

## 2 The New Mobilities Regimes

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Things must become visible to the mind and body before we can conceive them. Notably, seeing a phenomenon is epistemologically different from ‘saying’ this phenomenon; seeing entails distinctive ways of perceiving the phenomenon and making it accessible and as such is constitutive for the becoming of the phenomenon. (Jensen 2011, 255)

#### Introduction

In recent years, globalization research has moved social and spatial mobilization to the center of attention in social theory. Social, political, economic, and cultural developments geared toward worldwide interconnected structures of interaction and exchange of physical, social, and digital units are interpreted as an allembicing liquefaction of spatial, social, and cultural relations (Sloterdijk 1989; Urry 2000; Bauman 2000; Tomlinson 2003; Cresswell 2006; Urry 2007; Beck 2008; Rosa and Scheuerman 2008; Ritzer 2010). Authors such as David Harvey, Doreen Massey, Anthony Giddens, and Benno Werlen take this as a sign of a shrinking world as a consequence of accelerated and improved transportation and communication technologies and tightly coupled interaction across wide distances, which form what comes very close to ontological foundations of modernization. Harvey coined the term “time-space compression” to describe this. It goes back to Marx’s idea of “annihilation of space by time.” Spaces and spheres that were once clearly separated can now be closely coupled through transportation and IT technologies; remote processes can be coordinated in real time. This simultaneity of events represents a radical change in the way space and time is experienced. It is a product of the exclusiveness of spaces dissolving and being permeated or reshaped by sociomaterial networks, which at the same time both enhance and restrict the mobility of people, commodities, raw materials, data, information, signs, and signals. Virtual, communicative, and media-based mobility occur simultaneously in the same place, yet in different spaces, for:

*speed is categorically different from immediacy. Mechanical velocity is still with us in abundance; indeed, the Night Mail still runs. Just as globalization has not literally shrunk the world, so distance and the physical effort to overcome it still stubbornly persist. But now we have something else. Now we have the phenomenon of immediacy, which, in its light, effortless, easy ubiquity, has more or less displaced both the laborious and the heroic cultural attachments of an earlier speed. And with this displacement comes a shift in cultural assumptions, expectations, attitudes and values. (Tomlinson 2003, 57)*

The mobilizations we are describing here are by no means simply a natural or inevitable development. Rather, they are the outcome of a multitude of collective and individual decisions made in politics and everyday life. They are decisions affecting how mobility spaces and mobility structures develop and what is included in or excluded from the social and spatial organization of transportation and communication infrastructures. Ritzer thus defines globalization as:

*a transplanetary process or set of processes involving increasing liquidity and the growing multidirectional flows of people, objects, places and information as well as the structures they encounter and create that are barriers to, or expedite, those flows. (Ritzer 2010, 2)*

He points out that these structures advance mobility while restricting and channeling it at the same time. In accentuating this aspect, he draws attention to the existence of powerful regimes ensuring that not everything and everyone is mobile but rather that the paths and potentials for mobility are defined and regulated in a globalized and highly interconnected world. Urry (2000) has this in mind when he emphasizes that the object of mobility research is the triad of “networks, scapes, and flows.” What he means by this is that there are sociomaterial structures and networks based on what he calls scapes (road, rail, water, and airways, cables, GPS connections, wireless connections of various kinds, etc.) in which these streams of people commodities, capital, signs, and information can flow. Ritzer points out:

*that that which is fluid never flows outside of set structures, which encapsulate, channel, contain, or even seek to inhibit it. These containers, channels, dams, and barriers function in many different ways. (Ritzer and Murphy 2002, 53, translated from German by the authors)*

Modern society celebrates its mobility as a tremendous success story ensuring prosperity, equality, and productivity. Yet, at the same time, the unintended sideeffects of the motorization and mobilization involved pose a massive threat to humans and ecosystems. The traffic volume that has evolved over the past 100 years is a source of massive problems and substantial ecological, financial, social, and cultural costs and crises. The mobility systems strongly determine the spatial and organizational structures of modern societies (cf. Graham and Marvin 2001; Urry 2004; Derudder, van Nuffel, and Witlox 2009; Graham 2010; Dennis, Chapter 24, this volume). Analyses of the automobile system and global infrastructures, such as transportation and communication technologies (airplanes/airports, container ships, freight logistics systems, telecommunication, etc.), inform us about how the centers of power are geopolitically distributed across the globe (Castells 2001; Taylor 2004; Dicken 2007). Most transportation activities occur between the nodes of so-called world city networks (Taylor 2004). By tracing air activity between airports, we can reconstruct a geopolitical map of the world based on such transportation data ( see Derudder and Witlox 2005).

