; Philotas f. Nisharyahab; Worod f. Sumisbarachos; Abedsautas f. Abediardas; L: G; N: petition to Iulius Priscus; the four villagers stayed in Antioch for 8 months
Aristobulias		Iakeimon kome	P.Hev. (=XHev/Se) 69	D: 130 CE; M: Akabas f. Meir; L: G; N: cancelled marriage contract
Baitobassaias	Baitoardis (near Gophna)	Galoda	PMur. 115	D: 124 CE; M: Eleaios f. Shimon; L: G; N: re-marriage contract
Berytus		Emesa	Lauffray 1944-5; 68 n.5	D: 1st c.; M: Iulius Auidius Minervinus; L: L
Beth Phurin	Beth Phurin; Nisibis	Banathsamsa; ?	P.Euphr. 9	D: 252 CE; M: Aurelius Aulaeias f. Abedilaios; Aurelia Victoria; L: G; N: sale of slave
Beth Phurin		Beathagae; Banathsamsa	P.Euphr. 8	D: 251 CE; M: Absalmas f. Abedrodakos; Samsaos f. Teias; L: G; N: sale of slave
Beth She'arim		Antioch	IJO 3, Syr74	D: 3rd to mid-4th c.; M: Aidesios; L: G; N: title – <i>gerousiarchēs</i>
Beth She'arim		Berytus	IJO 3, Syr25	D: 3rd/early-4th c.; M: ?; L: G; N: title – <i>kōēn</i> (KHN)

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Beth She'arim		Berytus	IJO 3, Syr26	D: 3rd/4th c.; M: Eusebis; L: G; N: title – <i>lamprotatos archisynagogos</i> ;
Beth She'arim		Byblos	IJO 3, Syr32	D: 3rd/early-4th c.; M: Calliope; L: G; N: title – <i>matrōna</i>
Beth She'arim		Iamour	IJO 3, Syr 21	D: 3rd c.; M: Jesus; L: G
Beth She'arim		Palmyra	IJO 3, Syr51	D: 3rd c.; M: Leontios and his family; L: G; N: title – <i>trapezitēs</i>
Beth She'arim		Palmyra	IJO 3, Syr52	D: 3rd c.; M: Germanos f. Isaac; L: G
Beth She'arim		Sidon	IJO 3, Syr17	D: early-3rd c.; M: Aristeas; L: G
Beth She'arim		Sidon	IJO 3, Syr18	D: 3rd/4th c.; M: Joses; L: G; N: title – <i>archisynagogos</i>
Beth She'arim		Tyre	IJO 3, Syr6	D: 3rd c.; M: Esther f. Anthus; L: G
Beth She'arim		Tyre	IJO 3, Syr7	D: 3rd/4th c.; M: Daniel son of Adda; L: G; N: Ethnikon refers to the father
Beth She'arim		Tyre	IJO 3, Syr8	D: early-2nd c.; M: Theodosias aka Sarah; L: G
Bosana		Canatha	PUAES 3A, n.735	D: ?; M: ?; L: G
Bostra		Canatha	PUAES 3A, n.581	D: 3rd c.?; M: Aurelia Aschone; L: G
Caesarea		Antioch	CIIP 2, 1135	D: 1st-3rd c.; M: Q.
Maritima				Caecilius A[..]ous; L: G; N: title – <i>kōmōdos tritologos</i>
Canatha		Gerasa	IGLS 16, 108	D: 1st-3rd c.; M: Timarchos aka Aouidos f. Chresimos; L: G
Canatha		Maaggas in Batanaea	Dunand 1932 n.63	D: ?; M: Arabianos f. Otasos; L: G; N: built <i>ergastēria</i>

TABLE 14.1 A list of papyrological and epigraphic sources for migrants in the Roman Near East (1st c. BCE- 3rd c. CE) (cont.)

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Charax Sidou	Charax Sidou	Beth Phurin; Mihru	P.Mesopotamia A	D: 240 CE; M: Worod f. Nisharyahab; Ba'ishu f. Abgar L: S; N: acknowledgement of payment
Charax Sidou (Marcopolis)		Beth Phurin	P.Mesopotamia B	D: 242 CE; M: Worod f. Nisharyahab; L: S; N: tenancy agreement
Carrhae		Beth Phurin	P.Euphr. 10	D: 240 CE; M: Nisharyahab f. Worod; L: G-S; N: sale of a horse
Dhibbin		Palmyra?	Dunand 1933 n.130	D: 3rd c.?; M: Anemos f. Severus; L: G
Dura-Europos	Nabagath	Dura-Europos	P.Dura 25	D: 180 CE; M: Lysias f. Lysias; L: G; N: sale of slave and vineyard
Dura-Europos		Palmyra	SEG 7, 340 + PAT 1078	D: 244/5 CE; M: Iulius Aurelius Malochas f. Soudaios; L: G
Dura-Europos		QRH'	Drijvers and Healey 1999: 191 Bs1	D: early-3rd c.; M: Vologases son of Sennaq; L: S
Dura-Europos	Dura-Europos	Zeugma	P.Dura 29	D: 251 CE; M: Aurelius Theodoros f. Bernikianos; L: G; N: acknowledgement of deposit
Edessa		Carrhae	P.Dura 28	D: 243 CE; M: L.Aurelius Tiro; L: S; N: sale of slave
Engedi		BYT '[	P.Yadin 2, 42	D: 132 CE; M: Eleazar f. Samuel; L: A; N: Lease agreement
Engedi	Engedi (2)	ha-Luhit, by Mahoza (2); Beit Ther	P.Yadin 2, 44	D: 135 CE; M: Tehinnah f. Shimon and 'Allima' f. Judas; Shimon f. Joseph; L: H; N: division of lease among four parties

