Applied Mobilities

ISSN: 2380-0127 (Print) 2380-0135 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rapm20

Precarious mobility and spectacle dwelling on a ferry commute

Sharon R. Roseman

To cite this article: Sharon R. Roseman (2020) Precarious mobility and spectacle dwelling on a ferry commute, Applied Mobilities, 5:1, 86-102, DOI: 10.1080/23800127.2018.1553497

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/23800127.2018.1553497

Published online: 17 Feb 2019.

APPLIED MOBILITIES
2020, VOL. 5, NO. 1, 86–102
https://doi.org/10.1080/23800127.2018.1553497

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

ARTICLE

Precarious mobility and spectacle dwelling on a ferry commute

Sharon R. Roseman

Department of Anthropology, Memorial University,St. John's, NL, Canada

ABSTRACT

Precarious mobilities caused by insufficient capacity or unplanned stoppages of public transportation services can result in line-ups that are as much a part of commuters' daily routines as travel itself. This article explores how excessive line-ups can be analyzed as forms of spectacle dwelling in the context of a Canadian aqua-mobile transportation corridor on Conception Bay, linking Bell Island to the main island of Newfoundland. For several decades, Bell Island ferry commuters have been governed by vivid representations of the bureaucracy literally seizing up in users' stalled movement for hours or sometimes days. Based on an application of concepts initiated by Debord, this article discusses how such line-ups comprise forms of spectacle dwelling; the role of commentaries about these spectacles; and examples of counter-spectacles in 2017 that created a forum for protesting changes to the service.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 29 January 2018
Accepted 26 November 2018

KEYWORDS
Spectacle; counter-spectacle; line-ups; ferries; commuting; Canada

1. Introduction

As Tim Edensor (2008, 314) notes, commuting journeys are commonly "mundane" in the sense of being "pleasant," "banal," and relatively "unspectacular" (also Aldred 2014; Ingold 2000, 2011). These adjectives describe ferry commuting in many locations and certainly in the Bell Island (Canada) context on days when passengers either walk or drive onto the ferry without incident or long waits, and experience uneventful journeys during which they often enjoy the company of neighbours in the passenger lounges. With the majority of its population of over 2,000 reliant on regular ferry transportation to reach employment and basic services such as health care in around the provincial capital of St. John's on mainland Newfoundland, Bell Island is also a daily or weekly commuting destination for those living elsewhere whose jobs involve providing this small island with various key services including education, health care, social services, and food and fuel deliveries.[1] In contrast to days of mundane ferry commuting, Bell Island ferry commuters have often contended in recent years with a situation of precarious mobility that has resulted in significant delays and stoppages of this public transportation service.

This paper draws on ethnographic data about this ferry service compiled over four years (2014–2018) through participation observation, archival and media research, and semi-structured and unstructured interviews with those who use this ferry service to

CONTACT Sharon R. Roseman sroseman@mun.ca

commute to and from work, or for travel required as part of their employment (Cresswell, Dorow, and Roseman 2016), some of whom have held advocacy roles in relation to relaying concerns about the service to the provincial government. With respect to the latter, a key example comprises volunteer members of the elected Bell Island Ferry Users Committee (Roseman 2019). The participation observation took place in all seasons on the ferries, in waiting rooms and queues (or line-ups[2]) at each terminus, and in people's homes and public places. The ubiquity of both line-ups and extensive, unsolicited commentaries about the line-ups during participant observation were supplemented with explicit discussions of them during interviews.

Various vessels have been assigned to the Bell Island ferry service over time. It came under provincial government management in the early 1980s, after having previously been operated by a series of private companies, with government subsidization. A two-vessel, year-round ferry service was instituted for Bell Island in 2002 after decades of active lobbying to expand the service. In terms of the current boats, the MV *Flanders* (capacity: 36 automobiles, 240 passengers) has been assigned to the route on a year-round basis since 1990. It had been built specifically for the Bell Island service in 1990. Prior to 2002, MV *Beaumont Hamel* (built in 1985; capacity 33 automobiles, 106 passengers) had been on the service only from late May to the end of December. From 2002–2017, both of these ferries were normally assigned to the Bell Island-Portugal Cove route except during the vessels' annual refits or unanticipated mechanical problems when replacement vessels were sometimes brought in. As of late summer, 2017, the MV *Beaumont Hamel* was replaced by the MV *Legionnaire* (capacity: 65 vehicles, 200 passengers).[3]

The concept of *precarious mobilities* being employed here has been developed in relation to studies of transport inequity and mobility justice (e.g. Roseman 2019; Sheller 2011). As with residents of under-serviced urban neighbourhoods (e.g. Cresswell 2006, 167–174; Dombroski 2005; Hutchinson 2003), those living in rural spaces or small towns often face mobility injustice in the form of "transport inequity" affecting access to urban-based employment and basic services even when they live in close geographical proximity to cities (Sheller 2011, 292, 293; McDonagh 2006; Velaga et al. 2012). Frequent long waits and uncertainty about being able to travel from/to locations such as Bell Island can be seen as parallel to examples of the "everyday forms of … infrastructure interruption" within large cities that "exacerbate existing forms of inequality" (McFarlane 2010, 132–33, 139). Further to relevant research on mobility justice and specifically transport inequity, and this study's concentration on employment-related commuting (Cresswell, Dorow, and Roseman 2016), a conceptualization of *precarious mobilities* is also central to the work. The definition used in this article has been developed on the model of the precarious employment literature (e.g. Vosko 2005). *Precarious mobilities* are thus defined as a range of situations when specific individuals or groups face non-standardized, irregular, or insecure access to specific forms of essential mobility in relation to a broader societal context in which such mobilities are otherwise provided on the basis of relatively standardized, regularized, and secure conditions of access.