Cities such as London, Paris, or New York and their infrastructures function as so-called “spatial fixes” (Harvey 1982; Harvey 1990; Brenner 1998; Jessop 2006) through which flows of capital, labor, commodities, and waste circulate. In order to realize this tremendous mobility potential, complex political, organizational, and cultural mobilities regimes have evolved, which enable the accessing of spaces, maintaining stable links between people, institutions, markets, and nation states, and regulating movement between the nodes of the global network society.

The existence of global infrastructures, such as roads, waterways, and highspeed rail and air connections, linking cities, towns, and regions with the rest of the world, creates new pressures for and practices of mobility, gives rise to changed, mobile forms of work and lifestyles, and triggers global chains of cause and effect that both individuals and modern institutions and organizations are forced to cope with. Norbert Huchler and Nicole Dietrich, for instance, describe in this volume flight crews’ strategies of creating stability and a sense of embeddedness in their mobile lives. Starting from this observation, Anna Tsing (2009) identifies a historically new type of capitalism based on worldwide logistics chains and mobilities regimes. She speaks of “supply chain capitalism” and analyzes how social inequality outside the reach of national politics and regulation is aligned along the networks of transportation and provision infrastructures, which businesses (e.g., in the textile or auto industry) utilize to produce more efficiently at lower costs. Hegemonic relations between consumers, manufacturers, workers, and the families and social networks of which they are part are formed and consolidated along these chains – chains that at least challenge, if not evade, the influence of public policy.

Misguided developments and decisions in urban planning have led to urban architectures and consequently to everyday mobility cultures that are almost completely reliant on the automobile, as evidenced by cities such as Atlanta, Houston, Riyadh, Cairo, or New Delhi. This has entrapped people in rigid, auto-based mobilities regimes (Flink 1988; Vanderbilt 2009; Priester, Kenworthy, and Wulfhorst 2010). The development of transportation infrastructure has not yielded more mobility and autonomy at all. Studies of automobility show that permanent reliance on the automobile can result in losing the ability to recognize and use alternative modes of transportation and mobility. The development of infrastructure geared toward the automobile (as in the case of the USA and Canada) virtually immobilizes people, especially in old age, when they no longer have access to an automobile in the way they had been accustomed to (cf. Fisker 2011). Car use can also result in a loss of mobility, particularly when roads are congested. Ulrich Beck has given this observation an ironic twist by describing traffic jams as a “form of meditation in reflexive modernity” since traffic jams reveal that the arrangements intended to enhance mobility in a mobile risk society in the end result in restrictions of freedom, constraints, and, in the extreme case, forced standstill. Society pushing processes of acceleration can therefore lead to the opposite effect, namely ineffective, costintensive, and exhausting deceleration and

immobility. Paul Virilio (2000) has referred to this as a “raging standstill,” resembling a person running tirelessly on a treadmill without ever gaining ground.

In their anthropology of globalization, Inda and Rosaldo (2008) show that a comprehensive analysis of globalization processes must pay attention to the “material practices” shaping worldwide mobility. With this, they have both physical and social phenomena in mind, such as:

*infrastructure, institutions, regulatory mechanisms, governmental strategies, and so forth – that both produce and preclude movement. The objective here is to suggest that global flows are patently structured and regulated, such that while certain objects and subjects are permitted to travel, others are not. Immobility and exclusion are thus as much a part of globalization as movement. (Inda and Rosaldo 2008, 29)*

Tangible structures must not be viewed solely as built environments and infrastructures made of glass, concrete, tar, steel, or fiberglass. Rather, they are at the same time “hard” social structures, so-called mobilities regimes, which regulate movement in space and (in the Weberian sense) eventually congeal into physical and physically measurable materialities. Our understanding of mobilities regimes refers to a concept of regimes applied in political science, as proposed, for instance, by Nohlen, Schultze, and Schüttemeyer (1998). On this basis, we come to a general definition of the concept of mobilities regime. According to Nohlen, Schultze, and Schüttemeyer, a regime is a:

*way of life, type of order, and form of governance, thus an institutionalized set of principles, norms, and rules that regulates, in a basic way, how actors operate in a given context of action. (Nohlen, Schultze, and Schüttemeyer 1998, 548; authors’ translation)*

Mobilities regimes hence represent specific sets of principles, norms, and rules that regulate, in a fundamental way, the movement of individuals, artifacts, capital, data, etc. in a given context of action. Generally speaking, mobilities regimes are a matter of disciplining and channeling movements and mobility by way of principles, norms, and rules. The differentiation of three levels of a mobilities regime refers to different depths of intervention in individual autonomy, with principles representing the most general form while norms prestructure action in concrete and precise ways. Rules, on the other hand, can be viewed as a general code of behavior, which represents binding guidelines for action.

Against this background, we can identify a multitude of mobilities regimes at different levels of society. They range from so-called “VFR regimes” (visiting friends and relatives), where mobility in social networks is regulated socially by means of norms and values, via company and organizational regimes, which direct the mobility of employees and

membership, to the global mobilities regimes of international air traffic, container shipping lines, and national and international migration policies, etc.

