Cruise ships and post-industrial port cities dynamics: an experimental sensory ethnographic approach to contemporary social, spatial and material interactions

By Alexandra Baixinho

Sociology

Goldsmiths

University of London

Declaration

I certify that this thesis is my own work

other than where I have duly acknowledged that it is the work of others.

Alexandra Baixinho

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis proposes an experimental sensory ethnographic approach to investigate the phenomenon of cruise ship tourism, from an ashore perspective, with cruise terminals and their surroundings as key nodes to my research. My focus is on how these *aquamobilities* – as I designate them - are performed in, interact with, and co-produce, the places visited.

The main aim of this thesis is to contribute with liveliness (Back, 2012a; Back and and Puwar, 2012) to visual sociology scholarship, and to bring further knowledge on an understudied mobilities phenomenon. Walking, photographing, and doing sound recordings, were the main practices mobilized in the (uneven) engagement with field places, complemented with participant observation, interviews and informal conversations. My multi-sited fieldwork was based in Lisbon (for six months), Barcelona (for three months), and included shorter periods in Tilbury, Dover, Bergen/Oslo, and Le Havre. A set of visual and aural materials gathered along this journey, key along the research process are, also, part of this thesis, as alternative, evidential and evocative, paths to knowledge.

Theoretically, this work is framed by the new mobilities paradigm (Urry, 2000; Sheller and Urry, 2006b; Sheller, 2014), but further critical social sciences literature is mobilized, mostly with regards to post-industrial port cities and their waterfronts (Hoyle, 1994, 2000; Sieber, 1991; Chaline and Malta, 1994; Schubert, 2008), and to cruise ship tourism (Wood, 2002, 2006; Weaver, 2006; Chin, 2008; Clancy, 2008). Based on my empirical research, I will problematize the common understanding of infrastructures as fixed and immobile prevailing in the new mobilities paradigm (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 2006), arguing that cruise terminal infrastructures are rather elastic, dynamic, and partly mobile infrastructures.

This research foregrounds both the everyday practices and long-term transformations that cruise aquamobilities are bringing to post-industrial port-cities – through new social, material, spatial and temporal dynamics.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents (continuation)

Table of Contents (conclusion)

Annexes

Annex I - Infographics of the *Oasis of the Seas*

Annex II - 2009 World Cruise Ports Ranking (list)

Annex III - Map with Location of Barcelona's Cruise Terminals (A, B, C, D, M, N, S)

Annex IV - Cruise passengers in Lisbon/year

Attached audio-visual work:

- Photobook (separate volume)

- DVD with time-lapse videos and audio materials (inside back cover of this volume)

List of acronyms

BREA - Business Research & Economic Advisors

CLIA – Cruise Lines International Association

FOC – Flag(s) of Convenience

ICCL – International Council of Cruise Lines

IMO – International Maritime Organization

IPCC - Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

ITWF - International Transport Workers Federation

MARPOL – International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships

MEDCRUISE – The Association of Mediterranean Cruise Ports

NCL – Norwegian Cruise Line

RCCL – Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines

POEA – Philippine Overseas Employment Administration

UNWTO – United Nations World Tourism Organization

Tables

1. Introduction

"(…) the mobilities paradigm enables a step change in critical social theory. It makes clear that cultural studies, globalization studies, anthropology, the sociology of knowledge, now science and technology studies are not enough to 'explain' performativity, complexity, chaotic yet ordered social and material realities. It is not just about how people make knowledge of the world, but how they physically and socially make the world through the ways they move and mobilize people, objects, information and ideas."

(Büscher and Urry, 2009: 112)

Cruise ship tourism is a relatively modern activity, originating in the early 1970s in Miami, for cruises throughout the Caribbean, which evolved as a response to the decline of the transatlantic passenger business, pushed by the rise of air travel. This recent phenomenon, which remains just a small segment of the overall tourism industry worldwide has, nevertheless, been growing at a very strong pace[1], and the largest cruise lines now occupy the highest ranks of the tourism and leisure sector, in terms of shareholder capital and annual profits (UNWTO, 2010: xi). Over the decade between 2003 and 2013, the number of cruise passengers per year has increased from 12.0 million to 21.3 million (CLIA, 2014: 9).

However, despite the magnitude of contemporary cruise industry, and the highly noticeable (and impactful) presence of cruise ships in the places visited, this subject is still nearly invisible in sociological research. The aim of this thesis is to bring it into light, and to contribute to further knowledge on these mass-industrialized leisure aquamobilities, through an empirical account of their unfolding practices and socio-materialities ashore.

This research intends to analyse the role of cruise aquamobilities in the making and shaping of urbanities, contributing to further understanding on how the encounters between cruise ships and the places visited happen, and how they are transforming

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[1] With an annual growth of 8% over more than 20 years (UNWTO, 2010: xi).

(and co-creating) social dynamics, the landscape, and the urban fabric in post-industrial port cities' waterfronts[2].

This study draws on exploratory visits and interspersed fieldwork developed in Tilbury, Dover, Bergen, Oslo, Le Havre, Barcelona and Lisbon, between March 2011 and September 2013, although with uneven access conditions and engagement possibilities with each port city, as detailed in Chapter 3. Long-term sensory ethnographic approaches took place in Barcelona (for around three months, between late September and December 2012), and in Lisbon (for six months, from April to September 2013).

In the following sections of this introductory chapter, I situate my approach to this subject in the context of my PhD in Visual Sociology (a practice-based programme), and introduce the theoretical frame that guides this research, clarifying the scope of this investigation. I then provide an overview on the following chapters that compose this thesis, including the way its visual and audio components are presented.

Committed to contribute innovatively to academic scholarship, and in line with the calls for a live and inventive sociology (Back, 2010; Lury and Wakeford, 2012; Back and Puwar, 2012; Puwar and Sharma, 2012), and for a more experimental social science (Thrift, 2011), my approach to this fleeting subject adopted an aesthetic, poetic and experimental attitude towards the production of knowledge itself.

Given the specific context of my research, focused on cruise aquamobilities transit places, the interactions with the people (re)present(ed) in this unconventional ethnography were necessarily elusive. Why? First, because one of the conditions to be granted access to restricted access port areas - as cruise terminals and quays are – was precisely a commitment on my behalf, as a researcher, not to interfere with the regular course of the activities and operations at stake, meaning that my presence should be discrete, respectful of any safety/security instructions given locally, and it couldn't

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[2] Cruise ships are sometimes confused with ferries, but these are two quite different modalities of mobility. Ferry boats perform a transportation service (of people and often of vehicles too), navigating in coastal waters, with regular and frequent return services - typically with a day long or over-night duration. Ferries are usually smaller than most cruise ships, having a carrying capacity of around 500 passengers. Cruise ships, on the other hand, are designed for longer voyages, across a touristic itinerary, and are vacation destinations in themselves (carrying up to nearly 6000 passengers, plus around 2000 crew and staff members), with a wider variety of accommodation and entertainment on board.

generate any disruptions in unfolding actions and events. Second, because the movements of (the thousands of) passengers through cruise terminals usually is "processed" within short time, and a controlled sequence of procedures, which doesn't leave much spare time between those highly scheduled activities. In the terminals, there are seldom occasions for cruise travellers to entail in conversations with people beyond their closest circle of fellow travellers (partners, family, friends), and if/when these eventually arise - as in lounge areas, before embarkation, in turnaround operations-, they are generally taken by staff promoting onboard packages (alcoholic beverages, spa/well being, etc.)[3], or distributing information like safety instructions on the compulsory emergency drill before departure. Here, it is nearly impossible for a researcher to build the trust and engagement that a more conventional ethnography would require, as people are on the move, and can leave unexpectedly at any time, following the demands of the orchestrated/regimented flow of passengers, either on their way to the city, or on their way to the ship. Third, when cruise workers, either crew or staff members, were transiently working ashore (in the course of a cruise call or turnaround operation), they were almost always busy performing their own tasks, and I had been asked by the port authorities not to interrupt them. Similarly, local port workers were also occupied with their workplace duties and responsabilities, and thus there were very few occasions for them to engage in conversations with me. Even in Lisbon, the place where I've spent more time doing fieldwork, although my recurrent presence in the cruise terminals multiplied the chance of those interactions (fostering mutual curiosity and empathy with some people), they were still scarce and random. Local workers' shifts, as well as their rotation between different terminals, together with my own mobile practices (trying to cover a wide range of indoor and outdoor locations and situations) also didn't promote many possibilities to build rapport. Nevertheless, in this research, my engagement with field sites was also necessarily made through the "sensory intersubjectivity" of emplaced shared experiences, and the more or less formal conversations with diverse research participants.

My research, therefore, unfolded through the interwoven practices of walking, experimenting with visual and sensory methods, and ethnography, embracing Law and Urry's commitment to the "sociology of the elusive" (2004: 391; 404), and their

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[3] As images on pages 98 or 99 in the Photobook (and their respective captions) demonstrate.

claim that social science "needs tools for understanding and practicing the complex and the elusive". I was also inspired by Cwerner's research agenda for aeromobilities (2009: 9-10), which also calls for methods able to "render hypermobility in ways that traditional narrative or statistical methods cannot".

My engagement with other ways of doing and telling, turned this PhD thesis in Visual Sociology into a multi-sensory journey, one that I invite you to follow with me throughout this thesis, along with the visual and aural accounts that are part of it. In this thesis, then, the textual part is inseparable from (and shall be read in close dialogue with) other materials - still photographs, time-lapse series, and sound recordings (all self-produced) -, displayed along the main body of text, or attached to it. These materials were key in the research process itself, as other ways of knowing, generative of analytical insights - as explained in Chapter 3.

This work expands on Visual Sociology, by encompassing other senses (namely hearing) as "epistemological lens" (Back, 2007: 171), adopting a phenomenological standpoint, informed by the work of authors like Sarah Pink (2009) and Tim Ingold (2000, 2011), which calls rather for a Sensory Sociology. And also by cross-pollinating with arts-based practices, experimenting with alternative modes of enquiry and representation (for instance, going beyond documentary photography and more indexical images[4], as in the *Digital Pin-hole Portscapes* and *Light and (Im)matter* series in the Photobook).

Images and sounds here are as much carriers of condensed information, as they are invitations to the ineffable. I suggest they can both provide more immediate and/or affective connections with the research contexts, their subjects and materialities, catalysing memories and (more or less conscious) associations. While they relate back to the written component of the thesis, they add other dimensions to this research, which words alone could not convey. Photographs, for instance, can instantly synthetize layered visual information on landscapes, architectures, actors, objects, shapes, scales, colours and textures of a given field context. Sounds, on the other hand, can resonate (and communicate) the open and ever shifting - yet situated geographically, historically and socio-culturally - character of places, disclosing human and other than human presences and the intertwined rhythms and polyphonies of urban settings and situations.

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[4] Harper, 2012: 18; 110.

Theoretical framing

The so-called 'new mobilities paradigm'[5] refers to a new approach to the study of mobilities which has been emerging across the social sciences over the past decade (Sheller, 2014: 789). Since the publication of John Urry's *Mobile Sociology* (2000), mobilities research has evolved as a distinctive field. While in the classical sociological tradition the term 'mobility' "is usually equated with the idea of 'social mobility', referring both to individual movement up or down the hierarchy of socioeconomic classes and to the collective positional movement of social groups or classes", the new field of mobilities research "encompasses research on the spatial mobility of humans, non-humans, and objects; the circulation of information, images, and capital; as well as the study of the physical means for movement such as infrastructures, vehicles, and software systems that enable travel and communication to take place" (Sheller, 2014: 790-791).

The interwoven connections between cities and mobilities have long been acknowledged by social scientists. Among the theoretical antecedents and influences of nowadays study of mobilities, such connections were already taken into account, for instance in Georg Simmel's theorization of 'urban metabolism' and the importance of circulation and mobility (of people, and also of money) as fundamental aspects of modern urban life; or in the works issued from the 1920's Chicago school of urban sociology addressing geographical mobility and urban growth (by sociologists such as Robert Park or Ernest Burgess) (Sheller, 2014: 791).

As Sheller and Urry (2006a: 2) argue: "Urbanism (…) has always been associated with mobilities and their control, and continues to be so more than ever. The technologies, infrastructures, material fabric and representational machinery of cities support these mobilities, while also being shaped and re-shaped by them." Today, cities are then understood as "mobile places and places of mobility" (Sheller and Urry, 2006a: 1), and a "new urbanism" emphasizes understanding cities as spatially open and cross-cut by many different kinds of mobilities, from people to commodities and information (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 3).

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[5] In Mimi Sheller's words: a "provocative moniker (…) initially applied with a knowing wink" (Sheller, 2014: 790).

Recent work on mobilities in urban contexts addresses the interplay between mobile communications, physical mobility and the city, including the impact of mobile communication on reconstituting urban space (see Sheller and Urry, 2006a). However, despite such efforts in making sense of the particularity of urban practices and the locatedness of mobilities at different scales, most work on urban mobilities is still not empirically based but rather developed at an abstract theoretical level (Sheller and Urry, 2006a: 3).

In contrast, this thesis addresses cruise mobilities' specifically located practices ashore, from an empirical standpoint. One characteristic of contemporary cruise ship tourism is the shortness of time spent in each port, with calls lasting only a few hours, usually arriving in the morning and departing in the evening. Seasonalities of most itineraries determine the frequency of calls in each visited place, but in the most visited ports it's quite usual to have several ships calling on the same day, with thousands of passengers and crew' members moving through the surrounding places in the cities. How do these elusive cruise ship mobilities actually take place in the visited port-cities, and how are they co-producing urban space and everyday life? With this research, my aim is to understand, through a close empirical approach, "both the mechanics by which things [*and people*] move and the social [*spatial, and material*] forms they co-author in their impact" (Knowles, 2011: 138, text in italic added by me).

So far, mobilities research has focused on aeromobilities, automobilities, velomobilities, and other kinds of passengering (Sheller, 2014: 800). For instance, the importance of the study of aeromobilities (related with aviation and air travel) has already been acknowledged in mobilities research, being considered central to the understanding of key issues of our time, in a "world of globalized and hypermobile social relations, networks and risks" (Cwerner, 2009: 2). In Urry's perspective, flights, aeroplanes, airports and airport cities are central to the emergent global order, and "without the rapid development of the complex extended systems of mass air travel, globalization would be utterly different" (2009: 25). "They generate mass movement, new iconic architectural forms, new forms of dwelling, interconnectedness, new inequalities, novel global meeting places, distinct ambivalent

juxtapositions, new modes of vision and enhanced relations of 'empire'[6] as attractors, new securities and systems of surveillance and new forms of protest" (Urry, 2009: 35).

However, while airports have already been widely considered within the social sciences and mobilities literature (Cwerner *et al* 2009; Gottdiener 2000; Sheller and Urry, 2006b; Lloyd, 2003; Lassen, 2009; Fuller, 2009; Harley, 2009; Adey, 2006), sociology seems to have not yet given enough attention to ports as equally relevant systems of mobilities embedded in the urban realm.

Thus, this work opens up a new category, that of *aquamobilities* (as I designate them), through the study of a specific kind of massive leisure aquatic mobilities - cruise ship tourism. As Cresswell (2011: 555) acknowledges: "It would be nice to see an edited collection on watery mobilities to sit alongside the collection on car and air travel." In the future, aquamobilities may eventually emerge as a distinctive subfield within the mobilities literature[7].

While recent mobilities research contributes to further understanding on how mobilities are helping to transform cities (see, for instance, Sheller and Urry, 2006a), my work brings on a new contribution to the field, by focusing on a specific (and so far unacknowledged) kind of mobilities – cruise ship aquamobilities – and how they are helping to transform a particular kind of cities - port cities.

Since my research focuses on these edge urban areas, and on the movements of cruise visitors passing through, shaping, and changing them, I'm necessarily mobilizing (and building upon) diverse bodies of knowledge (from mobile sociology, to urban

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[6] "By 'empire' is meant the emergence of a dynamic and flexible systemic structure articulated horizontally across the globe, a 'governance without government' that sweeps together all actors within the order as a whole (…) Empire is to be understood as 'network-based imperial hierarchy' without necessarily strong co-present territorialities (Urry, 2009: 34, referring to Hardt and Negri, 2000, and Aaltola 2005)

[7] Already existing studies, which might be considered in this subfield, are, for instance: Vannini and Vannini, 2009 (on ferry boats); Kleinert, 2009 (on yachts); or Nordstrom's (2007) book chapters related with ports and container ships. Further aquamobilities research, can encompass a wide range of topics, such as: river and coastal cruises (which lay beyond the scope of this thesis); recreational boating; diverse kinds of cargo shipping; piracy; or the maritime transportation of migrants, causing frequent boat tragedies in the Mediterranean crossings (trying to reach places like the Italian island of Lampedusa), lately dramatically multiplied with the Syrian refugee crisis.

sociology and urban studies, among others), and "bridging disciplinary boundaries" (Sheller, 2014: 790).

For instance, within the body of literature on the development of post-industrial ports and change of waterfront spaces – which congregates knowledge mostly coming from geography, urban studies, urban planning and design, or anthropology[8] -, the relevance of cruise ships, and the transformations and interactions they catalyse in these places are still, I argue, to be elicited. The functional transformations, and increasing leisure and cultural activities in port cities, are being taken into account (as Chapter 2 will develop), but there is still a clear lack of knowledge on the phenomenon of cruise ship tourism and the multiple ways it interacts with (and co-produces) the places visited, a gap I wish my thesis contributes to fill.

On the other hand, the majority of cruise ship tourism literature (also brought forward in Chapter 2) "is focused on the management and operations of the ship and the tourist experience" (Cheong, 2014: 19), being performance oriented, i.e., concerned with promoting the business's efficiency and profitability, under "ideologically frozen relations of dependence" with the cruise industry (Vogel, 2011). Few existing independent and critical academic research on cruise ship tourism[9], tends to focus on what happens inside cruise ships themselves (analysing them as total institutions, or as encapsulated and Disneyized environments), or on the global features of the business (such as the use of flags of convenience, or its deterritorialised labour practices).

This thesis progresses on existing knowledge, by approaching this phenomenon through a new angle, in which cruise ship tourism is looked at from an ashore perspective. Moreover, this research builds upon existing mobilities research literature and urban theory, through an interdisciplinary and empirically based account that mobilizes a set of innovative methodologies. In this thesis, as mentioned before, there is a close interplay between the text and the diverse sensory outputs (still images,

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[8] See, for instance: Bonillo *et al*, 1992; Hoyle *et al* 1994; Chaline and Malta, 1994; Baudouin *et al*, 1997; Sieber, 1999; Kokot *et al*, 2008; Stevens *et al*, 2011.

[9] Mostly coming from Geography (Weaver, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Charlier and McCalla, 2006; Magrinyà and Maza, 2005; Figueira de Sousa, 2001; or Rodrigue and Notteboom, 2013, for example), Planning (McCarthy, 2003), Political Science (Clancy, 2008), Political Economy (Chin, 2008), or Sociology (Ritzer and Liska, 1997; Wood, 2000, 2002, 2006; Klein, 2006).

time-lapse videos, sound recordings), whether they are integrant to this volume or attached to it (in the Photobook, or in the DVD).

While mobile sociology has been criticized by the "unreal sense of ease" conveyed by terms such as 'fluidity', 'scapes' and 'flows', which erase "important social information in the texture of shifting, contingent connectivity that actually forms urban sociology's core business", this work, and its sensory approach to the everyday practices (and impacts) of cruise aquamobilities in, and across, the places visited, aims rather at revealing "how shape-shifting, multiple interconnected substances of sociality in individual and collective life, and the dynamics between this and the inanimate substances with which human life is intertwined, actually work" (Knowles, 2011: 138).

Within the new mobilities paradigm, places are not presumed to be fixed, given or separate from those visiting them. The paradigm argues against an ontology of distinct places and people, claiming instead that "there is a complex relationality of places and persons connected through performances". In this line of thought, "activities are not separate from the places that happen contingently to be visited", and "there are hybrid systems, materialities and mobilities, that combine objects, technologies, and socialities, and out of those distinct places are produced and reproduced" (Sheller and Urry, 2006b: 214; a similar approach can also be found in Urry, 2006: x-xi).

As Sheller and Urry (2006b: 210) have stated: "The forms of detachment or `deterritorialisation' associated with `liquid modernity' are accompanied by attachments and reterritorialisations of various kinds. The new paradigm emphasizes how all mobilities entail specific often highly embedded and immobile infrastructures (…) More generally there are interdependent systems of `immobile' material worlds and especially some exceptionally immobile platforms (transmitters, roads, garages, stations, aerials, airports, docks). (…) The complex character of such systems stems from the multiple fixities or moorings often on a substantial physical scale that enable the fluidities of liquid modernity."

In this thesis, cruise terminals and their surroundings, are considered as key spatial structures and network nodes intermediating the relationships between cruise ships and the cities called. However, in this research I problematize the approach, prevailing in the new mobilities paradigm, to infrastructures as fixed moorings. Cruise

terminals here are rather understood as partly mobile, elastic, and metamorphic, infrastructures (as discussed in Chapter 4).

Furthermore, my approach takes into account the material turn in European cultural geography and cultural sociology, "which has made objects, infrastructures and physical 'stuff' an equal partner in the fabrication of socialities and technologies of co-presence" (Sheller and Urry, 2006a: 3). And also the influence of science and technology studies, which permeates the new mobilities paradigm, through a recognition that "what we call the social is materially heterogeneous: talk, bodies, texts, machines, architectures, all of these and many more are implicated in and perform the social", and that "mobilities involve complex 'hybrid geographies' (…) of humans and non-humans that contingently enable people and materials to move and to hold their shape as they move across various regions" (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006: 14, referring to Law, and to Whatmore).

The focus of my research is, then, on the specific practices, materialities and uses of space, as well as socio-material assemblages and performativities, atmospheres and rhythms, through which cruise aquamobilities are enacted. My approach builds on (and expands) Ole Jensen's *Staging Mobilities* model, drawing on Erving Goffman's work – specially in Chapter 5. I'm also inspired by Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2013), and by Simmel's ideas of urban metabolism (Sheller, 2014: 797), here interwoven with cruise ship circulations and with the natural ecosystem.

In this thesis, and through the chosen sensory (and mobile) ethnographic and experimental methods, I emphasize less visible aspects of mobilities in general, and of cruise aquamobilities in particular. While many mobilities studies focus on passengers, their embodied practices and affects, here I rather intend to cast light upon the spaces, the non-human presences and agencies, and the people – both local port workers, and cruise ship crew and staff members, and their performativities and embodied knowledge -, which make these mobilities happen. My attention was also put on backstage settings and interactions, their 'grammars' and atmospheres (Büscher and Urry, 2009: 103) - from the hinge areas of quays, where cruise ships dock at; to the inside of cruise terminal infrastructures; and also encompassing their urban extensions in nearby public spaces.

This research also highlights the interplay of cruise aquamobilities with the everyday life in the places visited, calling attention to how they are transforming local rhythms and social dynamics, landscapes and soundscapes.

The chapters

Chapter 2 situates contemporary cruise ship tourism in the context of post-industrial port cities dynamics, and traces back its former origins within maritime transportation of passengers. Looking further into existing critical social sciences literature, the chapter progresses with an overview on what this phenomenon is about nowadays: from the segmentation of the business, and the main features and trends onboard super-sized cruise ships, to the neoliberal ways of operating of cruise industry.

Chapter 3 presents my sensory, experimental, and art-contaminated methodological framework, and the kit of methods used along the research – ethnography, walking, photography and sound recordings. It also introduces my empirical settings, going through the places and contingencies that were part of this research journey, as well as the multiple (and diverse) paths by which I've engaged with different field sites, gradually, and insightfully, sharpening my analytical focus along the way, while also tuning research techniques through practice.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6, even though they are separate, can be read as different yet coalescing layers of understanding to what happens in cruise terminals and their surroundings (both towards the aquatic environment – the quays –, and towards the city and its public spaces) animated by cruise aquamobilities. They bring together the interwoven practices, circulations, spatialities, materialities, social interactions, human and non-human rhythms, agencies, and assemblages, as well as atmospheres, affects, textures, colours and sonic matters composing these vibrant places. These chapters drawn mainly from my longer term fieldwork in the port of Lisbon, but selected inputs from other field sites, and occasional accounts from other places - like London (the city I was living in), or Venice (drawn from the literature) –, are also mobilized.

In Chapter 4, I establish some distinctions between aeromobilities and aquamobilities, and between airports and cruise terminals, in order to foreground the specificities of the last. A typology of contemporary cruise terminals is then proposed, followed by an analysis of the peculiar spatial and material performativities, which characterize these infrastructures. Based on my methodological approach and on the visual materials gathered (included in the Photobook), here I argue that cruise aquamobilities infrastructures are not fixed, but actually rather elastic, mutable, and partly mobile, and I present the diverse circulations (of people, luggage, settings,

etc.), material micro-mobilities, and ephemeral objects and architectures - that often spread into the quays, and public spaces of the cities visited - which transiently (and plastically) extend and configure them.

Chapter 5 is anchored in the unfolding practices in the course of cruise operations, now with an emphasis on the temporal dimension, and on the human and non-human interactions and socio-material assemblages. Inspired by Lefebvre (2013), and drawing on my multisensory fieldwork, and on a set of still images and time lapse series, I sketch out a rhythmanalysis of cruise aquamobilities, attentive to the multiple scales, mediations and performativities that constitute them, which interweaves systems of expertise (including embodied knowledge, and watercraft technicalities), constantly changing bodies of water (determined by cosmic rhythms and weather variations), and entangled human and more than human agencies. Here, the sensory approach to the encounters between cruise ships and the places visited, encompasses also less visible exchanges with (and potential impacts in) the surrounding natural, built and social environments, fostering an expanded understanding of the idea of 'urban metabolism' (beyond Simmel's conceptualization).

Chapter 6 brings in an audible dimension, which in a way synthetizes (and conveys) spatial and material textures, as well as interactional and rhythmic dynamics of these transit places by the water edge, dealt with previously in chapters 4 and 5. Affectively knowing and thinking through sound highlights further (formerly unnoticed) layered presences, connections, and criss-crossings, which dialogue with each listener's own active involvement. Here, together with a set of sound recordings on diverse waterfronts, quays and cruise terminals, I share some reflexions on post-industrial port soundscapes and the sonic imaginations they carry and foster. Moreover, this chapter foregrounds cruise aquamobilities' soundmarks in these cities, and analyses some performative roles of sound in cruise activity ashore, both through diverse sonic regularities and regulations, and the acoustical aestheticization of state of the art cruise terminals.

Finally, Chapter 7 concludes this thesis, foregrounding the main empirical findings, analytical insights, and conceptual proposals issuing from this research.

Intertwining with other materials

In the current volume, containing the main body of text, the images that were included alongside the text, have a more illustrative role (as in the case of the typology of cruise terminals in Chapter 4).

Additionally, a body of selected photographs was gathered in the form of a Photobook, in order not only to diversify the range of evocative and evidential contents in this thesis, but also to increase their sensory appeal. In the Photobook, the images are presented in a bigger format, with better printing quality, potentiating an aesthetic engagement, through touch as well. The Photobook, which can be seen as an overall visual journey in itself, is organized in entitled separate series of pictures, to which the main text points to (in their interconnected chapters). Occasionally, in the main body of text, there are references to a specific image or sequence of images, indicating their respective page(s) in the Photobook. Furthermore, each image has its own caption, provided in the List of Images (final pages of the Photobook), which provides an additional layer of information, either descriptive and contextualizing (with respective date and location), or more interpretative (conveying my own analysis).

Time-lapse sequences, video clips, and sounds, mentioned in the text, can be accessed by two alternative modes: either through the correspondent identified tracks in the attached DVD, or by following the links to online platforms where they are displayed - useful specially in case of accessing this work in a digital format.

Chapter 2

Contextualizing Contemporary Cruise Ship Tourism

2.1. Introduction

This chapter has general contextualizing purposes, introducing both interveners in aquamobilities encounters: on one hand, port-cities, on the other, cruise ship tourism. The aim here, drawing on secondary literature, is to foreground the main antecedents and contemporary features of both the hosting part (the visited port cities), and the incoming one (cruise ships), so that we can better understand nowadays cruise mobilities, in their interfaces ashore. A closer look into the practices that happen in these encounters, and how they actually unfold (in their social, spatial, material and temporal dynamics), will be the subject of my empirically based analysis (in chapters 4, 5, and 6).

In this chapter, I begin with a brief historical account of the most significant changes that port-cities have undergone, especially in the last decades, namely their post-industrial processes, in which globalization and technological advances have been pushing the ports away from their former urban cores, giving way to redevelopment of the waterfronts. I then briefly go through the main transformations in the maritime transportation of passengers, after which I highlight the contemporary distinctive features of cruise ship travel – a massive industry, relying on super-sized cruise ships, and run by mega-corporations, under neoliberal tenets.