This article illustrates the importance of considering the specific elements of what Lin (2018, 96) refers to as "the action space of mobilities making" that emerges from the "staging" of services by "transport providers". In this case, ongoing elements of precarity

have led to *spectacle* "dwelling in line-ups" (Vannini 2012, 197–204, 194) at the termini of a public ferry service. An important aspect of applied mobilities scholarship is to identify the precise dynamics associated with such destabilizations of mundane commuting. The below analysis draws on Guy Debord's original concept of a "*society of the spectacle*" (Debord 1967, 1983) and its reworking by other scholars in reference to more recent contexts (e.g. Best and Kellner 1999; Puchner 2004; Roberts 2003). The best-known aspect of Debord's definition of "spectacle" was his identification of the cultural dominance in everyday life of the repeated images, messages, and practices of "a media and consumer society" (Best and Kellner 1999, 132; see Debord 1983, para. 65, 66). However, he also outlined another side of "spectacle," in citizens' corresponding reception of the ideological frameworks that support the "vast institutional and technical apparatus of contemporary capitalism" (Best and Kellner 1999, 132; also, Debord 1983, para. 64; Puchner 2004, 6). This article demonstrates how excessive line-ups of users waiting to use a public ferry can be understood as examples of such spectacles. A third element of Debord's definition of "spectacle" relevant here was the ideas of "counter-spectacles" and *détournement*. These concepts relate to arguments posed by Debord, as well as other Letterists and Situationists, regarding how citizens' actions might lead to meaningful change if they respond to a culture of spectacle and alienation by actively "creating" new "situations" (Best and Kellner 1999, 142). *Détournement* occurs when individuals reappropriate a cultural work (e.g. a text, an advertisement, a film) in order to create a new, oppositional message and is thus close to the idea of an enacted "counter-spectacle" (Puchner 2004, 9). This conceptualization of *détournement*, "turning" or hijacking a work or situation was first conceived by the Letterist International group in the 1950s and was outlined by Debord and Wolman (Debord and Wolman 1956). I contend below that it can also be applied to the creation of counter-spectacles as a result of reappropriating bureaucratic spectacles such as line-ups. As Puchner notes, there are important links between the Situationists' critiques and actions that were inspired by and engaged theatre and cinema, the concept of counter-spectacles, and avant-garde theatre performances. On the one hand, "Debord's theatre-inspired notion of the spectacle is one more way of identifying and denouncing the deceptive theories of capitalism." On the other, in the case of constructed critiques in the form of counter-spectacles, performance continues to be key: "In conceiving of situations as a form of participatory theatre that becomes life, the Situationists attack the representational quality of theatre as such" (Puchner 2004, 7, 8).

The remainder of the paper is divided into three sections, followed by a conclusion. The next section concentrates on how the ferry line-ups can become forms of *spectacle dwelling*. A second section examines the prevalence of *commentaries* about these spectacles. The third section focuses on examples of *counter-spectacles* that resulted from hold ups of ferry traffic as a way of protesting specific government decisions relating to the service, thereby turning the government-authored *spectacles* on their head.

2. Line-ups as forms of spectacle dwelling

It is worth underscoring that the Bell Island-Portugal Cove maritime commuting corridor became an example of precarious mobility not due to wind and ice conditions that

sometimes lead to cancellations or delays: "Ferry systems operate around the world but very few operate in conditions as severe as those encountered around Newfoundland. The Bell Island and South Coast Services are operated while being fully exposed to the rigors of the North Atlantic which can be extraordinarily severe in the winter months" (BMT Fleet Technology 2006, 93). Rather, the frequent, excessive delays in the Bell Island context had been the result mainly of insufficient capacity on the boats to accommodate the traffic, unexpected mechanical break-downs, and a lack of replacement vehicles (and sometimes crew). This led to uncertainties related to whether commuters would be able to make it on to a particular ferry run, whether the ferries would be on time or be cancelled on a given day. During the period of field research, a longer-standing problem with both insufficient capacity on the existing ferries and unanticipated mechanical breakdowns due to an aging fleet[4] was further exacerbated by wharf closures due to a major and lengthy construction project in preparation for the arrival of a new, larger ferry MV *Legionnaire* that began service at Bell Island in late July, 2017 after a series of lengthy delays.

In phenomenological terms, Bell Island ferry commuters have often "dwelled" in a "landscape" of line-ups (Ingold 2011). Lengthy terrestrial "dwelling in line-ups" (Vannini 2012, 197–204, 194) has become a salient metonym for grievances about the public ferry service in this context.

As Phillip Vannini explains in reference to his study of British Columbian ferries: "Queues are forms of control and ferry terminals are places that concentrate the power of planners and transport authorities … within these delimited, bottle-neck-like places" (Vannini 2012, 194; also see Bissell 2007; Debord 1983, para. 159). One aspect of a culture of precarity in the Bell Island context is, therefore, both experienced and very effectively symbolized by being kept at a standstill in a state of relative physical immobility[5] – what I am calling a form of spectacle dwelling. As Debord reminds us, a spectacle does not stand apart from but rather must be understood as "a social relation among people, mediated by images" (Debord 1983, para. 4). Moreover, "One cannot abstractly contrast the spectacle to actual social activity…. Lived reality is materially invaded by the contemplation of the spectacle while simultaneously absorbing the spectacular order" (Debord 1983, para. 8). And, so, Bell Island ferry commuters simultaneously contemplate and endure line-ups.

On days dominated by waits for access to the boats, much of the time entailed in this aquamobile and automobile commute is therefore associated with line-ups that can be long in length as well as duration (Bissell 2007). These parallel other cases when mobile dwelling as part of commuting is characterized by various forms of gridlock, slowed traffic, or physical forms of encasement (e.g. Notar 2012; Truitt 2008; Vannini 2011a).The frequency of excessively long waits over the past years had transformed the queuing system from simply being an integral aspect of this mode of travel to inadvertent spectacles that are a major focus of ferry users and other observers. The same type of unplanned spectacle can emerge out of a variety of contexts when funding gaps, systematic failures of oversight and quality control, and/or bureaucratic gridlock seize up the provision of basic goods or services.

As with the ferry services Vannini studied in British Columbia, at the termini in Bell Island and Portugal Cove, while people wait for access to a ferry, they stand at the end of wharves; sit or stand inside or outside venues such as small waiting rooms, coffee

shops, restaurants, or pubs at the ferry termini; sit in vehicles in the ferry line-ups; or stand on the road discussing the state of the line-ups as well as other topics with other drivers and passengers. A collective sense of anxious anticipation is always palpable when the line-ups are relatively long or there is a lack of information about possible adjustments to the boats' schedules. Those waiting in their vehicles might snuggle under blankets; communicate with others by cell phone or other devices; do work; entertain themselves by reading, watching videos, or other pastimes; have a meal or snack; or chat with others who are either commuting with them or have come by for a "visit" to pass the time in the line-up (Laurier 2004; Laurier et al. 2008).