### **Historical Developments**

In 1950, transport statistics recorded 25 million legal arrivals at international airports. Recent estimates indicate that the number of international arrivals has already exceeded one billion (cf. Urry 2007, 3). The 10 busiest airports in the world, at the head of the list Atlanta, Chicago, London, Tokyo, and Los Angeles, represent 600 million passengers annually (Ritzer 2010, 16). It is assumed that at least 360,000 passengers frequent US airspace at any point in time. These figures, however, do not necessarily mean that the number of mobile people has increased; what has changed dramatically is above all the distances, the forms of mobility, and the means of transportation used in traveling and maintaining social relationships over long distances. While use of the Internet and telecommunication has increased significantly, physical travel remains the major means of maintaining stable and intimate relationships with others.

Overall, the development of global mobilities regimes has led to changes in societies' relationships to space, spatial distance, and time. Tomlinson describes the fusion and parallelization of physical and virtual mobility as a key feature of the new mobilities regimes addressed in this volume. This provides the context leading us to choose the title of the book. For mobility and transport are phenomena that are not only structurally predetermined to a high degree but are also politically and socially regulated, irrespective of all of modernity's claims to freedom. The different mobilities regimes not only enhance and demand mobility, both of people and technical artifacts (cars, trains, airplanes, ships, bicycles, pedelecs, Segways, etc.), they also define the limits of individual mobility and often the paths in which people are allowed and expected to exercise mobility as well. At the moment when people move in space, different mobilities regimes intersect and the "bodies of rules" involved, whether internalized or from the outside, determine whether, when, and how travel occurs.

At the same time, Internet use has increased significantly. In Germany, 76 percent of the German population accesses the Internet daily ([www.ard-zdfonlinestudie.de](http://www.ard-zdfonlinestudie.de)). Yet, as Lübbe (1995) writes, communication has encouraged rather than replaced people's physical mobility. The equation therefore is this: the more people communicate, the more reasons they have to meet in person. In this vein, the Internet since its existence has led to more condensed social networks. The telecommunication technologies available worldwide intensify professional and economic relationships in particular, resulting in a continuous increase of face-to-face meetings. A consequence is that the number of business trips have been increasing rather than decreasing for years. Face-to-face contacts are essential for community and trust, which is the reason why the hopes attached to teleworking today face a similar fate

to those once associated with the paperless office in the 1980s. New technologies have boosted paper consumption in the business world since everything can be printed anywhere, anytime. A similar trend can be observed for communication technologies, such as video and Internet conferences, email communication, and Internet telephony: they have resulted in closer social relationships and networks, thus giving rise to more physical traffic:

*Expanding telecommunication, because of its technical properties, due to which it remains unsatisfactory psychologically and in terms of group dynamics, in turn creates an additional need for immediate communication, and with the increasing number of teleconferences thus grows the number of meetings of the traditional kind, generating demand for travel. (Lübbe 1995, 118)*

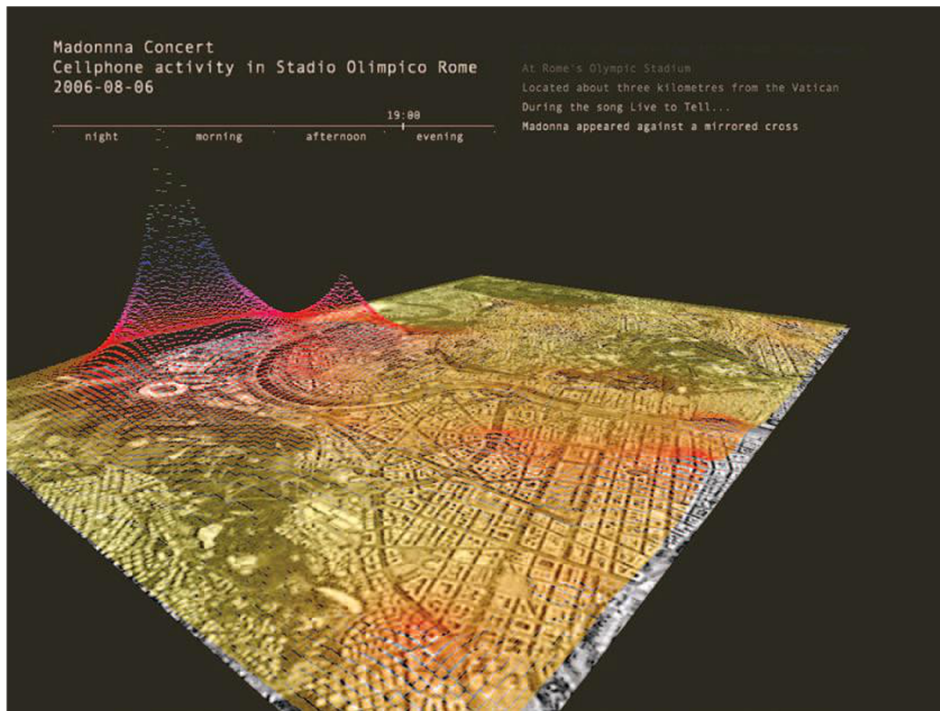
Although this statement is more than 15 years old, more recent research shows that the potential for reducing traffic through communication is far from being fully utilized. Instead, the evidence seems to confirm that communication is a driver in generating traffic (Denstadli and Gripsrud 2010).