The aim of this chapter is to open up reflections on how global processes and technological changes have led to the contemporary proliferation of leisure driven activities in port-cities' waterfronts, of which the presence of cruise ships is now also part of. Here, I bring forth the enormous power of cruise corporations, which often propel cruise-driven infrastructures and wider regeneration projects, and even sometimes own port and tourist incoming services.
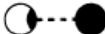
2.2. Historical background

2.2.1. The evolution of city-port interfaces

Until recently, harbours formed the core of urban development in all port cities (Kokot, 2008: 8). Even 'though each individual port city has its own "special complexities and problems", due to specific geographical, political, economic and technological environments, the influence of global trends in their urban and economic dynamics is determinant (Hoyle, 1994: 4).

Long-term transformation processes in port cities have been studied, mainly by urban geographers, and the evolution of port-city interrelationships has been structured according to diverse stages of development (see for instance Hoyle, 1994, or Chaline and Malta, 1994). These models (like the one presented on Table I bellow), usually begin with a pre-industrial stage, before the 19th century, in which port and city spatial and functional interdependence prevailed, and end with a splitting up between the two, with ports heading towards locations away from initial city cores. The main characteristics of each stage are further detailed bellow.

Table I - Stages in the evolution of port-city interrelationships

STAGE	SYMBOL ○ City ● Port	PERIOD	CHARACTERISTICS
I Primitive port/city		Ancient/medieval to 19th century	Close spatial and functional association between city and port.
II Expanding port/city		19th–early 20th century	Rapid commercial/industrial growth forces port to develop beyond city confines, with linear quays and break-bulk industries.
III Modern industrial port/city		Mid–20th century	Industrial growth (especially oil refining) and introduction of containers/ro-ro (roll-on, roll-off) require separation/space.
IV Retreat from the waterfront		1960s–1980s	Changes in maritime technology induce growth of separate maritime industrial development areas.
V Redevelopment of waterfront		1970s–1990s	Large-scale modern port consumes large areas of land/water space; urban renewal of original core.
VI Renewal of port/city links		1980s–2000+	Globalization and intermodalism transform port roles; port-city associations renewed; urban redevelopment enhances port-city integration.

Source: Hoyle, 2000: 405.

As we can see in Table I, up to the 19th century (stage I – *Primitive port/city*), harbours were integral parts of the city, included in the urban fortification systems. They served predominantly as markets for international staple goods of value, and merchants' houses were located close to the water, combining all the functions of

dwelling, storage, trade and business administration (Kokot, 2008: 8). We can think of this stage as an amphibian relationship between the port and the city, with port cities urban fabric edges interfacing organically with the aquatic environment. Morphologically this was reflected in irregular curvilinear margins, drawn by natural hydrodynamics. The image bellow illustrates this idea with the concrete example of Lisbon's zone of confluence with the River Tagus, by mid 19th century (and its subsequent transformations until the 1960's).
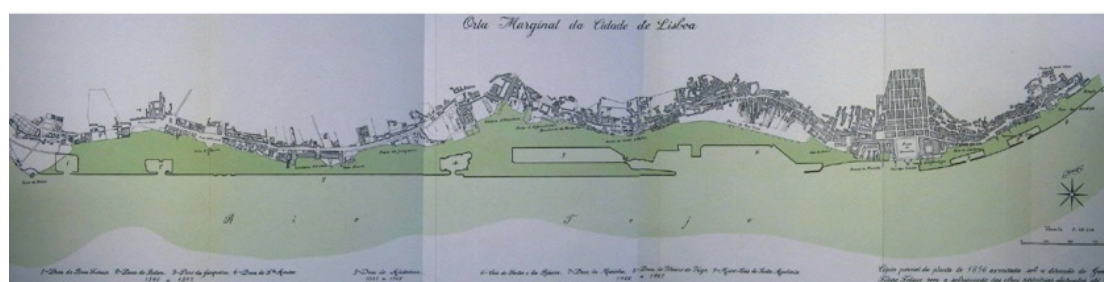
Lisbon's bank according to an 1856's map (wavy urban edge drawn over a white background), overlapped with the port interventions (in darker green) between 1890 and 1960. The linearization of the quays progressively introduced by the development of the industrial port, and the consequent transformation of the city's edge is quite visible. Source: Bebiano, 1960.

The next stage (II – *Expanding port/city*), between the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, was marked by increased industrialisation and the expansion of city-ports, with more space required for steamships and steam-driven cranes. Morphologically, most ports introduced a rupture between the city and the water, interposing its bounded restricted access areas between them, with actual physical barriers like fences, walls, railways, warehouses, etc. Back then, access restrictions to port areas, together with the prevalence of industrial uses, material obstacles, and pollution, kept many urbanites at a distance, from what was mostly perceived as unpleasant, or even repulsive, spaces (Chaline, 1994: 26).

However, in this period, the city expanded with the port and new port related quarters and workers' neighbourhoods developed (Kokot, 2008: 8, referring to Hoyle's model). In Lisbon, for instance, the anthropologist Graça Cordeiro has traced migrations of entire families, from diverse coastal areas in the country, to the capital, particularly from Olhão (in the Algarve) to the Bica neighbourhood, between the last decades of the 19th century and the 1920's, who came to work in the port and its correlated activities (Cordeiro, 1994: 138). Chaline (1994: 28) argues that for the

nearby residents, the port and its activities were rather embraced in a kind of functional and affective symbiosis, with a sense of belonging and strong neighbourly ties, prevailing over poor conditions and quality of life.

As NorCliffe *et al* (1996: 124) state: "seaborne trade (…) has given rise historically to a class of settlements located either at the (then) lowest bridging points of rivers accessible to the sea, or in sheltered harbours where navigable rivers flow into seas and oceans." The interface between land and sea promoted several trade-related jobs, not just in the physical handling of cargoes, or the storage and/or processing of "primary products derived from space-extensive economic activity in the port hinterlands", but also in the emergent "specialist mercantile businesses such as financing and insuring trade, arranging passage for consignments and running shipping services". Additionally, "ports were natural locations for the building, repair and maintenance of ships by dint of their access to and from the sea, their throughput of trading vessels and their labour pool". Therefore, "ports became significant settlements based on a range of productive sectors, both within manufacturing and what today would be termed 'producer services', and also through the growth of a prosperous urban culture and society, acutely attuned to the opportunities for wealth and lifestyle offered through trade." According to these authors, around the beginning of the 20th century, there were two very different townscapes and diverse human geographies in port cities: "One, linked to the arduous, dirty and dangerous business of building and repairing ships and hauling cargoes" in the neighbouring dockland districts Serving both as a dwelling place for port workers and playground for sailors on leave, these districts became at once among the most colourful yet run-down parts of the urban fabric. The other, characterized by conspicuous consumption in comfortable town houses and edge-of-town houses of the merchants and professional classes, was not only physically separated from dockland (by choice) but was also a social, aesthetic and political world apart. Industrial docklands were not the place the merchant class chose to live."

Until the mid-20th century the process of industrialisation kept growing (stage III – *Modern industrial port/city*), but new technological developments – like larger ships requiring deep-water harbours; or the switch from coal to oil – began to push ports outside of the old port areas (Kokot, 2008: 8; Schubert, 2008: 30). Norcliffe *et al* (1996: 127) associate the big ports of mid-20th century with "the full economic

flowering of what has come to be known as 'Fordism'"[10].

The post-industrial transition

From the 1950's, in North America, the 1960'-80's in Western Europe, and even later in developing countries, the relationship between the port and the city began to fall apart, due to diverse causes and through several processes of physical and functional separation (detailed in Chaline, 1994: 28).

This stage (IV - *Retreat from the waterfront*) was marked by a key technological change - the development of containerization and its logistics, which have radically changed the ways to handle, store, and transport cargoes. This allowed the reconfiguration of the areas that ports previously needed for bulk cargo, and the abandonment of large waterfront areas previously occupied by port uses (APL, 1998; Sieber, 1999: 64).

Depending on each particular context, either the port has been completely re-located away from the inner city, or it has partly reshaped its own occupation of the urban waterfront, freeing up space to other "non-port" uses[11]. However, in most cases, the "container revolution" has pushed the ports away from city centres (Shubert, 2008: 31). Authors like Levinson (2006), even give "the box" a central role in changing the world's economic geography, as the shipping container "slashed the cost of transporting goods around the world", paving the way for factories relocation, and "for Asia to become the world's workshop".

With the "global transformation of maritime technology and transport (…) requiring ever larger ships and ever more extensive land and water areas to assume and discharge the port function", ports have been "forced to migrate some distance toward deeper water and more expansive land sites", which "for ports on rivers and estuaries (…) has usually meant downstream migration, as is commonly the case in northwestern Europe". In urban terms, the result of such downstream movement of

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[10] Fordism "takes its name from the integrated mass production system based on the assembly line principle pioneered in the 1920s by Henry Ford, and the mass consumption of the products of the Fordist system" (Norcliffe *et al,* 1996: 127, referring to Harvey, 1989).

[11] In some cases, like Lisbon, containerization meant only a contraction of the waterfront area previously required to handle, store and transport cargoes by the port, freeing up spaces to other urban uses, but the port kept (until today) occupying parts of its original core, by the city's waterfront.

ports and their correlate industries has led to "a vacuum, an abandoned doorstep, a problematic planning zone often in or very close to the historic traditional heart of a port city, and a zone of pronounced dereliction and decay where once all had been bustle and interchange and activity". What to do with these brownfield port areas became a major planning issue in most port cities, also often "perceived as an opportunity to make money, to re-plan and redevelop, and to bring the city back to the waterfront once more, in a new and updated context" (Hoyle, 2000: 396).

Deindustrialization also generated significant changes in the condition of people living and working around ports (Kokot, 2008: 7). Declines in manufacturing and construction industries, "including maritime-related facilities, such as shipyards, but also other industries, such as steel and automobiles", "heavily dependent upon water transport of raw materials", have led to further job losses (adding to loss of traditional cargo-handling jobs on the piers). With the "ascendancy of service and information industries in urban economies" in this post-industrial transition, the economic base of many working-class inner-city waterfront communities was severely undercut (Sieber, 1991: 121).

The following stages in Hoyle's classification[12] (V - *Redevelopment of waterfront*, and VI - *Renewal of port/city links*), correspond, respectively, to the two post-industrial stages identified by Chaline and Malta (1994: 34):

-   a first one in the 70's and 80's - marked by the suburbanization of population and certain port activities, the separation between the port and the city, the appearance of derelict spaces and the beginning of regeneration projects;
-   and a second one, in the 90's and the first decades of the 21st century - with re-urbanization projects and generalized functional transformation of the waterfronts, and renewed associations between port and city.

Schubert (2008: 32-33) calls attention to the local, regional and national constraints, which introduce variations in the evolution of these stages. Despite the similarities in the motives and problems in the revitalization/regeneration processes of land formerly occupied by the port and port-related industries, he argues that the aims, planning cultures, financing and scale are very different in Europe, Asia and North America. In his synthesis, the general cycle of the process of transformation at the city-port' interface, goes through the following stages:

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[12] As shown in Table I.

- dereliction of old port areas near the city, relocation of modern, containerized trading facilities to areas suitable for expansion, outside the city centre;
- disuse, temporary and suboptimal utilization of areas and buildings in the old ports;
- visions and plans for the reallocation of uses of buildings and land in derelict areas, architectural competitions;
- implementation of plans, establishment of new land uses (offices, recreation, housing) in these areas;
- revitalisation, new land uses, acquisition, enhancement of desirability of these areas.

According to Sieber (1991:123): "the corollary economic development to deindustrialization is the shift in the base of central-city economies to the corporate, information, and service sectors. Such activities as banking and finance, business and professional services, corporate headquarters, real estate development, tourism, health care, education, and government come to dominate in the urban economy, transforming it in a fundamentally new direction".

Lloyd and Clark (2000), in turn, suggest that post-industrial and globalizing trends have impacted severely in the categories of production and labour in the urban context, with cultural activities becoming "increasingly crucial to urban economic vitality", replacing Fordist capitalism models. In their words: "Loss of heavy industry impacts the dynamics of urban growth, increasing the relative importance of the city both as a space of consumption and as a site for "production" which is distinctly symbolic/expressive". These authors argue that former industrial power has been replaced by entertainment - the new number one industry, in places like Chicago. They see the post-industrial city as an "Entertainment Machine"[13], which engenders its own political and economic activity, becoming the new work source of many urban actors.

In Lloyd and Clark's perspective, in large cities a "new elite economy" has emerged, "featuring educated workers employed in finance, producer services, information

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[13] In their view, this is not altogether new, "as cities have long been sites for consumption and aesthetic innovation", but "what is new is the degree to which these "cultural" activities have become crucial to urban fortunes".

technology, and media production". They understand this context (to which Castells has called the "informational economy"), as a catalyst to "city of leisure", propelled by the lifestyle, and the consumer and "quality of life" demands, of those workers in the elite sectors (identified by the popular shorthand as "Yuppies"[14]). Gentrification is also "a key aspect of the Entertainment Machine, creating amenity-rich neighborhoods for affluent urban residence".

In port cities, such wider urban trends tend are reinforced in their waterfronts, which not only congregate new environmental concerns and collective sensitivities on the issues of quality of life and public spaces, but also acquire increased significance for leisure, sports, cultural and recreational purposes (Chaline, 1994: 43; Magrinyà and Maza, 2005: 2).

Kokot (2008: 13) highlights how the "privileged location of urban waterfronts, their centrality close to downtown financial and commercial districts" provides "an attractive focus for urban renewal projects" (whether for leisure, residential or commercial developments): "The waterfront provides the developers with space where space is scarce – close to the city centres." Furthermore, the symbolic valuation of water (its views, its proximity) makes land values and property prices increase, promoting the displacement of former residents (Sieber, 1999: 65; 1993). With regards to gentrification in port cities, Sieber states (1991: 124) "waterfronts everywhere have become transformed from places associated with working-class people and manual work to the province of the new urban professionals".

2.2.2. Transformations in the maritime transportation of passengers

Synthesizing a short chronology of maritime transportation of passengers, we can distinguish three main stages[15]:

I.   19th century until after the Second World War

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[14]According to Lloyd and Clark (2000), Yuppies are characterized by their consumption habits, and they presumably share: relative youth; high education; the absence of children; and relatively high disposable income.

[15] For further details and temporal subsections see Corbin (2001), L'Abbate (2004), Wall (1978) and Ward (2007).

In the early 19th century, travelling between New York and Le Havre took around thirty days (forty if other way round). There was hardly any comfort on board sailing ships, and only limited passengers (with very few cabins), since they were mainly intended for goods/cargo' transportation (Marin, 1989: 14-16).

The first steamboats appeared in the second decade of the 19th century, even though it was not before the end of the century that steamboat navigation had overcome sailing ships. In 1819, the American steamboat *Savannah* was the first to cross the Atlantic, and, in 1838, the English established a regular transatlantic line with two steamers - the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*.

The Industrial Revolution brought increasing commercial exchanges between Europe and the United States of America, and more steam navigation companies, with regular lines to transport goods, passengers and mail. In 1840, Samuel Cunard (who later would name the famous Cunard Lines), founded *The British North American Royal Mail Steam Packet* (Marin, 1989: 17-18).

The prosperity of shipping companies grew due to migration waves along the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries: economic growth in the US required manpower, while several crisis in Europe prompted people to go in search for "the American dream". Rich Americans, on the other hand, were avid for luxury trips to Europe. The epoch of the great transatlantic liners had started (mainly with English, French and German shipping companies). Crossing the Atlantic became faster, and by the end of the 19th century the trip already took only around six days.

According to the French historian Alain Corbin (2001: 59-60), these big liners, devoted to passenger transportation between continents, were privileged laboratories to study modernity and the uses of time of an international "leisure class" (among first class passengers[16]), that became structured in the end of the 19th century, with new "social uses of time" due to the industrial revolution, and new "spatial practices" due to transport revolution. "The need to accommodate a large number of passengers of different socioeconomic status for at least a week led to the emergence of specific ship designs radically different from cargo ships where speed and comfort (at least for the elite) were paramount" (Rodrigue and Notteboom, 2013: 32).

However, these liners were not just reserved to *high society*. There was social distinction on board, with passengers generally split between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd classes,

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[16] An *High Seas Society*, in Wall's words (1978).

and respectively ranging from luxury to extremely uncomfortable travelling conditions.

One iconic example of a liner from this period was the Titanic, whose maiden voyage, on April 15th 1912, became the most famous tragedy in the maritime history. The quote bellow illustrates how on board class stratification, a feature of liners back then, was reflected even in unequal survival rates:

> "She came down from Belfast to Southampton to embark a first-class passenger list that exactly matched the world's largest and most luxurious ship. Most of her millionaire passengers were regular travellers of the ocean route and not a few reckoned the great liners as a natural extension of their offices in Wall Street or in their mansions in Tuxedo Park or Oyster Bay." The social significance of the wreck was enormous, and despite the fact that the *Titanic* was "as safe as standards then demanded", "the authorities of shipping safety" were "so confident" that "a ship the size of the *Titanic* was required to carry lifeboats for 1178 persons", but at the same time was allowed to leave port "with 2208 people on board (1316 passengers and 892 crew)". Only 706 people survived, but "the fact that the survival rate among first-class male passengers was higher than third-class children escaped comment in the contemporary press, something impossible today." (…) "The *Titanic* disaster was a turning point in maritime history" and after it "laws were passed that made the provision of lifeboats for all on board compulsory"
>
> (Wall, 1978: 132-137).

II. Between the 1950's and the 1970's

This period corresponds to the decline of maritime transportation of passengers as air traveling increased:

> "It was, all in all, a modest enough start, but aviation, of all sciences, was boosted by the war years far beyond anything engineers thought possible in 1939. (…) When the war ended, the big long-range airplane was a fact. With jet power installed, man had discovered the perfect alternative to the superliner as a method of intercontinental passenger transport. (…) Whereas eighty-six express liners worked the service in 1939, by 1953 the figure was down to forty, and some of these were over forty-years-old. In that year 38 per cent of travellers preferred to cross by air. Four years later the total had risen to 55 per cent. By 1960, the airlines had taken 69 per cent of the business, carrying almost two million passengers. By then, it was clear to all who cared to notice that the big liners were doomed as commuter vehicles."
>
> (Wall, 1978: 243)

It was the end of an era, with the disappearance and destruction of big liners, and crisis and unemployment taking over the passengers shipping industry. The companies whom, despite this scenery, managed to survive, turned their businesses towards cruise circuits, converting and refurbishing most existing ships to this new customers' target.

This was a transition phase in which "the last liners became the first cruise ships as it took more than a decade to see the complete demise of liner services with the final realization that long distance travel was now to be assumed by air transport and also considering the 30 years lifespan of a liner. The availability of a fleet of liners which utility was no longer commercially justifiable incited their reconversion to form the first fleet of cruise ships" (Rodrigue and Notteboom, 2013: 32). Some companies founded then, such as Norwegian Cruise Line (1966), Royal Caribbean International (1968), and Carnival Cruise Lines (1972), have remained since the largest cruise lines (*Idem*).

III.   *From the 1970's onwards*

Modern cruise ship industry flourished, as the first dedicated cruise ships, without class distinction for passengers on board, began to appear in the 1970s. Cruise vessels, which could carry about 1,000 passengers, were now designed to become destinations in themselves, with more leisure and consumption facilities on board.

A 'democratization metamorphosis' took place, with common areas (swimming pools, casinos, dining rooms, etc.) available to all passengers. Social differentiation on board became circumscribed to private areas of the ship – namely passenger cabins (with prices varying accordingly to their luxury, size and location on the ship), similarly to the distinction that may exist on land, among the different rooms of a hotel.

The early goal of the cruise industry was to develop a mass market since cruising was until then an activity for the elite. A way to achieve this was through economies of scale as larger ships are able to accommodate more customers as well as creating additional opportunities for on board sources of revenue. By the 1980s, economies of scale were further expanded with cruise ships that could carry more than 2,000 passengers (Rodrigue and Notteboom, 2013: 32).

The boom of the cruise ship tourism, began in the United States of America and the Caribbean in the 1980's, and in the 1990's it spread to Europe, as a growing and increasingly mass phenomenon.

From the 90's onwards some trends became more accentuated in cruise ship industry, namely an increase in the number of vessels and in the capacity of the fleets (now up to 5000 passengers and 1500 crew members), and the diversification of the products offered: with "an increase in theme cruises, associated, for example, with business, congresses, seminars; with cultural (cinema or theatre, concerts), sporting or gastronomic events; with nature"; gay cruises, etc. (Figueira de Sousa, 2001).

2.3. Characteristics of contemporary cruise ship tourism

Summing up, the most relevant metamorphosis that took place between passenger liners and today's cruise ships was from a transportation oriented service (until shortly after the World War II) to a tourist product one.

The cruise industry nowadays is a highly segmented one (see Table II). Like hotels, there are different ratings (1 to 6 star cruises) for cruise ships, and both the size of the ships and the services on board vary enormously from one segment to the other. Furthermore, the prices of a cruise trip are established according to the duration of the itinerary and the places visited.

However, the current main segment (and fastest growing one) of the cruise industry is the 'Contemporary', which is dominated by large and mega-ships, and here "the ship itself is designed as an ongoing show, with each destination an interval" (Quartermaine & Peter, 2006: 69; UNWTO, 2010: xvii).

Table II - Segmentation in the cruise industry

Segment	Share	Cruise duration	Ships	Cruise lines	Itinerary	Average cost per day (USD) per pax
Luxury	2%	7 days and upwards	Small and medium	*Crystal, Silversea, Seabourn, Radisson 7 Seas, Seadream Yacht, Cunard, Windstar, Hapag Lloyd*	Worldwide	300 - 2000
Niche	4%	7 days and upwards	Small	*A&K, Swan Hellenic, Star Clippers, Clipper, Lindblad Explorer, Orient Cruise Lines*	Worldwide, Antartica, Greenland, Asia	200 - 900
Premium	30%	7-14 days	New, medium and large	*Celebrity, Holland America, Cunard*	Caribbean, Mediterranean, Alaska	150 - 300
Contemporary	59%	3-7 days	New, large and mega	*Carnival, Royal Caribbean, NCL, Princess, Costa, Royal Olympia, Ocean Village, Aida, Island Cruise, Arosa*	Caribbean, Mediterranean	100 - 150
Budget	5%	Varies	Older, smaller	*My Travel, Thomson, Royal Olympia*	Caribbean, Mediterranean Baltic	80 - 125

Source: adapted from *Cruise Operations Management* (Gibson, 2006:12, quoting Bjornsen, 2003)

According to the World Tourism Organization, modern tourist cruises combine two basic activities: accommodation and transport and, given the increasing number of leisure facilities provided on board (beauty salons, video theatres, libraries, planetariums, shops, golf courses, art galleries, business centres, cinemas, casinos, spas, etc.), "cruise ships can rightly be called marine resorts – that is, more than a simple floating hotel" (UNWTO, 2010: xiii) – see the infographics on Annex I for a glimpse on life on board one of these megaships.

Even if within the overall tourism industry, cruising remains a very small segment, "accounting for only about 0.6% of the all the hotel beds worldwide, and a fraction of the 832 million tourists that crossed borders in 2006" it is, nevertheless, one of the fastest growing tourist activities, with 8.4% growth a year over the past decade (Clancy, 2008: 406). In 1970, some 500.000 people took cruises; by 2001, more than 12 million people took cruises; in 2013, 21.31 million cruise passengers embarked from ports around the world, and the numbers are expected to increase to 25 million

by 2015 worldwide (Berger, 2004: 126; BREA, 2014: 18; UNWTO, 2012: 29). Cruise industry – which is "markedly capital intensive and characterized by very high fixed costs for operators, who seek high volume and repeat bookings to fill their capacity" -, now represents "a symbol of 'mass-industrialization' in leisure activities" (Gui and Russo, 2011: 130).

2.3.1. Current social sciences understanding of cruise ship tourism

So far, the few social sciences analysis/publications on the phenomenon of cruise ship tourism are mainly focused on the main segment in the cruise industry – that of megaships (also called super-sized cruise ships). These giant cruise ships are themselves turn into floating tourist destinations, as we've seen, combining characteristics from resorts, shopping malls, and theme parks, reflecting "McDonaldization/ McDisneyzation" tendencies (Weaver, 2005a; Ritzer and Liska, 1997).

Adam Weaver (2006) looks at 'supersized' cruise ships through the frame of Disneyization. Referring to Bryman, and describing it as "a process whereby the principles that shape the way in which Disney theme parks operate have come to dominate many sectors across American society and other parts of the world", the author states that Disneyization influences the character of many different institutions and built environments, in particular restaurants, casinos, zoos, theme parks and cruise ships. According to Weaver, at present there are 'several cruise companies that own ships that possess features consistent with these four core principles that drive the Disneyization process': 1) Disneyized realms are themed, that is "oriented around (often visual) motifs"; 2)"clear distinctions between different types of consumption within themed environments have, in some instances, disappeared"; consumption becomes 'de-differentiated' and "pleasure, profit and customer service are interconnected"; 3) "themed environments are used by companies that own and operate them to promote the sale of merchandise"; 4) "many service employees within Disneyized environments undertake a type of work that has been described as 'emotional labour'" (Weaver, 2006: 389).

The images above depict public areas of the recent mega-ship *Oasis of the seas* - which has a guest capacity of 5400 passengers and furthermore carries around 2000 staff/crew members. In this floating city even the 'neighbourhood concept' is reproduced, as the presentation text in the Royal Caribbean web site states: "This new class of naval-engineering genius features the first-ever neighbourhood concept where everyone can find their unique experiences in one of our seven distinct onboard districts, including: *Central Park* - a public space combining nature and nautical; *Boardwalk* - dedicated to family, fun and featuring the new and entertaining *AquaTheater*; and the *Royal Promenade* - the heart of many Royal Caribbean ships, that's now bigger and better than ever." Sources (of quoted text and images): http://www.royalcaribbean.co.uk/findacruise/ships/class/ship/home.do?br=R&shipClassCode=OA&shipCode=OA, and http://www.oasisoftheseas.com/image.php?ship=oasis.

This author also frames cruise ships as encapsulated environments, that is as 'environmental bubbles' – "enclosed spaces that shield tourists from potentially unpleasant experience" -, or 'total institutions' – "that operate in accordance with an established set of rules, conventions and timetables", and whose occupants "are detached and separated from the broader population" (Weaver, 2005b). "When seaborne, tourists on board are confined within a mobile enclave that is distant from shore. This enclave is usually detached from other places. Tourists on board cruise ships at sea become 'captive consumers'. They cannot disembark from the vessel and purchase meals, drinks and souvenirs elsewhere when it is at sea" (Weaver, 2005b: 168).

These megaships usually have more that fifty nationalities on board, and are highly stratified and hierarchical. The American sociologist Robert Wood (2000: 353-54) thinks of cruise ships as 'compact and diverse ethnoscapes', suggesting that: "The study of changing patterns of ethnic stratification within the "international" crew category has the potential for shedding light on how economic globalization intersects with historic patterns of ethnic relationships and identities". Mather (2002:12), furthermore notes that: "There is something very old-fashioned, colonial even, about the way that cruise ships are organized. Or perhaps it is simply a microcosm of the world economy today. You can pretty much determine who works where on board a cruise ship, and what wages they get, by their gender and nationality/skin-color. And your job determines where on the vessel you are and are not allowed. It is a deeply stratified and hierarchical world, where the different the layers are kept apart."

Thinking about these huge cruise ships, Wood (2006: 397) argues that "no other form of tourism (…) is more deeply rooted in globalization processes than cruise tourism", and "this form of 'globalization at sea' offers a paradigmatic case of globalization processes and outcomes generally", an industry with "special interest for tourism researchers but also for social scientists generally". The next section will focus precisely on the driving forces behind these floating giants and their ways of operating.

2.4. Macro-scale glimpses on the cruise industry

"Not only does the cruise industry come as close as any industry to the neoliberal ideal of a maximally unfettered global market but it also encapsulates some of the excesses of neoliberalism (…)"

<div align="right">(Wood, 2006: 404)</div>

2.4.1. Deterritorialisations (or "the art of camouflage")

According to Wood (2006: 397), cruise industry is clearly global not only in scope but also in its "structural underpinnings". This author's perspective on cruise tourism discusses globalization as a process and globalization as a project - "the process is deterritorialization and the project is neoliberalism".

Wood (2002: 421) argues that "the cruise industry is uniquely deterritorialized in its freedom from place-bound political regulation, in its ability to recruit a uniquely global labour force, and in its relative independence even from the usual constraints of touristic place", highlighting "three interrelated factors in particular, that make this deterritorialization and relative independence from the traditional constraints of place possible: 1) the unique mobility of capital in the industry; 2) the flag of convenience system; and 3) the weakness of international regimes in regulating what goes on in both national and international waters."