In Portugal Cove, the line-up will often stretch beyond the two lanes marked on the approach to the wharves on Ferry Wharf Road and out onto the narrow, uneven shoulder of Route 40, a two-lane highway. On Bell Island, it will stretch to the top of the long Beach Hill. As with other sites and sights, these two queues are part of an "integrated spectacle" (Debord 1990). Moreover, from parts of the Portugal Cove line-up, on clear days those with good vision can sometimes spot the glints off the windshields on Beach Hill. People in the line-ups will therefore pass the time by observing and discussing what is currently happening on both sides of the Tickle (see note 1). The line-ups are the subject of face-to-face communication as well as social media postings, texts, and phone calls. These sources of information bounce around between those waiting for the ferry, those waiting for them in homes or workplaces as well as anyone else who is keeping track even if they are not taking a ferry that day. For those anxiously waiting, the line-ups play a part in a "unity of misery" (Debord 1983, para. 63). For others, for a population frustrated with gaps in an often-stymied basic public transportation service, they have become a "spectacle of bureaucratic power" (Debord 1983, para. 57). Is it surprising that the very conditions of commuting can become a spectacle? Ferry line-ups in this place should therefore be seen as an example of "The concentrated spectacle [that] belongs essentially to bureaucratic capitalism" (Debord 1983, para. 64).

In the Bell Island context, whether the ferry service is functioning well or not, line-ups are always highly significant. As Phillip Vannini has demonstrated, they are both material forms of dwelling and signs that are integral to ferry commuting (Vannini 2011b, 2012). Line-ups are a structural aspect of the overall political economic experience of what it takes to secure a livelihood if you live and/or work on Bell Island. The conditions of commuting are an integral extension of both the social reproduction of labour as well as the relations of labour that each worker is inserted within, depending on their particular job (Roseman, Barber, and Neis 2015). In terms of the latter, the relationship between commuting and paid employment intensifies when missing a ferry or not being able to get across the Tickle in time for the beginning of a work shift has the potential to cut into someone's ordinary vacation time or other personal days or, in more dire terms, potentially negatively affect job evaluations or job security. Indeed, Debord notes that in "the shape of the modern statist bureaucracy, … the socio-political foundations of the modern spectacle are already established …. (Debord 1983, para. 87)

Line-ups and other forms of queuing have deep cultural and political resonances in a variety of contexts. For example, in state-managed economies, waiting is often equated with scarcity (Schwartz 1975, 15; also, Ehn and Löfgren 2010). As Caroline Humphrey notes with reference to the transition from communism to a market economy in Russia: "The Russian queue (*ochered'*) was not simply a social presence but was also

a social principle, one which regulated social entitlements in time" (Humphrey 1995, 49). Indeed, in the USSR, queues were also lists "for cars or apartments for years" (Voinovich 1985, 42 cited in Humphrey 1995, 49). Physical or digitized lists of names versus in-time line-ups are a feature of bureaucratically-managed queues in various political economies. Long distance air, train, and boat travel is associated with long lines but also with reservations as well as systems for privileged circumventions of lines for travelers seated in the equivalent of business or first class or with frequent flyer statuses. The same hierarchizing of line-ups through the purchase of privileged passes also now occurs for entries to venues such as museums in touristic centres such as Paris and Florence.[6]

In localized public transit systems, however, the idea of first-come, first-serve systems and lining up to board buses, subways, and ferries is associated with a moral economy assumption that the lines will not be endlessly long, the wait will be reasonable, and an individual will be able to make it to work or to an important appointment if they make decisions based on a published travel schedule (on moral economy, see Scott 1976; Thompson 1971). With increasing crowdedness and gridlock, there is a parallel heightened association of movement and speed with efficiency, wealth, and success (Bauman 1988, 2 cited in Elliott and Urry 2010, 9; see also Elliott and Urry 2010, 7, 74, 77). Disadvantage is associated with precarious commuting and privilege is associated with both smooth connections and circumventions of travel time. In some locations such as London and Toronto, high-speed trains used by business travellers and others who can pay the higher fee take passengers from airports to city centres on express routes, thus avoiding crowded, lengthy travel in subways or via above-ground road systems. The limousines that have long been emblematic of extreme wealth, privilege and privacy are no longer considered sufficient in some contexts. For example, there is now the Voom app for the purpose of booking a helicopter in cities such a São Paulo to move between helipads within the city, with its claim to be "democratising" helicopter travel (Wiseman 2017). Futuristic proposals include the idea of the type of rockets now designed for inter-planetary travel potentially being used to "fly people from city to city in minutes" (Amos 2017; Titcomb 2017).

Humphrey's description of "irritable shoulder-to-shoulder masses" waiting to buy basic goods in Russia during the early post-Soviet period reminds me of the bumper-to-bumper cars and trucks that wait for the Bell Island ferry on some days. So too, does her description of "the queue, heaving involuntarily forwards and looking with gimlet eyes at each transaction" (Humphrey 1995, 49). It's not so much due to the physical parallelism and ubiquity of lines in both contexts but rather the relevance of Humphrey's observation that "the Soviet state shop was like a microcosm of what Bukovskii called the 'hidden civil war'" (Humphrey 1995, 48; also see Bukovskii 1981). For those reliant on taking the ferry from and to Bell Island, each long and tiring line-up – and a frequent associated lack of information about the state of one or both ferries – represented and simultaneously furthered a "disillusionment" with "the system" (48). On Bell Island, "the system" of government is iconically represented by images and experiences of ferry line-ups. On days and evenings when ferries dock and unload, a slow surge of vehicles creeps forward, and then often has to come to a new stop once the boat is filled. A forward movement thus moves with a rhythm of long periods of stasis and lengthening line formation and then the intermittent, slow flows forward (Edensor 2011; Lefebvre 2004). Other times, when the boat is not traveling at all for part or all of a specific day, or

insufficient capacity on the boats produces lengthy line-ups, those waiting are captured in spectacle dwelling. This state leads at times to strings of commentaries that metaphorically parallel the line-ups.

3. Spectacle commentaries

As a result of frustrations and ongoing concerns about the service, Bell Islander ferry commuters regularly observe closely, and comment on, the state of the vehicle line-ups formed by those waiting to board the ferries. These commentaries have come to play an integral role in shaping perceptions and experiences of ferry transportation in this location and can thus be thought of as *spectacle commentaries* (following Bissell 2015 on the important role of commentaries).