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Gerasa		Antioch	<i>I.Gerasa</i> 232	D: mid-3rd c.; M: Iuliane and her husband; L: G
Gerasa	Antioch	Gerasa?	<i>I.Gerasa</i> 53	D: 119 CE; M: Diogenes f. Emmeganos; L: G
Gerrha (Medjel Anjar)		Sidon	<i>SEG</i> 1990, 1410	D: ?; M: Apollonophanes; L: G
Hebrae		Canatha	<i>AE</i> 1936, 152	D: ?; M: Salemos f. Sausos; L: G; N: title – <i>praktōr</i>
Hegra		Tayma	<i>CIS</i> 2, 199	D: 4/5 CE; M: Hawshabu f. Nafyu and his family; L: N
Hegra		Tayma	<i>CIS</i> 2, 205	D: 34/5 CE; M: Wushuh and her daughters Qaynu and Nashkuyah; L: N
Hegra		YL' (Aila?)	<i>RES</i> 1135	D: ?; M: Wa'ilu f. Qashru; L: N; N: Aila is attested in <i>CIS</i> II 1205 as 'YLH'
Heliopolis		Apamea	<i>AE</i> 1939, 57	D: 211 CE; M: Antonius Silvanus with family; L: G; N: title – veteran
Heliopolis		Arados	<i>IGLS</i> 6, 2729	D: 2nd c.?; M: Apollonios aka Apollinarius f. Segnas; L: G; N: ex-voto
Heliopolis		Maarra	<i>IGLS</i> 6, 2731	D: 2nd c.?; M: Selamanes and Mercurios f. Mambogaios; L: G
Heliopolis		Samethou		
Herodium	Engedi	Sidon	<i>IGLS</i> 6, 2855	D: ?; M: ? (female); L: G
Herodium	Engedi	Tekoa'	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 54	D: 132–5 CE; M: people from Tekoa'; L: H; N: letter from Shimon bar Kosiba
Herodium	Engedi	Tekoa'	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 55	D: 132–5 CE; M: people from Tekoa'; L: H; N: letter from Shimon bar Kosiba
Herodium	Engedi	Tekoa'	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 61	D: 132–5 CE; M: people from Tekoa'; L: H; N: letter from Shimon bar Kosiba

TABLE 14.1 A list of papyrological and epigraphic sources for migrants in the Roman Near East (1st c. BCE-3rd c. CE) (cont.)

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Jerusalem		Zeugma	CIIP 1.2 740	D: 1st c.?; M: Glaucus f. Artemidoros; L: L
Laodicea ad Libanum		Emesa	IGLS 5, 2683	D: 2nd/3rd c.; M: Flavius Sacerdos; L: G
Mahoza		BT 'SHW	P.Yadin 2, 7	D: 120 CE; M: NN f. Shipona'; L: A; N: deed of gift
Mahoza	Mahoza (2)	Engedi	P.Yadin 1, 18	D: 128 CE; M: Judas f. Eleazar; Judas Kimber f. Ananios; L: G; N: marriage contract
Mahoza	Mazraas, by Mahoza	Engedi	P.Yadin 1, 20	D: 130 CE; M: Besas f. Yeshua; L: G; N: conces- sion of rights to use of house
Mahoza	Mahoza	Engedi	P.Yadin 2, 6	D: 119 CE; M: Yohanna f. Meshuallam; L: N; N: tenancy agreement
Mahoza	Mahoza	Engedi	P.Yadin 1, 26	D: 131 CE; M: Miriam f. Beias; L: G; N: summons to court and reply
Mahoza	Mahoza	Petra	P.Yadin 1, 25	D: 131 CE; M: Maras f. Abdalgos; L: G; N: summonings and counter summoning to court
Mahoza	Mahoza	Sophphath[; by Livias	P.Yadin 1, 37	D: 131 CE; M: Jesus f. Menahem; L: G; N: marriage contract
Masada	Masada (2)	?; ha-Nablaṭa	P.Mur. 19	D: 71/2 CE; M: Joseph f. Naqsan; Miriam f. Jonathan; L: A; N: act of repudiation

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Nazala (Qaryatein)		Palmyra	PAT 0257	D: 145/6 CE; M: Zabdibol, Ettenur, Malku, Imru, Iedibel f. Barshamash; L: P
Neela (Mushannef)		Bostra	Wad. 2229	D: ?; M: Onemathe f. Severus; L: G
Occariba ('Aqirbat)		Palmyra	Yon 2010: 106	D: 99 CE; M: Maliku f. Iarhaios; L: G-P
Oriza (Taiyebeh)		Abila	Wad. 2631 + PAT 0258	D: 133 CE; M: Agathangelos; L: G-P
Ossa kome		Dura-Europos	P.Dura 23	D: 134 CE; M: Lysias f. Abboueios; L: G; N: antichrethic loan; Lysias was from Europos, but did not hold citizenship
Palmyra		Berytus	IGLS 17/1, 551	D: 200–250; M: M.Iulius Maximus Aristides; L: G-P
Palmyra		Hierapolis	AE 2002, 1522	D: ?; Amatata f. Babaeus; L: L
Petra	Gerasa	Petra?	Atlas, MP7	D: ?; M: Petraiios f. Threptos; L: N; N: migrant died in Gerasa and is commemorated in Petra
Petra		SWDY (Soada?)	Atlas, MP666	D: c. 76–102 CE; M: 'Abdalga f. 'Abdalga; L: N
Phaliga		Jerakon kome	P.Dura 20	D: 121 CE; M: Barlaas f. Thathaios; L: G; N: antichrethic loan
Rabbath Moab	Mahoza	Engedi	P.Yadin 1, 16	D: 127 CE; M: Judas f. Eleazar; L: G; N: declaration of land
Rimet Hazim		Canatha	Sartre-Fauriat 1991: 1293	D: ?; M: Belaios f. Anamos; L: G

TABLE 14.1 A list of papyrological and epigraphic sources for migrants in the Roman Near East (1st c. BCE-3rd c. CE) (cont.)