Let's now briefly unfold these aspects. To begin with, cruise ships themselves are unique deterritorialised destinations, as these "huge floating chunks of capital" are "intrinsically mobile and capable of being repositioned at a moment's notice", which, unlike their land resorts competitors, allows them to "change their location to escape bad weather, political instability, or other things their owners may not like" (Wood, 2006: 398). Besides this ability to "withdraw ships on short notice" if needed (Clancy, 2008: 414), there are also relocations of fleets that are intrinsically characteristic of cruise industry, with "seasonal interregional and intraregional migrations performed every year by many vessels" within three main macro-geographical areas: North and Central America, Europe, and the rest of the world[17], as analysed thoroughly by the

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[17] In these author's words (Charlier and McCalla, 2006: 21): "Technically, one should consider that there are two four-month-long peak seasons in the world cruise market, namely December-March and June-September, with two month-long shoulder seasons in between (April-May and October-

French and the Canadian geographers Charlier and McCalla (2006: 19). This, in turn, generates seasonal patterns of cruise activity in each port (as we will see, further ahead in this chapter, in the case of Lisbon).

Secondly, this "physical mobility" is accompanied by another kind of mobility – that of the deterritorialization of the major cruise companies -, which Wood designates "fictional mobility", and that relies both on international norms about incorporation, and on the open registry or flag of convenience (FOC) system (Wood, 2002: 421; 2006: 400).

Multiple "ownership, incorporation, and registration strategies" allow cruise lines to contain costs and maximize profits (Clancy, 2008: 414). For instance, major cruise lines are incorporated in countries "that may have little or nothing to do with where they operate, or with who owns and manages them" (Wood, 2006: 399-400). Carnival and Royal Caribbean are headquartered in Miami, but while Carnival is generally considered to be an American corporation, it is actually incorporated in Panama, and Royal Caribbean, which originated in Holland, is incorporated in Liberia. "Star Cruises, the number three player, is primarily Malaysian-owned and headquartered, but recently relocated its incorporation from the Isle of Man to Bermuda" (Clancy, 2008: 414).

Furthermore, cruise companies "derive special tax benefits from long-standing tax agreements that exempt foreign owned passenger transport companies from most taxation in the countries they operate. The laws were designed as a reciprocal courtesy between air and shipping lines of different countries to avoid double taxation (e.g. United Airways and British Airways, each paying taxes in their country of

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November) during which many ship migrations take place from one major cruise area to another." They identify two series of submarkets in the North and Central America waters – which, in 2004, "accounted for 57.1% of the overall offer for cruising worldwide, with a high of 63,3% in winter and a low of 52% in summer". On one hand, "there are areas in which cruises are offered year round" – the Caribbean and the Bahamas (on the Atlantic side), and the Mexican Rivera (on the Pacific side, between southern California and the panama Canal). On the other, there are seasonal cruise offerings (in the warmer months) in the north-east Atlantic (including Bermuda, New England and Eastern Canada) and the north-west Pacific (specially in Alaska). In Europe ("with a peak of 38,7% of the world capacity in summer"), there are also two different submarkets: a year-round one in the Mediterranean (including the Black Sea), and a seasonal one of the north-west Europe (north of Gibraltar including the Baltic Sea) (*Idem*, pp. 22-24).

origin), but cruise companies registered in international tax havens largely avoid even single taxation" (Wood, 2006: 399-400).

In addition to incorporating in countries separate from headquarters or ownership, cruise companies commonly register their ships in flag of convenience (FOC) nations – like the Bahamas, Panama, or Liberia -, and this regime further obscures ownership, and disembeds cruise ships from the normal rules and laws (regarding taxes, labour, and the environment) governing most industries (Clancy, 2008: 414; Wood, 2002: 421; Wood, 2006: 401). The combination of tax regimes in FOC states - tax havens themselves -, and in (the often separate) states of incorporation, along with the already mentioned "unique double taxation provisions for passenger transport companies in the countries where cruise companies have their operational headquarters, results in the leading cruise companies paying almost no corporate taxes in the countries where they are actually headquartered" (Wood, 2006: 402).

Wood (2006: 400) argues that this international regulatory environment of the cruise industry is "consistent with the basic tenets of neoliberalism", and that it "serves more to limit meaningful regulation in the key areas of safety, pollution and labour practices than to promote it."

Lack of regulation

The profits of cruise tourism furthermore rely upon the weakness of global governance and the privatization of cruise industry regulation. This is also interrelated with the FOC system, because under the current govern ship registration rules of the International Maritime Organization (IMO), "the country of registration is responsible for the enforcement of relevant laws and conventions", which means, as Wood demonstrates, an actual absent or minimal regulation (Wood, 2006: 402-404): not only "FOC states are less likely to sign these conventions, and hence not be subject to them even if they do come into force", but they can also "prevent conventions from coming into effect" (since they "have sufficient voting power", which is "linked to registered tonnage"). FOC states additionally lack the resources and/or will to investigate and punish ships flying their flags.

The "weakness of the maritime regulatory regime" can be a cause of concern not only regarding labour issues but also environmental ones (Wood 2002: 433), to which I'll turn to in the following sections.

Labour issues

Chin (2008: 20) calls attention to the fact that "cruise lines registered in juridical tax havens of FOC states are able to socially reconstruct with ease the seafaring workforce into one with different temporal and spatial characteristics: most seafarers on cruise ships are temporary contract workers from around the world". Seafarers, she states, are not subject to restrictive immigration rules such as those confronted by transnational migrant workers on land. Given the way FOC open registries operate – that is, combining two neoliberal characteristics: the denationalization/ deterritorialisation of capital and the deregulation of labour -, seafarers may instead "be considered 'stateless' or even 'de-nationalized' workers, many of whom sign labour contracts with crewing agencies in their home countries to work for a cruise line in which the parent company is incorporated in one country, while the cruise line is headquartered in another country and its ships are flagged by a third country" (Chin, 2008: 9; 20).

Cruise lines employ full-time workers on short-term renewable contracts that do not come with long-term benefits or job protection. Seafarers have little control over labour recruitment and employment conditions (Chin, 2008: 22). Klein (2006: 268), furthermore states that with low labour costs, the industry is able to generate favourable profits: "cruise ships take advantage of the world labour market and are able to draw a workforce that sells its labour for a fraction of what would be required by North American and European standards[18]."

On board, labour is highly segmented by pay and national origin. Cruise ships are essentially two separate entities: a ship with traditional officers and crew, and a hotel/resort with appropriate staff. On many ships Filipinos make up the nationality with the greatest representation among the crew, and this is partly the product of aggressive labour promotion by a Filipino state agency, which targets sea-based work in particular – the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) (Clancy, 2008: 411). An increasing share of the labour force originates in low-wage nations in

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[18] Klein (2006: 268) refers a study done by the International Transport Workers Federation in 2000, which found that "more than the half of cruise ship workers reported a monthly income of less than US$1000; 16% earned less than US$500. Only 12% reported an income of over US$2000."

South and South East Asia (Indonesia, India, Nepal, China, etc.) and Eastern Europe[19] (Wood, 2002: 423-424; Chin, 2008: 42; 112).

While Clancy (2008: 414) attributes the avoidance of labour regulations and the lowering of overall labour costs in cruise industry to the "tax haven incorporation arrangement", emphasizing the role of the FOC system of ships' registration on what concerns environmental regulation, Wood (2006: 401) stresses the role of the FOC system in ensuring the economic health of the cruise ship industry "and its competitive position *vis-à-vis* land resorts". In his words: "the labour cost savings afforded by FOCs are enormous. But wage savings are not the only factor, just about no country's labour laws would allow a company to require a 7-day a week of 12 or more hours per day for 4-6 months at a time without a single day off – and effectively ban unions as well. Nor would they likely to allow the kind of ethnic recruitment and discrimination that goes on with some cruise lines, where different ethnic groups are slotted into different positions on the job hierarchy."

Environmental concerns

Regarding environmental laws and regulations, Wood (2006: 402-403) signals how "many labouriously negotiated agreements have never come into force because they have failed to get the required level of ratification". One example is the "highly relevant Annex IV (covering sewage treatment and discharge) of the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships (MARPOL)", which "has never come into effect because of insufficient FOC state ratification".

It "remains totally legal for cruise ships to dump anything but plastics and oil in most of the world's oceans", except when on territorial waters - usually within 3 miles (5

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[19] According to Wood (2002: 423-424), "different cruise lines pursue somewhat different practices, but national and ethnic typing of specific occupational categories is common." For instance, "Royal Caribbean relies on Filipino deck and engine employees and recruits Nepalese Gurkhas as security guards; its Celebrity brand recruits more from Indonesia. Holland America (HAL, owned since 1989 by Carnival Corporation) is likewise known for its Indonesian and Filipino crew, with its SS Jakarta school providing land-based training. (…) In contrast, high-end cruise lines such as Seabourn, costing up to several thousand dollars a day, advertise the fact that shipboard service is mostly provided by white males. The European origin of the captain and officers is routinely emphasized in almost all cruise company brochures and websites."

km) from shore, but occasionally for 12 miles (20 km) (Wood, 2006: 403) [20]. This is highly worrying since "a single large cruise ship" (with around 5000 passengers and crew) "generates, in a week's voyage, 210,000 gallons of sewage, one million gallons of graywater (wastewater from sinks, showers, galleys and laundry, often containing significant pollutants), at least 130 gallons of hazardous wastes, eight tons of solid waste, and 25,000 gallons of oily bilge water[21]" (Wood, 2002: 432)·

Cruise ships emit large quantities of air pollutants as well, due to fuel combustion, but also because they incinerate between 75% and 85% of their waste into ash. Air pollution "generated daily by a 3,000 passenger cruise ship is equivalent to the amount of pollution from 12,000 cars in the same day" (Cappato, 2011: 54).

Additionally, the effort to increase fuel economies means that boat hulls are being coated with paints that reduce friction, but it must not be overlooked that anti-fouling products all contain very high percentages of heavy metals and especially copper (Cappato, 2011: 54).

"Pollution scandals" have already occurred and hence "the cruise industry has sought to privatize environmental governance by making it a voluntary activity of industrial organizations". In this context, in 2001, the International Council of Cruise Lines (ICCL) – an organization of most of the major cruise lines - announced a new 'Industry Standard' for waste management practices and procedures (Wood, 2002: 433). However, the ICCL policy still allows for the discharge of both sewage and grey-waters beyond 4 miles (6 km) from shore, and is silent regarding subjects like air emissions and ballast water [22]. And, furthermore, the ICCL policy contains no

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[20] Cappato (2011: 54) provides further data from the Environmental Protection Agency (USA), estimating that an average size cruise ship (2,125 passengers) generates the following waste each day: 83,250 litres of sewage (approximately 40 litres per passenger); 1 tonne of garbage (approximately 500 grams per passenger), plus 4 plastic bottles per passenger; 621,150 litres of grey water from sinks, showers, laundry facilities (nearly 300 litres per person); more than 11 kg of batteries, fluorescent light bulbs, medical waste, etc.; plus 23,000 litres of bilge water from engines.

[21] Bilge water is a mixture of salt water and leaks from water cooling circuits, fuel, lubricating oil, drainage from sedimentation tanks and particles of dirt and soot. In accordance with IMO resolution MEPC 60-33, bilge water can only be discharged when these impurities have been removed (UNWTO, 2003: 167).

[22] Ballast is the weight transported by the ship that serves only to improve its stability - it is normally salt or sea water. The concern with ballast water lies in releasing eventual non-native species (UNWTO, 2003: 167).

mechanism either for monitoring or enforcement compliance, and no action has been taken again its members that have been convicted of criminal acts against these codes of conduct (Wood, 2006: 403).

The cruise industry has also sought to prevent regulatory legislation by negotiating memorandums of understandings with local authorities (in Florida, or in Alaska, for instance), but again many infractions of environmental regulations and agreements have been reported but remained unpunished.

What happens out there in the open seas is swept away in the ocean vastness, but obviously doesn't vanish. All of these forms of pollution are potentially hazardous to marine life, with the further risk of introducing toxic substances into humans through the food chain (Wood, 2002: 432).

Why is this of concern in the context of my thesis? If we understand contemporary cities as "spatially open and cross-cut by many different kinds of mobilities", including a myriad of less visible trails, encompassing "an ecology made up of many species, not just the human" (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 3, 22, 28), then an expanded sense of what constitutes the urban begins to emerge. Through this ecosystem perspective, the notion of urban metabolism needs to embrace both human and non-human interactions[23]. In order to better understand the multiple relationships between cruise aquamobilities and the cities visited, it's also important to raise awareness on their potential environmental impacts. The water through which these massive vessels circulate is not just a surface, it has a depth, one which is filled with life (more or less directly connected with ours). The air they pollute, is the same we breathe.

2.4.2. Cannibal Corporations

Adding to this multiple imbricated strategies of chameleonic capital – obscured ownership, with scattered headquarters, incorporations, and registers of ships in FOC states, plus the privatization of regulation, which allow cruise industry to shirk of labour and environmental responsabilities –, these multinational's neoliberal art of

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[23] Such reframed understanding of the urban metabolism (including broader socio-ecological interdependencies) is already being acknowledged and explored by several authors (see, for instance Ibañez and Katsikis, 2014).

camouflage extends further, behind branding built prestige and hidden affiliations and extensions (through greedy horizontal and vertical integration strategies), as shown in the following sections.

Absorbing each other

Cruise industry is characterized by mergers and aggressive acquisitions, internationalization strategies and corporate concentration, and is nowadays mostly controlled by few transnational multi-brand mega-corporations (Gui and Russo, 2011: 130; 137).

Horizontal integration has reached such a level that the top three cruise companies together now control about 80% of the cruise market worldwide, "an exceptionally high level of industry oligopoly even by global standards" (Wood, 2006: 400. Carnival took over Holland America, Windstar, Seabourn, Costa, Cunard and Princess Cruise Lines; Royal Caribbean took over Celebrity; and Star Cruises took over Norwegian Cruise Line (NCL) and Orient; and many other companies went out of business or were absorbed into larger entities). Wood (2006: 400) states that "while these brands have continued to be marketed separately, there is no question that the territorial link to their original countries of origin" - like the Netherlands, UK, Italy or Greece -, "has been significantly attenuated." A general overview of current main cruise lines that offer passenger sea cruise can be seen on table III – where we can see how several different brands (with their own identity) are in fact branches of the main giant corporate groups.

Separate branding keeps affiliations to mega-corporations hidden, and relies upon reputation built over time, holding customers loyal as they are prone "to trust and purchase a product from an established and financially robust company, which is unlikely to go bankrupt and/or leave them stranded in unknown destinations" (Papatheodoru, 2006: 34).

Some companies (like P&O, for example) even extend their holdings to other maritime businesses, like container ships, or ferries (UNWTO, 2003: 72).

Table III - Main cruise lines that offer passenger sea cruises

3 Main Groups			Other Cruise Lines 37,472 lower berths		
Carnival Corporation & plc 144,573 lower berths[24]	Royal Caribbean Cruises Limited (RCC) 70,632 lower berths	Star Cruises Group 29,716 lower berths	United States of America and Canada	Europe	Asia
Carnival Cruise Lines (CCL)	Royal Caribbean International (RCI)	Norwegian Cruise Line (NCL)	Disney Cruises	Mediterranean Shipping Cruises (MSC)	Indian Ocean Cruises
Princess Cruises	Celebrity Cruises	NCL America	Regent Seven Seas	Saga Cruises	NYK Cruises
Holland America Line (HAL)	Pullmantur	Star Cruises	Oceania	Louis Cruises	Mitsui OSK
Costa Crociere	Island Cruises	Orient Cruise Lines	Crystal Cruises	Thomson Cruises	Japan Cruise Line
P&O Cruises	Celebrity Xpeditions		Silversea Cruises	Fred Olsen	Hyundai
Aida Cruises			Clipper Cruises	Phoenix Reisen	
Cunard			Royal Olympic Cruises (ROC)	Star Clippers	
P&O (Australia)			ResidenSea	Festival Cruises	
Ocean Village				Airtours Sun Cruises	
Swan Hellenic				Page and Moy	
Seabourn				Hapag Lloyd	
Windstar				Peter Deilmann	
				Club Mediterranée	
				Nouvelles Frontières	
				Valtur	
				Spanish Cruise Line	
				Vistamar Canarias	

Source: Elaboration by the author, combining data from UNTWO (2003: 60) and GP Wild and BREA (2008: 5).

Assimilating other tourism segments

Another common trend is the implementation of strategies of "owning, managing or entering into profit-sharing arrangements with select tour operators, lodging, transportation and excursion firms" (Chin, 2008: 11). Vertical integration, by which cruise companies take control of other segments of the value chain, allows them to

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[24] Lower berths: used to measure the normal capacity of a ship when two beds in each cabin are occupied (GP Wild and BREA, 2008: 17).

"rationalize operating costs, control quality of services and when necessary, reduce profit-sharing with landed firms" (*Idem*).

Vertical integrations practices are also quite frequent among tour operators, generating "conglomerates that control airlines, hotels, travel agents and providers of ancillary services". Some cruise companies are themselves part of these giant tour operators (e.g. Thomson), others frequently establish agreements which endow cruise lines "with a wide range of complementary products such as seats on charter carriers as part of a fly-cruise product bundle and the offering of excursions" (Papatheodoru, 2006: 35).

Swallowing ports

The power of these corporations is such, that it is even expanding through the vertical integration of local port facilities and in land developments: from the investment in building and improving of existing docking and commercial facilities, including the involvement in cruise terminal management, or the acquisition and operation of on-shore service providers (like port agents and tourism incoming agencies) (Gui and Russo, 2011: 135).

Several cruise terminals previously managed by port authorities or independent operators are now in the hands of cruise corporations. Generally, ports maintain landownership rights and investing cruise lines get a long-term concession to exploit the new facilities. "For example, Carnival Corporation & plc, the largest cruise line group in the world, is currently operating port facilities in Barcelona, Cozumel, Grand Turk, Juneau, Long Beach and Savona, and is developing or co-developing port facilities in Marseilles, Civitavecchia, Naples and Roatan, pursuant to concession and other agreements" (Gui and Russo, 2011: 134-135). Star, for instance, has also fostered the development of port facilities in Asia, including its own Port Kelang terminal on the west coast of Malaysia (Mather, 2002: 9). Another example of the stepping ashore of cruise companies is the case of the future Lisbon cruise terminal, estimated to cost 24 million Euros in total investment, which has been contracted (through a 35-year contract that will include the construction and the operation of a landmark cruise terminal, on a public-service concession basis) to a consortium

comprising Global Ports Holding[25] (40%), Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd (20%), Creuers del Port de Barcelona, S.A. (10%) and Grupo Sousa – Investimentos SGPS, LDA (30%).

Among the reasons that push cruise companies towards a vertical integration of port services, and to participate directly in enhancing and managing port facilities like cruise terminals, is the possibility to "exert deeper quality control, ensure priority berthing to their ships, and enjoy other benefits or incentives, like a retention of a share of port charges paid by passengers" (Gui and Russo, 2011: 135). On the other hand, this way port authorities can "minimize risky investments", while "improving port facilities" and guaranteeing to the destination at least the passenger traffic of their investing lines (*Idem*). However, despite these potential benefits for both parts, these vertical integrating strategies are nevertheless generating increasing concerns at the ports of call, which start to interrogate "how they can contribute to keep hold of their future development" (Gui and Russo, 2011: 137).

In some cases, vertical integration is taken to an extreme, like what happens in Caribbean private islands, where "the entire destination is privatized", and where controversies have risen. "Critiques highlight the loss of control on cruise traffic by the local community and the further loss of monetary contribution of the global cruise business to local economies": "*if the same company owns the cruise ship, owns the pier, owns the village, owns the bus company, owns the taxi operations, takes a disproportionate cut from the tour, charges an on-board marketing fee, then there is little or no trickle down*" (Gui and Russo, 2011: 135, quoting Espat, 2004: 6 in the text in italic).

Wood (2002: 432) refers that "six cruise companies own private islands in the Caribbean, which they use as full-day ports of call", and that "Royal Caribbean has even created 'clubs' within some of its 'real' ports of call, to which passengers can retreat from the hustle and bustle of Caribbean street life." In these areas, only frequented by cruise passengers, they are "captive to cruise line offerings", as Clancy argues (2008: 416).

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[25] A fully-owned subsidiary of Global Yatırım Holding and currently the operator of three leading commercial and cruise ports in Turkey. More information available at: http://www.globalports.com.tr/press-room/news.aspx.

2.4.3. Reterritorilisations

"We commonly think of globalization as being about more extensive and deeper interconnections between places. But equally important is how this process changes the nature of the places itself, such that the global is now in the local. This in turn changes the relationship between the place and the social, cultural and economic life that goes on there, disembedding the latter from its immediate geography" (Wood, 2006: 397-398).

Despite the fact that cruise ships as mobile vacation enclaves and 'themed' resort destinations are decreasing their dependence on specific ports of call, Gui and Russo (2011: 131-132) consider that "the different destinations touched during the itinerary remain inevitably at the heart of the cruise product". Therefore, these authors argue, cruising is not exactly a 'placeless' business, but more likely a 'semi-placeless' one, since the tourist product gets 'territorialised' in the different destination regions, "and ports embody the singular but fundamental connection between the ship and the territories visited".

In cruise shipping, ports are very important, as they serve as bases for embarkation and debarkation, but also, along the cruise itinerary, they "serve as intermediate destinations for shore excursions and resupply" (McCalla, 1998: 45). In some aspects, cruise ships interface with ports in a similar way to what happens with cargo ships: "they must be docked, unloaded, supplied and provisioned, repaired, loaded and undocked". Some of these functions are more or less important for cruise ships than for cargo ships, but "the port interface is more frequent in cruise ships", as "they spend more time in port as a percentage of their annual operation" (Munro and Gill, 2006: 154).

Gui and Russo (2011: 132) suggest that "cruise lines, ports and cities are highly interrelated in the provision of the final cruise product", establishing "a kind of 'joint venture'", in which "cruise lines invest in the ship, and destinations invest in port facilities", but, on the other hand, this relationship is "remarkably complex" because "in some sense destinations and global lines collaborate and compete to serve cruise tourists and get hold on their expenditure".

Moreover, the global and the local appear as more nuanced and complexly interwoven concepts[26], for instance given cruise industry's assimilation of other (supposedly local) tourism segments and/or port facilities.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown the main global trends that have been transforming port-cities since the 19th century, affecting their morphology, their functional roles, their human geography, and the symbolic meanings of their waterfronts across time, and particularly in the post-industrial period, as port activities moved away from their initial city cores, promoting new urban uses in territories which used to be occupied by ports.

Adding to the proliferation of leisure and recreational activities - an overall trend in the post-industrial urban context -, port-cities now host new leisure driven actors and practices, specifically related with cruise ship aquamobilities.

While maritime transportation of passengers has long history in most port-cities, in has practically disappeared with the rise of airplanes, which have replaced ships as long distance commuting vehicles. This contemporary version of mass industrialized maritime cruise tourism is something new, which has mostly boomed from the 1990's onwards. As a recent phenomenon, it is still scarcely studied within social sciences. Existing critical accounts alert us to the huge power of cruise mega-corporations, and their neoliberal fleetingness towards tax responsabilities, labour justice, and environmental standards. We have also seen how aggressive cruise industry oligopoly is, with mega-corporations acquiring brands over brands, and not only incorporating former fellow companies (hence the term "cannibal"), but also often extending their holdings to other maritime businesses, other tourism segments, and even port facilities and services.

This means that, in many port cities, the rise of cruise ship tourism is, itself, inducing regeneration in waterfront areas, by promoting the construction of new large-scale cruise passenger terminals (in many cases also owned or managed by cruise corporations), which frequently are part of larger development projects.

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[26] In line with Massey's understanding of the local and the global as "mutually constituted" (2005: 184).

In the next chapter I'll describe the methodological tactics and sensitivities I'm exploring, in order to try to grasp the fleeting, ephemeral and complex encounters between these floating giants and the cities visited.

Chapter 3

Towards an art-contaminated sensory sociology

> "How do we frame questions and what methods are appropriate to social research in a context in which durable `entities' of many kinds are shifting, morphing, and mobile?"
> (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 212)

> "The social sciences need to re-imagine themselves, their methods, and their 'worlds' if they are to work productively in the twenty-first century where social relations appear increasingly complex, elusive, ephemeral, and unpredictable."
>
> (Law and Urry, 2004: 390)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the sensory, experimental and art-contaminated theoretical underpinnings of my ethnographic approach, and the set of methods mobilized along the process.

As already mentioned, in the introduction to this thesis, this research contributes to the fields of visual/sensory sociology, mobilities research, and urban studies, through an empirically grounded account of a yet unconsidered subject – how cruise ship aquamobilities unfold ashore. Here, to adopt a conventional ethnographic approach, with long term fieldwork and participant observation, to study the fleeting and ephemeral encounters between cruise ships and the visited places, would be impracticable. The difficulties derived not only from the multiple and multi-situated activities and actors taking (and making) place at the same time, but also from the mobile and temporary character of these events - with the ships docked in each port only for a few hours, thousands of passengers passing through cruise terminals on their way out to city and upon their return, and diverse hosting and handling operations happening simultaneously in the quays and urban immediacies of the terminals. Such ever shifting, fragmented and elusive contexts, traversed by numerous, heterogeneous, and transient subjects were therefore calling for new methodological approaches.

This need for new tools for understanding and practising the complex and the elusive in social sciences has also been noted by other authors. Embracing a 'sociology of the elusive', Law and Urry (2004: 404) argue that only this way can social science "interfere in the realities of that world", "make a difference", "engage in an ontological politics", and "help shape new realities". These authors (2004: 400) invite us to "imagine a fluid and decentred social science, with fluid and decentred modes for knowing the world allegorically, indirectly, perhaps pictorially, sensuously, poetically, a social science of partial connections". Social sciences' methods, they state, need "to be more mobile" and "to find ways of knowing the slipperiness of 'units that are not' as they move in and beyond old categories" (Law and Urry, 2004: 404).

Such calls for new empirical approaches and other research methods, are now multiplying across social sciences, even among sociologists and urban theorists who have been engaging mostly with macro social trends. Saskia Sassen, for instance, argues that "some of the major conditions in cities today challenge many, though not all, of the well-established forms of theorization and empirical analysis" (Sassen, in May *et al*, 2005: 353). Among the main challenges for 21st century urban sociology, Sassen highlights the role of cities and metropolitan regions as key sites where macro social trends - such as globalization, the rise of the new information technologies, or the intensifying of transnational and trans-local dynamics - instantiate and hence can be constituted as objects of study. In her words: "besides the challenge of overcoming embedded statism, there is the challenge of recovering place (...). Here the problematic is one of conceptualizing place as something not necessarily marked by closure and, second, of conceptualizing the local as something not necessarily marked by physical proximity" (Sassen, in May *et al*, 2005: 353-354).

Similar calls for new methodologies are equally spreading across mobilities research (see, for instance Cwerner, 2009; Sheller and Urry, 2006; or Sheller, 2014). Sheller and Urry (2006b: 217), for instance, have called for new methods that would be 'on the move', including, among others: mobile ethnography involving itinerant movement with people; co-present immersion in various modes of movement; multimedia methods attentive to the affective and atmospheric feeling of place; and, methods that measure the spatial structuring and temporal pulse of transfer points and places of in-between-ness.

In this research, my choice of methods was influenced by these multiple calls for alternative practices, and also came up in response to the fleetingness of my research subject, and the complexity of the urban settings in which my fieldwork took place.

My ethnographic process was itself mobile and multi-sited, with field experiences in diverse port-cities and multiple intra-local circulations. My commitment to 'mobile methods' came through an attention to the tied spatial practices and sensual perceptions of other social actors[27], namely by observing and immersing myself in (and across) people's movements in the quays, cruise terminals and their urban vicinities (Büscher and Urry, 2009: 103). While my background as an urban anthropologist, has led me to privilege qualitative and ethnographic methods, my Goldsmiths' training, in the course of my PhD (with practice in the use of visual methods, and in doing sound recordings), has fostered my will to wander through unexplored methodological paths, with openness and curiosity (in line with authors like: Back, 2010, 2012a; Back and Puwar, 2012; Lury and Wakeford, 2012; and Puwar and Sharma, 2012).

Along with walking, photographing (using diverse techniques), and doing sound recordings, my engagement with field sites and research participants was also built through meetings, interviews, informal conversations, guided tours, shared walks, and co-present interactions in different places, from cities' streets, to ports' and ship agents' offices, including quays and cruise terminals. I contend that these diverse methods inform each other, in spite of their distinct languages. They generated concurring traces of emplaced lived experiences (both mine and of those who took part in the research), which were analysed conjointly afterwards.

Here, all the visual and aural materials (except when clearly stated otherwise) are researcher-generated products, which allowed more control and reflexivity over the data-gathering procedures and the production of more highly contextualized materials (Pauwels, 2011: 7).