An aphorism prevalently repeated by Bell Islanders is that they put in a "Twelve-hour day for eight hours pay." Much of the four unpaid hours refers to waiting in line-ups to catch the ferry. This aphorism is paralleled by the repetition of quips such as this one attributed to a returned migrant who spent various decades working in the Toronto area: "Two words for Ontario: Rat Race. 'Cuz everyone's always in a hurry [. . .] down here I'm in a hurry all my life goin' over and the biggest thing is waitin' in line-up to get over and get back." This story highlights a seemingly ironic reversal: that those who have escaped the intensive traffic on roadways, subways, and buses in Canada's most populated urban locations come back to find greater gridlock in the form of stalled ferry line-ups on quiet Bell Island. "Being in a hurry" turns into being at a standstill. Such aphorisms and repeated stories summarize commonly-held ways in which Bell Islanders characterize conditions of precarious mobility. These ferry commuters can be said to experience the spectacle of a halted public transportation service as an "expropriation" of time (Debord 1983, para. 147–164; also see Vannini 2012, 194).

A main finding from participant observation of daily life among those who commute to and from Bell Island, as well as among Bell Islanders generally, is how common it is for individuals to keep daily tabs on the service and the details of ferry commuting rhythms (Lefebvre 2004). Whenever I arrive to Bell Island from St. John's, unless the weather is particularly stormy, people generally don't ask me *how* the boat ride was. Rather they will ask "how was the line-up?", "did you have to wait long to get on?", "is there still a lot of traffic down there?". Then, they'll inevitably ask how the line-up was on the Bell Island side once I arrived. As a result of having listened to many seasoned Bell Island ferry commuters, to do my part, I always try to fill out my story. I discuss how far back the vehicle line-ups were, whether there were longer vehicles such as delivery trucks in line that would take up more space on the boats and thus possibly slow down access to a particular run for those further back in line, whether tickets were being given out for walk-on passengers which would limit how many could board on top of those in the vehicles lined up, how long people in line and on the ferry had said they had been waiting, and so on.

Similarly, it is common for my conversation partners to pass on others' accounts, often with prefatory or closing, contextual commentary. Here's one example from the first months of fieldwork (in 2014), from an interview with Gary Gosine, a long-term

member of the Bell Island Ferry Users Committee[7] as well as frequent commuter and the mayor of the Town of Wabana:

> So we have a commuter line-up and anyone on the inside don't get on until after the commuters. […] So in the early morning people are at the beach and we've timed 'em at two forty-five in the morning. They sit back and they watch their videos and fall asleep down there and don't have to go to work 'til 7:30, 8 o'clock. … So this young feller got down there at 5:48 for a 5:55 ferry, couldn't get on that one, couldn't get on the next one, he got on the third boat this morning.

In this section of the interview, Mr. Gosine begins with a description of how the vehicle line-ups split off into separate sub-lines as one approaches the wharf in each location. These lines distinguish among those with priority commuter passes[8] and others. He then refers to the general experience of many morning commuters enduring up to three or four hours dwelling in these line-ups before being able to board a ferry, and one specific instance that had recently happened to an individual. Commenting both on the length and duration of ferry line-ups on a particular day and one's own or others' specific line-up experiences are ubiquitous elements of daily conversations. Such statements were often part of the opening to a conversation, similar to routinized discussions of the weather. I was told more than once, "people on Bell Island don't talk about the weather, they talk about the line-up."

Accounts of the state of the line-ups have a number of applications, including in helping other ferry users plan or manage their own trips. One strategy is to place a vehicle in line ahead of a planned departure time (Bissell 2015). Here's a commuter from the St. John's area explaining how, when they began ferry commuting to and from Bell Island, they learned to manage planned departures from Bell Island at the end of a work day as a result of conversations with islanders:

> They tell me. Lots of times I'll come here and somebody will come…somebody who has been over to de other side and has come over, they'll say, "So you better put your car down today. There's a big line up."

Commentaries about the line-up spectacle can implicitly and explicitly comprise a critique of not just the excessiveness of waits in Bell Island and Portugal Cove and the way long line-ups have to form in inadequate spaces, but how as whole they stand in for the relative precariousness of service on this ferry route over the past several years. Teresita McCarthy, a former chair of the Bell Island Ferry Users Committee, described the line-up as follows:

> Even the configuration in the Cove, the way they've configured the road; the fact that, you know, people don't – once you get to that turn, people coming from St. Philips don't know where to go, people coming from St. John's don't know where to go; you've got all these cars lined up in the middle of this community, really. Portugal Cove, I don't know how they put up with us.

This comment implies that, when the line-ups spill beyond the circumscribed harbour area, they could be thought of as untidy, unseemly, even as "matter out of place" (symbolic dirt) in Mary Douglas' terms. She elaborated on this idea in her classic comparative treatise on the symbolic dichotomy between "purity" and "danger" in different societies and historical periods (1966, 36).

As spectacles, the line-ups are measured and described with a local vocabulary that includes reference to a series of well-known landmarks which are familiar short-cuts for explaining how long a line-up was at any given time. Teresita McCarthy went on to reference a frequently cited landmark for the Portugal Cove terminus:

> But I mean on a really bad travel day, when (and I've been there) where your car is up to the United Church, I mean it's fine for me [I'm used to it], but I mean you get John Joe Public coming down, he's seeing these cars parked on the side of the road and saying, "Oh my gosh, is there a party going on?"

Here is another fairly typical account narrated by a commuter who vividly describes having been caught up with delays on Bell Island at an unexpected time of day. He indicates that it was produced partly by "the small boat," which is a reference to an inadequate replacement vessel that was on the service that day:

> Because there was a ten to one ferry, which we missed, and then they were tied up for their lunch break thing, and there was not another ferry then, I think it was about ten to three or something before da main ferry left over in Portugal Cove. And there was such a line-up of traffic, and it was piled up and piled up. And, uh, it was only a small boat on. So we were half way up the hill, so we never go on da first boat which went like 2:30 [. . .] by the time we got on da boat, da line-up was back to da Lance Cove Road [. . .] Yes, over, way way up, right up to that hill, which was about two or three boat loads, you see?

Similarly, below is another line-up description referring to the impact of an insufficient replacement ferry, the MV *Sound of Islay*, that was assigned to the run various times including in the spring of 2015. With this small boat in operation, even a 50-car line-up produced long waits, as explained by one commuter:

> She only takes about ten cars! [slapping hands on lap for emphasis] Right?
> Ten cars. And there could be fifty cars in the line-up, waiting to get on. So they got to wait then for that boat to come back again. Another ten cars. That's what takes the time in the evening getting off 'a here, right?