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
RMWN (in Moab)	'Aina Shuharu'		<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 1	D: 93/4 CE; M: Moqimu son of 'Awat-'Ilahi; L: N; N: debenture
Sahwet al-Balatah		Bostra	Dunand 1933 n.22	D: ?; M: Eunomos f. Papounos; L: G
Scythopolis		Phaina (Mismiyeh)	<i>BE</i> 1988, 216	D: late-2nd/early 3rd C.; M: ?; L: G; N: title - <i>laxos</i>
Seleucia Pieria		Apamea	<i>IGLS</i> 3, 1145	D: ?; M: Germanos; L: G; N: title - <i>hiereus</i>
Sepphoris		Gadara; Hippos	Weber 2002: 310 IS65	D: 1st-3rd c.; M: Apion f. Quintus; Philous m. Apion; L: G
Sfreh?		Naboukanath	<i>AE</i> 2002, 1527	D: 2nd-3rd c.; M: Victoria f. Abdous; N: ex-voto
Saccea/ Maximianopolis		Petra	<i>Wad.</i> 2143	D: 2nd/3rd c.; M: Namele; L: G
Siwaya	Kesalon		<i>PMur.</i> 18	D: AD 55/6; M: Zakariah f. Yohanna; L: A; N: acknowledgement of debt
Soada (Suweyda)		Antioch	<i>Wad.</i> 2321	D: 2nd/3rd c.; M: Flavia Charis and her children; L: G-P
Triakome		Omron ('Orman)	Dunand, <i>Musée</i> n. 222	D: 295 CE; M: Diogenes; L: G
Triakome		Rimea (Rimet al-Lohf)	<i>Wad.</i> 2005	D: ? M: Aleos son of Salmanos; L: G
Tyre		Arra (al-Raha?)	<i>INTyr</i> 54	D: 3rd/4th c.; M: Dionysios; L: G
Tyre		Sarepta	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr1	D: 3rd/4th c.?; M: Theodoros aka Iakobos; L: G
Zeugma		Hierapolis	Ergeç and Yon 2012: 191 n.54	D: ?; M: ? (male); L: G
Zeugma		Phadana	Wagner 1976: 205 n.57	D: ?; M: Marcia Valeria; L: G

## Moving Epigrams: Migration and Mobility in the Greek East\*

Laurens E. Tacoma and Rolf A. Tybout

### Introduction

"Ιδριν Ἀθηναίης πάντων Διονύσιον ἔργων  
 ἡ ξείνη Πατάρων γῆ με λαβοῦσα κρατεῖ,  
 Τμώλου ἀπ' ἀμπελόεντος· ἔχω δὲ κλέος καὶ ἐσαῦθις  
 4 ὡδείῳ μεγάλῃ ἀμφιβαλῶν ὄροφήν.

I Dionysios, experienced in all the crafts of Athena, the foreign earth of Patara has received and possesses me, coming from vine-clad Tmolos; but I shall be famous even in the future since I decked the *odeion* with a large roof. (17/09/03, found in Patara)

The Lydian architect praised in these verses for his work on the *odeion* of Lycian Patara was not alone in moving, working and finally dying abroad. Many other Greek texts testify to movement over significant distances, for shorter or longer periods.

Especially in the analysis of regional patterns of mobility, inscriptions have much to offer. Hence it comes as no surprise that epigraphers have contributed their fair share of regional studies. Although the situation is changing, up to now studies of the Greek world seem to have been lacking, at least as far as the post-classical period is concerned.<sup>1</sup> The upshot is that in many respects the rich epigraphic sources of the Greek East remain untapped.

\* This paper was presented at two different seminars in Leiden in November 2012 and May 2013 and then in Rome in January 2014; our thanks to the participants for their helpful comments. We would also like to thank Gerard Boter, Angelos Chaniotis, Miriam Groen-Vallinga, Onno van Nijf and Harry W. Pleket.

<sup>1</sup> See the papers of Hin and Zerbini in this volume; in addition, an edited diachronic overview of mobility in the Near East is in preparation by J. Yoo and A. Zerbini. There are of course studies of the presence of foreigners in individual areas or cities which contain plenty of useful material; see e.g. Delrieux 2001, discussing the presence of foreigners in Iasos in the 2nd century BCE, or the studies of Romans in the East, for which see Müller and Hasenohr



BORDER REGIONS SERIES

# MOBILITY AND MIGRATION CHOICES

Thresholds to Crossing Borders



EDITED BY

**MARTIN VAN DER VELDE  
AND TON VAN NAERSSEN**

Mobility and  
Migration Choices

Martin van der Velde  
Ton van Naerssen

# The Threshold Approach Revisited



# Chapter 18

## The Threshold Approach Revisited

Martin van der Velde and Ton van Naerssen

During the past three decades, cross-border human mobility has substantially increased. For instance, the migrant stock in the more developed regions of the world rose from 7.2 per cent in 1990 to 10.8 per cent in 2013 (UN 2013). And between 1995 and 2013 international tourism doubled to more than a billion trips (UNWTO 2014). This increasing mobility is partly facilitated by the development of communication and transport technologies. New technologies are accompanied by a new mental order and both are interrelated. In a world of 'global life styles' and transnational diasporas, locations at great geographical distance from one's place of residence are becoming familiar. For instance, worldwide middle-class markers and icons like Starbucks and Nike or well-known tourist attractions like Disneyland, the Eiffel Tower or Mount Kilimanjaro are known to people living thousands of miles away.

Human mobility today is characterized by globalization and the substantial rise in the number of short touristic trips and international meetings and conferences. Yet, people are remarkably immobile when the duration of stay abroad becomes longer, as is the case with labour migration. The idea is that even when circumstances are conducive for people to move, for instance, when they live in one of the EU countries near the border, they are usually not inclined to cross the border except for short visits. To reiterate our arguments in the introductory chapter: In 2008, among the EU-15, only 1.7 per cent of the workers in border regions commuted across the border. When the 12 new member states are added, this share is still only 2.1 per cent (MKW Wirtschaftsforschung 2009). In general, the other side of the border is of great mental distance and, as we explained in Chapter 1, we consider this perception and giving meaning as basic in decision-making processes regarding mobility and migration (see also Salazar 2011).

The threshold approach, with the three key components of people who move, borders delineating (national) territories and routes to intended destinations, is a tool to analyse decision-making in mobility and migration in general. However, we first introduced the threshold approach in the context of labour migration across national borders in the EU. We distinguish three thresholds – the *mental*, the *locational* and the *trajectory* threshold – that, whoever intends to cross borders, have to be overcome (Van der Velde and Van Naerssen 2011). The contributions in this book try to apply the threshold approach beyond the EU context to other regions across the globe. More importantly, they all aim to broaden the concept beyond labour migration to other contemporary forms of human mobility.