Regarding the visuals, I've decided to make my own images because the social reality that I wanted to investigate hadn't yet been depicted. My perspective, focused on the unfolding practices of cruise aquamobilities - and their socialities, spatialities and materialities - in terminal infrastructures and their urban surroundings, differs quite

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[27] Mair (2007: 236) referring to de Certeau and the phenomenological relevance of the spatial practices of a city.

significantly from most existing depictions of cruise ship tourism, in which marketing purposes tend to prevail. My representational practices are oriented towards the production of knowledge (in the context of social sciences), and not towards cruise industry promotional/commercial purposes, nor city branding ones, as is usually the case in mainstream visual depictions of cruise ship tourism. I thus bring out aspects and details often hidden from the public eye, resulting from my own emplaced observations, social interactions, and embodied engagements in/with/through these places.

3.2. Expanding Visual Sociology

In 1987, Douglas Harper argued that to do visual social science is to address two concerns: the first is related with what we photograph, and the second with how we organize the photographs to represent the photographed object. In his text *The Visual Ethnographic Narrative* he establishes a typology of visual ethnographies with four categories - the scientific, the narrative, the reflexive, the phenomenological -, realizing, nevertheless, that "the same visual information may be placed into nearly any of these categories, depending on how it is interpreted and organized" (Harper, 1987: 1-2). Harper acknowledges that the "qualities of subjectivity and objectivity can mix in different ways in various approaches to social science photography", understanding that "photographs are both *constructed* by human action (an interpretation of the world) and "*of* the world" (an objective – I would say indexical - record of a specific moment). According to his typology, the "scientific" mode implies the use of the photographic camera's fullest potential, to make a visual record consistent with the viewer's visual perception of the object; the photographic information recorded intends, from this perspective, to be considered *reliable* and *valid*, not ambiguous – and eventually replicable by another photographer/researcher. The "reflexive" mode, admits that the meanings in the images are co-created by the viewers, and implies the use photographs to elicit responses (photo-elicitation methods). In the "phenomenological" category, "photographs are well suited to explore the most subjective approaches to and aspects of our research", to create the experiences of process, or "to evoke a feeling of tone and texture of entering another culture", breaking the conventions of sociological presentation. Finally, the use of photographs in a narrative form could range from ethnographic film (made out of still

images), to more literary visual narratives, or to simple photo-essays, structured into more or less elaborate stories. Referring to Berger and Mohr's *Another Way of Telling*, Harper argues that the meaning of the images is in the structure and organization of the whole uninterrupted photo sequence: "when you view the images you begin to think narratively" (Harper, 1987: 6). I think about my own visual work - almost all the photographs included in this thesis (except when explicitly credited otherwise) were taken by me - as a combination of these modes.

However, my take on visual sociology is one that encompasses all the senses, and I suggest that sensory sociology would probably be a better designation. This approach is theoretically informed by the "'sensory turn' in the social sciences and the humanities" (Pink, 2009: 153). Here, I'm following Tim Ingold's perspective, who considers that "Perception… is not the achievement of a mind in a body, but of the organism as a whole in its environment, and is tantamount to the organism's own exploratory movement through the world" (Ingold, 2000: 261). In Ingold's words: "(…) the perceptual systems not only overlap in their functions, but are also subsumed under a total system of bodily orientation… Looking, listening and touching, therefore, are not separate activities, they are just different facets of the same activity: that of the whole organism in its environment".

Ingold's phenomenological standpoint, in turn, derives from those by James Gibson and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, rejecting Cartesian distinctions between the mind and the body (Ingold, 2011: 11-12). For Merleau-Ponty, perception is inherently participatory, involving, "at its most intimate level, the experience of an active interplay, or coupling, between the perceiving body and that which it perceives", creativity "is already underway at the most immediate level of sensory perception", and imagination "is not a separate mental faculty", but rather "the way the senses themselves have of throwing themselves beyond what is immediately given, in order to make tentative contact with the other sides of things that we do not sense directly, with the hidden or invisible aspects of the sensible" (Abraham, 1996: 57, 49, 58, referring to Merleau-Ponty's work).

Drawing on Merleau-Ponty, Ingold develops his concept of 'dwelling', in which the perceiver is simultaneously a producer, a wayfarer, being along paths, arguing that: "To be sentient (…) is to open up to a world, to yield to its embrace, and to resonate in one's inner being to its illuminations and reverberations. Bathed in light, submerged in sound and rapt in feeling, the sentient body, at once both perceiver and

producer, traces the paths of the world's becoming in the very course of contributing to its ongoing renewal" (Ingold, 2011: 12). To Ingold, "experimentation in everyday life", is not a matter "of testing conjectures in arenas of practice, but of enrolling practical activity in the very process of following a train of thought. It is to do our thinking in the open, out-of-doors" (Ingold, 2011: 15).

Within the multisensory paradigm I'm following, the whole human sensorium is understood as inseparable, and "the environment that we experience, know and move around in is not sliced up along the lines of the sensory pathways by which we enter into it. The world we perceive is the same world, whatever path we take, and in perceiving it, each of us acts as an undivided centre of movement and awareness" (Ingold, 2011: 136).

Here, I'm also attuned with Sarah Pink (2009: 28), when she quotes Newell and Shams (2007: 1415), who suggest that "our phenomenological experience is not of disjointed sensory sensations but is instead of a coherent multisensory world, where sounds, smells, tastes, lights and touches amalgamate. What we perceive or where we perceive it to be located in space is a product of inputs from different sensory modalities that combine, substitute or integrate." According to Pink, Newell and Shams recognize that it is not simply the immediacy of experience that informs the process, since they opine that "these inputs are further modulated by learning and more cognitive or top-down effects including previous knowledge, attention, and the task at hand". Likewise, Paul Rodaway claims that the senses and sensemaking are "closely related and often implied by each other", with sensuous experience and understanding being grounded in previous experiences and expectations, and influenced by "educational training and cultural conditioning" (Rodaway, 1994: 5).

However, even though my approach is admittedly multisensory[28], this thesis has an emphasis on sight and hearing, the sensory modalities with a wider range of interaction with our surrounding environments (beyond the intimate and proximate realms of touch, taste and smell), and to which widespread recording technologies are available.

The haptic sense, and the everyday field textures and immersive experiences it enhances (such as sensing the weather), is also included in this work, incorporated in

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[28] And acknowledging that "to think of the senses as only confined to five" is to "oversimplify human sensual experience, both within and across cultures" (Vannini *et al*, 2012: 7).

the practice of walking, and expressed in many photographs and in some aural fragments. My approach to visual sociology is then an expanded sensory and experimental one, which intends to create diverse inter-related materials and paths to a better understanding of my research subject.

By encouraging our minds to be wider and perceive expansively, becoming aware of the sensory richness in urban spaces, and understanding and interpreting them also through our sensory intelligences – namely the *visual-spatial*, concerned with vision and spatial judgement, the *body-kinaesthetic*, concerned with muscular coordination and doing, and the *auditory-musical*, concerned with hearing and listening –, new political possibilities and ways of living can emerge (Landry, 2006: 39-45).

Without denying the interwovenness of "whole human sensorium", the focus on visual and auditory awareness is then based on the available possibilities of recording sensory information that can later be used in sociological analysis (Thibaud, 2011). The aim here, is also to try to understand how can we learn differently by exploring these different sensory pathways and the diverse worlds they disclose and enact. As Law and Urry have argued: "(…) if method is interactively performative, and helps to make realities, then the differences between research findings produced by different methods or in different research traditions have an alternative significance. No longer different perspectives on a single reality, they become instead the enactment of different realities. (…) Our suggestion, then, is if methods and practices are performative then worlds become multiple – though not necessarily entirely disconnected" (2004: 397).

In this line of thought, my ethnographic approach is inspired by Sarah Pink's notion of sensory ethnography**,** as "a way of thinking about and doing ethnography that takes as its starting point the multisensoriality of experience, perception, knowing and practice" (Pink, 2009:1). Sensory ethnography, as I understand and practice it involves "a theoretical commitment to understanding the senses as interconnected and interrelated and a methodological focus on the role of subjectivity and experience in ethnography" (*Idem*) - It is not "a method that can be implanted from a textbook or from one project to another, but one that evolves in use" (Mackley and Pink, 2013: 338).

In this thesis, the underlying sensory ethnographic perspective conceptualizes knowledge as a process in which thinking, feeling, the (moving) body, and the lived experience of urban places are in continuous exchange (Irving, 2013: 290). Here, the

emphasis is on how these sensory methods and a set of diverse techniques/variations can generate alternative ways of knowing, representing and communicating social sciences findings.

The sensory and experimental sociology I'm advocating, thus aims at bringing (and promoting) sensory knowing not only into/through the text, but also into/through audio and visual research outcomes themselves, trying to "communicate sociological insights in an artistically stimulating manner" (Harper, 1988: 61; 66).

3.3. Engaging with field sites

> "L'enquête s'apprend en se faisant, d'une manière sinueuse et chaotique. L'enquêteur ne cesse d'explorer différentes voies qui se révèlent être parfois des impasses ou des chemins de traverse. Ce n'est qu'après de longs détours qu'il retombe sur ses pieds. Un cours ou un guide sur l'enquête ne peut pas se substituer à la pratique. Rien ne peut remplacer les essais et les erreurs personnels, la rencontre directe des difficultés, le «doute», l'expérience de la «solitude du terrain»."
>
> (Beaud and Weber, 1998: 12)

In this section, I briefly introduce my field sites, and give a brief account on the processes of engaging with each of one of them. Here, I wish to cast light on the insightful serendipities, and the cumulative (and embodied) knowledge that my encounters with these diverse places have brought into this research, despite the different degrees of access to the port areas, and the disparities in the time spent in each port-city.

My engagement with these field places was openly tentative and made of uncertain and even errant paths, but in practice this is often (if not always) how research processes unfold. I've learnt, through my own experience, how demanding to set and develop a transnational research project can be, with all the logistics (accommodation, budget managing, etc.), and researcher's adaptation requirements (language skills, emotional resilience, etc.) it entails.

However, despite all the obstacles and uncertainties, this journey through different port-cities has allowed me to gradually rehearse and tune research methods, trajectories, and focuses.

3.3.1. Gaining access

Writing about Martha Rosler's photographs in airport spaces, Anthony Vidler (1998: 17) calls attention to "the "hysteria" of the airport landscape", "fenced and secured against terrorism". As distinct areas from the city, due to their territorial and legal autonomy (Magrinyà and Maza, 2005: 2), ports are also fenced and highly surveilled. Furthermore, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks in the United States, and "in response to the perceived threats to ships and port facilities" a new International Ship and Port Facility Security Code (ISPS Code) has been implemented, with a reinforcement of security measures (see the International Maritime Organization web site for more information on this[29]).

Together with the increased security measures in order to avoid terrorist attacks, the actual risks related with working in a harsh and heavy machinery environment (which may cause accidents to someone unfamiliar with the local dynamics), the fear of possible disruptions caused by a woman circulating unwatched and interacting with the workers, or even preventing uncovering of illicit activities (not that I had such intention or any suspicion, but indeed ports are also part of an entire system of unregulated trade and illegal activities, as authors like Carolyn Nordstrom, have found) might have been the reasons behind the impediments in allowing me access to port restricted areas for longer term fieldwork that I've experienced.

The initial purpose of this study was to understand how different port cities respond to the raise of cruise ship tourism and to the global homogenising' tendencies on waterfront landscapes. The plan was to spend several months doing ethnographic fieldwork in several European port-cities, currently on the top positions of the worldwide ranking of cruise ship ports – namely Barcelona, Civitavecchia, Piraeus, Southampton, and eventually also Lisbon -, in order to develop a comparative analysis. But… gaining access to these places turned out to be nearly impossible. Through out 2011 and the first months of 2012 I've persistently, but unsuccessfully, resend emails and made follow up phone calls to those contacts I had listed before[30],

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[29] http://www.imo.org/ourwork/security/instruments/pages/ispscode.aspx.

[30] Some key interlocutors' contacts were found online, in specialized cruise sector websites - Cruise Europe, MedCruise, CTUR, etc. - and their reports, sourcebooks and news bulletins.

and waited, mostly in vain. Either I didn't get the key interlocutors right with this procedure, or my contacts have hit bureaucratic barriers, turning out ineffective.

After some scarce negative answers ("we already have too many students, sorry"/ "for security reasons we can't allow you in, sorry"), I've decided to rewrite my 'template request text', changing my intentions and starting to ask permission to visit the terminals and to meet the local cruise managers and no longer mentioning long-term fieldwork. In order to overcome those access restrictions, I've also reframed my project as an artistic-research one, and that may have made it more appealing (because innovative) and less intimidating (not so potentially nosy) than a long-term academic investigation. The shift turned from the data extraction/uncovering approach of a scientific investigation – something some ports might have been reluctant to allow, given the risk of inconvenient findings -, to a more fluid, playful and generous role of someone ready to give back interesting creative outcomes in return.

Through these new engaging tactics (beginning by asking to visit the port, and present the project as an hybrid art-scientific one), I was able to establish more fruitful connections with several cruise ports. The ones where I've got a more positive feedback, being open to longer term fieldwork and innovative research methodologies were: Dover, Barcelona, Bergen, Le Havre, Rhodes, Antwerp, Singapore and Mazatlan. From these, I've chosen the following: Barcelona, Bergen, Dover, and Le Havre[31]. In the meantime, while living in London, Tilbury's proximity and the fact that this was the place where London's cruise terminal was located[32], led me to make an exploratory visit there. This was back in 2011. Lisbon would later (by 2013) be added to my list of field places, as I was able to access restricted port areas, after having experienced difficulties in other places.

The majority of my contacts with cruise ports involved previous negotiations through e-mails, followed by meetings *in loco*, which in turn facilitated my access to their

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[31] Antwerp, Rhodes, Singapore and Mazatlan were the other possible field places, but in the end I decided to discard them for the following reasons: Antwerp had few cruise traffic; in Rhodes, and in Singapore, language might be a problem along the research; and the geographical distance and inherent high costs of dislocation to Mazatlan (and also to Singapore) became reasons to draw back on them.

[32] A promotional video can be seen here: http://www.londoncruiseterminal.com/images/videos/promo/index.html

cruise terminals. With more or less obstacles, this was how the process of entering field sites took place, in Dover, Barcelona, and Lisbon. These meetings provided me data that I could not have gathered otherwise, not only by the conversations themselves, but also by the documents exchanged in the course of face-to-face interactions. Furthermore, with the exception of Lisbon – my home town - I've decided to experience the cities where my fieldwork would potentially take place through exploratory visits, feeling and thinking through walking and mundane interactions, trying to imagine how it would be like to be living there for a few months.

Here's the research time-line, and a few words on how my research paths unfolded across time and contingencies, through the port cities of Tilbury, Dover, Bergen (with a detour to Oslo), Le Havre, Barcelona, and Lisbon.

Research time-line

Tilbury

In Tilbury I had a first 'field rehearsal' in a UK port, on March 2011. I hadn't really considered Tilbury as an option for fieldwork, because the cruise ship movement here is not very significant, and it is mainly centred around the trips of one single ship – the *Marco Polo*. But my mind was open and I was curious about what the port was like and I decided to go there. I also took the chance to practice doing sound recordings in a cruise port area.

The London Cruise Terminal is not at very easy reach from Tilbury Town train station, so I had to take a minibus to get there, crossing the city and its surrounding mixed industrial and rural landscapes. This got me started to the small scale of the cruise business there, as I travelled with some passengers who were going to embark on the *Marco Polo*, and their respective suitcases, which had to be climbed upon, and

afterwards descended again from the small bus. Upon arrival, they headed towards the inside of the terminal, while I, after some photographic shots, went on to do some sound recordings from the distance. While I was there, in the area around the cruise terminal, by the Thames, my presence as a single woman loaded with sound equipment triggered the curiosity of an old men, who approached me to ask what I was doing. I didn't knew then, but this was the gatekeeper who would make things happen very fast and informally that day, and I ended up having the chance to visit (and photograph) the cruise terminal. That day, our chatting also led me to take a return trip in the ferry to Gravesend, in order to record some sounds (Track 2 in the attached DVD).

The old man who first spotted me presented me to his friends – a group of local ship spotters, who call themselves Anoraks –, and then, for a while, I just sat there, taking my time and talking with a group of (mostly) old men. I've explained who I was, where I came from, and what my project was about. From them, I've learned how ship-spotting re-enacts, almost daily, some of their previous routines as port workers, not only as a way to kill time together, but also as way to collectively perform their embedded knowledge, and to foster camaraderie.

Back in March 2011, the movement of ships passing through Tilbury in their way to London, or simply docking locally, served as a pretext for the everyday gatherings and practices of this group of men. Attentively following lists with Pilotage Forecast, reading *Shipping* magazine, using binoculars, and/or walkie-talkies, they kept engaged in exchanging information and tracking the activity in and through this port. In Tilbury, the presence and transience of ships (including cruise ships) was beyond poetic or consumerist imaginaries, at least for this particular group of retired citizens, it was the substance of their day-to-day activities.

I came back to Tilbury only a second time, on the day of the public celebration of the 125 years of the port (April 17th), invited by the person who had facilitated my visit to the local cruise terminal a month before.

Dover

In February 2012 I've visited Dover for the fist time, just to explore the city, after having exchanged some e-mails with the local port authority. My first impressions and data collections (including some sound recordings – out of which I've extracted

Track 1, available in the DVD) were related with the overall atmosphere of the place, experiencing the weather conditions at the time, and walking by the seafront, close to the port area.

Later on that year, in the beginning of April, my interview with Kate O'Hara, Head of Commercial & Marketing at the Port, functioned as a gate opener, prior to my visit, that same day, to the cruise terminals. My conversation with Kate allowed me understand, for instance, how the development of cruise business in the port of Dover is deeply rooted in wide regional, national and international networks. This port is an associate member of Cruise Atlantic Europe, Atlantic Alliance, European Cruise Council (ECC), Passenger Shipping Association (PSA) and Association of Cruise Experts (ACE).

Browsing through some promotional brochures, which I was offered by the end of our meeting, Kate explained how the port's activities includes the participation in events such as Seatrade Miami, Seatrade Med, and several meetings and connections with national and international networks, such as Cruise Britain, Arc Atlantic or Cruise Europe. She also described the very good collaboration they have with the tourist partners from *Visit Kent*, developing and promoting cruise tourism itineraries and shore excursions.

Dover promotes itself as the *Port of Kings*, calling attention to its history of "centuries of maritime heritage", emphasizing its own landscape and "impressive location", "a beautiful port to sail into" with the famous White Cliffs, to which "the approach from the sea is a unique experience that's captured on thousands of passengers' cameras every year". At the same time, the Port markets its "massive investment, state of the art facilities, excellent modern transport links and award winning customer service", underlining its proximity both to London (and its several airports), by road and rail, and to the Channel shipping lanes, as valorising attributes for turnarounds and port of call visits.[33]

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[33] From the brochure of the Port of Dover: *Northern Europe's Pivotal Cruise Port awaits you.*
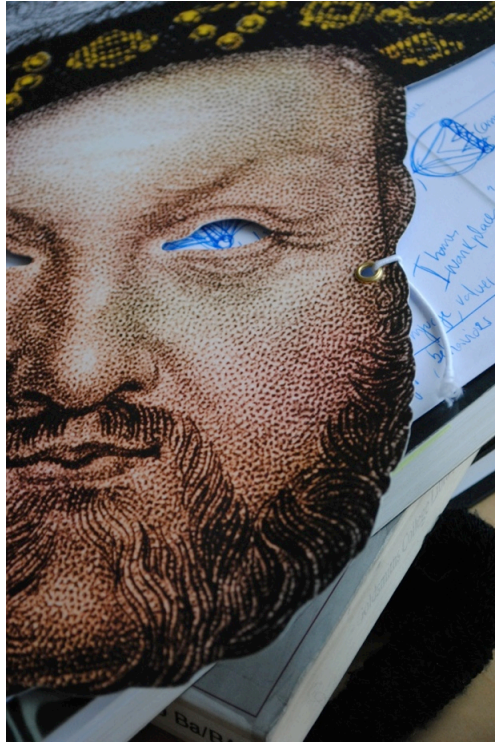
Henry VIII mask, offered to cruise tourists in the port of Dover. On the inner side of the mask we read:
We royally invite you to become King or Queen of Kent and discover our fascinating royal history –
just don't lose your head! This Henry VIII mask will give you the power to: - Make Kent your kingdom;
- Spoil yourself in royal history; - Enjoy our wonderful county; - Get married six times over and
behead the spouses you want rid of*
*okay, so you can't behead your spouse anymore, but you can find out all about Henry VIII, his six
wives and his links to Kent
www.visitkent.co.uk/cruise
Visit Kent Cruise Partnership – Connecting cruise guests to Kent (followed by respective contacts).

Along my visit to the port of Dover in April 2012, I was allowed to take photographs, being always accompanied by a local port worker. Dover was an intense and condensed field experience. But I was not granted access for long-term fieldwork there, because, I was told, there was no personnel available to accompany me through out my explorations (which I obviously did not require, but the port felt was needed). Nevertheless, the insights and data I've gathered then are useful in themselves and for further comparisons (I will mobilize them in my next chapter, focusing on cruise terminals, and some photographs are also included in the Photobook).

I thank John [fake name] for being my host as he gets ready to give me a lift back to the Marina.

(...) Inside the van, on our way back, I look up to the Cliffs in front of us and notice and old building. I ask him what it is, "an old prison" he replies, now it holds illegal immigrants caught in the Port, while they wait for a final decision on their status. "They hide in lorries", I ask what a lorry is, and John points at the long white refrigerator back of a truck passing in front of us, "they get in there while the drivers are asleep", and are caught when the lorries are scanned through a thermic sensor that finds some "hot spots". That happens in the ferry terminals. "-Must be something quite odd to find some of those hot spots in there...", I comment. My voice almost overlaps the sound that unexpectedly comes from the inter-communicator standing in the seat next to John. I suddenly realize we probably are not having this conversation alone.

<div align="right">[Excerpt from fieldnotes, 03.04.2012]</div>

Bergen (with a passage by Oslo)

In August 2012, after successful contacts with the port of Bergen, but prior to the institutional final arrangements to actually start doing fieldwork in, I've decided to visit the city, feeling and thinking through walking and mundane interactions, trying to imagine how it would be to be living there for a few months. However, my exploratory visit to Bergen soon made me forget the possibility of settling in for fieldwork. I had never been to this place before, and I could only make sense of the actual costs of living once I got there.

Furthermore, I felt the lack of an emphatic connection with the city right from the start, and that the effort needed to adapt to this new cultural and climatic context would be enormous. Therefore, I've cancelled the meeting I had arranged with the local cruise manager, changed my flight, and returned to Portugal earlier than what was initially planned.

Still, this trip to Norway also had some unexpected positive aspects, since in Oslo, the city I had visited before Bergen, some insightful interactions happened. From hearing, and feeling its vibrations at a distance, the giant engine of cruise ship docked there, resonating through the old fortress (see pages 22 and 23 in the Photobook). To the unexpected encounter with a cruise tour guide, dressed in uniform, and holding a lollipop marker, in order to make herself visible to the cruise excursionists she was leading through the local maritime museum.

Le Havre

In Le Havre, my access to the restricted port areas had been previously negotiated through email. But the problem here was that the time I had given myself to find a place to dwell – around one week and a half, in September 2012, the time my budget could afford for settling in, staying in a cheap hotel – was not enough. After an exhausting and unsuccessful flat hunting, I had to give up on this port, in this case due to practical issues of research logistics.

Nevertheless, I used my time there to explore my surroundings, walking around as much as I could, photographing, and keeping my research in mind. While in Le Havre, my attentive walks allowed me to notice the mainly industrial character of the port (with its huge container and oil-refining capacity), but also the greyish architecture of a city largely re-built in concrete after being destroyed during the World War II (see pages 18 to 21, in the Photobook).

Here, I've realized how the evocation of the emblematic French liner *France* was still being celebrated, along with the port's promotion as contemporary cruise port. At that time, in Le Havre, there were three exhibitions, running simultaneously, celebrating the memory of the *France,* which used to make regular crossings between Le Havre and New York, and its "passionate" relationship with this city and port[34]. The headline in the poster advertising this set of exhibitions was precisely: *Le Havre "passionnement" France*. The exhibitions were taking place at the MuMa – Musée d'Art Moderne André Malraux[35], at Espace André Graillot, and at the beach and *promenade des régates*, and therefore the investment in performing the city's heritage and maritime identity through public displays was evident (page 20 of the Photobook).

Moreover, in Le Havre I was able to notice the way cruise ship tourism is becoming inscribed in (and constitutive of) the contemporary fabric of the city itself, beyond the

[34] In some texts regarding this set of exhibitions, we read: "Le *France* a été durant 12 ans, un monument de la ville à la rencontre du monde. Chaque havrais, dont un parent ou un ami a travaillé sur les paquebots de la compagnie, se remémore encore une anecdote à raconter sur le navire." Source : http://www.deauville.fr/FR/agenda/2472/exposition-au-havre-paquebot-france-/?dateId=2389. More information here: http://patrimoine.blog.pelerin.info/2012/04/04/le-havre-hommage-au-paquebot-france/

[35] Further details and pictures at http://www.muma-lehavre.fr/en/exhibitions/paquebot-france

delimitated port areas. For example through the information signs indicating the direction of the cruise terminal, or of a car parking space dedicated to cruise passengers, and even within tourist maps displayed in the public space.

Back to my journey, days had passed in Le Havre, I was unable to settle in, and had to move on. As I was leaving on the train, watching the landscape merge through my window with the speed, I still thought that probably this was a neglected opportunity, and that if I had stayed a bit longer I could have eventually find a place to dwell. But my decision had been taken, and I left with a mix of sadness and hope for better chance in other places. The possibilities for fieldwork were narrowing, still I was betting on Barcelona, where I've headed to directly from Le Havre.

Barcelona

In April 2012, I made a preparatory field trip to Barcelona, in which I had a first meeting/interview with a representative of the port authority. This is Europe's leading cruise port, and number four worldwide (regarding turnaround operations). Nowadays, Barcelona has seven terminals devoted exclusively to cruise traffic: North, South, and East terminals on Barcelona Wharf, located at the World Trade Centre Barcelona (WTCB); and four large cruise terminals on Adossat Wharf – A, B, C, and D, or Palacruceros. The company Creuers del Port de Barcelona operates five of the port's seven terminals (of which, four as a concessionaire), and Carnival Corporation group operates the Palacruceros terminal, which came on stream in 2007. The Palacruceros terminal has preference for Carnival Corporation Ships, under a neutral management[36].

According to my interlocutor from the Port of Barcelona, many waterfront redevelopments in Barcelona were catalysed by the 1992 Olympic Games, which "showed the city and the port to the world". The 1992 Olympics also marked the point of departure of cruise ships' business in Barcelona - as all the hotels were fully booked then, it was necessary to use 15 cruise vessels as floating hotels, and from then onwards the number of cruise passengers kept growing almost exponentially.

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[36] Port de Barcelona, brochure "The Southern gateway to Europe".

In September 2012, I've moved in to Barcelona[37] and was ready to start doing my fieldwork. But then, unexpectedly, the port authority draw back on granting me access to restricted access areas, and my remaining contacts with Creuers de Barcelona – the company which manages most of Barcelona's Cruise Terminals, and whose stakeholders include Port of Barcelona itself - were unsuccessful.

The only chance I had left for possible fieldwork in Barcelona, was to try to negotiate access to Palacruceros cruise terminal. I kept trying, and in the meantime, I pursued my engagement with Barcelona's everyday life by dwelling and sensewalking.

Walking through Barcelona's centre and outskirt urban areas, through its seafront and public access port areas, has allowed me to progressively incorporate a sense of the city and its urban and social fabric. Walking turned into a tool to gain embodied reading of the places and landscapes, and a human-body sense of distances.

Besides my field notes, my photographic practice kept developing along the way, mostly with a documentary focus on post-industrial port transformations (see series *Post-Industrial Waterfronts* in the Photobook), but also with other creative explorations (like the pinhole experiments, already mentioned in the previous chapter, displayed in the series *Digital Pin-Hole Portscapes* in the Photobook), which allowed me to perform an affective space.

The images captured through this digital pinhole camera combine a singular interplay of light with a crafted assemblage built with local materials. Attaching the digital camera[38] to the pinhole device made it easier to record those uncertain interactions, and gave me a bit more control in generating the images, allowing some sort of "preview" before triggering.

Some of the dreamy like pictures generated through this process can be found in the annexed Photobook (see section *Digital Pin-Hole Portscapes*). To me they contain a certain surreal irony, creating another sense of time and space, in the midst of the overcrowded, hyper-touristic waterfront of Barcelona. They open spaces of silence, of reflection. In a way, these pinhole images also reflect a period when what would constitute "the field" was still fuzzy.