Another type of spectacle commentary references a common commuter activity, the assessment of when one will get on a ferry. In addition to landmarks, forms of counting and measuring were learned over the years for the case of different boats. Harriett Taylor had commuted to work for more than three decades:

> But then you say maybe that you should get out, go down and count the cars . . .If it's just a standard pick-up truck, you allow one and a half. If it's a cement truck you went with four. Yeah. So those are the kind of measures you had. . .and also they've changed the way they stack 'em on the deck of the boat now. So, big trucks like that usually go in the centre, and sometimes they take up more than four spaces. Because they have to allow for openin' and closin' doors. And then on the Beaumont, since they put in the wheelchair accessibility thing, they don't park vehicles in front of that no more. So that takes up one and half spaces. Yeah. So your measure depends on what vessel you're usin'.

In the Bell Island context, the line-up is thus a central aspect of ferry mobilities. Dwelling in the line-up day after day has affected everyday discourse as well other experiences of waiting: Many long-term commuters who have had to endure worry about long ferry line-ups for thirty or forty years avoid them whenever possible and share those strategies with others through commentaries. The various strategies include bringing

a vehicle over the night before an important event or simply having an extra vehicle that is usually or frequently parked in Portugal Cove. In this way, they can walk on to the ferry the next day. Another strategy is for one individual in a shared vehicle to remain in the line-up while the other passenger(s) board the ferry on foot so only one person has to experience the long wait: "One of us goes home. Two of us don't wait, hey? So we plan it out, who gets to go home." Harriett Taylor thus explained how she avoided being in lines. Even today, in retirement, she will always try to find a place to park in Portugal Cove if there's a big line-up and take the ferry back across later on to get her car: "No, I refuse to wait two boatloads."

Just as with other types of spectacles, the experience of waiting for hours for ferries over the years can lead to more generalized avoidance patterns as effectively explained by Teresita McCarthy whose husband Desmond (Des) McCarthy has commuted for decades from Bell Island to work as a teacher and sign-language interpreter:

> There's always the wait factor. And I see that in Des. Like we were invited out to dinner on Sunday evening…because it was a buffet, so we lined up with our plate, and Des was the last person to come out. And [someone else] called out and said, "Des, it's gonna get cold." So he came on out, but I knew why he was last: because he has a great aversion to line-ups. A great aversion…If he can avoid lining up, he will avoid it like the plague. Like if he gets into [a big store] to pick up something, if there's any more than two people in the line-up ahead of him, he's often just left and went on. And, you know, nobody else even picked up on it because they wouldn't know that. But I knew why he was last…he's developed an aversion to line-ups because he's been in line-ups his whole life.

The foregoing accounts indicate the important role of commentaries in people's engagement with the spectacle dwelling of long vehicle line-ups – a material manifestation of what had become a precarious public transportation service. In late summer and fall of 2017, the enforcement of a new requirement as well as the arrival and then temporary withdrawal of the new ferry MV *Legionnaire* from the Bell Island-Portugal Cove service led to instances whereby Bell Island ferry users turned the tables on their experience of imposed waiting by creating counter-spectacles.

4. Counter-spectacles

As anticipated, the arrival of MV *Legionnaire* in late July 2017 generally led to reduced vehicle line-ups and wait times during peak commuting hours given that the new ferry can hold up to 65 vehicles as well as 200 passengers. However, two decisions provoked widespread frustration and instances when users prevented the ferries from leaving port. These intentional counter-spectacles can be seen as an example of *détournement* or a form of resistant dwelling. Unlike the commentaries that are communicated mainly among Bell Island commuters, the counter-spectacles brought broad public attention to Bell Islanders' concerns because of the widespread news media coverage.

The first set of protests, dubbed "Accessibility Protest[s]" (VOCM 2017) by one radio station, occurred over the course of a few months, beginning in August. They resulted from the strict imposition of a requirement that all passengers had to leave their vehicles during the 20-minute crossing on the new as well as the older ferries. For some time, this rule had been part of standard audio instructions as well as signage. However, it had not been strictly enforced and it was understood among ferry users that individuals with

medical passes, or who required physical mobility accommodations, had been considered exempt. In 2017, the crew's efforts to institute the requirement led to some individuals holding up the ferry's departure by refusing to leave their vehicles when there were serious concerns about their safe and dignified access to the upstairs lounges (e.g. CBC News 2017a; VOCM 2017). A series of in-person, social media, and mainstream news media commentaries emphasized both why this rule was not considered just by many and also why the conditions on the ferries made it impossible to follow. These commentaries referred to physical barriers to elevator entry especially on the MV *Flanders* and other older swing vessels including the MV *Beaumont Hamel*, a lack of sufficient numbers of wheelchairs on the ferries, broken elevators, and a lack of sufficient crew training (e.g. Power 2017). A petition was signed and the Bell Island Ferry Users Committee received support from the Coalition of Persons with Disabilities (The Telegram 2017). These actions led to the provincial government commissioning Inclusion NL to produce an assessment of accessibility on the Bell Island ferries and to make recommendations. This report was completed in October 2017 (Inclusion NL 2017). Discussions between the Bell Island Ferry Users Committee and the provincial government continued, leading the government to commission an independent risk assessment which was released in June, 2018 and overall upheld the government's rule about vacating vehicles (Lloyd's Register 2018; Transportation and Works 2018; Whiffen 2018a). Ferry users, including via the Bell Island Ferry Users Committee, and the government continue to engage in discussions about this requirement. It has continued to create concern for some users and thus produce a series of public and private commentaries (e.g. Whiffen 2018b, 2018c, 2018d).

To return to the topic of the creation of physical counter-spectacles in 2017, a second set of stand-offs between a group of Bell Islanders and the government resulted from an announcement that MV *Legionnaire* was being moved to fill in for MV *Veteran* on the Fogo Island-Change Islands-Farewell ferry service for an unspecified duration while the MV *Veteran* was off-service for a required, regular refit.[9] The MV *Veteran* and MV *Legionnaire* are identical ships that were purchased by the government in the same time frame even though MV *Veteran* began working on its permanently assigned Fogo Island-Change Islands-Farewell service much earlier. Although the government had indicated earlier that MV *Legionnaire* would likely have to serve as a replacement vessel for MV *Veteran* for annual refits, this plan was not necessarily widely known or accepted among Bell Islanders. Therefore, when an announcement was made that the MV *Legionnaire* was being moved to Fogo Island for an unspecified time period only a few months after having arrived at Bell Island after many months of delay, it led to widespread dissatisfaction that rapidly crescendoed into a physical blockade. It began with protesters remaining on the ferry's ramp on Saturday, November 4 in Portugal Cove, finally allowing the ferry to make its last run of the night to Bell Island, but then being joined by a larger group who camped on the ramp Saturday night and into Sunday (Bartlett 2017a, 2017b; CBC News 2017b). A large presence of Bell Island protesters remained on the MV *Legionnaire*'s ramp until an agreement was reached with the government on Tuesday for the ferry to depart as of Wednesday in return for concessions with respect to scheduling and other matters (Bartlett 2017c). One of the latter included the MV *Legionnaire* remaining until at least Wednesday evening in order

to accommodate travelers who were affected by the fact that the MV *Flander*'s elevator was under repair (Bartlett 2017b; Cooke 2017; Power 2017).