Our call to researchers interested in border issues and international migration has attracted submission of a wide variety of papers. Many contributors have even introduced new idioms to clarify the 'thresholds' concept and to enrich our approach. Just to name a few, concerning the weighing of pros and cons when crossing the thresholds: dynamics of immobility and mobility (Chapter 3), strategic and subjective rationality (Chapter 4) and 'borderwork' (Chapter 14). Concerning borders: thin and thick borders (Chapter 8), border barriers (Chapter 11) and internalized borders (Chapter 12). Concerning trajectories and places of transfer: contexts of exit and reception (Chapter 15), forced migrant immobility dynamics and limboscape (Chapter 17).

The contributors to this book come from different backgrounds and have varied experiences in mobility and migration research that encompass a diversity of social groups and regions. Thus, it is not surprising that they differ in the use and appreciation of the threshold approach. While some seem less at ease with the approach, others incorporate the approach without much difficulty. Some authors have limited themselves to one threshold, while others have considered all three with emphasis on a particular one. Although diverse as a whole, the contributions constitute a useful elaboration and refinement of the approach. We have distinguished four major comments, namely, the non-linearity of the decision-making process, the concept of borders and 'bordering', the mobility of different social groups, and the changing context of the decision-making process. We will discuss these consecutively in the following section.

### **The Non-Linearity of the Decision-Making Process**

Some contributors pointed out that the threshold approach seems to imply that the mobility and migration decision-making process is a linear one, following a rigid sequence as suggested by Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1, involving first the mental threshold, then the locational one and finally the trajectory threshold. Since we did not explicitly mention flexibility in the decision-making process when we first came up with this approach, the graph evoked a critical response. Therefore, several contributions in this book intend to clarify the flexible interrelationship between the three thresholds. For instance, it could well be that the crossing of the locational threshold is the first step in decision-making. Such is the case in family reunions when the foreign partners and children emigrate to join their spouses or parents, or when someone living abroad finds employment for a family member or friend. In these cases, the destinations are given and the mental threshold follows the locational one. It could also be that the migrant actually begins the journey without a precise destination. Moreover, even after the migrant has decided to move, he or she may need to rely on an intermediary or agent to facilitate the journey and the latter will ultimately decide on the location and route as well (the spatial trajectory might determine the final destination of the migrant).

The three thresholds are relatively dependent on one another and are not always distinguishable. Smith (Chapter 3) states that '[t]he locational threshold ... conceives of migration as essentially multidimensional. It takes as its point of departure that the perception of the end location and insight into the trajectory that needs to be followed need to be considered together and not in isolation to understand how a decision to set off is made' (p. 32 in this volume).

Figure 1.1 might also suggest that it is a 'once and for all' decision to cross a threshold. This could indeed be the case when a tourist orders a packaged tour to a country or when a labour migrant leaves for the place where he or she has been granted a working permit. However, several authors in this book have argued the contrary, namely that the decision to move is a continuous process of perceiving and weighing risks (costs) and opportunities (benefits) before and during the journey to the destination. Fàbrega and Lim (Chapter 8) state that factors that impact on the mental threshold by respectively lowering difference and indifference on both sides of the border are simultaneously present and are constantly being renegotiated on the ground. Sandberg and Pijpers in their study of Polish circular migrants (Chapter 13) have similarly highlighted that 'the rhythm of circular migration is not determined by notions of closure and/or loopholes only; it depends on contingently opening and closing windows of opportunity as well' (p. 196 in this volume).

Leung and Schapendonk broaden this idea to the other thresholds. For Leung (Chapter 5), the route is always in the making and there is no definite destination to speak of. She argues

that 'the strength of the trajectory threshold concept lies in its recognition and emphasis on the dynamic, often unpredictable and extremely contextualized nature of the mobility process' (p. 63 in this volume). She henceforth pleads for more effort in integrating multiple spatialities and temporalities into the trajectory threshold thinking. Schapendonk (Chapter 16), when discussing the trajectory threshold of sub-Saharan migrants and Istanbul as a place of transit, proposes that we should understand trajectories in a similar way as relational geographers (amongst others Massey 2005) understand places, always to be 'in the making, always evolving and always being affected by "a set of thrown-together factors"' (p. 246 in this volume). We can partially operationalize the rather abstract statements by distinguishing between the deliberation phase in the decision-making process (in our mind) and its implementation phase (the actual process of stay and movement). During the latter phase, there may be circumstances and reasons to start the deliberation process again and this cycle could go on and on.

The contextualized nature of the mobility process is indeed proven by the contributions to this book. As with the inherent dynamic nature of the process, however, this is debatable since there can be as much continuity as dynamism involved. Also, contrary to the view that a continuous flow of decisions exists with regards to the thresholds, a migrant may not always be in the position to decide. In many cases, migrants do not have a choice but to rely on intermediaries who will preselect the route for him/her. Hugo and Napitupulu (Chapter 15) clearly suggest that the trajectory threshold does not play a significant role in the decision-making of the majority of the seashore asylum seekers in Australia because the real decision-making power lies in the broker and/or the migration industrial chain these asylum seekers have chosen, trusted and paid for. Ferrer Gallardo and Espíñeira (Chapter 17), referring to the new 'territorial idiosyncrasy' of Ceuta, illuminate the proliferation of confinement and encampment practices across the EU, with the enforced immobility dynamics on the migrants as a result. In the case of repatriated returnees or deportees, there is no mental space to choose between options at all especially since the locational and trajectory thresholds tend to be determined by others (Nyberg Sørensen in Chapter 11). We would like to add that this is also the case with the 16.7 million 'external' refugees at the end of 2013 (UNHCR 2014).

Between the two extremes of constantly making choices and not being able to make any because others hold the decision-making power (both concern a considerable number of people worldwide), lays the largest group of mobile people who can plan their destinations and routes autonomously. Moreover, decision-making in mobility and migration is not a completely rational process but it is also not a totally spontaneous or impromptu one.