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[37] Where settling in was not easy neither. After an exhausting room or flat hunt, I ended up renting a holiday apartment at the Barceloneta, the best solution I was able to find, thus, according to the visible protests of some local dwellers, unwittingly contributing to the gentrification of the area.

[38] A small compact *Canon Powershot*, the only equipment I had available at the time.

Holding a camera obscura/pinhole camera[39], made out of a cereal box, translucent plastic sheets (from in-between cheese slices), and gaff tape. Barcelona, November 2012.

Gradually, with the continuity of my walks, and my increasing proximity to the port areas, my attention was able to grasp previously unnoticed materialities and actors in the public spaces of Barcelona, more related with the cruise specific aquamobilities that this thesis highlights.

In some serendipitous encounters my paths happened to cross those of cruise tourists in the urban space, beyond the confinement of the port areas that I had not yet been able to have access to. I kept documenting these aspects through my photographic practice. And after a while some patterns began to emerge, like the recurrent occupation of the Moll de Barcelona (a downtown city square) with several kinds of temporary settings, related with the use of this space as a departure and arrival point of shuttle buses between the city and the cruise terminals. Hosting and guiding cruise passengers, I've found, even in simple cruise calls, requires a all set of specific logistics related with these touristic commutings, which extend into the city, fleetingly performing the streets, or transiently co-producing certain public spaces. My first glimpses on the range and characteristics of cruise related socialities and materialities, specially those stretching beyond port confinements and diving into the urban fabric

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[39] Pinhole cameras are usually handmade cameras (with boxes) without lens, that use "a very small perfectly round hole (the pinhole), which rather accurately can be made to fit the particular focal length of the camera" (Shull, 1974).

(through more or less ephemeral inscriptions), happened along my paths in this port-city.

In the end, in Barcelona I also managed to do some condensed fieldwork in restricted access port areas, but only in the course of two one-day visits to the Palacruceros cruise terminal. When, I realized that I would have access to the places for such a short period of time (two intensive days), I decided to gather materials containing more clear/detailed/contextualized visual information, and turned back to more documentary style photographs. I've then chosen to use digital photography, since a digital DSLR camera[40] (with an high capacity SD memory card - 8 GB or more) can store significant amounts of data, and at the end of a fieldwork day that data was easily transposable into a computer, reviewed and logged, without occupying to much storage space in it. These cameras also provide higher quality images than compact digital cameras, keeping the possibility to enlarge the images in big formats, which may be used for future exhibiting purposes.

With (only) one allowed additional day to be dedicated to sound recordings, I've invested in a *Zoom H4n* Digital Sound Recorder (often covered with a wind-shield), occasionally coupled (through a cable) with a *HTDZ HT-81* Uni-Directional Microphone (similar to the one I was familiar with, in my previous field recording exercises, in the course of Goldsmiths training workshops)[41].

All these data, insights, and embodied knowledge gathered will be analysed in the following chapters.

Lisbon

By contrast, in Lisbon I finally had the chance to circulate, do participant observation, and gather images and sounds, more often and freely (unsupervised) in all the cruise terminals and quay restricted access areas. Besides staying in, walking through, photographing, and doing sound recordings inside and around the terminals, my fieldwork in Lisbon also involved occasional walking along with local workers and

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[40] I've started using a Nikon D3000 from Goldsmiths, and later I bought a similar one (since I was already familiar with this type of camera) with an extra feature that allowed me to shoot short video clips – a Nikon D3100.

[41] I had tried to capture sound using my mp3 and my mobile phone, but the quality and range of the recordings did not meet my research demands.

doing informal interviews. These temporary participations in occurring patterns of movement and stillness, the co-present immersions in the terminal's surroundings and interiors, and in quay spaces, plus the 'walking with' people allowed both the sharing of sensing experiences and an engagement with their emplaced knowledge (Büscher, and Urry, 2009: 104-105).

In Lisbon, my ethnographic approach combined systematic preparation, with randomness and serendipitous encounters – given the complexity of cruise terminals (and their vicinities) and the impossibility of being at the same time in different places, the resulting accounts implied both dynamics of circulation and stillness, aloneness and togethernesses. The planning and selection of places was anchored on cruise schedule lists available at the Port of Lisbon website – containing information regarding the name of the ship (plus its size, and number of passengers and crew members), the expected time of arrival and departure, the respective docking place, and the kind of operation to be performed (call, turnaround, or interporting), among other details (ship agent, previous and further visited ports, etc.).

Choices on where to head to and position myself were based on an attempt to cover all cruise terminals, and a diverse range of operations. Each field day involved several movements within and around the selected terminal, trying to capture the multiplicity of interactions, and their particular rhythms, practices, technicalities, and micro-geographies. Sometimes, when several cruise ships were docked simultaneously, this even further involved circulations through contiguous quays and/or terminals.

But even here, despite the permission I was granted by the port authority to do my research in these cruise dedicated restricted access areas, that did not exempt me from several interpellations by staff or security officers from the ships, with which I often had to negotiate both my presence and my data gathering practices, providing explanations about what I was doing, and respecting the restrictions that they imposed. Access to restricted access areas always required previous consents (and even the presentation of documents granting my allowance to be there, every time I went out of a given terminal and came back in again), and my mobile practices implied constant emplaced negotiations - from the embodied negotiation of my physical presence alongside others, and my positioning, visibility and performance (in public areas and even more in port restricted access ones), while undertaking sensory observation in the diverse spatial contexts of the field (Coffey, 1999: 59); to all the inter-subjective negotiations and collaborations (including informed and tacit

consents) behind the production of images and the recording of sounds (Pink, 2003: 190).

Summing up, my fieldwork ranged from short exploratory visits – two days in Tilbury, one with a visit to London's Cruise Terminal (unguided); two days in Dover, one with a guided visit to Dover's Terminal 1 and Terminal 2; to longer term fieldwork in Barcelona (three months) and Lisbon (six months). Table IV (bellow) presents a synthesis of my access to the different field sites.

Table IV - Engaging with field sites

PORT CITY	WAYS OF ENGAGING			
	Exploratory visit	*Meeting with Port Authorities*	*Visit to Cruise Terminal(s)*	*Long-term Fieldwork*
Tilbury	●	—	●	—
Dover	●	●	●	—
Bergen	●	—	—	—
Le Havre	●	—	—	—
Barcelona	●	●	●	●
Lisbon	●	●	●	●

The way each place contributed to the data and final analysis was not equitable - given the difficulties in gaining access to port restricted areas (in Dover, or Barcelona, for instance), or in settling in (as in Le Havre)-, reflecting the different duration of fieldwork and the sorts of engagements developed along those distinct periods.

Despite the different engagement possibilities and time spent, I consider that each place has brought its own contribution to my research, and that the diversity of experiences and materials gathered along this pathway was analytically productive, and still allowed some comparative understandings. Furthermore, each place brought its own contribution to a broader understanding of contemporary post-industrial port cities landscapes and uses of space, and the diversity of cruise terminals I've visited has allowed me to sketch a typology of these infrastructures - which will be presented in the following chapter.

Even in the port-cities where I had no access to restricted port areas and cruise terminals (like Le Havre, or Oslo), walking has promoted diverse serendipitous and

insightful encounters, with traces and evocations of cruise aquamobilities, and the ways they are becoming inscribed in (and constitutive of) the urban fabric. Each place, therefore, acted as a steeping stone in this research learning process, bringing its own fortuities and insightful experiences.

However, in the final outcomes of this research, there is naturally a preponderance of Lisbon (the place where I spent more time doing fieldwork in port restricted access areas), followed by Barcelona, with a three months stay (doing field work mostly in the city and public areas surrounding the port).

3.4. Sensory practices

In this research, the practices of photographing and doing sound recordings cannot be detached from my emplaced and embodied (therefore multi-sensory) experiences. They happened together with other methods, particularly walking. For instance, my photographic practice evolved along my successive movements between field sites and across each one of them, as recurrent walks and progressive access began to build up my own emplaced and embodied knowledge (mostly in Barcelona, and with particular emphasis in Lisbon).

Through time, these interwoven practices of walking, photographing and doing sound recordings, became more accurate, and I was able to notice patterns and details previously overlooked in the everyday life of these port cities and their aquamobilities 'transfer points' (Büscher and Urry, 2009: 108). Both my visual and my aural research practices became cumulatively more attentive and attuned to the rhythms, hybrid interactions, and material agencies enacting cruise aquamobilities in the places visited. Specific artifacts, logistics, technicalities, spatial and social dynamics, protocols, and rituals, have emerged as relevant through this combination of several methods (including more conventional ethnographic ones), and the subsequent analysis of the diverse materials gathered.

In the next subsections, I detail a bit further the use of these methods in my research. Before, the following tables (IV and V) systematize the use of different methods and techniques across fieldsites.

Table V – Use of sensory methods across field sites

PORT CITY	WALKING	SENSORY METHODS PHOTOGRAPHING Digital Pinhole	Panoramas	DSLR Photographs	Time-lapse series	SOUND RECORDINGS
Tilbury	●	—	—	●	—	●
Dover	●	—	—	●	—	●
Oslo	●	—	●	●	—	—
Bergen	●	—	—	●	—	—
Le Havre	●	—	●	●	—	—
Barcelona	●	●	●	●	—	●
Lisbon	●	—	●	●	●	●

Table VI – Use of ethnographic methods across field sites

PORT CITY	CONVENTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION	FIELD NOTES	INTERVIEWS Formal[42]	"On the move"[43]	Informal
Tilbury	●	●	—	—	●
Dover	●	●	●	●	—
Oslo	—	—	—	—	—
Bergen	—	—	—	—	—
Le Havre	—	—	—	—	—
Barcelona	●	●	●	●	●
Lisbon	●	●	●	●	●

[42] Semi-structured; recorded.

[43] In the course of walk alongs.

3.4.1. Walking

> "Walking the city, people invent their own urban idioms, a local language written in the streets and read as if out loud. A strange city too, can seem like a language you don't know. Gradually you pick up a few words, recognize certain expressions, try out some turns of phrase. Walking, we compose spatial sentences that begin to make sense, come to master the intricate grammar of the streets; slowly, we learn to make the spaces of the city speak."
>
> <div align="right">(Tonkiss, 2003: 305, referring to Barthes, 1997: 172).</div>

In this research, I've engaged with walking as a practice of mobile sensory ethnography (Sheller and Urry, 2006b: 217-218), and as a way of moving, knowing, and describing, indissociable from observation (Ingold, 2011: xii). Given the translocal character of my study, walking became firstly a way to explore, connect with, and get to know diverse fieldwork places.

The physicality of walking can be conceptualized as a practice of "material thinking" (Carter 2004), and understood as an immersed relational engagement with our lifeworld, according to Tim Ingold's "dwelling perspective" – in which "we make sense of the world through actually making the world out of bodily sensing it" (2000: 5; 153).

Quoting Ingold (2000: 155), Christian von Wissel (2013:166) synthesizes: "The walker, thus, does not only have an experience of the physical surrounding but is constituted by and constituting this surrounding. Through the act of bodily exploratory movement the subject makes her/himself and her/his world. Addressing pedestrian locomotion in terms of such a practice that is both poetic (i.e., world-making) and aesthetic (i.e., world-perceiving) allows us to recognize the relational activity that is "feeling one's way" "through a world that is itself in motion, continually coming into being through the combined action of human and non-human agencies"".

Moreover, Rubidge and Stones (2009), emphasize how the walking process elicits its own sensory experiences, and how by generating visual and aural traces of those experiences one creates the possibility to evoke or provoke similar experiential responses in the viewers/listeners, with such "sensorially resonant "materials acting as "experience triggers", designating this method as *sensewalking*.

My practice of walking with multisensory awareness, along with the production of field notes, images, and audio recordings, ended up provoking insightful encounters

and reflections which otherwise might never have happened. Embodied knowledge and many photographs and sound recordings, were generated in the course of progressive pedestrian approaches to my research subject - from the urban waterfronts and surroundings of port areas, to the actual restricted access terminals and quays.

By walking through the port cities, where I have (more or less temporarily) lived in, I've enlarged and enriched my mental maps of these places, getting in touch with different neighbourhoods and their atmospheres. Through movement, as "a creative act of *poesis"*, I've engaged with their urban day to day life, and its rhythms, actors, and the ways in which an historical moment (now already past, even if recent) was being socially and materially enacted in their public spaces, waterfront areas, and port's surroundings, through endless textures and juxtapositions (Irving, 2013: 292).

As a *wayfarer* – meaning, in Tim Ingold's terms, engaging in an open ended 'going along' process of knowledge-making and knowledge-growing (Ingold, 2010: 122) - the experience of the weather became also part of my process of multisensory knowing, since my fieldwork involved several outdoor periods (in the quays, and by the waterfronts).

> "For the walker out of doors (…) the weather is no spectacle to be admired through picture windows but an all-enveloping infusion which steeps his entire being. (…) the weather is not so much what we perceive as what we perceive *in*. We see in sunlight whose shades and colours reveal more about the composition and textures of the ground surface than about the shapes of objects, we hear these textures in the rain from the sounds of drops falling on diverse materials, and we touch and smell in the keen wind that – piercing the body – opens it up and sharpens its haptic and olfactory responses. " (Ingold, 2010: 131)

Walking outdoors has emphasized water's edges unique environmental characteristics, which cannot easily be found in other inner-urban sites, such as: "excellent solar exposure"; "cool, moist breezes" and moderated ambient temperature (Stevens, 2011: 242). Hence, my commitment to include other than human research participants, like the sun, the sea, or the clouds, in my research accounts.

Additionally, in this research, "participating in patterns of movement while simultaneously conducting research" (Büscher and Urry, 2009: 103), involved not only walking by myself, while taking a camera and a sound recorder for a walk (Back, 2012: 29), but also walking along with research participants - whether in the guided tours to restricted access port areas (in Tilbury, Dover, and Barcelona), or in some

shared walks around Lisbon's cruise terminals, where I've spent more time doing fieldwork.

"Walking with" local workers and engaging with their worldviews *in loco* (Büscher and Urry, 2009: 104) has also played a crucial role in my ethnographic practice. As an ethnographic research tool, shared walks provided occasions for informal interviews with workers (in the quays and cruise terminals), in which I had the chance to learn more about aquamobilities artifacts, their contexts of use, often witnessing how they were (bodily) performed in aquamobilities work, as well their site specificities and performative uses of space.

For instance, the photographs I took inside Dover's cruise terminals (like page 62 or page 66 in the Photobook) were a result of that interplay between bodies, space, and objects, fostered by the verbal accounts given by the host that was accompanying me throughout my visit to the port installations. The previously negotiated permission to photograph was an indispensable requisite. But without our emplaced interaction, and the worker's narratives – either spontaneous, or triggered by my questions – those images would not have been produced. Beyond their role as data (gathered as visual notes on the move), these images became visual representations also relevant as research outcomes. Not only I find them aesthetically appealing (almost with a sculptural quality in the objects depicted and their disposition in space), but also meaningfully revealing. For instance, they tell stories of cruise aquamobilities metamorphoses of objects and spaces – as further discussed in Chapter 4.

Walking in the quays side by side with port workers (which happened a few occasions, in which another person accompanied my local wanderings for a while, co-developing an emplaced mobile empathy), was an important tool for understanding these spaces differently, generating new insights as we were sensing and sharing our perceptions and thoughts on our feet. Walking and learning through these shared co-presences brought different memories, affects, and consciences, has added other layers and sensory perceptions of these places (through my conversations with local workers or with cruise ship workers), enriching my own experience and understanding of them.

Asking questions, listening and observing in the course of these "go-alongs" also foregrounded further roles of such places in the everyday lived experiences and practices of research subjects, which often transcend "the here and now", "as people

weave previous knowledge and biography into immediate situated action"
(Kusenbach, 2003: 463, 478) – as Chapter 5 will reveal.

3.4.2. Photographing

> "In deciding how a picture should look, in preferring one exposure to another, photographers
> are always imposing standards on their subjects. Although there is a sense in which the
> camera does indeed capture reality, not just interpret it, photographs are as much an
> interpretation of the world as paintings and drawings are." (Sontag, 2008: 6-7)

Rather than being solely a visual process, Sarah Pink argues, "the act of taking a photograph involves the convergence of a range of different social, material, discursive, and moral elements in a multisensory environment." Photographs are, therefore, "the outcomes of multisensory contexts, encounters and engagements", and may themselves "invoke experiences that we associate with other sensory categories" (Pink, 2011: 602).

As research outcomes, then, photographs can themselves become instances of experience to the viewers. This partly answers the frequently heard question: "what can you do with pictures that you couldn't do just as well with words"? (Becker, 2002: 11). Howard Becker provides further answers, arguing that images are "instances of a general argument", which promote the "deepening of the understanding" of the research subject, reinforcing the credibility of social science work with evidential details "about the specific people and places we are looking at to let us make more or other interpretations" – "the images are specified generalizations, which invite us to generalize in the ways the text argues" (Becker, 2002: 11).

Without claiming for "the truth of photographs", and rather acknowledging that they are "constructed" (and even ambiguous) (Becker 2002: 4), there are, nevertheless, evocative and indexical qualities to them, which can allow us to "document and understand areas of social life that are difficult to verbalize or articulate, that are in one way or another beyond or on the edge of consciousness, or that are part of one's habitus" (Lyon and Back, 2012: 2-3). The use of visual materials can therefore be (in my case it definitely was) very significant in other stages of the research process. As visual notes, for instance, photographs can preserve one's observation through "a record of information that would be too fleeting or complicated to remember or to

describe in writing" (Harper, 1988: 61). Throughout the data collection and analysis stages, photographs can also "alerts us to things that cannot readily be seen in real time" (Lyon and Back, 2012: 2-3), and help to "reveal social, political, economic and cultural patterns and characteristics that mark changing cities", providing an "an excellent basis upon which to see larger patterns of structural transformation that form 'the bigger picture', a macro-perspective on what is happening to urban life at the dawn of the twenty-first century" (Suchar, 2004: 162).

In my case, similarly to what Lyon and Back (2012: 10) report regarding their work, the act of photographing and subsequent continued reviewing and selection of the photographs (as well as of sounds), allowed me to trace back, revisit, and recompose emplaced embodied experiences, and helped me to establish what would count as relevant data, and to clarify directions for analysis. For instance, I've generated thousands of photographic images, and a few dozens of sound recordings along my research, of which only a small fraction will ever get to be known by others than the researcher. Yet knowledge, I claim, is built also through those discarded materials, and by the selection process that leaves them out. Some patterns and analytical insights emerged from the images themselves. Photographs were, therefore, choice and meaning generative along all the research process. Thinking happened iteratively, by going back and forth through the gathered visual materials, sometimes recovering some previously unselected images, as time often refreshes the way we look at our own photographic work.

With regards to my research, photographing, in close articulation with walking, has pluralized "the vantage points from which [my] sociological attentiveness" was trained (Back, 2012a: 30). Some of my photographs were taken from a distance, or even from privileged viewpoints (verandas, hills, or belvederes) – like the *pinhole* series, some *panoramas*, some still images, and even a time-lapse series – with the intention to capture and convey the particularities of the urban fabric in the port cities I've been to. Going across different port-cities (as the series *Post-Industrial Waterfronts* in the Photobook demonstrates) we can have a sense of the variations (and sometimes) similarities in their built environments, and the structures and uses of space in their waterfronts. We can grasp more clearly the contemporary relationships between each port and the city, the city and its water edge, their morphological continuities and discontinuities, natural and built frontiers, and the emplacement and impact of cruise aquamobilities in their landscapes.

In this thesis I contend that sensory methods, like walking and taking photographs, are useful in revealing both these spatial and material specificities of port cities, and the impacting presence of cruise ship aquamobilities in their everyday life.

Time-lapse sequences

The idea to use time-lapse sequences dates back to 2011, when in the course of a Visual Sociology Practice Workshop our attention to a sequence of stills from Francis Alÿs's *Tornado[44]* has inspired me towards a more dynamic use of photography in my research project. I thought that sequences of pictures could better suit my "mobile" subjects (tourists, cruise ships, metamorphic scenarios…) than single photographs. This idea further developed into the intention of using digital photography to create "time-lapse" video sequences, with which I wanted to experiment depicting the dynamics related with cruise ships mobilities. Time-lapse photography allows us to capture motion through still photography. It speeds up the sequence of events – an easily understandable example is, for instance, a film where we are able to see a flower blossoming in just a few seconds. The actual time represented may have been some hours or even days. "It is somewhat similar in principle to the animated cartoon type of picture. However, instead of drawing each frame or individual picture to be photographed by hand with the action advanced a little each time, live growing subjects are used" (Ott, 1958: 7).

In time-lapse photography, the camera is fixed in one particular location (usually requiring the use of a tripod); the framing is kept, while the action/event unfolds in front of the camera as time passes. A period of 24 hours can easily be compressed into a few minutes, assembling the images between time intervals as if they were video frames. With digital equipment this task is much simpler than in the early days of time-lapse photography, since the camera can be connected to a computer, or to a remote control shutter (I've used both), and easily programmed to shoot automatically at regular (researcher defined) time intervals[45]. Additionally, movie-making software

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[44] http://daniname.wordpress.com/2010/09/21/francis-alys/

[45] The digital photographic camera (DSLR) is connected to a computer and then triggered automatically through specific software (like *Image Capture*), or through a digital remote control shutter (I've used an *Aputure* one).

is used to put the collected images together in a film-like sequence (in my case I've used *iMovie*).

Time-lapse's ability to "document and facilitate the reflection upon the complex durational unfolding of events and the situation of key occurrences" within polyrhythmias, with high potential to social research, has already been recognized (for instance by Simpson, 2012: 423).

Here, I suggest time-lapse sequences can make visible some otherwise unnoticed temporary materialities, urban/port rhythms and elusive movements related with the presence of cruise ships in the places visited.

I argue that time lapse series allow certain actions and movements to become more perceptible, revealing human and non-human subtle changes, and emphasizing rhythms and metamorphoses in gestures, objects, and spaces, that the naked human eye wouldn't perceive so easily (and that video's 25 frames/second would keep unnoticed). Time-lapse photography is then, I claim, a useful tool to the study of rhythms (beyond the body of the rhythmanalyst her/himself, as Lefebvre advocated), producing records which allow "for such live and ephemeral events to be further examined beyond their initial occurrence", and facilitate "the identification of key events and cycles" (Simpson, 2012: 440-441).

Additionally, I consider that time-lapse series hold a high engagement and knowledge dissemination potential, since they are visually appealing. For instance, one of the sequences produced in the course of this research (*Waterscape* – mentioned and embedded in Chapter 5, and also included in the attached DVD) has already gone public, reaching audiences beyond academia, being shown at the Enclave Gallery, in the course of the exhibition *The Future of Art is Urban: Artistic Research Practices and Methods in Social Sciences* (London, 30th May-14th June 2014)[46].

However, this technique also has its limitations. For instance, as this technique requires long stays in a fixed location (and the use of a tripod), in my case it made me feel that I might be missing something relevant happening elsewhere during those periods looking after the equipment. The results are totally conditioned by how/where the researcher sets the framing (with the camera and the tripod). Simpson (2012: 440), for example, alerts to the risk of the researcher becoming too detached from the events under study while using this method (because of having to stand behind the

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[46] More information can be found here: http://thefutureofartisurban.weebly.com/

camera – in a fixed position for a long time, and at a certain distance from actions taking place -, taking care of the equipment).

Moreover, after a while I felt that the ant-like movements I could get with these accelerated movies where lacking something, even if they were revealing multiple coexistent urban rhythms (human and other than human). The liveliness I wanted to convey was not there, I thought, partly because I could not capture sound closer to where the actions portrayed through the time lapse photographs were taking place – as I could not be present in several locations at the same time, in order to capture what I intended to, I would probably need a production team and more technical resources.

I've tried to add sonic layers to the mute time-lapse videos I had produced (whether with music, or with compositions related with the content of the images, drawn from my field recordings from similar situations), but the results felt artificial.

Still, in spite of these limitations, some of my time-lapse experiments ended up being quite useful in the analytical stages of my research, calling attention to dynamics that would otherwise probably have remained unnoticed.

3.4.3. Doing Sound Recordings

Several authors suggest that the interrelated qualitative differences of the experience of listening and the peculiar resonating properties of sound, promote other ways of knowing. Since further ahead in this thesis, there's an entire Chapter (6) dedicated to sound in the context of cruise aquamobilities and port cities, here my aim is just to call attention to the potentialities of the re-attunement' endeavours to the polyrhythmical symphonies of the everyday (Lefebvre, 2013: 40-41). I suggest they are multiple: from an increased awareness on the unfolding of time (as sound is synchronous, listening can promote connective moments), to the affective and evocative qualities of sound and its alchemie[47] (touching ineffable realms), without forgetting its acoustemological faculties, as a modality of knowing and being in the world (combining acoustics and epistemology, as Feld, 2003: 226 suggests).

Sociologically, thinking through sound can reveal hidden aspects of everyday fleeting urban life, like its diverse (human, and other than human) sonic regularities, and (more or less subliminal) regulations (Bull and Back, 2003: 5). As Michael Bull and

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[47] (Bull and Back, 2003: 12)

Les Back suggest, in the Introduction of the *The Auditory Culture Reader* (2003:4), sound makes us re-think the meaning, nature and significance of our social experience, and our relation to community, to others, to ourselves and the spaces and places we inhabit, as well as our relationship to power.

Sound furthermore embeds and foregrounds its own geographical, material, socio-cultural and historical contexts. It brings a heightened sense of the textured spatialities of everyday life, resonating the inherent material and structural constitution of our surrounding environments (Labelle, 2010: xvi). When listening to the city, as Fran Tonkiss (2003: 303) states, sound brings us "matter and memory".

Additionally, sound recordings can generate complementary layers of understanding to a research subject, highlight aspects "that are hard to distinguish between when hearing them in real time" being therefore analytically insightful, and can, moreover, become evocative communication and representation tools (Lyon and Back, 2012: 3; 10).

Gershon (2013: 2-3) argues that, due to resonance, sounds can be understood as "a kind of vibrational affect", thus creating "affective knowledge", and providing "an opportunity to move from ocular metaphors of "framing" to "sonic imaginations [that are] necessarily plural, recursive, reflexive, driven to represent, reconfigure and redescribe"" (quoting Sterne, 2012: 5).

Cobussen *et al* (2013, referring to Jean-Luc Nancy and his book *Listening*) speak of a new sonic epistemology and ontology, in which "through a shift from a primarily visual to a primarily aural orientation", "the alleged stable identity of a subject is deconstructed": "a self that vibrates and resonates is in a constant state of becoming, never steady, never definitive."

In this line of thought, Jean-Paul Thibaud (2011) proposes a sonic paradigm to study urban ambiances, which questions any clear distinctions "between the perceiver and the perceived, the subject and the object, the inside and the outside, the individual and the world", emphasizing instead the inbetweenness of alternative ontologies and the development of relational thought.

Similarly, in his book *Acoustic Territories: Sound Culture and Everyday Life*, Brandon Labelle, reflects on auditory knowledge as "(…) a radical epistemological thrust that unfolds as a spatio-temporal event: sound opens up a field of interaction, to become a channel, a fluid, a flux of voice and urgency, of play and drama, of mutuality and sharing, to ultimately carve out a micro-geography of the moment,

while always already disappearing, as a distributive and sensitive propagation. (…) Sound is promiscuous. It exists as a network that teaches us how to belong, to find place, as well as not to belong, to drift. (…) Auditory knowledge (…) is based on empathy and divergence, allowing for careful understanding and deep involvement in the present while connecting to the dynamics of mediation, displacement and virtuality" (Labelle, 2010: xvii).

Chapter 4

Flexible infrastructures and transient materialities

> Places are not authentic entities with clear boundaries just waiting to be visited. Places are intertwined with people through various systems that generate and reproduce performance in and of that place (and by comparison with other places). These systems comprise networks of hosts, guests, buildings, objects and machines that contingently realize particular performances of specific places.
>
> (Urry, 2006: vii)

> Places are thus dynamic, 'places of movement'. They are like ships, moving around and not necessarily staying in one location. They travel, slow or fast, greater or shorter distances, within networks of human and non-human agents. Places are about relationships, about the placing of peoples, materials, images, and the systems of difference that they perform. In particular, places are located in relation to material environments and objects as well as to human meanings and interactions.
>
> (Sheller and Urry, 2004:6)

4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the specific located material practices related with cruise aquamobilities, looking at cruise terminals and their surroundings as distinct kinds of urban places, with their own rhythms, performativities, and diverse scales of spatial interaction.

While within the new mobilities paradigm it is already commonly accepted the importance of material 'stuff' in making up and 'equipping' places (Sheller and Urry, 2004: 4), and even that "such stuff is always in motion, being assembled and reassembled in changing configurations" (Sheller & Urry, 2006b: 216), most studies of mobilities still tend to emphasize the 'immobile' character of those "infrastructures that organise the intermittent flows of people, information, and image, as well as the borders or 'gates' that limit, channel, and regulate movement or anticipated movement" (Sheller and Urry, 2006b: 210; 212).

Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, for instance, argue that "mobilities cannot be described without attention to the necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings

that configure and enable mobilities", and refer to airports or docks as 'immobile platforms', reinforcing a dichotomous perspective between fluidities and fixities (2006: 3).

Merriman (2012: 16), on the other hand, thinks that this "binary of mobility/stasis" – i.e. of "things moving" and relatively fixed infrastructural "moorings" -, is "problematic", as it tends to overlook "the social and cultural processes and practices underpinning those infrastructural things which are deemed to be stable but enable movement", and to neglect the "vibrant materiality" of "the material infrastructures enabling mobility".

My experimental ethnographic approach to cruise ship terminals intends to recast attention to these particular infrastructures, and to problematize the idea that they are fixed. Instead, I argue that their spatialities, materialities and social interactions are quite complex and dynamic, and that these infrastructures are actually partly mobile, and partly ephemeral, elastic, and plastic.

In the following sections, I begin by establishing comparisons between aeromobilities and aquamobilities, and between air and water terminals. Then, after a brief account on existing discussions about what kind of places airports are, I analytically think through my empirical outcomes from several cruise terminals (in Tilbury, Dover, Barcelona, and Lisbon), and sketch out a typology of these infrastructures.

I proceed by setting an interpretative frame that pervades my empirical analysis (also across the next chapters), based in three distinct (yet interwoven) areas: 1) cruise terminals themselves, 2) their restricted access immediacies towards the aquatic environment (the quays), and 3) their urban vicinities (adjacent public spaces in the city). Finally, I discuss the metamorphic and extensible character of cruise terminals, and the temporary and mutable materialities that compose and animate these aquamobilities' infrastructures.

4.2. Aeromobilities *versus* aquamobilities

> "Look out the window of the plane during flight. Below is a vague array of generic sights: rivers, mountains, agricultural parcels; towns and cities; cloud cover and horizon. Rising sun, setting sun, a plane or two flying above or below. Except for the occasional wonder of the world, the scene lacks impact; it is dreamlike but without compelling narrative. You might object that a trip across the ocean in a commercial liner is not different, only emptier and longer. But on the ocean ones sees the water and the waves (and feels their impact), one

remembers maps and globes, one recognizes one's place in a microcosm with a daily round of events, on a voyage that makes no pretense of instantaneity. Flying intimates that there is no journey, only trajectory.

(…) Even under the best of circumstances, the commercial plane certainly is nothing like the ocean liner or even the railroad train, which gathers its inhabitants in communal spaces for dining or recreation and does not insist on strapping them to beds; rather, it is much like the least wonderful specimen of that despised proletarian hauler, the afore-mentioned long-distance bus." (Rosler, 1998: 37;39)

An initial distinction between aeromobilities and aquamobilities, lies in their different rhythms. Even though traveling by water is nowadays quite speeded up (compared to past maritime travels) and in case of cruise ship tourism much more massified, the rhythms of aquamobilities (at least on what concerns the time it takes to cross similar distances) are still significantly slower than in air trips. But, given the commodified and highly regimented nature of contemporary maritime travels in massive cruise ships – usually with just a few hours stay in each visited city (including the time it takes for the thousands of passengers to disembark and afterwards pass through security control at cruise terminals and re-embark the ship) -, it's questionable whether Martha Rosler's statement that ocean trips have 'no pretense of instantainety' still stands.

The size and content of the vehicles of transportation themselves is another crucial difference. Water is thicker than air, and in order to render passengers' dislocations across the water economically profitable, gigantic vessels are required. While airplanes are becoming literally air-buses, cruise ships are becoming more like floating themed-park casino-cities, aiming to be destinations in themselves. The huge scale of aquamobilities' vessels (carrying thousands of passengers, and thousands of staff and crew members who cater for them) makes them more evident microcosms of the global economy today, with deeply stratified and hierarchical 'ethnoscapes' (Wood, 2006: 1; Wood, 2000: 353-54; Mather, 2002: 12).

A third distinction lays on the fact that while aquamobilities passengers are voluntary and leisure driven, aeromobilities ones are motivated by a wider range of reasons: from leisure, to family, work, or migration. Lassen (2009: 182), for instance, brings forth how many international work related-travellers often use the airport as a working place, not simply as a transit one.

Airports versus Cruise Terminals

When we think about airports and cruise terminals, the infrastructures sustaining these distinct mobilities, more differences become evident. Starting from their worldwide distribution, while air travel and airports are now spread all over the world, the main ports hosting cruise ship aquamobilities are still inherently situated in the USA, Caribbean, Western Europe and Canada (see map below), which (except for the Caribbean, being mainly a destination) is also where most passengers come from.

CRUISE PORTS RANKING 2009 (World Top 90 cruise ports – see respective list in Annex II). Created on Aug 18 · By Baixinho · Updated Aug 18 ©2011 Google - Map data ©2011 Tele Atlas, Geocentre Consulting, MapLink. [48]

Regarding their urban location, airports tend to be more distant from city centres and denser residential areas, because of the airplanes' noise, and to prevent major catastrophes if crashes happen on take-off/landing. As Urry states (2009: 27): "Airports move away from being mainly transport hubs and become sites for mass travel. Airports are increasingly built on the edge of cities, as places or camps of banishment (…). They develop into small-scale global cities in their own right, places to meet and do business, to sustain family life and friendship, and to act as a site for

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[48] Source: author's production, with data available from the Port of Lisbon's website. A more detailed ranking, with the identification of the ports can be found here: http://maps.google.com/maps/ms?msid=203279585612751449465.0004aac9c90166eb99fef&msa=0&ll=34.016242,-15.117187&spn=125.607631,85.429688

liminal consumption less constrained by prescribed household income and expenditure patterns."

On the other hand, even though cruise terminals' locations vary - mostly according to the stage of development of the port, and of cruise business itself – they tend to be much closer to city centres, since waterfront downtowns are highly desired tourist sites, and in the post-industrial context, cities and ports also welcome cruise ships presences as part of their own branding strategies.

Looking closer into the procedures and materialities of both kinds of transit spaces, we can easily find similarities on the restrictions of access and high surveillance of airports and cruise terminals, where passengers go through security checkpoints, x-ray screenings and metal detectors. Further common aspects are queues and waiting times in departure lounges. And some daily objects, like baggage trolleys or tensa-barriers. Nevertheless, airports seem to be more profuse in cutting-edge technologies (self-check-in kiosks, biometric technologies such as iris-recognition, constantly updated information boards).

> "Increasingly air terminals are becoming like cities (Gottdiener, 2001; Pascoe, 2001) but also in what has been called the frisk society, cities are becoming like airports. The use of technologies such as detention centres, CCTV, Internet cafes, GPS systems, iris-recognition security, WiFi hotspots and intermodal traffic interchanges are first trialled within airports before moving out as mundane characteristics of cities, places of fear and highly contingent ordering within the new world disorder. And daily flows through airports contribute immensely to the production of contemporary urbanism, including diasporic cultural communities, 'ethnic' restaurants and neighbourhoods, distant families and cosmopolitan identities, and exclusive zones and corridors of connectivity for the fast-tracked kinetic elite."
> (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006: 6-7)

The rhythms of movement in these two kinds of terminals are quite different. Airports tend to have more intense and constant traffics, with higher numbers of passengers on average, and some run almost 24 over 24 hours. Cruise terminals movements are generally seasonal, and the daily circulations of passengers occur mainly upon arrival and departure, with the terminals remaining practically without activity in between. This then determines that in airports there are several services, stores, and duty free shops to serve the passengers, visitors and employees – which may "include bars, cafés, restaurants, and hotels, business centres, chapels and churches, shopping centres, discotheques (Munich, Frankfurt), massage centres (Changi), conference

centres (Munich), art galleries (Schiphol), gyms (Los Angeles) and casinos (Schiphol)" (Urry, 2009: 28) -, whilst in most cruise terminals the commercial side is much less significant, with many terminals simply providing some catering/refreshments for the waiting periods.

Thinking through airports

While authors like Augé (2009) consider airports as iconic examples of non-places, others argue that there's 'the need for a more nuanced understanding' of the notion of 'non-place' (Jensen, 2009: 151). Jensen suggests (referring to Adey, and Read), that airports can also be seen as "meaningful transit places" where "many types of activities that do not per se relate to travelling take place", therefore having the potential to become public domains, beyond consumerist behaviours, namely regarding the quality of interaction with technologies and co-travellers.

Taking into account my participant observation in several cruise terminals, and some insights from the film *The Terminal*, directed by Steven Spielberg, I furthermore suggest that from the perspective of the regular workers in the terminals (whether air, land, or water terminals) those places could hardly ever be regarded as non-places – and their biographical significance due to the time (often years of quotidian presence) spent there, and the professional and affective bonds established in them.

The terminology commonly employed by architectural critics and analysts when referring to airport terminals is as *liminal* spaces, because of their function as thresholds to distinctive experiences of consumption (similarly to other franchised-built environments) (Gottdiener, 2001: 9). This author prefers instead to think of these new spaces of architectural commercialism (like themed parks, restaurants and malls), as "transition spaces", because of the way people experience space and themselves (2001: 10). He argues that these spaces 'operate instrumentally to alter the status of individuals and manipulate the acceptance of their role as consumers, as happy spenders of money, in addition to stimulating new media-fed fantasy modes of self-identity'. This author considers that airports are transition spaces *par excellence*, not only because they incorporate all the elements of engineered fantasy environments, but also serve as gateways for passengers, "literally acting as the conduit from one physical location on the planet to another", and at the same time effecting a change in

the existential status 'from people being immersed in the complex roles of everyday life to that of being a traveller, of someone escaping not only the bonds of earth but of daily existence as well' (Gottdiener, 2001: 10-11).

Gottdiener argues against a dichotomy between *place* and *placelessness*, considering that in any milieu there are always elements of both. In his words: "Every good building must foster a sense of place even if it is designed to do other things as well. Every location contains within it spatial markers and a cultural style that make it a definitive location, a material realm within which people interact, linger, and live. Airports are a new kind of space that provides portals to the realms of both place *and* placelessness. The best airports are designed, not as minimalist structures or "nowhere architecture", but as distinct spaces that allow people to enjoy, relax, and interact within an environment that captures the imaginative realm of flight" (…) New terminals designs make them so interesting and attractive that they have become places in their own right, even if they are principally meant as transition spaces for the new 'vectored' social practices (2001: 60-61).

According to Merriman's processual understanding (2012: 47): "Placing, spacing and siting, then, are ongoing, affective, relational processes of assembling and ordering, but there are no discrete or absolute places, spaces, or sites". Despite recognizing that in his latest writings Marc Augé already asserts that motorways, airports and other spaces are often simultaneously experienced as places and non-places by different actors (2012: 53-54), Merriman argues that "Augé fails to account for the complex social and material production of place and non-place" (2012: 55). Drawing on the work of other scholars in the humanities and social sciences (like D. Massey, P. Crang, D. Miller, or N. Thrift), and their "focus on localised instantiations of globalization, combined with the influence of post-structuralist theories of practice", he criticizes Augé's arguments as 'rather simplistic' and 'often ethnocentric' regarding 'the negative, homogenising effects of global processes on local cultures', and for lacking 'historical insight' (Merriman, 2012: 56).

In Urry's perspective airspaces are neither non-places nor places, since cities are becoming increasingly like airports – "less places of specific dwellingness and more organized in and through diverse mobilities and the regulation of those mobilities", and using similar "forms of surveillance, monitoring and regulation"-, while airports are also more and more like cities. Urry argues that the specific mobilities and materialities of global air travel are turning these spaces of exception into the

generalized rule for urban design, with airspaces "showing many overlaps and similarities with towns and cities around the world". In his words: "It is increasingly difficult to distinguish between airspaces and other places in a global order; there is de-differentiation as systems of air travel move out and increasingly populate many kinds of place" (Urry, 2009: 35).

What about cruise terminals? What kinds of places are they? How do they differ from airport terminals? What spatial dynamics and social connections happen in/and through them? The following sections of text and visual materials intend to promote reflexions around (and bring possible answers to) these questions.

4.3. Towards a typology of cruise terminals

> "Movement and mobility explode… fracture… shatter… into an array of embodied movements *with* machines, bodies and engineered infrastructures which have distinctive histories and geographies, are marked by particular sensations, socialities, political debates, and all manner of social, cultural and spatial differences" (Merriman, 2012: 13).

Similarly to what happens across diverse airports, the common ground of maritime procedures regarding cruise ship operations (calls, turnarounds, interporting[49]) means that there are technical, social and material patterns and dynamics which are characteristic of this activity and are therefore equivalent in diverse cruise terminals and ports in different cities and countries. While my research outlines those main commonalities, I also want to draw attention to the geographic and historical particularities that are integrant to these aquamobilities and their cumulative place-making on the move.

Cruise terminal infrastructures may be not as 'fixed' as they're usually thought about - my work intends precisely to demonstrate their dynamic plasticity -, but they surely are situated, not only in space, but also in time, and the socio-economic context in which they appear and/or are transformed matters.

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[49] Interporting is a system of multi-embarkations within one itinerary. Several companies (such as Costa, MSC Cruises, Royal Caribbean International (RCI) and Norwegian Cruise Line (NCL) are now adopting this practice, trying to maximize their investments. As advantages, interporting has "the potential to open up new markets, and makes lines less vulnerable to the vagaries of the source Market around the homeport and to airlift disruption into that homeport's country". But it also creates new challenges regarding safety and inventory management (*Cruise Insight*, Spring 2012, p.29).

In spite of the distinct possibilities of access to the different field places, and therefore the diverse modes and depths of engagement with the cruise ports and terminals throughout this research (as I've described earlier in this thesis, in chapter 3), this chapter draws on my empirical work in Tilbury, Dover, Barcelona and Lisbon. The diversity of ports and existing (and projected) cruise terminals I was able to approach in the course of my research, allows me to sketch the following typology of contemporary cruise terminals:

1) **Previous maritime stations** adapted to the new kind of passengers traffic.
2) **Converted infrastructures** (like old port warehouses), adapted to terminal functions.
3) **Newly built monofunctional cruise terminals** – exclusively dedicated to port activities and services to cruise ships and their passengers.
4) **Newly built multifunctional terminals** – accumulating services to passengers and cruise ships with commercial, cultural or leisure services, and partly accessible to other city users.
5) **Other situations** – like moorings in the river/sea, without terminals; or the floating terminal existing in London.

Below I will bringer further detail to this typology, through the examples drawn from my fieldwork. But before proceeding it's important to refer other aspects that may be taken in consideration when thinking about the overall range of current cruise terminals, such as: the current stage of development of the port (see, for example, Hoyle 1994; Chaline and Malta, 1994; Kokot, 2008), the location of the cruise terminals and their proximity or not to the city centers, when they were built, or the scale of the business that takes place in them. For instance, regarding the diverse scales of cruise ship business in the ports included in my research, their positions in 2009 World Cruise Ports Ranking (see Annexe II) were the following: Barcelona - 5th (with 2,151,479 passengers); Lisbon – 65th (with 415,758 passengers); and Dover – 87th (with 259,300 passengers). For the same year, data from Cruise Europe regarding Tilbury account for only 13,991 passengers[50].

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[50]http://www.portodelisboa.pt/portal/page/portal/PORTAL_PORTO_LISBOA/CRUZEIROS/ESTATISTICAS/Ranking%20portos%20de%20cruzeiro%202009.pdf

http://www.cruiseeurope.com/port/london-tilbury

Some other aspects are beyond the scope of my research, but are nevertheless worth a reference, such as the property and management models of the infrastructures, or the planning processes prior to their development (or even the institutional models/roles of port authorities themselves, and their relation to governments, which may determine how decisions regarding these investments are made).

All these are potential complexifying elements that further studies may take into consideration, and combine with the categories in this typology. For the moment, my sketched categorization highlights differences in historical and architectural aspects, as I present my fieldwork places.

1) Previous maritime stations

This is the case of Tilbury's *London International Cruise Terminal* (above, left), and of Lisbon's *Alcântara Cruise Terminal* (above, right) and *Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Cruise Terminal*, all of them listed historical buildings. These maritime stations have their own history of colonial times' maritime passengers.

For instance, from a photo taken during my visit to Tilbury, in March 2011, to a 1990's board with an overview of the *60 years of cruise history of the port of Tilbury,* we can read that in 1930, "the year that saw the opening of the Landing Stage, no fewer than 300.000 passengers passed through Tilbury, the majority being emigrants setting sail for new lands and fortunes in Australia, New Zealand, North and South America. Regular passengers also included the England cricket teams touring the colonies." From that chronology, we also learn that in 1989 "a major £0.75 million modernisation of the Terminal, setting a new industry standard in cruise terminal security" has put "Tilbury on course to become the best equipped facility in the UK.

Intensive marketing in Europe and the USA attracts the interest of some of the worlds leading cruise operators." And, that in 1990, the year of its 60th anniversary, "thanks largely to the modernising and marketing of the Terminal", London had overtake Southampton "as the busiest cruise facility in the UK."

Since then, positions have switched - in 2009 Southampton was in the 15th position of the World Cruise Port Ranking (with 1,055,000 passengers), and Tilbury wasn't even listed. This brief retrospective brings forth the "shifting configurations" of cruise terminals in "different stages and locations within global flows". As Sheller and Urry (2004: 8) have argued: "there are places that go with the flow and those that are left with a spatial fixity of a no-longer 'cool' infrastructure (…). Some such places to play 'move' closer to various global centres (which are themselves in play), while others move further away."

In Lisbon, *Alcântara* and *Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos* cruise terminals are both adapted from previous maritime stations, built in the 1940's. After being promoted as touristic visit cards of the capital during the dictatorship period of *Estado Novo*, the movement of passengers declined strongly after War II, and afterwards with the concurrence of air passenger transportation. During the 1960's these maritime stations were mostly used by military contingents to/from the Portuguese colonies. In the 70's some luxury leisure ships began to call there, but the massive boom of contemporary cruise ship tourism began only in the late 1990's.

Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Cruise Terminal, which in 2006 (when I did research there, in the context of my MA) was still a quite busy Terminal, is now becoming deactivated, as the project of building a new cruise terminal closer to the city centre takes shape, and as the area where this terminal is located (further West, towards the Tagus mouth) undergoes an increase in container traffic.

2) Converted infrastructures

Dover's Terminal 1 (images above) is a conversion of a Victorian railway station (Dover Maritime), dating back to 1916 (built in the middle of the 1st World War), which started operating as a Cruise Terminal in 1996. It is now a grade 1 listed building, requiring huge sums for conservation. When I visited it, in 2012, the ceiling was covered with nets, before undergoing repairing, so that no breaking glass would fall and risk hurting someone bellow. The old rails are now covered with asphalt and the old train platforms are currently used as parking spaces.

Another example of a cruise terminal that results from the conversion of buildings initially conceived for other purposes is the Santa Apolónia Cruise Terminal (image above), which began operating in 1995, in refurbished port warehouses. In 2010 there

was a newly built extension to the initial infrastructure, providing more space for turnaround operations.

This terminal is equipped with passenger, hand luggage, and luggage X-Rays. It is mostly an open (and empty) space, with an area allocated to commercial activity. There aren't really stores, but some sellers have their stands, most of which are wheeled (movable) and convertible into boxes, and which are assembled to display their products only when there are cruise ships in the terminal.

Unlike most airport terminals (some running 24 over 24 hours), cruise terminals like this one are much more precarious and improvised.

3) Newly built mono-functional cruise terminals

Lisbon – Jardim do Tabaco Quay, 2013

Two examples of recent cruise terminals dedicated exclusively to cruise ship activity are Lisbon's Jardim do Tabaco Quay and Barcelona's Palacruceros Terminal.

Jardim do Tabaco Quay is a small infrastructure, just for transit operations (calls), built in 2010. It is located close to the place where the new cruise terminal is going to be built.

Barcelona, Palacruceros Cruise Terminal, 2012.

Palacruceros Terminal, on the other hand, is a state of the art facility, inaugurated in 2007, which includes a Crew Lounge, a VIP lounge, children's room, duty free shops, and café-restaurant (exclusive to passengers, terminal workers, and staff/crew members from docked cruise ships).

Dover's Cruise Terminal 2 is a further example of a mono-functional cruise terminal. Still, even though it was purpose built, some architectural inadequacies were unforeseen in the project (see page 37 in the Photobook).

4) Newly built multifunctional terminals

This is the case, for instance, of a terminal that was built (but in the end never used) in Barcelona (Maremagnum), and of the future cruise terminal projected to Lisbon.

Multifunctional cruise terminals carry the promise of creating new urban public spaces. McGrane (2001) argues that these new generation terminals form "an invitation for tourists and travellers to visit and explore the city, while local people are invited to admire and inspect magnificent ships at close range", stressing that their central location can turn them into "magnets for large gatherings in the city, the hub of festivals, parties, receptions and entertainments", and that their "dual usage, cruise terminal and exhibition / reception venue, ensures constant usage, economic stability and a healthy mix of uses."

In a presentation text of the project of the new Lisbon Cruise Terminal (see image below), displayed in the winning architect's website, an emphasis is also placed on the connection between the cruise terminal and the surrounding waterfront/urban area: "Facing both the Tagus river and Alfama's slope, the proposal presents designed as a simple volume, responding to the desire of liberating the surrounding area for the general public. The building is assumed towards the park and the city as a pavilion, an overflow system. It appears to be a floating volume, as it is broken, generating tension zones and inflections that suggest entry and exit points for the building. A path/promenade surrounds the building, allowing a slow discovery of the surroundings while passing through the different facades. This path culminates in the roof that assumes the features of a stage, relating with the river and the city without any obstacles, such as a plaza"[51].
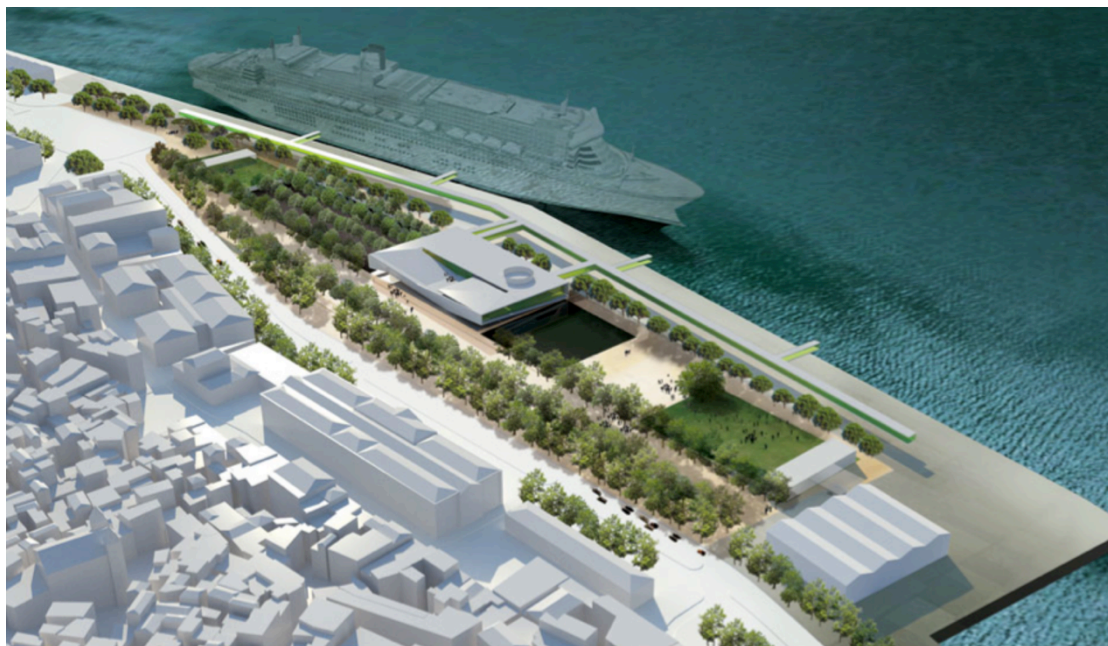
Projection of the future Lisbon's Cruise Terminal.

But things don't always work out as planned, and these projects aren't always smoothly implemented, nor their public spaces use conflictless.

Magrinyà and Maza (2012), for example, give a detailed account of a multifunctional cruise terminal case in Barcelona which didn't develop as planned. In the context of a reform of port space in the Spanish Wharf (Moll d'Espanya), in 1994, a complex

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[51] Source (of the picture and quoted text): http://jlcg.pt/lisbon_cruise_terminal

called Maremagnum (a name evoking the Roman Mediterranean) appeared, comprising 120 stores, a naval station, and discotheques. The re-urbanization of the area also included a chain of cinemas, an aquarium, and a 3-D IMAX, which "turned their back on the water, contradicting any idea of recovering of the waterfront" (Magrinyà and Maza, 2012: 73-74).

These authors highlight the fragilities and paradoxes of this 'postmodern simulacra' project, which after a period of inauguration-success, went through decadence (with several violence and racism related incidents, due to the night-time disco scene there), followed by a reform by 2001-2002. The maritime station, situated on the second floor of the commercial center, bellow one of the largest discos, was never even used, it became a ghost-station.

According to their quote of Subirós: "The ambiguous and metaphoric charge of the port city has given way to a closed and imposed model, that reduces the complexity of space and urban relations to the city understood unilaterally as a center for commerce and leisure, reducing the citizen to the category of spectator-consumer". Still, despite having been presented as a "space to be appropriated by Barcelonans", "the majority of its visitors are actually foreigners", especially tourists.

The internal contradictions of these urban projects, they argue, rely upon a "public space that is constructed on the basis of a scenography of space without connections to its environs or people around it". These areas, therefore, "risk becoming nonplaces in the city, zones of conflict or social fragmentation", non-downtowns rather than real areas of urban centrality (2012: 87-89).

5) Other situations

In some cruise destinations there are no actual terminal built infrastructures. The ships don't actually dock in the cities but simply moor nearby, in the river or sea coast, with the passengers then being carried out by yacht tenders.

Such is the case of London's two moorings for cruise ships: one at Greenwich (for vessels up to 208 meters in length), and the other upriver of Tower Bridge, (for smaller vessels up to 158 meters in length, tying up alongside HMS Belfast). But London also has the extra facility of a floating cruise terminal – including security screenings, on-site Immigration and Customs, and allowing for full passenger and

baggage embarkation and disembarkation[52] -, which can move along the river and thus serve either of the two existing moorings.

The World, mooring at the Greenwich Ship Tier (GST), May 2013. According to the Port of London Authority (PLA) website[53], "in recent years, London has welcomed a series of prestigious cruise callers, including *The World* and has become firmly established on regular cruise schedules." In 2012 "London welcomed over 50 cruise ships", "as the 2012 Olympics put the spotlight firmly on the global city". PLA emphasizes that vessels moored at the GST "are serviced through the world's first floating cruise terminal, PLA's *Welcome*", which "provides a stunning location close by the Naval College and in sight of the *Cutty Sark*". It becomes evident how dominant city branding discourses pervade even the port's promotion, highlighting tourist marks and global mega-events.

The aim of this typology is mostly to demonstrate the diversity of cruise terminals, regarding its historical and geographical contexts of emplacement and their architectural features.

This brief overview over a range of ports and their current passengers' terminals is an introduction to some aspects that will contribute to my argument on the dynamic and flexible characteristics of these infrastructures. While this adaptability would be expectable when considering older and converted buildings - as they were not purposely built to host contemporary cruise ships -, what I find surprising is that, even in recent and dedicated infrastructures, the ephemerality and plasticity of spatial and

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[52] Source: http://www.crossriverpartnership.org/page.asp?id=1492

[53] http://www.pla.co.uk/Port-Trade/London-s-Cruise-Ship-Options

material settings is inherently present, seeming therefore transversal and characteristic of these aquamobilities.

4.4. Spatialities, borders, boundaries

> Boundaries often present themselves to us in cities as if they are natural, physical entities. (…) On the one hand there are the walls, barriers, fortifications and edges of all kinds that exclude frontally, which brutally separate the spatial divide. These are boundaries as two-dimensional vertical planes, preventing horizontal movement across the city, boundaries which have no apparent spatial depth but which extend their zone of influence on either side. We all experience these boundaries continuously and everywhere, the spatial tells us to go no further. On the other hand there are the gates, toll-booths, doors, turnstiles, bridges and thresholds of all kinds which simultaneously deny, control and release spatial movement. These are boundaries as momentary portals, at once exclusionary yet conjunctural, the space-time of connections.
>
> (Borden, 2000: 20-21)

When thinking about cruise terminals and their immediate surroundings, it's possible to identify and distinguish three areas with diverse characteristics, atmospheres, movements and materialities: the quays, the terminal buildings themselves, and the vicinities of terminals already in the cities' public space.