Not surprisingly, this strategy for drawing attention to a locality's protest against a decision perceived to add precarity to a public transportation service was mirrored on Fogo Island where news reports published on November 9 indicated that people there were, in turn, preventing MV *Beaumont Hamel* from leaving for Bell Island (CBC News 2017b). According to reports, this action was apparently not because of objections to the temporary exchange of ferries but to ask the provincial government to reopen discussions about the ferry schedule (Kinsella 2017). During this crisis the minister reminded residents in both regions that the services provided in different parts of the province are part of one ferry system (e.g. Bartlett 2017b; Kinsella 2017).

In these examples, individuals purposefully employed a resistance technique commonly used around the world, of physically occupying a space under contestation. In this context, however, the prevention of ferries from leaving port replicated, and thus in effect held up a mirror to, Bell Islanders' own regularized experiences of dwelling in spectacles not of their own making.

5. Conclusion

When studying travel modes such as ferries, buses, trains, and airplanes, it is important to attend to the specificities of waiting experiences (Bissell 2007). In the Bell Island context, waiting for a ferry frequently takes up significantly more time and energy than the ferry ride itself. Ferry line-ups can therefore be understood as a form of mobile dwelling, as part of the economy of spectacle in this location, and as of core importance for applied mobilities. Over time, the long wait in these line-ups became so excessive that they became a focus for people's reflections on the precarity of public transportation.

The analysis draws on Guy Debord's development of the concept of the "society of the spectacle" to consider disruptions of what could otherwise be considered mundane mobilities. How does the visceral experience of paused, frustrated dwelling affect users' relationship with public bureaucracies? This ferry commuting context provides an apt example of how inadvertent spectacles can be produced as a result of systemic factors including aging infrastructure, funding gaps, and bureaucratic gridlock that can seize up the provision of public services such as transportation. The physical line-ups that have confronted Bell Island ferry commuters for many years are at once part of their material experience of getting to and from workplaces and other destinations, a vivid representation of their preoccupations as users of a precarious service, and a manifestation of ongoing attempts by ferry workers and other civil service employees to deliver access to public transportation under challenging conditions.

The spectacle of line-ups stands for a situation that has had various impacts on commuting workers, their families, and communities. The inadequate provision of sufficient capacity extends individuals' work days through disproportionate commuting times. The "integrated spectacle" (Debord 1990) created by the constant sight of tired workers arriving at the ferry in the dark, pre-dawn hours to form a line, or lined up alongside the narrow highway in Portugal Cove for as long as four hours to get home in the evening is a constant reminder of the link between essential mobilities,

employment, and social reproduction (Roseman, Barber, and Neis 2015). The length and characteristics of specific line-ups are a constant source of evaluation and measurement, shared among those waiting as well as with broader social networks through forms of communication such as cell phones and social media.

The functional operation of the island's public ferry service which provides access to the majority of geographically-proximate employment options as well as other needs is the key social justice concern shared by virtually all residents. When insufficiencies related to the infrastructural systems on which commuters rely create conditions of scarcity or other forms of insecurity, these often reflect and reinforce broader socio-economic and sociopolitical inequalities. On Bell Island, the spectacle of ferry line-ups has thus become a reference point for commentaries which focus on ferry service, public service provision in general, and the specific under-resourcing of commuting conditions for rural workers – even those like Bell Islanders who are situated in relatively close proximity to the capital city area which is a major source of employment in the province.

The article also considers cases when groups of Bell Islanders created counter-spectacles through blocking ferries from leaving port. These actions were aimed at forcing discussions with the government about two specific decisions about the service: the enforcement of a rule that all users had to leave their vehicles during the 20-minute crossing, and the decision to use the new ferry MV *Legionnaire* to cover service on a route elsewhere in the province when another large ferry was out for regular checks and maintenance. The transportation precarity associated with this case therefore has broad relevance for thinking through symptoms of interrupted or otherwise stymied commuting routes as well as the agency of those who endeavour to use these public infrastructures. As with the longstanding daily discussions of line-ups and wait times, these counter-spectacles led to a variety of commentaries among ferry users in these locations as well as among other residents of the province at large given the extensive media coverage that ensued.

In Debord's film, [1973, time code 35.16] he highlights this passage: "La société fondée sur l'expansion du travail industriel aliéné devient, bien normalement, de part en part, malsaine, bruyante, laide…." [film's subtitled translation: "The society founded on the expansion of alienated industrial labor becomes, quite normally, from one end to the other, unhealthy, noisy, ugly…"]. In the case of ferry commuters reliant on the route connecting Bell Island to Portugal Cove, Newfoundland, it is not necessarily or only that some of their jobs or other aspects of their lives are "unhealthy, noisy, ugly," nor is it the ferry ride itself which is for most users normally a pleasant and mundane experience (Edensor 2011). Rather, a major source of an "expansion" of alienation is tied to the uncertainty surrounding the ferry commute as long represented in the spectacular power of long line-ups and consequent waits as well as more recently in the new requirement that all passengers now leave their vehicles during the crossings. To further possible applications of our understandings of precarious mobilities, therefore, this study highlights the value in thinking about the conditions of precarious commuting to and from or as part of employment as an important parallel to descriptions of elements of factory floors, mines, or other non-mobile work sites more commonly associated with workers' reactions to an alienation from their own labour.