Tomlinson considers the “culture of immediacy” (2003) a characteristic feature of the mobile risk society. Various forms of mobility combine in ways that give rise to changed modes of interaction that to an increasingly lesser extent are bound to a common location. As Urry (2000) writes, “multiple mobilities,” specifically social, spatial, virtual, and cultural mobilities, transform first into second modernity.

Urry (2007) identifies five processes of traffic generation. In describing these processes, he shows that the dynamics underlying the development of mobility in modernity depend on a variety of context factors, constraints, obligations, and options that people are faced with in individualized societies with a high division of labor.

The first process Urry (2007, 233–5) mentions is “legal, economic and familial obligations to attend a relatively formal meeting.” This refers to events such as notary appointments, weddings, funerals, etc. where physical presence is indispensable and non-negotiable. Situations of this kind involve so-called “mobility burdens”: formal expectations placed on the individual from the outside, which one can ill afford to resist and not without incurring sanctions. The second process he mentions is “social obligations to meet and to converse often involving strong expectations of presence and attention of the participants.” What is meant by this is that there exist less formal occasions that nonetheless involve strong normative expectations requiring travel to a certain location. Cases in point are a child’s high school graduation ceremony, the company Christmas party, etc. These are events where personal attendance is not legally required but where there is a high degree of social obligation and normative pressure demanding physical presence: “Such social obligations to networks of friends or family or colleagues are necessary for sustaining trust and commitment.” The third process he refers

to is “obligations to be co-present with others to sign specific contracts, to



2.1 Madonna  
Concert in Rome  
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Cambridge, MA

work on written or visual texts, to give gifts to distant others, to devise solutions to ill-functioning objects or to devise new instruments for scientific purposes.” e specially in the context of work, there are a large number of reasons why people are required work and cooperate “elbow to elbow” and which explain why many hopes of replacing physical by virtual mobility have not materialized. Besides, there are “obligations to be in and experience a place ‘directly’ on occasions through movement within it and touch.” The paradigmatic case is journalistic research, which typically requires to be done on the spot and not by drawing on second or third hand information acquired through reading or the Internet. The last process Urry describes is “obligations to experience a ‘live’ event that happens at a specific moment and place.” If we want to experience a live concert or cheer for our favorite football team, we have no choice but to go where the action is.

Urry’s list of reasons to travel illustrates that with regard to the reasons for travel, the various mobilities regimes overlap and mutually reinforce one another. Private and family relationships may provide motives for going from one place to another, create the desire to attend a specific event while at the same time conversing about it with friends in other places, or awaken the wish to engage in touristic travel to certain cities and regions in order to make certain experiences.

Today, physical mobility combines seamlessly with virtual mobility. Mobile work is the paradigmatic case as it epitomizes the disjunction of production from any specific location. Already today, but more so in the future, work can be done anywhere and everywhere: in one's car, which becomes a mobile office, at an airport lounge, café, cafeteria, public park, and presumably even at the much-cited beach, as propagated in advertisements time and again.

Yet, besides the partially elitist mobility pioneers, which Elliot and Urry (2010) call "advanced mobiles," this fusion of physical and virtual mobility in combination with modern society's orientation toward acceleration and mobility has an immediate impact on the lower, less privileged classes. On the one hand, the existence of global infrastructures has intensified the international division of labor, leading to people in poorer countries increasingly taking on the jobs considered less attractive in rich countries (cf. Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2004). For instance, in this volume Alissa Tolstokorova analyzes mobility strategies of Ukrainian women who respond to the poor job prospects at home by leaving their country to seek employment as housekeepers in private homes abroad. Her focus extends beyond the working and living situations of the migrant women only to include the circumstances of the family members left behind. On the other hand, this results in developments where, for instance, lower-class slum dwellers in newly industrializing countries, such as Brazil, use low-cost carriers to travel from Sao Paulo or Rio de Janeiro to visit their relatives in the northeast. Instead of traveling several thousand miles by bus for days, they nowadays fly to Manaus, Recife, or further inland to Rio Branco (Acre) near the Bolivian and Peruvian border.