### **'Bordering' and 'Borderwork'**

Personal, subjective realities provide the real driving force in considering mobility and migration. Trajectories are meant to bridge the distance between places (localities, regions, countries) of origin and places of destination but the distance should not be measured in terms of physical space only. It is also a mental construct since it equally involves motives to stay or go, such as potential migrants' perception of the labour market that can act as a strong or weak pull factor. Borders are both real and imagined. Border management rules, regulations and physical measures prevent people's mobility but so can people's perception of an impenetrable border.

In examining EU border policies, Baggio (Chapter 12) distinguishes three kinds of borders: national borders, internalized, mental borders and externalized, territorial borders. In

'The interplay between the respective influences is highly contextual in *any* specific mobility trajectory' (p. 63 in this volume; emphasis added by the editors).

Changes at the *macro level* concern socio-economic and institutional changes at the national or larger regional level. More in general, thresholds dynamics depend on migration policy frameworks, labour market developments and social structures and processes of the receiving communities. Changes in these contexts impact on the locational threshold and will enable mobility and transnational activities, but may also result in immobility. In this book, the impact on mobility and especially the mental threshold is most clearly demonstrated in the contributions that deal with border regions. Next to the opening of the German-Polish border, to which we already referred to, these concern the relaxation of the Finnish-Russian one (Chapter 7) and the border between Cambodia and Thailand (Chapter 8). In both cases, mobility has increased, although the impact differs substantially. While it is still limited in Chapter 7 it did lead to greater mobility and economic activities in Chapter 8. Due to the events of 9/11 and the war on terror, an opposite change has taken place at the Canadian-US border (Chapter 9). Here, as Konrad argues, 'The mental border threshold has emerged from relative insignificant in the migrant decision-making process, to loom as a primary consideration and substantial initial barrier in short-term crossing' (p. 132 in this volume).

An important change took place at the Israel-Palestine border when Israel built a wall in an effort to prevent attacks. This is the subject of Elnakhala's contribution (Chapter 10). Her insights add to the threshold approach in a number of ways. First, it deals with the new topic of decision-making by militants as border crossers. Second, it explains how hardened and fortified borders can lead to the use of new tactics by militants who wish to cross borders. It therefore sheds light on the effect of the interaction between fortification and militant border crossings. Third, where the threshold approach considers trajectories as geographical routes followed by border crossers, this chapter posits that the physical movements of people are part of the more general and overarching concept of the tactics of border crossings: militant border crossers may choose to switch the type of their attacks in order to achieve their goals. Just like migrants can change their destinations and routes, militants can change border-crossing tactics and their destinations.

How changes at the macro level affect the meaning of the locational border for return migrants is the subject of two other contributions in this book. The first concerns Bolivian migrants in Spain and what Nijenhuis in Chapter 14 calls, 'the changing contexts of exit and reception' (p. 199 in this volume) of the migration corridor. The context of exit concerns the motivations and aspirations of the migrant, the economic conditions in the area of origin and the attitude of the sending country towards migrants. Factors of the context of reception are the societal response, the labour market and the opportunities for integration in the receiving country. For migrants in Spain who lost their jobs, the main option is to cross the border again and return. In other words, the economic crisis has changed the locational threshold for Bolivian migrants. Nyberg Sørensen (Chapter 11) presents another perspective on the change of the locational threshold of (forced) returnees. Being forced to move back from the original destination, the locational threshold of returnees may change from being a poor but secure home community to becoming an even poorer and also insecure location. The familiar could become unfamiliar. From a threshold perspective, we should thus explore the conditions people are returning to and what prevents them from staying safely in their home country. A joint outcome for the individuals, families and communities affected is their increased exposure to violence and insecurity. The difference between the two contributions do not only concern the type of returnees but also the contextual level: macro in the case of Nijenhuis, micro in the case of Nyberg Sørensen.

## Refining and Expanding the Threshold Approach

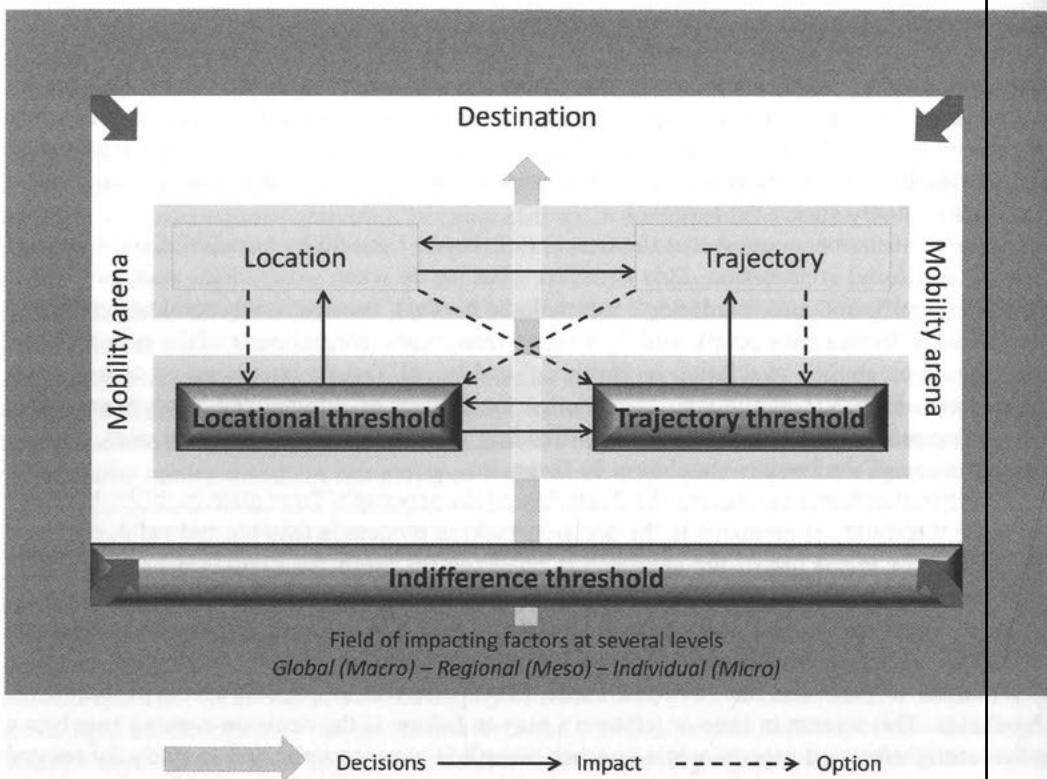
This book aims to consider whether the threshold approach can be applied to other cross-border human mobilities rather than to labour migration only. The answer is positive, provided certain conditions are met. There are reasons to refine and expand – in the sense of further explanation and clarification – the original threshold approach and in this way, the contributions in this book undoubtedly enrich the approach.