Notes

1. Alongside the Marine Atlantic ferries connecting the province to Nova Scotia, the intraprovincial ferry service in Newfoundland and Labrador is the second busiest operation in the country. Annually, ferries transport 900,000 passengers, 400,000 vehicles and 12,000 tonnes of freight within the province through 42 ports (Transportation and Works 2017). The most intensive traffic is found on the "Tickle," the narrow body of water that is the site of the five-kilometre crossing in Conception Bay between Bell Island and the Portugal Cove wharf on mainland Newfoundland (on the term "tickle", see Story, Kirwin, and Widdowson 1999).
2. The term "line-up" (versus alternatives such as queue) is used in the paper in both analysis and quotes from research participants, to honour the fact that this is the usual term used by the local population.
3. It should be noted, however, that MV *Beaumont Hamel* has since been brought back to replace MV *Legionnaire* when the latter is absent.
4. MV *Legionnaire* was one of two identical large ferries purchased by the provincial government as part of a long-term vessel replacement strategy (BMT Fleet Technology 2006; Transportation and Works 2017).
5. On relative (im)mobilities generally, see Adey (2006).
6. In the case of Florence, Italy, it is called the "Firenze Card"; http://www.firenzecard.it/index.php?lang=en. In Paris, the "Paris Museum Pass" (https://en.parismuseumpass.com).
7. As is noted earlier in the paper, as part of their role of advocating to the government on behalf of all users of the service, members of the volunteer Bell Island Ferry Users Committee are particularly observant of, and knowledgeable about, the daily state of line-ups (Roseman 2019).
8. These passes are issued to those who have documented employment that requires ferry commuting between Bell Island and mainland Newfoundland, but also others including those with medical needs that require regular commuting.
9. Refits are necessary periods a few times a year when the ferries undergo regularly scheduled maintenance and testing.

Acknowledgments

This chapter is part of a larger study of the Bell Island ferry system conducted as part of On the Move: Employment-Related Geographical Mobility in the Canadian Context, a project of the SafetyNet Centre for Occupational Health & Safety Research at Memorial University. On the Move is supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada through its Partnership Grants funding opportunity (Appl ID 895-2011-1019), InnovateNL, the Canada Foundation for Innovation, and numerous university and community partners in Canada and elsewhere. Warm thanks to the Bell Island ferry commuters who have shared their experiences, and to Diane Royal and Lesley Butler for research assistance.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

This work was supported by the Canada Foundation for Innovation [30295]; InnovateNL [5404-1012-104];Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada [895-2011-1019].

References

Adey, P. 2006. "If Mobility Is Everything Then It Is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im) Mobilities." *Mobilities* 1: 75–94. doi:10.1080/17450100500489080.

Aldred, R. 2014. "The Commute." In *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*, edited by P. Adey, D. Bissell, K. Hannam, P. Merriman, and M. Sheller, 450–459. London: Routledge.

Amos, J. 2017. "Elon Musk: Rockets Will Fly People from City to City in Minutes." *BBC News*, September 29. http://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-41441877

Bartlett, G. 2017a. "We're Staying Here All Day: Bell Islanders Protest Ferry Swap with Fogo." *CBC News*, November 5.

Bartlett, G. 2017b."'We Will Stay Here': Protesters Vow to Block Legionnaire from Leaving Bell Island." *CBC News*, November 6.

Bartlett, G. 2017c. "Protesters Accept Bell Island Ferry Deal, Legionnaire Could Head to Fogo Wednesday Night." *CBC News*, November 7.

Bauman, Z. 1988. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Best, S., and D. Kellner. 1999. "Debord, Cybersituations, and the Interactive Spectacle." *Substance* 90: 129–156. doi:10.1353/sub.2006.0002.

Bissell, D. 2007. "Animating Suspension: Waiting for Mobilities." *Mobilities* 2: 277–298. doi:10.1080/17450100701381581.

Bissell, D. 2015. "How Environments Speak: Everyday Mobilities, Impersonal Speech and the Geographies of Commentary." *Social & Cultural Geography* 16 (2): 146–164. doi:10.1080/14649365.2014.958520.

BMT Fleet Technology. 2006. *Vessel Replacement Strategy. Final Report*. Submitted to the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. March.

Bukovskii, V. 1981. *Pis'ma russkago puteshestvennika* [Letters of a Russian Traveller]. New York: Chalidze Publications.

CBC News. 2017a. "Delays after Passengers aboard Bell Island Ferries Refuse to Get Out of Cars." September 18.

CBC News. 2017b. "Deal Struck in Fogo Island Ferry Standoff—For Now." November 10.

Cooke, R. 2017. "'We're Staying Here All Day': Bell Islanders Protest Ferry Swap with Fogo." *CBC News*, November 5.

Cresswell, T. 2006. *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*. New York: Routledge.

Cresswell, T., S. Dorow, and S. R. Roseman. 2016. "Putting Mobility Theory to Work: Conceptualizing Employment-Related Geographical Mobility." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 48 (9): 1787–1803. doi:10.1177/0308518X16649184.

Debord, G. 1967. *La société du spectacle*. Paris: Éditions Buchet-Chastel.

Debord, G., director. 1973. *La société du spectacle*. France: Simar Films.

Debord, G. 1983. *Society of the Spectacle*. Detroit: Black & White.

Debord, G. 1990. *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*. Translated by Malcolm Imrie. London: Verso.

Debord, G., and G. J. Wolman. 1956. "Mode d'emploi du détournement." Les Lèvres Nues No. 8 (mai). *Bibliothèque-Virtuelle*.

Dombroski, M. A. 2005. "Securing Access to Transportation for the Urban Poor." *Columbia Law Review* 105: 503–536.

Douglas, M. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Praeger.

Edensor, T. 2008. "Mundane Hauntings: Commuting through the Phantasmagoric Working-Class Spaces of Manchester, England." *Cultural Geographies* 15: 313–333. doi:10.1177/1474474008091330.

Edensor, T. 2011. "Commuter: Mobility, Rhythm and Commuting." In *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects*, edited by T. Cresswell and P. Merriman, 189–204. Farnham: Ashgate.