In a study of "corporate mobilities regimes" (Kesselring and Vogl 2010), four dimensions have proven a sound basis for describing structural change of mobility in business settings: normalization, rationalization, subjectification, and timespace compression of work-induced mobility. We assume that these dimensions represent discourses on the social structuring of mobility that also apply outside of company settings (Kesselring 2012).

The normalization of mobility involves processes of rationalization, subjectification, and time-space compression of mobility. People who are mobile have more opportunities, but also come under greater pressure, to organize their movement in space efficiently and effectively. Not only are expectations of being available at all times and able to respond quickly on the rise in work-related contexts, new technologies are also changing the ways of communicating and interacting in private settings and intimate relationships as well. Here, too, people are increasingly expecting prompt responses and quick coordination. Companies have created strong organizational capacities for mobility management to rationalize employees' travel and communication activities. The fact that more trips are taken in shorter periods of time and, above all, over greater distances is only one side of the coin. The other side is that mobile technologies offer new opportunities for control.



Subjectification in company settings, as an expression of individualization in society, results in increasingly holding the individual responsible for organizing travel efficiently. Corporate travel policies determine that each employee individually is required to economize on travel time and travel costs. This, in turn, furthers the blurring of the boundaries between private and working life as some employees begin their business trips on weekends even though this may strongly interfere with their private and family life. Adding to this is the fact that the availability of highspeed transportation and communication technologies leads to the intensification of work, a process that we might describe as the time-space compression of work, and thus places growing pressure on the workforce.

Corporate mobilities regimes, for instance, may demand from employees, often in rigid ways, a readiness to be mobile (mobility imperative). Mobile workers and business travelers have only a limited say in how they conduct their travel activities. Although they may indeed have some discretion (in some cases to a considerable degree) in determining when they travel, how long, and in making the specific arrangements surrounding the trip, they usually have little influence concerning whether they travel and where to. Corporate travel policies lay down, to the greatest possible extent, a binding set of rules, which may not be changed or interpreted flexibly except for good reasons. Yet, to use Ritzer's imagery, the major channels (i.e., travel routes), barriers (rules prohibiting business travel for private purposes), restrictions (rules prohibiting travel to certain countries) and the like are set and non-negotiable. It is not in the power of the individual traveler to arrange his or her own mobility; rather, the mobiles invariably operate in a field of tension between autonomy and heteronomy. Hence, the autonomous, mobile subject is most notably a theme of first modernity. In second modernity, the mobile risk society, we are looking at so-called "motile hybrids" (Kesselring 2008, 81) who must seek to carry through with their own goals, plans, and projects often against rival attempts at exerting excessive control and direction from the outside. Referring to highly qualified professionals in multinational corporations, Ödül Bozkurt shows, for instance, that occupational mobility is by no means simply a privilege but involves new burdens as well. The table presented below lists some of the mobilities regimes found in modern societies, which make it possible to maintain social relationships across distances. We have distinguished them according to the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of social structuring to which they relate. As opposed to this heuristic, the various mobilities regimes constantly mesh with and influence one another. For this reason, the analysis of any such regime must always consider several of them from the vantage point of the specific issue or problem to be addressed societies .

**Table 2.1 Mobilities regimes in modern societies**

Macro-level	<i>Global mobilities regimes</i> Global transport, GPS, and telecommunication regimes (e.g., aeromobilities, global container shipping, navigation, and routing) Nation state border regimes Global migration and illegal trafficking regimes, etc.
Meso-level	<i>Intra-organizational mobilities regimes</i> Companies, United Nations, World Bank, etc., the “networked firm,” national and transnational professional networks, NGOs such as Greenpeace, Amnesty International, etc.
Micro-level	<i>Subject-oriented mobilities regimes</i> Social networks, families, friendship, Facebook communities, etc.

Mobilities regimes, such as global networks of airports, airlines, and the supply and service networks connected to them, ensure that reliable global social and economic relations can be developed. These regimes are regulated, for instance, by international (mostly binational) agreements, such as the Treaty on Open Skies regulating the liberalization of aviation. However, in addition to the fairly general provisions of such agreements, these global mobilities regimes are shaped by national policies and the specific provisions in effect at individual airports. Such national policies include legal provisions regulating the entry and exit of people, the import and export of commodities, the right of asylum, or the terms of use of airport facilities as such (for details, see Adey 2004; Beckmann 2004; Salter 2004; Aaltola 2005; Fuller and Harley 2005). Sanneke Kloppenburg’s contribution demonstrates in the case of the Indonesian airport of Jakarta how different mobility practices and policies can promote or inhibit the mobility of people and goods. In the following section, we will explore these ambivalences of modern mobility in more detail and inquire into the foundations of mobility from the perspective of modernization theory.