Some contributors suggest that the concept of ‘border’ should be broadened and loosened from its territorial connotation. This is in fact what we do when using ideas, such as ‘mental border’, ‘familiarity’ and ‘bordering’. Internalized borders, transnational social networks and ‘borderwork’ by ordinary people and their organizations are integral parts of the approach and they should be studied in relation to the ‘keep’ and ‘repel’ factors impacting on cross-border movements. However, while we acknowledge the impact of internalized borders and daily ‘bordering practices’ on mobility decision-making, the effects of the territorial ones, such as securitization of the borders should not be forgotten.

Another clarification concerns the flexibility of the approach. To explain mobility by using the three thresholds as moments in the decision-making process is feasible and valid, provided their sequence in the use of the approach is not fixed (as might be suggested by Figure 1.1) and concerns an iterative process. That is to say, during the mobility/migration journey, people can change the destination and the trajectory they had in mind, pending individual and contextual changes. In our approach, we emphasize the process of decision-making as a flow of a number of decisions that are to be made, which intersect or straddle across at least three thresholds. This stream in time is relatively easy to follow if the decision-making involves a rather straightforward process while in other cases it is more complicated to study for several reasons, such as the need for continuous decision-making when many borders have to be crossed. The iterative process involves both the mental process of passing the three thresholds as well as the actual location and spatial movement of the decision-making individual. In the amended graphical representation of the approach (Figure 18.1) this is expressed first of all by a division of the ‘mobility arena’ in a lower half that represents the mental process as it concerns the three thresholds, and a higher part representing the actual stay and movements in the material world. Secondly the arrows indicate mutual influences and indirect feedback mechanisms in the amended graphical representation of the approach (see the central rectangle of the mobility arena in Figure 18.1).

A third clarification concerns the mutual relationship between the individual decision-making actor and his/her life environment consisting of the social, economic and physical milieus. It seems that some contributors interpret the approach as based on individual choices only but this is not our intention if only because we are conscious of the fact that no individual acts in a vacuum. Reading the foregoing chapters, however, makes it clear that there is certain consensus among the contributors that the threshold approach should incorporate more explicit contextual factors at the micro and macro level that impact on the perception and meaning attached to the three thresholds by the individual decision-maker.

We may conceive this in the following way and expand the original graph. Besides analysing the *mental flow*, we should also look at the decision-making *field*, taking into account all factors that impact on the decision taken at a given moment in time – for example the economic situation in a region, the strength of the social network, the composition of the household and so on. Since the field in which the decision-making actor acts is an all encompassing, versatile and complex one, this coincides with what Hoerder (2002, 20) calls,



**Figure 18.1 Field of factors, thresholds and decision-making in spatial mobility**  
Source: the authors.

a ‘holistic material-emotional approach’ to migration. The analysis of macro, meso and micro level (personal qualities and resources) impact factors and their differences, can facilitate the analysis.

Thereby, the greatest challenge will be to incorporate the changes in the environment of the decision-maker and the associated ‘dynamics of mobility and immobility’ in the decision-making process and in our approach. Or, since the factors in the field change in time and impact on the individual decision-making process, for a full analysis we have to study both the flow and the field in mobility decision-making. In figure 18.1 this is graphically portrayed by a second rectangle surrounding the mobility arena, the displaying the field of factors. The thick arrows at the four corners represent the permanent impact during the journey.

The central position of the mobility arena and the graphic accentuation of the thresholds indicate that the mental flow of decisions remains the very purpose of our approach. This is in our opinion still a neglected theme in mobility and migration decision-making. However, the expanded threshold approach incorporating real movements in space and the field of impacting factors will hopefully open windows to new empirical inquiries. Ultimately, we also think that the threshold approach contributes to an increased understanding of the geography of mobility around the globe, both in the academic sense as well as in a policy context.

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BORDER REGIONS SERIES

# MOBILITY AND MIGRATION CHOICES

Thresholds to Crossing Borders



EDITED BY

**MARTIN VAN DER VELDE  
AND TON VAN NAERSSEN**

# Borders as Resourceful Thresholds



# Chapter 19

## Borders as Resourceful Thresholds

Henk van Houtum

It is a privilege to have been asked to write a short afterword in this inspiring collection of articles. The question was if I could look back at the historical career and further prospect of the central concept of the book, the threshold approach, and embed this concept in the wider debate on border studies. Well then, let me begin by complimenting the editors to have followed, even meticulously, a central conceptual structure, on the basis of which and around which the individual or set of authors have written their contribution. By choosing a central conceptual framework this edited volume has most certainly gained cohesion and academic parallelism in such a way that the contributions interestingly feed into and complement each other.

For the basis of this conceptual framework on borders as thresholds of indifference an extended version of the work is used that Martin van der Velde, one of the two editors of this book, and myself have written in an article in 2004. It is good to explain the background of this article, as it says something about the past track the concept of thresholds has travelled. At the time, we wanted to focus on explaining the labour migration and mobility patterns in the EU. Many labour market studies deal with mobility. But because the dominant mode of practice of about 97 per cent of the workers is cross-border immobility, not mobility, we realized that in order to explain mobility patterns in the EU, we needed to start from the other side, in order to get a much better academic grip on the concept of immobility. Despite the many efforts of the EU to bring about a homogeneous labour market the dominant pattern was and remains to be, labour market *immobility*. That is, there may be an increasingly barrier-low internal market for capital, information and services, but for labour, the actual moving house for a job in another member state is, excluding the outlying case of Luxembourg, relatively small. On average somewhere around three per cent or less. What most academics has been puzzling is why relatively so few people move across the border, even in cases where it would make perfect sense, in strictly economic terms. We found that most frameworks trying to explain the mobility of labour were based on (adapted versions of neoclassical) rational decision models in which the structural difference between the foreign and domestic labour market was put central. The general idea of most of these models was that if the profitable difference in pull and push factors between foreign and domestic market would be high enough, people would go. Yet, most models were not able to explain the relative persistence of people to not move even in cases of enlarged or enlarging varying welfare differences in the EU. Apparently, and not surprisingly, the mobility of goods and information across borders is a whole different field than the moving of people themselves with their feelings, emotions, identities and behaviours. So, our main aim was to better understand why most people most of the time did not even consider the possibility of moving across the border. To this end, what we in fact particularly did in that article of 2004 was to enrich the concept of the border in these models (Van Houtum and Van der Velde 2004). We found that in most of these rational decision models, borders are dominantly seen as a mere cut-off line, a threshold of a potentially profitable difference between diverging labour markets. The decision-making process in these models is often imaginatively based on an evaluation of the characteristics and opportunities of the present (*home*) and a possible new location (*away*), after