Ehn, B., and O. Löfgren. 2010. *The Secret World of Doing Nothing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Elliott, A., and J. Urry. 2010. *Mobile Lives*. New York: Routledge.
Humphrey, C. 1995. "Creating a Culture of Disillusionment: Consumption in Moscow, a Chronicle of Changing Times." In *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local*, edited by D. Miller, 43–68. London: Routledge.
Hutchinson, S. 2003. *Imagining Transit: Race, Gender, and Transportation Politics in Los Angeles*. New York: Peter Lang.
Inclusion NL. 2017. *Accessibility Review. Bell Island Ferry Service*. St. John's: Department of Transportation & Works. October.
Ingold, T. 2000. *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. London: Routledge.
Ingold, T. 2011. *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. London: Routledge.
Kinsella, S. 2017. "Ferry Fight Continues—This Time with Protestors on Fogo Island." *CBC News*, November 9.
Laurier, E. 2004. "Doing Office Work on the Motorway." *Theory, Culture & Society* 21 (4–5): 261–277. doi:10.1177/0263276404046070.
Laurier, E., H. Lorimer, B. Brown, O. Jones, O. Juhlin, A. Noble, M. Perry, et al. 2008. "Driving and 'Passengering': Notes on the Ordinary Organization of Car Travel." *Mobilities* 3 (1): 1–23. doi:10.1080/17450100701797273.
Lefebvre, H. 2004. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*. Translated by Stuart Elden. New York: Continuum.
Lin, W. 2018. "Transport Provision and the Practice of Mobilities Production." *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (1): 92–111. doi:10.1177/0309132516666189.
Lloyd's Register. 2018. "Risk Assessment for Bell Island Ferry Service." *Technical Report #TR-18-34, Rev 01*. St. John's, NL: Prepared for the Marine Services Division, Department of Transportation & Works. May.
McDonagh, J. 2006. "Transport Policy Instruments and Transport-Related Social Exclusion in Rural Republic of Ireland." *Journal of Transport Geography* 14: 355–366. doi:10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2005.06.005.
McFarlane, C. 2010. "Infrastructure, Interruption, and Inequality: Urban Life in the Global South." In *Disrupted Cities: When Infrastructure Fails*, edited by S. Graham, 131–144. New York: Routledge.
Notar, B. 2012. "'Coming Out' to 'Hit the Road': Temporal, Spatial and Affective Mobilities of Taxi Drivers and Day Trippers in Kunming, China." *City & Society* 24 (3): 281–301. doi:10.1111/ciso.12001.
Power, L. 2017. "Accessibility Concerns Flagged on Bell Island Ferry Service." *The Telegram*, September 30. [Original story: August 22].
Puchner, M. 2004. "Society of the Counter-Spectacle: Debord and the Theatre of the Situationists." *Theatre Research International* 29 (1): 4–15. doi:10.1017/S0307883303001214.
Roberts, D. 2003. "Towards a Geneaology and Typology of Spectacle: Some Comments on Debord." *Thesis Eleven* 75: 54–68. doi:10.1177/0725513603751005.
Roseman, S. R. 2019. "Fighting for Ferry Justice." In *Mobilities, Mobility Justice and Social Justice*, edited by N. Cook and D. Butz, 142–155. Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge.
Roseman, S. R., P. G. Barber, and B. Neis. 2015. "Towards a Feminist Political Economy Framework for Analyzing Employment-Related Geographical Mobility." *Studies in Political Economy* 95 (1): 175–203. doi:10.1080/19187033.2015.11674951.
Schwartz, B. 1975. *Queuing and Waiting: Studies in the Social Organization of Access and Delay*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Scott, J. C. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Sheller, M. 2011. "Sustainable Mobility and Mobility Justice: Towards a Twin Transition." In *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society*, edited by M. Grieco and J. Urry, 289–304. Farnham: Ashgate.

Story, G. M., W. J. Kirwin, and J. D. A. Widdowson, eds. 1999. *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Web site. http://www.heritage.nf.ca/dictionary/#5024

The Telegram. 2017. "Bell Island Couple with Mobility Issues Wants to Remain in Vehicle during Crossing." *The Telegram*, October 19.

Thompson, E. P. 1971. "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century." *Past & Present* 50: 76–136. doi:10.1093/past/50.1.76.

Titcomb, J. 2017. "Elon Musk Plans London to New York Rocket Flights in 29 Minutes." *The Telegraph*, September 29. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/2017/09/29/elon-musk-unveils-plans-london-new-york-rocket-flights-30-minutes/

Transportation and Works. 2017. *The Way Forward: A Five-Year Provincial Marine Infrastructure Plan – 2017 Edition*. St. John's: Transportation and Works, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Transportation and Works. 2018. *Independent Risk Assessment Recommends Passengers Vacate Vehicles on Provincial Ferries*. Press release. St. John's: Transportation and Works, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Truitt, A. 2008. "On the Back of a Motorbike: Middle-Class Mobility in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam." *American Ethnologist* 35 (1): 3–19. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.00002.x.

Vannini, P. 2011a. "Performing Elusive Mobilities: Ritualization, Play, and the Drama of Scheduled Departures." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29 (2): 353–368. doi:10.1068/d5010.

Vannini, P. 2011b. "Mind the Gap: The *Tempo Rubato* of Dwelling in Lineups." *Mobilities* 6 (2): 273–299. doi:10.1080/17450101.2011.552904.

Vannini, P. 2012. *Ferry Tales: Mobility, Place, and Time on Canada's West Coast*. New York: Routledge.

Velaga, N. R., M. Beecroft, J. D. Nelson, D. Corsar, and P. Edwards. 2012. "Transport Poverty Meets the Digital Divide: Accessibility and Connectivity in Rural Communities." *Journal of Transport Geography* 21: 102–112. doi:10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2011.12.005.

VOCM. 2017. "Accessibility Protest Delays Bell Island Crossing." August 29.

Voinovich, V. 1985. *Antsovetskii sovetskii soyuz*. Ann Arbor: Ardis.

Vosko, L., ed. 2005. *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Whiffen, G. 2018a. "Bell Island Ferry Users Group Steps up Its Fight against Policy that Passengers Must Leave Vehicles." *The Telegram*, February 15, 16. Accessed 16 February 2018. https://www.thetelegram.com/news/bell-island-ferry-users-group-steps-up-its-fight-against-policy-that-passengers-must-leave-vehicles-186578/

Whiffen, G. 2018b. "Bell Island Ferry Woes Continue." *The Telegram*, July 3. Accessed 5 August 2018. https://www.thetelegram.com/news/local/bell-island-ferry-woes-continue-223505/

Whiffen, G. 2018c. "Disabled Woman on Bell Island Ferry Slips, Hits Head." *The Telegram*, July 19. Accessed 8 October 2018. https://www.thetelegram.com/news/disabled-woman-on-bell-island-ferry-slips-hits-head-227560/

Whiffen, G. 2018d. "Risks to Ill Passengers Not Just a Ferry Tale, Woman Says." *The Telegram*, October 5. Accessed 8 October 2018. https://www.pressreader.com/canada/the-telegram-st-johns/20181005/281479277360295

Wiseman, E. 2017. "Forget Uber – New Voom App Lets Commuters Hail a Helicopter." *The Telegraph*. Accessed 2 November 2017. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/cars/news/uber-style-helicopter-hailing-app-voom-touches-sao-paulo/