### **Mobility and Modernity.**

Mobilization and modernization are closely intertwined and connected, which is reflected in an increasing mobilization of modern ways of life and work (cf. Doyle and Nathan 2001; Castells 2006; Urry 2007, 3–60; Schneider 2008; Schneider 2009). According to Tully (1999), in many areas of society, people are virtually “taught to be mobile.” This has resulted in the institutionalization of a “mobility imperative” in society and hence a situation in which full mobility belongs to the “portfolio” of the modern individual and where young people, employees, and citizens are encouraged to develop “competitive advantages” vis-à-vis immobile populations and all those refusing to submit to mobility demands (Schneider et al. (2002) speak of “rejectors”; cf. Bauman 1998; Bauman 2000; Ladbeater 2001; Boltanski and Chiapello 2005; Mense-Petermann 2009). A successful person is a mobile, a flexible one.

In the following discussion, we will take a closer look at the normalization of mobility as a central tendency. Our approach is informed by social constructivism and discourse analysis. We start from the premise that social change is driven not only but to a substantial degree by what human beings and institutions conceive as reality. <sup>2</sup> This is because both approaches, the social sciences and the arts, offer distinct ways of comprehending the driving forces of modernization and also give us specific means of formulating “possible futures” in the first place. Some of the contributions to this volume show us what this might look like, for instance, when the artist Gülsün Karamustafa gives her interviewees the opportunity to reflect on their own past, present, and future in order to trace their motives and personal thoughts concerning their own mobility and make them accessible for art. Jordan Crandall and Mimi Sheller think through hypothetically and, in Crandall’s case, explore in their artistic work how and at what points new information and communication technologies might influence our lives and change our perceptions of the world in which we travel. From Jørgen OLE Bærenholdt’s contribution, we can learn that mobility experiences strongly depend on historical conditions and cultural contexts. These texts in conjunction with Kingsley Dennis’ epilogue in Chapter 24 of this volume make it clear that artistic methods and social science methodologies are often not far apart and can benefit and enhance one another. Both approaches to the subject of mobility grapple with the same difficulties: how to grasp the transformations of modern into mobile risk society and make the gradual process of normalization of mobility transparent for it to be tackled both analytically and by public policy.

Beck has coined the term “banal cosmopolitanism” to describe the social and cultural changes that oftentimes go unnoticed and are difficult to grasp. What he means by this is that our consumption habits are being globalized en passant : what is offered in the refrigerated or fruit sections of our grocery stores is comprised of items from stores of food all over the globe while, for the most part, we hardly know what parts of the world the products come from. Ritzer (2010) gives an illustrative example. Referring to the production of his book, from which the following passage is cited, he shows how the various forms of physical and virtual mobility are connected and overlap:

*this book is being written by an American; my editor and copy-editor are in England; the development editor is in Canada; reviewers are from four continents; the book is printed in Singapore and distributed by the publisher throughout much of the world; and you might be reading it today on a plane en route from Vladivostok to Shanghai. Further, if it follows the pattern of many of my other books, it may well be translated into Russian, Chinese, and many other languages. Amazon.com may make it one of its digital books that can be read via its wireless portable reading device, Kindle. This would make the book highly liquid since it would be possible for it to be downloaded anywhere in the world at any time. (Ritzer 2010, 3)*

“Supply chain capitalism” (Tsing 2009) is virtually ubiquitous. The material and immaterial “flows” play a crucial role in this context. This leads Ritzer (2010) to argue, in the same vein as Bauman (2000) and Urry (2000), that the increasing predominance of the mobile in modernity results in radical change in once firmly institutionalized structures, thus calling for a revision of theoretical perspective. Urry (2007) uses the notion of “Dwelling in Mobility” to describe the fact that “transnational connections” (Hannerz 2002) in combination with virtual and “mobile connections” have become commonplace in the private lives and the working worlds of many people. e mail exchange and business trips extending beyond employees’ own regional and national contexts have more or less become normality in recent years. At least Schneider (2008) shows that experiences with mobility and the belief that being mobile belongs to the key requirements expected from today’s personnel are widespread in the six European countries investigated. Germany even ranks as the “European champion” in terms of frequency of experienced mobility. One in five employees reports having more or less intensive experiences with business travel, moving, or commuting over long distances. Schneider’s data are remarkable in that they reflect a development in discourse within society according to which mobility is experienced as a new normality. What we mean by this is that changes have occurred at the level of guiding ideas, clearly placing greater emphasis on mobility than in the past.