Some cruise terminals may have public space areas within them (as we've seen in the previous typology), but in the majority of them) only workers, passengers and staff/crew members can trespass the entrance door. This means that they generally are more exclusive (and less public) spaces than most airports, where up to a certain point everybody is allowed to enter.

While many post-industrial (former port areas) waterfronts are now open to public fruition, the areas where the port is still active are carefully demarked from the rest of the city, fenced, and highly surveilled. Cruise terminals stand within these thresholds, these physically interposed boundaries. On one side they face the city (or part of the city's public space, when their location is more distant from the city center, as in Barcelona), on the other (towards the water edge) their access is exclusive to port activities and authorized circulations.

Quay spaces, on the other hand, are transition zones between the aquatic and the terrestrial environment. These are open-air broad empty spaces, exposed to the weather, separate from the city but defining its edge against the water surface, mass, currents and tides.

Places where usually not much is happening, but which become alive in the presence of cruise ships, through diverse welcoming rituals, mooring/unmooring, maintenance and supply operations, and their specific rhythms, materialities and technicalities - aspects that the following chapter will emphasize.

Quays are also the joints between the terminals - where borders are performed through ID checks, X-ray and metal detector screenings -, and the ships, which are already a different country, ruled by national laws and regulations of the place where they are registered (given the flags of convenience system, explained in chapter 2).

The suggested three zones spatial division (quays, terminals, city) is mainly an interpretive frame, the boundaries between them aren't strict, since people and material circulations multiply and several interpenetrations happen (as we'll see in the following section of this chapter). The photographic section *Light and (Im)matter* (in the Photobook, pages 93 to 99) plays with these complex multi-layered intersections.

The border itself, for instance, is also performed elsewhere, in advance, and through virtual exchanges of information (such as lists of passengers and crew members), in the offices of cruise companies, shipping agents, port authorities, immigration and border control agencies, etc. It is also performed on board: once a cruise ship arrives on port, the local authorities (border control, port authority, customs, maritime police, etc.) step in, and only once several controls and verifications are made the ship is 'clear', and only then passengers are allowed to disembark.

4.5. Cruise terminals as metamorphic and extensible infrastructures

This section focuses on the fleeting spatial and material transformations happening around and within cruise terminals. I'll consider the inter-related social actors and interactions that take and make place along with these materialities in the next chapter, out of convenience in structuring the text. Here I'll focus on the materialities related with movements of passengers, leaving other logistics and networks to the following chapter.

This section is articulated with the sets of photographs in the Photobook entitled *Circulations* (pages 33 to 48, that you can have a look into now) and *Temporary spatialities/Metamorphic materialities* (to which I'll refer to a bit further in the text).

Co-related circulations outside cruise terminals

Aquamobilities are related in diverse ways to other forms of mobility, which means that there are multiple co-related circulations (and the materialities they require) extending the activity beyond the space of cruise terminals, into the cities visited and their surroundings. Aren't all these inter-connected circulations, and their geographical spreading out into the city and its surroundings' tourist attractions, also part of the *elastic infrastructure* of cruise aquamobilities? I firmly suggest they are. Cruise terminals, I argue, are just the central node of this dynamic, partly mobile, extensible infrastructure.

In case of turnaround operations – when an itinerary ends/begins at a given port -, with full disembarkation and new embarkation of passengers, there are the circulations related with their connections with the airport (and the flights from/back home). They involve handling passengers' luggage and their transfers and, sometimes, even intermediate stays in hotels (pre or post-cruise packages).

In simple cruise calls, there's all the range of terrestrial vehicles (from shuttle and excursion buses, and formal or informal taxis, to jeeps, rickshaws, or even bicycles) available for the passengers to travel within or beyond the cities visited. The range of these presences varies according to the size of the ship and the specific existing partnerships between cruise companies and the local or transnational tour operators (only some provide bicycles, for instance).

On the other hand, there are independent cruise passengers, who visit the cities on their own, without being part of excursion groups. In Lisbon, the current busier cruise terminals (Santa Apolónia and Jardim do Tabaco) are located closer to city downtown, which means pedestrian movements of cruise passengers, between ships and the city centre, are also becoming more frequent.

Temporary settings

(...) Today there were three terminals in operation (...) In terminals A and B the infrastructure of embarkation, the temporary materialities that shape it (and through which these operations are performed) extend to the exterior of the buildings. Sorting of baggage and passengers starts outside the terminals, with tensa-barriers organising the "flow" of people, and in one of the terminals also with tents (called totems) and other ephemeral reception devices – like a desk covered with a blue cloth. The reception apparatus, its devices and mediations spread into the entrance platform on the exterior of the terminals, close to the areas where the buses and taxis park.

[Translated excerpt from field notes originally written in Portuguese, Barcelona, 03.12.12]

Beyond passengers' several transportations taking place around cruise terminals, there's a wide range of material micro-mobilities that dynamically transform not only these infrastructures themselves, but also the more or less distant surroundings they stretch into, either into the city, or the port/river/sea side.

On the last section of the previous chapter I've already shown how even the material side of cruise terminal infrastructure can occupy and co-create public spaces in the cities visited.

In Barcelona, as we've seen, since cruise terminals are relatively distant (around 5Km) from the city centre, an ephemeral part of the aquamobilities infrastructure steps that far into the urban space, into Moll de Barcelona, to host the events of cruise calls and their passengers (and eventual staff/crew members). A series of portable objects (tensa-barriers, sign posts, information hoardings, flags, stalls, etc.) are then temporarily displayed in specific public spaces, in order to delimit and make noticeable the presence of cruise companies (or the local service providers they subcontract), acting as gathering devices for the passengers. In the Moll de Barcelona, these materialities – assembled by cruise agents, such as *Intercruises, Shoreside and Port Services*, or *MSC - Mediterranean Shipping Cruises* - demark a sort of temporary bus station, where shuttle buses come to unload (in the morning) and pick up (in the evening) cruise passengers, travelling between the port area and the city centre and vice-versa.

These transitory settings, which I consider material extensions of cruise terminals, may also happen in the immediacies (both city side, and quay side), and interiors of

these dynamic infrastructures (see the set of photographs entitled *Temporary spatialities/Metamorphic materialities* in the Photobook, pages 49 to 75).

This spatial and material mutability of cruise terminals, in response to the event of cruise ship presence, mobilizes (and is made through) different sorts of objects - which can be wheeled, portable, customizable, foldable, extensible, or even disposable. I will now focus on the diversity of forms, functions, and settings of these materialities.

Some of these objects are part of the mobile cruise infrastructure that travels into the cities visited and their surroundings. For instance, excursion and shuttle buses usually carry a removable identification sign - an A4 printed sheet of paper -, on their front window. The name of the ship is generally included in the information displayed in it. Excursion buses additionally also have the number and/or designation of the specific tour, and often the symbol/name of the cruise company.

Frequently (at least in Lisbon) taxi drivers and informal tourist canvassers also hold some plasticized paper signs, in several languages, advertising their transportation services to some excursion destinations. Sometimes we can also find foldable pavement signs/hoardings promoting other kinds of excursions (in jeeps, for example). These actors and/or displays try to capture those passengers who prefer to travel in smaller groups or independently, and who haven't bought an excursion package previously (on board).

Lollipop markers (also branded and or/numbered) are another frequent recognition and guiding device, hold by excursion guides to gather people around them – an object which makes them more visible from the distance, which helps in the task of herding people, and at the same time signals their belonging to a particular group.

Then, there's another set of objects, which belong to cruise terminals themselves but which also move around, sometimes even to the exterior of the buildings, to integrate these temporary settings, like baggage trolleys (wheeled objects that circulate through and around cruise terminals, as a carrying device), gates and/or tensa barriers, and even customizable stands.

This flexibility of spatial transformation/adaptation of cruise terminals, according to the specificities and volume and of their diverse operations, was found throughout my empirical field sites.

When a cruise itinerary begins at a given port – for all passengers in case of turnaround operations, or just for some, in the case of interporting ones -, check-in operations usually take place inside cruise terminals[54]. Most recent infrastructures (like Barcelona's Palacruceros terminal) already have built-in check-in counters, but even in these purposed built state of the art facilities, certain operations, or specific cruise companies preferences, also require temporary settings and their concurrent materialities.

The temporary assemblages and performativities of check-in operations involve specific actors, objects, and technologies. In Lisbon, for example, none of the current existing terminals has its own check-in fixed infrastructure. Therefore, whenever check-in operations occur in the terminals, the necessary material structures are shared between terminals and ships' resources. They generally involve movable objects from the terminal (chairs, tables), some of which are then temporarily branded by (and complemented with) objects and technologies coming from board: cloths, laptops, printers, software systems, antennas to synchronise with the ship's main computer system, etc.. Often the people who prepare these settings, host the passengers (still) inside cruise terminals, and perform the check-in operations are also ship's crew and staff members (wearing their respective uniforms).

When there are big disembarkations (with many passengers), all the space is filled with suitcases, which the passengers then come to pick up. And sometimes, my guide says, it even gets emptied, then refilled with more luggage, and emptied out again.

(…) Through the intermediation of the shipping agent and agreements set with specific airlines, some companies even provide an airport check-in to their passengers inside the cruise terminal, and arrange for the transportation of their luggage. When the departing passengers arrive to the airport, everything is already taken care of, they just need to go through the security controls and towards their respective departure gate/plane.

(Fieldnotes, Barcelona, 19th November 2012)

In many cases the ship's 'infrastructure' also extends beyond the ships' space, into cruise terminals, through other reception/commercial devices and services. These can range from the distribution of health enquiries, or safety instructions leaflets to passengers - prior to emergency drill upon embarkation -, when they are waiting on

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[54] Even though some cruise ships are prepared to make check-in operations on board, most commonly they happen in the terminals.

cruise terminals' lounge areas, to the marketing of on board packages (see pages 98 and 99 in the Photobook).

Furthermore, all operations (even simple calls) in cruise terminals are regulated spatially. All terminals have specific itineraries of circulation, determined by identity control and security check' points. Normally there are separate entrances and exits in the buildings, and often staff and crew' members have their own areas or specific itineraries of circulation inside the terminals, and to access ships, which are distinct from the passengers ones.

The regulation of space and movement – mostly related with the circulation of people, but sometimes, in disembarkations, also with the organization of luggage -, is often made with the help of mobile and/or temporary objects and signage, which the ship's personnel sets on the quays (poles, posts with printed sheets of paper) and/or the building (single use printed sheets of paper, attached with adhesive tape).

"Terminal 1's ground floor is where the luggage is displayed, for passengers collection. According to John, every company has its own mode of operating and organizing them, but the most common system is the use of coloured stripes, related to the area in the ship where the passengers have their cabin located. The passengers usually come out in groups, and are directed to their respective colour area (with around 60 suitcases each), where they have to find their own luggage. Usually there aren't many problems in identifying their belongings.

In embarkations luggage is taken on board inside metal cages, with the help of a crane. The cruise terminals have no fixed cranes, they are allocated according to local needs, and as they are mobile, they move around the port, coming from the Ferry Terminals area whenever they are needed.

[Fieldnotes, Dover, 3rd April 2012]

(…) We move on to the first floor in Terminal 1. The lounge area is being cleaned. All the sofas gathered to one side (they are usually moved around according to the cruise ship needs). He shows me another 'mobile' object (this one literally with wheels underneath), that moves around when needed: a stand/reception desk, used for the check-in of passengers. Some of them are called 'goal racks' [is it just local or Port jargon/denomination?), and 'dressed for occasion', customized/branded with the identification of the cruise company."

[Fieldnotes, Dover, 3rd April 2012]

Interpenetrations continue, with the materialities that ships unfold into the quays, extending their identity and reception space ashore. With the presence of a cruise ship, the usually empty in-between (aquatic and terrestrial) space of quays is

transiently metamorphosed, not only by several circulations (passengers, maintenance, and logistics related ones), but also by ships' ephemeral settings. The welcoming apparatus of the cruise ship spreads into this transition zone, through a series of (often branded) objects, such as: totems, parasols, tables, chairs, carpets, tensa barriers, flags, canvases, banners, etc.. Informative signage (with the boarding time, for example), or other devices, such as hand sanitizing gel dispensers may also be placed in the quays, close to the ship.

Turnaround/interporting operations tend to mobilize additional devices, and these temporary settings become even more fancy (or kitsch), with decorative objects, like vases, flowers, fruits, etc.. And, occasionally, foldable scenarios to set behind the passengers as they pose in a welcoming photograph, before departure.

On the other hand, those who manage cruise terminals (the Port authority in case of Lisbon) also make use of customizable and easily transformable/movable objects, which preserve the great adaptability of the terminal infrastructures, making them adjustable to each occasion's specific demands. Chairs, tables, desks, and counters are mobilized (and customized) when needed. Gates, tensa barriers, and foldable or portable welcoming, directing, or notice boards also integrate the performance of space, objects, and bodies, in the interior of the terminals.

And there's also a mobile side of cruise terminal infrastructure, that unfolds into the quays and/or bridges into ships, comprising, for instance, luggage carts, mobile cranes, forklifts, and gangways.

Cities can also step in materially into cruise terminals, through tourist office desks and the distribution of maps and tourist information, revealing other networks of institutional cooperation.

All these spatial and material extensions and transformations are obviously imbricated in multiple human interactions (which we will follow more closely in the next chapter). But what do these temporary settings and materialities reveal/suggest in themselves? Can they be understood as metaphors/synecdoches of transience, elusiveness, neoliberal capitalism, mass tourism and commodification processes?

Are these ephemeral architectures a contemporary version of the ones used in public rituals and ceremonial receptions by the waterfront, back to (at least) the 17th century, for instance by the Portuguese monarchy, both in Lisbon and in the overseas colonies (Brand, 2012; Brand, 2006)?

"The royals enjoyed a long tradition of urban maritime ceremony related to the arrival and departure of monarchs and foreign dignitaries in Lisbon. The harbour arena and the waterfront square were spatially contiguous and provided an ideal arena in which to stage the significant events of public life. The court maximized the juxtaposition of a spacious landscape setting with regal pageantry and extravagant maritime ceremony became an all-important ongoing public relations exercise for a minor European monarchy.

(…) This relationship (…) necessitated a complex array of ephemeral installations to make the space work for state visits where interaction with the city proper was imperative."

(Brand, 2012:71)

One thing is sure, the objects included in these temporary displays may no longer be active as commodities (Appadurai, 1986), but they definitely are alive socially and spatially.

4.6. Conclusions

A brief comparative exercise between the characteristics of aeromobilities and aquamobilities, developed in this chapter, shows us how, in spite of similarities in some procedures and materialities (for instance related with surveillance and identity control of passengers upon embarkations), there are substantial differences in aquamobilities regarding the rhythms (daily, seasonal) of activity in each port, the size and content of the vehicles of transportation, or in the motivations behind travelling (exclusively leisure driven in the case of cruise ship tourism).

As transition spaces, cruise terminals are therefore eminently distinct from airports. They host and cater for massive vessels, which are becoming more and more like destinations in themselves. While airports are becoming like cities, cruise terminals act mainly as gateways between a floating city and an immobile one.

The typology of cruise terminals that I propose here (draw from visits and fieldwork) highlights both the diversity of existing aquamobilities' infrastructures, and their geographical and historical situatedness. An alert, concerning the overly expectations around new projected multi-functional cruise terminals, comes from Barcelona, where unaccounted surroundings and unforeseen social conflicts ended up leading to an existing ghost terminal.

Commonalities between terminals seem to derive from standardized maritime procedures and similar kinds of operations performed in and through them (transits, turnarounds, interporting, and their correlate logistics) while hosting cruise ships. However, the most striking finding, issuing from the textual and visual analysis throughout this chapter, lies in the dynamic adaptability of these infrastructures, which spans across ports and terminal typologies (including purposed built state of the art facilities), and on the fleeting spatial and material transformations around and within cruise terminals.

Chapter 5

Exchanges, Encounters, Metabolisms

"Assemblage - whether as an idea, an analytic, a descriptive lens or an orientation — is increasingly used in social science research, generally to connote indeterminacy, emergence, becoming, processuality, turbulence and the sociomateriality of phenomena. In short, it is an attempt to describe relationalities of composition - relationalities of near/far and social/material. Rather than focusing on cities as resultant formations, assemblage thinking is interested in emergence and process, and in multiple temporalities and possibilities."

(McFarlane, 2011: 206)

5.1. Introduction

While the previous chapter foregrounded the materialiaties and spatialiaties of ongoing place making at cruise terminals and their surroundings, the focus here is rather on the multiple temporalities and agencies (human and non-human, more and less visible), which enact these port-city interfaces, in the course of regular operations. This chapter is articulated with time-lapse series (mentioned and described along the text, and included as tracks in the annexed DVD), and with sections *Work/Logistics/Technicalities* (pages 76 to 93) and *Mixed-stages/Choreographies/Performativities,* (pages 94 to 103) in the Photobook.

In the following sections, I begin with an attempted rhythmanalysis of the encounters between cruise ships and the visited port-cities, highlighting the regular patterns of activity - with a description of the usual procedures between a ship's arrival and its departure -, as well as annual and daily variations, peaks of activity, and special occasions rituals. This analysis draws mainly on fieldwork developed in Lisbon, but similar regularities can be found across cruise operations in other ports. Here, I suggest that cruise terminals and their vicinities have their own rhythmic specificities, and that these aquamobilities generate their own time-spaces, "lived and produced through action and practice" (Adey, 2009: 195; Crang, 2001: 187)[55].

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[55] My analysis is surely influenced by the "relational effects" of my own (multi-site and often mobile) placing as a researcher, which was not that of a passenger, nor that of a local worker (Adey, 2009: 200).

Furthermore, since Aquamobilities' rhythms are closely imbricated with those of the sea, the weather, and the seasons, these prompt the sensitivity to other time-scales, and "entangled human and material agencies" (Malafouris, 2008: 22). An approach fostered by the practice of shared walks with local workers in the quays, which enriched my account with their insights, affects and imaginaries. The scope of my rhythmanalysis is, then, broad, considering diverse interweaving metabolisms[56] (the port and cruise activity one, the environmental, the urban one), and their correlate socio-material dynamics.

Thinking through the complex chains of actions, unfolding in the quays and cruise terminals, attention is given to the pace of work and embodied systems of expertise, and to the multiple mediations and synchronizations implied in the circulation of people and supplies. Some parallels with the exchanges taking place in airport platforms (Peters, 2009), and with the "protocols of store and forward" (Fuller, 2009) happening in airports are established.

Next (in section 5.5.), in light of my ethnographic findings, I problematize Jensen's *Staging Mobilities* model, and its distinction between scenographies and choreographies, front and back regions (Jensen, 2013).

Finally, my analysis brings forth the beat of yet to come and already perceivable urban changes, catalysed by the recurrent presence of cruise ships.

5.2. Sketching a rhythmanalysis of cruise terminals

"Does the rhythmanalyst thus come close to the poet? Yes, to a large extent (…) Like the poet, the rhythmanalist performs a verbal action, which has an *aesthetic* import. The poet concerns himself above all with words, the verbal. Whereas the rhythmanalyst concerns himself with temporalities and their relations within wholes."

(Lefebvre, 2013: 33, original emphasis)

"No rhythm without repetition in time and in space, without *reprises*, without returns, in short without measure [*mesure*]. But there is no identical absolute repetition, indefinitely. Whence the relation between repetition and difference. When it concerns the everyday, rites, ceremonies, fêtes, rules and laws, there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference."

(Lefebvre, 2013: 16)

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[56] Sheller (2014: 791); Ibañez and Katsikis (2014); Heynen *et al* (2006); Swyngedouw (2006).

Regardless of what kind of operation is at stake when a cruise ship docks at the Lisbon port (whether its a simple call, a turnaround, or an interporting - which combines a bit of the first two), they all involve a common range of actors and technical procedures, for instance the ones related with the arrival and departure, the mooring and unmooring of vessels.

Repetition, difference and embodied knowledge

Repetition here intertwines with cosmic variations (tidal, circadian, seasonal) and unpredictable factors (currents, sudden weather changes, unexpected incidents, etc.) generating slight differences, which in turn engender situational adjustments.

In Lisbon, there is an annual cyclic pattern of cruise activity, related mainly with the international repositioning of ships, with a high season between April and November, and a low season from December to March. The peak months (with more calls, and more passengers) are usually April/May and September/October, even if in the last years the seasonality of cruise activity has been progressively spreading more into the winter months – the following charts provide further data on the seasonality of cruise calls in Lisbon. In the months with more activity, every day (or almost) there are cruise ship visits, and often several cruise ships dock the city in the same day.
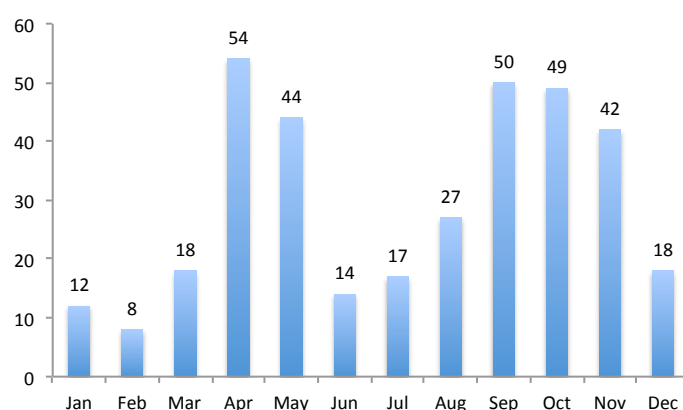
Number of cruise calls per month in Lisbon (2013) -
including transit, turnaround and interporting operations[57].

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[57]Source: Porto de Lisboa (2013).
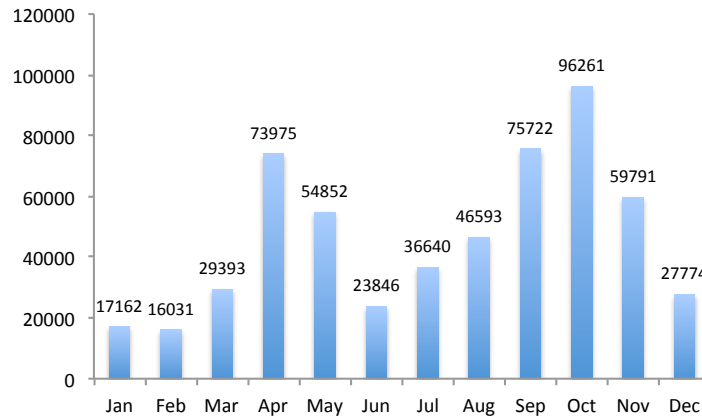
Number of cruise passengers per month in Lisbon (2013) -
including transit, turnaround and interporting operations[58].

As for the daily rhythmic pattern of cruise activity in Lisbon, it usually begins in the morning (usually between 7 and 11 am) when cruise ships arrive, and ends in the evening (generally from around 17 to 20 pm), when they depart. Overnight stays occur rarely, and tend to be related with turnaround operations – in which the entire complement of passengers is changed, in the context of the start and/or end of a cruise.

Turnaround operations bring higher revenues and additional dynamics to the places visited, since they imply further airport and transfer circulations, and pre- or post-cruise stays of passengers in the local hotels. This in turn requires that cruise terminals are able to handle large movements of people joining or leaving the ship, requiring modern baggage handling, and efficient loading and unloading facilities (McCalla, 1998: 46).

Tracking actors and social interactions

Through the following diagram, which provides a schematic representation of the global value chain of cruise industry, we can have a glimpse on the diversity and scope of actors and interactions involved in the operations that occur when a cruise ship docks a given port, including the linkages to transport, hotel, port and on-shore services.

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[58]Source: Porto de Lisboa (2013).
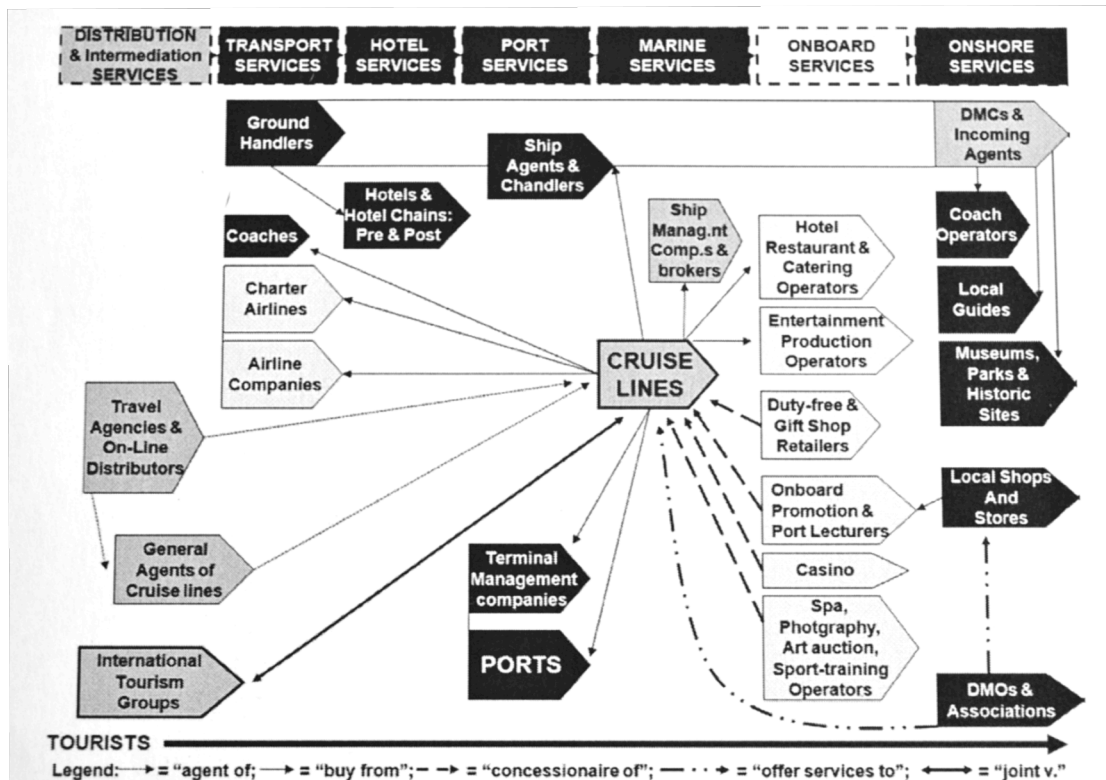
Cruise Global Value Chain (destination linkages)[59]. Source: Gui and Russo, 2011: 133.

In the next sections, my empirically based analysis will make visible further connections and actors (human and non-human) intervening in aquamobilities' socio-material performativities, as well as an attention to the multiple temporal dimensions underlying the encounters between cruise ships and the places visited.

This tentative rhythmanalysis is structured according to the unfolding events on a typical day of activity at the terminals. The interpretative distinction, established in chapter 4, between three distinct areas - quays, terminals, and city side immediacies -, is also kept here.

Preparations

Nautical technicalities within cruise activity are often taken to a new level, given the vessels current gigantism, something which also reflects in the operations taking place in the interfaces with the land environment (where my emphasis lies).

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[59] DMC's – Destination management companies; DMO's – Destination Marketing Organizations (like Convention and Visitor Bureaus).

The preparation of onshore procedures often begins way in advance. Ship agents[60], for example, start taking care of the cruise call (or turnaround) logistics two years ahead, by checking the availability of berths and reserving them – an anticipation related with cruise companies' settling of itineraries. The time frame for these operations then often supersedes the strict presence of the ships in the port, with exchanges being performed in advance.

Closer to the effective presence of the ship in the visited port, further arrangements are dealt with, involving other actors and scales of interaction. As the excerpt from an interview, quoted bellow, demonstrates, there's a wide range of local actors – hotels, hospital, companies who deal with transfers of passengers and/or crew members, etc.- beyond the enclosed port space, which are (or can be, if needed) mobilized in the course of cruise operations. The quote also evidences the necessity of articulations with elsewhere places (namely with international offices of the cruise company), as well as multiple scales of power and interaction, mediated by the ship agent operating in the ground.

> *" - We verify the vessel's arrival, how it arrives, when, we inform all the authorities, we send the lists of all passengers and crew members on board, the lists of the ones embarking or disembarking, that is, we formally inform the authorities of all the details regarding the call procedures. (...) Lists must be send to all authorities (Port Authority, Immigration and Borders Service, Maritime Police, Customs) through the computer system until 48 hours in advance, otherwise we must pay fines.*
>
> *(...) We must take care of the solid residue collectors.*
>
> *(...) If there are crew members embarking or disembarking we are the ones who address it – for example, if there's a crew member who wishes to disembark, if he is extra-EU we must take care of the Visa, we must tend the transfer and accommodation. If they want to go to the hospital, we are the ones who book the appointment. (...) We have a partnership with a transferist company (Impertaxi), who picks up people in the airport; one of our suppliers deals with the Visas. (...) We have an agreement with the company Miltours[61], which holds*

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[60] The role of ship agents (also called port agents) is to represent and transact all business in ports on ship's behalf - like preparing the documents required for docking, arranging shipping space and dealing with insurance and customs matters (Gui and Russo, 2011: 135).