which a decision is made to become mobile (*go*) or stay put (*stay*). This Cartesian worldview of human action, which has found its present translation in mainstream economics in the (bounded) rational agent, still motivates EU labour market policymaking. We enriched this meagre and all-too naive understanding of borders with existing debates in border studies at the time, in which national borders should not so much be understood (anymore) as economic differences alone but as socially meaningful constructions of power to a varying degree internalized by the people living within the territorial outlines of the country. Borders were hence not seen as static lines of differences but rather as continuously reproduced social phenomena, as human all too human (Paasi 1996). We postulated that the bordering of our mental orientation and territorial (id)entity is preventing the existence of a large-scale cross-border or transnational labour market in the European Union. Despite many years of European integration, the national border still produces a difference in the imagination of belonging and as such it produces an attitude of *indifference* towards the market on what is perceived as the 'other side', as an abroad, an out-land (Van Houtum and Van der Velde 2004). Apparently still, this mechanism of distanciation helps to gain control in order to gain a social focal point, a selection of social priorities. The space beyond a state then becomes a space of withdrawal, of mental 'emptiness', often resulting in a conservative tendency towards cross-border activities. That what is beyond the constructed differentiating border of comfort (*difference*) is socially made legitimate to be neglected (*indifference*) (Van Houtum and Van der Velde 2004). Interestingly enough, migrants from outside the EU are perhaps more 'European' than those born inside the EU, in the sense of deliberately moving across borders into the EU, which is something Joris Schapendonk, for instance, has recently taken up (see also his Chapter 16 in this volume). For many EU citizens, the market across the border is apparently something that is still seen as

<i>Cross-border labour market passiveness</i>	<b>Indifference-factor</b>		
	<b>Threshold of indifference</b>		
<i>Cross-border labour market activeness</i>			
	Stay	<b>Keep-factor</b>	<b>Repel-factor</b>
	Go	<b>Push-factor</b>	<b>Pull-factor</b>
		Home	Away

**Figure 19.1 The threshold of indifference**

Source: Van Houtum and Van der Velde 2004.

something that can be neglected for the daily social practices in the own country. We suggested that it is the inclusion of the attitude of such a nationally habitualized *indifference* that may help to explain why most workers do not even consider seeking work across the border. The reality is thus that the majority of workers does not surpass the threshold of indifference – only a small group will ‘enter’ the bottom part of the scheme, the active attitude part in which cross-border mobility is taken into full consideration. This resulted in the model above.

Earlier, Ton van Naerssen and I had reframed the idea of borders as social constructs into the idea that borders should not thus be understood as nouns, as finite, but rather as continuous work in progress, hence as verbs (Van Houtum and Van Naerssen 2002; Van Houtum 2010a, 2010b). To this end, we coined the term *bordering*. And to make clear that with the continuous process of border-making there is a continuous process of ordering a society and antagonizing another, we used the terms ‘bordering’, ‘ordering’ and ‘othering’ (see also Van Houtum 2010b). Newman (2006) picked this up in his article on the distinction between the borders and the bordering approach. Our bordering approach was later used in the edited volume *B/Ordering Space* (Van Houtum et al. 2005). In this volume, the American critical theorist Hooper, at the time working for the Nijmegen Centre for Border Research, introduced the term border-work to describe this social making of borders, something that was later elaborated and extended by Rumfold (2008) in his interesting book on how citizens make and unmake borders in Europe (see also the chapter by Sandberg and Pijpers in this volume).

It is most importantly the achievement of Martin van der Velde, Bas Spierings and Ton van Naerssen to steadily have further expanded, sharpened and tested the principle of the threshold of indifference that was coined in 2004. In their articles of 2008, 2011 and 2013 Martin worked together with Bas to refine and extend the idea of the threshold of indifference into the concept of *unfamiliarity* when it concerned cross-border shopping (Spierings and Van der Velde 2008, 2013; Van der Velde and Spierings 2010). They empirically tested the approach and found out that in order for cross-border shopping to occur, a certain ‘comfortable unfamiliarity’ is quintessential, as it provokes a certain adventurous curiosity that is commercially beneficial. They stated that in order to promote cross-border attention and interaction – or increase international shopping mobility – and prevent cross-border aversion and avoidance – or increase international shopping immobility – European urban and regional policies should aim to help to produce processes of productive (un)familiarization (Spierings and Van der Velde 2013). Borders as markers of differences between countries are a necessity for people to become mobile and visit ‘the other side’. This interesting conclusion resonates with the work that recently has come up in border studies, summed under the terms *borderscapes* or *borderscaping*, a fusion of ‘borders’ with ‘scaping’. The latter comes from the Dutch term *scheppen* and the German word *schaffen*, which means to create or design, in which consciously is sought to use the difference a border as productive seducer makes (Eker and Van Houtum 2013; Van Houtum and Spierings 2012; Brambilla 2014; Sohn 2013; Buoli 2015). This view has important new consequences for policies in borderlands, also in the EU where policies have for decades now largely been aiming at obliterating borders that were only seen as barriers and not resources.