Whereas the characteristic types of mobility in traditional societies and first modernity were represented by fringe groups and so-called mobility pioneers, in the post-industrial societies of second modernity the main types of mobility are to a much greater degree part of everyday life. It is no longer the poor traveler on the fringes of society, the day laborer of premodernity, or the privileged, educated bourgeois, artist, or scholar (à la Turner, Goethe, or Humboldt) in the heyday of modernity who stands for a mobile lifestyle and cosmopolitical mindset. In second modernity, they have been replaced by managers, simple business travelers, and tourists who are the epitome of the mobile person in present-day society. First-hand knowledge of the world is no longer the privilege of a small elite that possesses the required skills and necessary economic, social, and cultural capital to discover the world. Today, from top to bottom across all social strata, experiences with mobility are being made and complex, worldwide networks of social and professional relationships are being formed. Emanating from mobility pioneers, mobility knowledge spreads throughout society and becomes available to a larger part of the population than had been the case in the (because of their exclusive nature) rigid and socially static class societies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The normalization (we may almost speak of banalization) of micro-, meso-, and macro-scale mobilities regimes has a democratizing side effect, as it were: it gives individuals of all social strata the opportunity to develop the potential and acquire the skills for mobility. This is not to say that in mobile risk society, everyone everywhere is constantly on the move and has

access to everything. What it means is rather that social orientations, the demands on labor, and the “enactment” of individuality are undergoing change, and in contrast to first modernity, the mobility imperative has become a key element in the system of norms and values that govern social life and cooperation in the world of work: “An apologia for change, risk and mobility replaces the high premium put on the idea of security” (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005, 89).

For this reason, the changes in second modernity since the late twentieth century toward a mobile risk society must be subjected to closer scrutiny. especially under the influence of the Internet, which has gradually become commercialized and democratized since the early 1990s and without which everyday life has now become difficult to imagine, our social practices and perceptions of mobility have undergone significant change. Whereas communication and mobility were strictly separated in first modernity, various forms of physical and virtual mobility are amalgamated in second modernity. Making a phone call, writing a letter, or orienting oneself in space no longer requires us to be at a certain place. Being available while on the road, staying in touch with other people and institutions while traveling, driving to work, or visiting a café with friends, with few exceptions, poses no problem at all. Access to the new media, at least theoretically, can provide an opportunity to stay in touch with friends and family, or also to contact the police or authorities, for people who are forced into mobility, such as refugees, certain migrant laborers, and victims of human trafficking, prostitution, or slavery. Technological developments along the lines of augmented reality and cloud computing are progressing at a breathtaking pace. Under certain circumstances, this can have a positively democratizing effect for many people by opening access to communication networks. Apart from the adverse effects of potentially ubiquitous control over the individual, open access to the means of communication can also give rise to new social constructions of security, availability, and closeness, which to a substantial degree may bring back elements of support and reliability, especially to the lives of people in precarious circumstances. The table below addresses how the so-called “advanced mobiles” ( Elliott and Urry 2010) develop new social practices that break with the ideal type forms of first modernity. Elsewhere we have referred to these new forms of mobility and communication as “motile hybridity” (Kesselring 2008). Social types emerge that command significantly more mobility potential than travelers without such technical equipment do:

*Research indicates ... that all social ties at-a-distance depend upon multiple processes of coordination, negotiation and renegotiation with others. “Renegotiation” is especially significant in the coordination of mobile networks, as people “on the move” use new technologies to reset and reorganize times and places for meetings, events and happenings as they go about preparing to meet with others at previously agreed times. (Elliott and Urry 2010, 31)*

**Table 2.2 Globalized and virtualized mobility**

Globalized mobility Movement beyond the nation state (nineteenth/twentieth centuries)	Virtualized mobility Mobility beyond the time-space continuum (twenty-first century)
Humboldt-type scientist Cosmopolitans Emigrants and immigrants	
(Mass) tourists Trans-migrants (Global manager)	"Digital nomad" Netsurfer
Advanced mobiles Mobile workers, business travelers and everyday travelers/commuters	
(Ambivalences: "Here, there, and everywhere")	

The mass distribution of mobile devices testifies to a structural change in the organization of society, which according to Elliot and Urry (2010) can be analyzed at four levels:

1. In a world marked by the omnipresence of mobility technologies (smartphones, digital displays in subways, touch-screen information systems, portable computers and communication media, invisible smart transportation systems, on-demand public rental bikes, new car-sharing systems, mobility cards in Switzerland, etc.), strategic travel planning and communications scheduling gain significance for more and more people across all social classes and age groups. To the extent that "advanced mobilities" ( Elliott and Urry 2010, 32) are not only technically feasible but also affordable, we can expect people to schedule communication and meet face-to-face more frequently. Waiting is no longer experienced as a waste of time but becomes "equipped waiting" ( Lyons, Jain, and Holley 2007) where people can not only be highly productive but can also experience this "idle time" as emotionally significant (cf. e hn and l öfgren 2010). Mobile workers use idle time at airports and in traffic jams for contemplating or talking to their loved ones on the phone. 3
2. Mobility technologies enable connectivity; the individual person becomes a kind of "portal" since the person himself or herself and others gain access to other social spaces through these technologies. Parallel worlds can be combined with one another while on the move. Different worlds of meaning, codes, regimes, and norm systems are linked in complex ways. While driving, a person might participate in a meeting; in the process, he or she may constantly receive data allowing the him or her to navigate to the correct destination or to inform himself or herself about cultural, political, or stock market events. Activities and social relationships are delocalized and decontextualized . Navigation is by no means limited to maneuvering

through topography; it also involves the ability to decide what information and which social context is relevant at a specific point in time. The city environment or Facebook? Road space or virtual space? landline telephones are bound up with clearly defined places; cell phones, by contrast, allow autonomous movement in space. Communication occurs between people and not between places. Mobile forms of social life are distinct from stationary ones, which leads Kaufmann (2002) to discuss different models of sociation that follow from this, ranging from an areolar model of local rootedness to a fluid, rhizomatic model of sociation in mobile social environments.