Martin also worked with Ton to apply the threshold approach that was originally applied for migration inside the EU towards migration towards the EU (Van der Velde and Van Naerssen 2011). And that is a relevant extension of the approach, because also outside the EU where welfare differences with members states in the EU are higher, the dominant pattern is actually sedentarism, non-migration. Where tourism has exponentially expanded over the recent decades, moving across the border to actually stay is still the exception rather than the rule (see also the chapter of Van der Velde and Van Naerssen in this volume). Worldwide the percentage of migrants is, according to

the UN (2011), about 3 per cent. There is a persistent idea and even fear of mass migration or even invasion into the EU but this is not backed by the actual figures. Again therefore, as in the case of cross-border mobility and shopping in the EU, the perception of international human mobility in public media and political arenas is often heavily overestimated and overstressed compared with the reality, that is, the dominance of immobility. For the case of international migration outside the EU, Van der Velde and Van Naerssen redefined the threshold of indifference as the *mental border threshold*, which I understand from the perspective of wishing to stimulate mobility, because it emphasizes the border as barrier, a mental distance (see also Van Houtum 1999), but arguably is conceptually fitting less well when one wishes to explain sedentarism from the perspective of those who wish to stay. Those who willingly wish to stay put and do not even consider moving abroad generally arguably would not speak of a mental border, but of indifference. To this mental border threshold they interestingly added the *locational threshold* (whether or not the migrant can find a suitable location) and *trajectory threshold* (whether or not he or she reaches his or her destination because of the difficulties encountered during the journey) (see also Figure 1.1 in this volume).

So, ten years after our coining of the concept of the threshold of indifference that aimed to explain cross-border labour market immobility (Van Houtum and Van der Velde 2004), a whole series of publications have followed contributing to an increased richness of the 'Nijmegen' approach. The concept has travelled and evolved. By persistently expanding the approach to other fields and by inviting other scholars to help build it further, Martin and others have sharpened and refined the debate on borders, (labour) migration and sedentarism with the approach.

This book provides an important new step in this debate. In this book Martin and Ton have invited a range of distinguished scholars to reflect on the approach from their own research expertise and field, and in diverse borders sites around the world. Some have stayed close to the approach as offered in Chapter 1 by Van der Velde and Van Naerssen, others have dealt with it more loosely. This has rendered many new insights and deliberations, resulting in possible new directions of the approach as summed in, the still perhaps rather complex, Figure 18.1. It has been made convincingly clear in the various chapters that two possible enrichments of the approach lie in the continuous changing and shifting of the interpretation of the threshold over time and space, as well as in the inclusion of social groups an individual belongs to as this may lead to different perceptions of the border. And it has made clear that the approach obviously also has limits. In the interesting chapter on the Israel-Palestine border of Doaa' Elnakhala who addresses the border tactics in a rather different manner, namely in terms of hostility and violence, the approach is clearly less well applicable. And as Xavier Ferrer-Gallardo and Keina Espíñeira and Ninna Nyberg Sørensen have argued in their chapters, the approach certainly differs in terms of applicability to various cases of migration. For refugees and especially clearly for forced returnees, the idea of being able to choose, even to some extent, is quite different than for cross-border workers in an inner-EU borderland. It shows that the approach that began with the explanation of the low percentage of cross-border workers has again travelled and is meeting new limits and new challenges, at it should.

It does not stop here, I am sure. Adding to the comments made by the editors in their concluding chapter, I would argue that an important challenge for the future of the approach is to better combine the idea of a border as a threshold and a border as a seduction or resource. When we for example zoom in on the inner borders of the EU, for a long time in the integration process of the EU the national borders were interpreted as a threshold in terms of a barrier, something that needed to get rid of. This led to a kind of internal market score sheet logic, in which the attention is solely focused on the speed of deleting the borders as barriers. It is only in recent times that spatial developers and planners are really and more willingly coming to terms with the reality that for the near future the

internal borders of the EU will not disappear. As has been argued above, the cross-border (labour market) immobility is not an anomaly, but the dominant pattern. In spatial development terms this should not be seen only as pitiful, but as a critical potential to make much better use of. In the book *Borderland* (Eker and Van Houtum 2013) we tried to work with possible scenarios for this, which could possibly further enrich the unfamiliarity approach of Spierings and Van der Velde (see above). We made a design continuum of the border, ranging from the barrier as a seductive and resourceful difference marker on the one hand (the scenario of the border as a resourceful threshold), to the border being totally open, thereby turning the border into a historical relict of a time that once was on the other (the scenario cross-border community). This leads to a range of possible designs for border landscapes. Maybe it is worthwhile to see if such a continuum rather than an either/or could be applied to the case of migration and mobility. Rather than trying to create a commonality across borders and breaking down all possible barriers, it might sometimes be much more inspiring and innovative to emphasize the productive difference between borderlands and markets on either side of the border. Seductive differences are much more appealing than forcing markets or people to integrate. The same perhaps holds for the external borders of the EU. Here one sees a complete opposite logic when compared to the inner borders, namely a harsh and discriminative closure for many migrants, leading to an increasing number of unnecessary casualties (Van Houtum 2010a; see also Baggio's chapter in this volume). Where the inner border logic surely is ready for further refinement and more creative redesign, arguably more towards productive and seductive closure, the external border clearly needs more creative openness. In this way, the policy logics towards the internal and external borders which are dominantly and falsely kept separate, and which also in border studies are wrongly kept as separate debates, should and can be connected.

This connects to my final point. The lesson of this book for me is that after ten years of enriching and expanding the 'Nijmegen' approach on 'borders as thresholds', the debate should arguably step out of the academic circle more often and become more policy relevant, something which the editors clearly recognize themselves, as they conclude this in the last chapter. Zooming in on the EU again, too often, as expressed above, in policy regarding borders and borderlands there has been an emphasis on stimulating mobility/migration inside the EU, thereby almost obstinately ignoring the reality on the ground, which is sedentarism. And when it concerns external borders, too long now, has there been an one-sided policy focus on stopping migrants, an inflexibility that is erroneous, even deadly, which needs to be broken.

I am glad that I can conclude that many new challenges lie ahead. That means that the book has done a good job indeed, as a good debate usually leads to new questions. It is for this reason that I compliment the editors and authors with a compelling contribution to the rich and blossoming field of border studies. I look forward to the road ahead.

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