3. Current studies show that relationships at a distance, involving high levels of spatial mobility, are based on “multiple processes of coordination, negotiation and renegotiation with others” (Elliott and Urry 2010, 31). As the distance between people increases, so do coordination costs (cf. Katz and Aakhus 2002; Ling 2005; Forlano 2008; Axtell and Hislop 2008). Families who see each other on a daily basis can rely on routines, traditions, and explicitly agreed-upon arrangements. This is not the case when one or more family members travel frequently. Moreover, mobility increasingly seems to characterize the everyday life of youths, as well as in a historical perspective (see Tully and Baier 2006; Pooley, Turnbull, and Adams 2005). Especially in the cities, family life to an increasing extent is marked by asynchronicity and the dissolution of boundaries, which also places greater burdens on the middle classes in terms of the coordination work required in order to bring together family members (cf. Schier 2008). Explicit arrangements must be made to get together since at times encounters do not occur as a matter of course, nothing simply happens without planning, etc. And arrangements made can always be rescheduled. Social relationships are not constituted in face-to-face communication; instead, technology-based forms of coordination (Skype, video calls, text message dating, etc.) must be employed and proficiency in their use must be developed to create social cohesion.

4. These shifts in the social construction of reality have consequences for the social-psychological foundations of relationships and the web of everyday interactions between people. They also affect basic social categories, such as presence and absence, here and there, availability and social proximity/closeness. In this context, Elliott and Urry (2010) also discuss the social consequences of a technological unconscious that prestructures social ties. Two examples may suffice to illustrate this: the way people move about in public spaces and what technologies of social control they accept or take for granted have changed substantially in the wake of the terrorists attacks of September 11, 2001 and those in Djerba (2002), Madrid (2004), and London (2005). The studies by Kitchin and Dodge (2009), Salter (2008), and Brabetz (2009) show that not only have security

architectures changed but so have social perceptions of security. What was once rejected as inappropriate surveillance is now interpreted as an adequate form of maintaining public security.

## Conclusions

The issues pursued in this book pertain to the opportunities and risks involved in the developments and changes described above, which lie well outside the areas that have attracted the spotlight of attention in research and practice in the past.

Following up on the conference held under the title “Tracing the New Mobilities Regimes” at the Munich *Akademie der Bildenden Künste* in 2008, this book breaks a new path. It combines social scientific analyses of new mobilities regimes with approaches from the arts and art studies that anticipate and identify changes in the relations to mobility in society. Compiling contributions, which partly flow into one another, from art theorists, artists, and social scientists in the same volume gives rise to a discourse extending beyond the book itself to link academic analysis of and aesthetic-artistic approaches to present and future mobility. The language of images and the written word thus enter an immediate dialogue, leaving it up to the reader to explore intuitive connections while reading and viewing. This makes it possible to trace references and cross-connections that have not yet been verbalized or presumably cannot even be fully spelled out in all their entirety, and provides opportunities to identify and probe into future research topics and perspectives. In the study of corporate mobilities regimes, all three levels had some significance since company structures in conditions of globalization cannot be explained without reference to global transportation, communication, and logistics networks, and mobile work invariably has an impact on employees’ social relationships. What we are referring to here is the theoretical foundations of the sociology of knowledge and social constructivism laid down in the work of Schütz (2004) and Berger and Luckmann (1980). Moreover, our approach draws especially on the social theory and methodology of discourse analysis in the tradition of Michel Foucault (in this respect, see Jäger 1999; Hajer 2003; Bröckling, Krasmann, and Lemke 2007; Burchell and Foucault 2009). Eric Laurier’s work provides impressive evidence that trips by car can involve moments of maximum intimacy and emotional closeness. Idle time spent in traffic jams is often used to discuss problematic issues, also because the intense conversation can be interrupted at any time in this situation due to having to focus on traffic. At the Sixth Cosmobilities Conference in Aalborg, Denmark, Laurier presented a hermeneutical analysis of car trips documented on video. He shows the emotional intensity of the conversations “on the move,” which he traces to the special transitory situation while driving. On this, see the discussion of “mobile methods” and Laurier’s other work (Büscher, Urry, and Witchger 2010; Laurier 2005).

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