[61] An Incoming Agency. The role of Incoming Agencies (also called Local Tour Operators) is to provide destination-based tourism services: they arrange 'meet'n'greet', hotel accommodations, ground handling operations in the case of home ports, and they organize transfers, medical assistance, local tours and excursions in the case of ports of call (Gui and Russo, 2011: 135).

several contracts and offers the best prices in the market, and they book the hotel for the crew
members (usually Altis Park).

(...) These arrangements are coordinated through frequent contacts with Sorrento (Italy)
where the operations are centralized: where is the ship going, where will there be
embarkations, will the ship arrive earlier or latter? The departure must be delayed because it
was being supplied with fuel, it was supposed to leave at 5 and it must leave at 7, I must call
Sorrento and say that the ship must be late, and ask for their permission".

[Translated excerpt from interview with a member of the Portuguese branch of an
international Ship Agent, 22.08.13]

A local pilot is required in each entrance and exit through the river, an interaction in
which embodied local know-how extends into the mobile visitor, and which rhythm is
affected by weather and sea conditions.

Upon arrival, the pilot accesses the cruise ship from a tender, and climbs through a
Jacob's ladder[62], accompanying/guiding the ship from then onwards, until it docks. A
taxi then picks him up at the quay. The reverse sequence of actions occurs before
departure: a taxi brings the pilot, he enters the ship, and leads its way out (in Lisbon
that's at least until the VTS Tower, close to Algés), until a tender picks him up.
Jumping between embarkations (one of them being a giant cruise ship) may be
extremely physically demanding, specially if the weather is rough.

Forced immobilities

During an informal conversation with a local port worker, on a Lisbon quay (Jardim do
Tabaco), labour politics came about as an overall concern among port authority' employees.
Many of who feel as if they are "imprisoned outside prison", given the current economic
crisis and the recent changes in labour laws. Like him, he tells me, most colleagues of his
generation (over 50 years old) started working quite young and now feel deceived in their
expectations and betrayed in the respect for their rights as workers. Before, they could retire
after 40 years on duty, but now, in addition to this condition, they must also have more than
65 years old, or else they loose benefits and purchasing power, an unaffordable choice
(furthermore in a crisis context, with wage cuts) that keeps them tied to a job they would
rather already leave. Often these are unacknowledged exacting and high-risk professions,
with long open-air working periods. While we were talking, a pilot on his way towards the
ship passed us by and friendly greeted my interlocutor, who, as the pilot moved away, turned

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[62] A rope ladder with wooden rungs, used to access a ship up a side. A direct translation from
Portuguese would be: a "breaking-backs" ladder [*escadas quebra-costas*].

to me with a concrete example: - "A man like this is still young. But now imagine him in 10
years (when he will be close to 65) and still having to climb a Jacob's ladder under adverse
weather conditions…"

<div align="right">[Excerpt from fieldnotes, 22.06.13]</div>

5.3. Quay stories

As transition zones between the aquatic, liquid, environment and the terrestrial one, between the floating vessel and local infrastructures, quays are dynamic platforms of socio-material interactions. Several ephemeral materialities are set here (as described in the previous chapter), crisscrossing with multiple circulations and performativities, according to each operation's requirements.

The rhythm of the quays is marked by diverse routines and operations like mooring/unmooring, loading/unloading, etc., which mobilize watercrafts expertise and hybrid human-non-human assemblages, often (as we will see) analogous to what happens in airport platforms. In the quays, most procedures are enacted and enliven through *in situ* modes of communication and coordination, meshing machines and bodies, gestures and voices (words and onomatopoeic sounds – shouts, whistles, roars, salutations), walkie-talkies and vehicles (mobile cranes, trucks, fork-lifts, cars).

Mooring technicalities

Upon arrival, the first material interchanges between the ship and the quays are mediated by ropes, bollards, and the embodied performance of mooring men (see page 66 on the Photobook).

On one of my walks together with local workers, along Jardim do Tabaco Quay (27.05.13), close to the docked *Columbus 2*, my fellow walker gave me some explanations on the technicalities of mooring, like the specific names the tying ropes (lines) have – *stern line, head line,* forward or after *breast line* -, depending on their position and the angle they form with the ship.

In most ships, closer to tacks, the lines have shield devices (see page 83 on the Photobook) against a non-human living presence not so uncommon in ports, visible mostly late at night, in the quietness of the quays: rats.

Arrival protocols and rituals

The shifting, yet patterned, polyrhythms of cruise calls always go through the stage of clearance procedures upon arrival (after mooring operations have been performed, and a gangway set), and passengers are hold on board until these are complete. This routine differs depending on the local regulations that apply, and the specificity of each country's required authorities, but clearance usually involves the port authority receiving a declaration about the passengers, crew, and goods on board and information relating to the ship's itinerary, as well as goods and passengers joining or leaving the vessel while in port (Gibson, 2006: 80).

In Lisbon, clearance is performed by representatives of the Port Authority, Immigration and Borders Service, Maritime Police, and Customs. Usually a Ship Agent's representative also goes on board to greet the Captain, and exchange/update information regarding the operational requirements of the call, and afterwards keeps following the unfolding of the process in the quays.

In the following time-lapse sequence (link bellow) we can briefly overview some of these regular procedures. But in this case, since it portrays the first call of a given cruise ship in the port of Lisbon, there's the additional presence of journalists.

Time Lapse Series 1 (please play from attached DVD)[63]

Lisbon, Santa Apolónia Jusante Cruise Terminal (TPSAJ), 24.05.2013. Stills from a time-lapse sequence, shot shortly after the arrival of *MS Europa 2*, a vessel in first call and turnaround operations. Before clearance, some local authorities step onboard, while crew members descend from the ship with foldable objects, and assemble a temporary reception setting. The ship agent (man in a blue t-shirt) supervises all the operations taking place in the quay, and slightly in the background some mooring men and port workers check the docking conditions (after an incident with a local fender, in the area between the ship and the quay, followed by some readjustments). In the foreground, a television reporter holding a microphone, accompanied by a camera-men, wait for the passengers to step ashore, heading towards them to interview them, which happens shortly after the local authorities leave the ship and clearance procedures are complete. In the meantime, a press reporter (lady with a pink jacket) and a photographer from *Visão* magazine, which joins her, wander around with other journalists. Being the first call in Lisbon of this luxury cruise ship, media coverage was high. The port authority representative (a lady with an orange T-shirt), remains in the quays after leaving the ship (where she had performed clearance procedures and first call reception rituals), getting in touch with the journalists. Once in a while, the forefront of the frame gets traversed by vehicles, and mooring men, who head further ahead in the quays, where another cruise ship (*Seven Seas Voyager*) is arriving. The wide extension of quays between Santa Apolónia and Jardim do Tabaco was going to host three ships simultaneously on this day – *Hanseatic*, in turnaround operations, had already docked before at the Santa Apolónia Cruise Terminal (TPSA). A local music and performance group (Tuna Académica da

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[63] Also available online: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4kHduAlHHbI

Faculdade de Arquitectura) was supposed to participate in the quay animation and welcoming rituals to ship and passengers, that usually take place during first calls, but this time they didn't show up in time.

First calls of cruise ships in a given port usually are special occasions, marked by additional reception rituals. In Lisbon, for instance, first calls are welcomed with a special celebration, in which the ship's entrance on the river Tagus is escorted by tugboats throwing water jets, and afterwards the ship's captain is offered a commemorative plaque from Port of Lisbon Authority in a ceremony held on board. Generally this ceremony is also accompanied by the greeting of the ship and its passengers and crew' members with a musical (and sometimes also dance) performance on the quays (by a brass band or a folkloric group).

In Dover, the material outcomes of such ritual celebrations, namely the courtesy gifts that cruise ships in first calls offer port authorities, are even brought into cruise terminals and turned into an exhibition, for the passengers to have a look at, if they wish, while they are waiting in the lounge room.

> *John [fake name] proudly showed me the "trophy cabinet", one they move around from one terminal to another, he says, because there's only one, and when there's not much happening it is something that the passengers like to look at. It's a glass cabinet, displaying the unique, because expensive, gifts that cruise ships give to each Port in their first call there. It's a common courtesy ritual. I take a picture of it, he opens the door and passes one to my hand, so that I can see it and photograph it better – this celebrative courtesy gift is a white 3D laser glass 'sculpture' of an AIDA ship inside a glass rectangular block. When I give it back, he then takes out a wooden plaque from a Disney cruise call, one he remembers with particular good feelings, "because all went well, and they were so kind. Plus, Mickey Mouse was jumping around that day." (…) Later on, he smilingly remembered that the baggage from the Disney cruise ship was organized by comics' characters, not by colours as the usual ones.*

[Fieldnotes, Dover, 3rd April 2012]

The routinized rhythms of regular calls then proceed (after clearance) with the passengers heading to their independent visits to the city or, most commonly, organized group excursions. They simply pass through the terminals and exit towards the visited city without additional formalities.

In the meantime, several performances continue to take place, in the quays and terminal areas, while most passengers are already ashore, visiting the city. This is when some crew' members step ashore (or hang on the ship's hull) to perform

cleaning and maintenance operations. And this is when the quays get alive with multiple circulations related with loading and unloading operations – more intense in the case of turnaround operations –, which constitute the subject of the following section.

Logistics

In the logic of economies of scale, the main logistics of the cruise industry is managed from the headquarters of cruise corporations, and supported by key homeports where itineraries begin/end, and to which necessary supplies are usually shipped by container.

In Lisbon, international logistics is noticeable, mostly in turnaround operations. To supply Royal Caribbean cruise ships during transatlantic itineraries, for instance, provisions are sent from the USA in container ships, either directly to the port of Lisbon, or to another convenient European container port (like Rotterdam), and then carried by truck until they reach Lisbon. In transit calls (and on small interporting operations), there aren't many supplies, and occasional needs sometimes resort on local suppliers.

> *"When our transatlantic cruises arrive in Lisbon, they have already passed by some key ports in Italy, which are preferred for the main loadings, because they have agreements with MSC and therefore they get lower prices. They do most loadings in those ports. When the ships arrive to Lisbon, we have in maximum three or four trucks with supplies. (...) We have a contract with a local supplier, and when we need we get in touch with him. (...) We don't have milk on board, ok, we will have to contact our local supplier and load it in Lisbon. (...) On the 10th of August, for instance, we needed lemons. We called our local supplier, he gave us a market price. Ok, he will be able to provide one truck with lemons. Ok, can you also bring some other fruits or vegetables? (...) I've also had a truck with flowers coming from the Netherlands. In MSC they check what is cheaper for them, to send a truck, or to hold on until they stop in another port, closer to the product's origin."*
>
> [Translated excerpt from interview with a member of the Portuguese branch of an international Ship Agent, 22nd August 2013]
>
> *John shows me where the water hose enters the ship. The other end is connected to a tap in front of us, slightly leaking. "- 400 tons/minute", he says. It supplies freshwater to the ship, coming from a Port reservoir up in the cliffs, that collects rainwater. (...) He also talks about*

a resident fuel vessel that supplies the anchored ones, which moves around, switching between the cruise and ferry terminals. A bigger tanker comes (from elsewhere) to supply it, when needed.

[extract from fieldnotes, Dover]

Supply chains thus encompass a wide range of possibilities, circulating at diverse scales: from international movements of containers to regional or local suppliers, or even geographically anchored connections – as it happens in Dover, where rain collected up in the cliffs comes a long way down to the quays to supply freshwater to the docked vessels.

Similarly to what happens in airports, with careful synchronizing of complex chains of actions, which allows for the "aircraft, passengers, crew, baggage, fuel, and catering" to be "at the right place at the right time" (Peters, 2009: 159), synchronization is also required in cruise ports, for the operations to run smoothly. The pace is slower in the last ones, since there's a completely different scale and rhythm of departures. The 'heterogenous order' (*Idem*) of a flight is diverse from that of the sailing of a giant passengers' vessel, each having its own specific protocols, socio-material interactions and technicalities.

Peters's description and analysis of KLM's daily activities in Amsterdam Airport Schiphol are nevertheless insightful to my own work, as they bring forth the distinct materialities, dynamics, and systems of expertise mobilized in aeromobilities (when compared with aquamobilities), but at the same time reveal some resemblances in the ways of articulating multiple chains of actions, through ongoing processes of negotiation. In his own words: "Exchange is what keeps the operation of any given flight going. It comes in several currencies and mediates between the rigid realities of plans, clocks and protocols and a continuous flow of contingencies and everyday problems" (Peters, 2009: 160).

From Peters's account on the airport platform, and the turnaround and loading processes of an aircraft, we can establish an analogy with the role and dynamics of the quays. Both places are performed through multiple circulations (of people, goods, vehicles), standardized (yet adjustable) procedures, diverse supplies, and constant co-ordinations and synchronizations. Like quays, airport platforms are animated by pallets, fork-lifts, baggage, gate agents, team leaders and walkie-talkies. Like quays,

they are hinge areas where the material transitions between the in land and on board environments occur.

But let's refocus on the central aim of this chapter, the peculiarities of cruise aquamobilities' metabolism. If we get closer to the performed timespace of the quays (see series of photographs *Work/Logistics/Technicalities* in the Photobook), specific embodied practices and ways of doing related with loading operations become evident.

Unpacking, piling, or tying loads usually takes place under the supervision of Customs personnel and a representative from the Ship Agent. Loads are taken down from trucks or containers, verified, and then prepared to bridge the gap between the quay and the ship, which requires synchonized articulations between local (port or contracted) workers and onboard crew. Forklifts, cranes, cables, ropes, and pulleys, interweave with workers bodies, voices and gestures, in a cooperative assemblage to safely perform each operation's requirements.

Time Lapse Series 2 (please play from attached DVD)[64]

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[64] Also available online: http://youtu.be/ToR_ebypuVU

Still from a time-lapse sequence depicting logistic operations in a technical turnaround (for workers who were going to perform maintenance and repair operations onboard the *Brilliance of the Seas*). This series allows us to perceive multiple criss-crossed circulations in the quays by Alcântara Cruise Terminal (Lisbon, 23rdApril 2013), for instance: embarking workers, who have already checked-in at the terminal, carrying their suitcases (some helped by trolleys); local stowage workers, helping in the loading operations; several motorized vehicles carrying goods to be loaded onboard, and forklifts which help in loading operations; a mobile crane moving containers from the quay to the ship. Worker's pauses to rest in the shade, or to photograph the ship, are also visible.

Until most passengers start getting back, in the afternoon/evening, supplies are loaded, residuals removed, eventual conservation and repair works (painting, rust removal, etc.) done. Logistics circulations operate mainly in the time interval when most passengers are away from the ship visiting the city, minimizing potential risks inherent to criss-crossings.

But still, passengers' reception setting is staged (and ready to use) soon after disembarkation, and its ephemeral architectures, and controlling staff, share the quays with multiple supply and maintenance dynamics.

Sun, salt and a living river

> "Recent ideas about the role of non-humans, ranging from objects, energies, flora and fauna within an expanded understanding of the social require us to account for the complex array of non-human rhythms that impose upon, exist separately and are entangled with human rhythms. Too often accounts have considered the non-human dimensions of place to be a passive backdrop upon which human activity unfolds. However, places are always becoming, and a human, whether stationary or travelling, is one element in a seething space pulsing with intersecting trajectories and temporalities."
>
> (Edensor, 2010: 7)

Quays are hinge areas, where the sea manifests its presence, from the shifting conditions of tidal variations (requiring constant monitoring and eventual operational adjustments), to the ingrained effects of saline corrosion in ships' hulls, requiring constant maintenance.

Walking together with port workers along the quays, also enhances (through their senses and our interchange of emplaced perceptions) other textures and memories inscribed in our routes. Materially thinking, step by step, under the warm Lisbon late

May sun, the port worker I was walking with highlighted the harshness of the working conditions out of doors some of his colleagues experience, standing for hours in a row under direct solar radiation and heat - like the security officer (subcontracted through a private company) we had just passed by, guarding a fence near a docked military ship, between two cruise ships berthing that same asphalted quay extension we were stepping upon.

Cruise ships themselves are constantly "ravaged by what they float in", as the ocean itself turns out to be "one enormous engine of decay". In David Foster Wallace's words: "seawater corrodes vessels with amazing speed – rusts them, exfoliates paint, strips varnish, dulls shine, coats ships' hulls with barnacles and kelp-clumps and a vague ubiquitous nautical snot that seems like death incarnate" (Wallace, 1997: 263). The influence of the tides furthermore sets its own technicalities and socio-material agencies in motion, as the following excerpts from fieldnotes of my visit to Dover's cruise terminals make visible:

> *(...) From the inside we see the gangway that connects the Terminal to the ships. It's similar to the ones used in airports, but this one is dipped into the water, and has a moving part, to become adjustable to the tides. The tides are a main issue here, John says, since their range is around 6/7 meters.*
>
> *(...) We come down to the Terminal's ground floor, and out into the pier, by the calling cruise ship that day, the Aida Luna. We look at the several yokohamas strategically placed between the ship and the pier. He describes the procedures that structure their placing and their measurements. Once in a while (during the course of our visit) he recalls ships that were more difficult to operate, for instance because of their length and the curved shape of the pier, and tells me some technical details.*
>
> *(...) He talks about the winds that sometimes can become very very strong here, as the port is exposed to the open sea/canal. And so do the tides, when they are changing, creating swirls. There are hours/tide conditions in which the ships are not allowed to enter the port because they can get pushed into the pier. "- These things are made for travelling smoothly over the water, and to save as much fuel as possible" (there are even prizes for the captain if he meets certain fuel consumption targets, he confides complicit). "- They are not ready to face extreme adverse conditions, they don't move as easily as tugs".*
>
> *(...) He talks with a colleague standing up in the gangway, a 50/60 year' old men who smiles at me. "- So are you working today? – he asks; his colleague replies showing a mop, putting it jokingly beneath his legs "- Like Harry Potter!" – and laughs. "- There's always a clown around" – he turns to me, commenting his colleague's behaviour, and then explains that, for security reasons, they always keep two men on the gangway while it is attached to the ship, adjusting itself automatically through electronic sensors and computer coordinated*

movements. If the movements of the tide are too rough, they may cause the detachment of gangway from the ship, and the two men stand there to prevent any passengers from crossing it in case that happens. While they stand there, they occupy themselves with small tasks, like cleaning.

<div align="right">[fieldnotes, Dover, 3rd April 2012]</div>

In Lisbon, while walking in the quays with local workers, the surface beneath our feet speaks back, recalling other presences, with its tire marks, white mottle seagull excrements, cracks in the pavement (from the weather and tidal wear and tear), and deactivated train rails (in the older quays, like Rocha do Conde de Óbidos or Alcântara). Our eyes stroll through our surrounding landscape, entailing thoughts that spread to the past and the future.

Mr. Nascimento told me about his deceased father, who used to say that the river had lost life with the loss of movement of the small embarkations that used to carry goods between both banks, and their respective manual loadings and unloadings with sugar, cod, charcoal, etc. – a lost seething fluvial landscape, which disappeared (back in the 1970's) after the building of the bridge over the Tagus, and with containerization.

Through the eyes of local workers, the expectant terrains (like the already landfilled dock visible in page 13 of the Photobook) where the new cruise terminal is going to be built, the derelict warehouses, old port buildings and ruins waiting to be demolished, and the city, read together from the riverside, acquire further echoes, nuances, and patinas.

These shared places then become coloured by affect and imagination, as when Mr. Fernando recalled how he, as a youngster, had learned to swim by that same quay (Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos), taught by one of his older colleagues. Or when he shared the local (how fictional?) story about a mythical old conger (*Conger conger*), supposedly living in this area of the Tagus, who sometimes intervenes in the (un)docking operations, holding the ships back.

In Lisbon, the idea of the river as a waterway for cruise tourism, emphasized by the port authority and by the local council and the tourist board, focuses on the surface of the river, ignoring all the estuarine life and its circulations – with the entrances and egresses of species that come here to breed and give birth -, running underneath, invisible to our eyes.

Cruise ship promotion and environmental conservation discourses usually don't go side by side (as we've seen previously in this chapter), and so far the potential and actual local environmental impacts in the Tagus – a sensitive Estuarine Natural Reserve - remain unstudied and unspoken.

- *There, we have some fellas fishing cuttlefish.*
- *Where?*
- *There!* [pointing to a small embarkation in the middle of the river]
- *And there is cuttlefish now, at this time of the year, in the Tagus?*
- *Sure there is! Whitemouth croaker and cuttlefish bountifully! (...) And plenty of clams too! But clams are illegal (due to public health issues). Even though they dive and pick up tonnes of them and send them to Spain.*

[Excerpt from conversation with port worker, quays by Santa Apolónia Cruise Terminal, 27th May 2013]

Local workers' sensibility and knowledge alerted me to a whole new ecosystem perspective on the *aquascape* before (and invisible bellow) our eyes, amplifying the range of existing yet unacknowledged interactions, that perhaps further studies might consider. Since environmental impacts from the cruise industry, like pollution, reduced air and water quality, as well as loss of natural habitats have been reported elsewhere (McCarthy, 2003: 344), this expanded (beyond human) reading of present spaces simultaneously prompts us to think ahead, about possible and desirable urban futures.

5.4. Inside Cruise Terminals

Terminals, as we've seen in the previous chapter, are the places where borders are performed, through identity control, screenings and surveillances. In transit calls these constitute the substance of localized performativities: when returning from their visits to the city, who ever wishes to trespass the terminal entrance threshold (passengers or crew/staff members) must prove its connection to the docked cruise ship, and go through the sequenced control and screening system (showing on board card with photograph, X-raying of hand luggage, and passing through the metal detector screening portal). Some cruise terminals also have shopping areas, but much smaller than equivalent duty-free areas in airports.

Passengers and crew/staff members' identities are furthermore double checked before entering the ship: after passing the gangway, there's a ship's security *dispositif,* verifying the matching of the card's barcode with the information displayed on the on board software system, and the person presenting that card. Additionally, sometimes even before the gangway, in the quay, there's already a ship's officer controlling and managing the access to the ship's restricted environment.

Play / Pause

> "On one level, one could say the airport is a meshwork of queues that interoperate at different modalities, tempos and dimensions. It processes series of waitings (for planes to board, for take-off clearance, for baggage to appear on the carousel, for a connecting flight, for taxis) each with its own material architectures, critical protocols and ambient affects."
>
> (Fuller, 2009: 65)

Gillian Fuller (2009: 64) thinks about the airport as a "distribution architecture", which "organizes the chaotic movement of bodies, planes, baggage and bits into sequenced flows through the protocols of store and forward. Stored in the departure lounge, forwarded onto the plane, and stored in the plane that forwards to the next sequence of hold and release."

Queues, waitings, and sequences of hold and release also mark the rhythms of passengers' circulations in and around cruise terminals. Surges of passengers are managed through multiple co-ordinations and socio-material mediations, in order to try to avoid big queues, congestions, and crowd hustle and bustle – which, nevertheless, tend to happen, mostly outside the terminals, before stepping into excursion buses; and inside the terminals, before check-in, in big turnaround operations, or upon re-gatherings after daily visits, before departure. Shore excursions companies, for example, interspace the departure of the tour buses, to interval their coming back too, and prevent passengers from arriving all at the same time to the terminal, after visiting the city and its surroundings.

On the other hand, temporary lounge areas and tensa barriers' lines – used to channel passengers to check-in counters – are generally orchestrated, through embodied human interactions dictating play and pause moments, by local personnel and/or by those in charge of the turnaround operation (either staff from the ship, or contracted shore side services companies). Furthermore, these movements of passengers are in

some cases also managed through sound (like what happens in Barcelona's Palacruceros Terminal, via loudspeaker announcements) – but these and other sonic matters will be the subject of the following chapter.

5.5. Mixed-stages, choreographies and performativities

Jensen (2013: 7) has argued that mobilities are staged and that social interactions should be understood in the light of a 'staging' process. In his *Staging Mobilities* model, this author establishes a division between mobilities staged 'from above' by planning, design, regulations and institutions, and those staged 'from bellow', regarding embodied engagements and social interactions, "acted out, performed and lived as people are 'staging themselves'". The metaphor of 'scenography' is suggested with regards to the first category - physical settings, material spaces and design (staged 'from above') -, while 'choreography' relates to the second (Jensen, 2013: 4-7).

However, my empirical findings regarding cruise aquamobilities point, instead, to more complex and hybrid dynamics. I argue that what Jensen identifies as 'scenographies' (physical settings, material spaces and design) are not something which is set *a priori* and then remains fixed or unchanged, but rather something which unfolds in the processes by which mobilities are performed, mobilizing socio-material assemblages.

In these aquamobilities, institutions actually step down to the ground, through their employees - port workers, or staff from the ship -, into the quays and terminals, to choreograph these mobilities along (and together with) vibrant settings and materialities. These people's bodies (as emplaced institutional' representatives) thus co-participate in the *scenographic apparatus* that orchestrates mobilities. The circulations of passengers are, in fact, performed through multiple socio-material mediations, as the following examples demonstrate: from the workers whose role is to distribute people more evenly through tensa barrier' corridors, in order to manage circulations quicker and more efficiently -; to the security officers standing by metal-detection portals; or, even, in the case of the workers in the port of Dover, who stand in the gangway to manage eventual sudden changes imposed by the tides.

Moreover, scenographies are often themselves mobile and ephemeral, built along with (and indissociable from) choreographies - remember the lollipop as a signalizing and

congregating device in the hands of tour guides, that we've already seen in the last chapter? That's just an example of such hybrid socio-material assemblages that enact aquamobilities performativities (see images in the section *Mixed-stages/Choreographies/Performativities* in the Photobook).

Additionally, Jensen's theorization complexifies Erving Goffman's dramaturgic analysis of social interactions, and his concepts of front and back regions. In Goffman's perspective "the front is the meeting place of the hosts and guests or customers and service persons, and the back is the place where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and to prepare. Examples of back regions are kitchens, boiler rooms, executive washrooms, and examples of front regions are reception offices and parlors" (MacCannell, 1999:92). Goffman further distinguished "those who perform" (with access both to front and back regions) from "those performed to" (appearing only on the front region) (*Idem*).

Jensen proposes instead a 'mobile front staging/back staging' framing, "within which mobile subjects undertake performative work in a process of negotiating 'staged' demarcations of front and back stage as well as 'staging' their own mobile lines of demarcation" (Jensen, 2013: 7).

Extending this line of thought, I argue that in aquamobilities performativities not only such demarcations between front and back stage are dynamic (mobile and negotiable, as Jensen suggests), but moreover both regions are often coexistent, and demarcations between them fade.

Either in the quays, or cruise terminals and their urban extensions, multiple layered stages (or mixed-stages, as I designate them) co-occur, with settings often being prepared by those who perform in front of those performed to, thus mingling back and front regions. This happens, for instance, with the preparation of ephemeral reception settings in the quays (visible in the time lapse series referred to previously in this chapter, and on the attached DVD).

Furthermore, in turnaround or interporting operations (with passengers starting/ending an itinerary at a given port), the distinction between front and back regions is often not spatial, but temporal – an example is the preparation of temporary lounge areas and check-in settings in Lisbon's cruise terminals which takes place inside the terminals, before most passengers enter, as we saw in the previous chapter. This means that what might, according to Goffman's conceptualization, be considered a back region (reserved to staff, and to the preparation of settings), soon – after a time

interval - gets turned into a front one (when passengers start coming in, and interacting with staff, in order to issue their boarding passes, fulfil health questionnaires, etc.). Back regions then eventually become simultaneous micro-spaces within front regions: as when hierarchical superiors give instructions to the workers they are coordinating, by calling them slightly apart. Instead of separate hide away spaces, they are performed in co-presence, simply through slightly secluded interactions between workers, and beyond any strict (or even more flexible and negotiated) spatial demarcations.

Alternatively, I understand mobilities 'stagings' as multiple and composed by several polyrhythmic strands – with specific micro-geographies or shared stages, taking and making place side by side (as time-lapse sequences, and photographic work, articulated with this chapter show).

Inside cruise terminals, for example, the 'assembly lines' that process the streams of passengers, are composed and complemented by parallel interactions and dynamics: in Barcelona's Palacruceros Terminal, for instance, crew and staff members have their own concomitant, yet distinct, path to circulate through the terminal. Similarly, interporting (or partial-turnaround) operations combine the regular interactions and procedures of passengers in transit operations, with the simultaneous, yet diverse, cadences and performativities of check-in activities and processing of luggage.

5.6. Into the city: the pulse of urban change

"There on the square, there is something maritime about the rhythms. Currents traverse the masses. Streams break off, which bring or take away new participants. Some of them go towards the jaw of the monster, which gobbles them down in order quite quickly to throw them back up. The tide invades the immense square, then withdraws: flux and reflux."

(Lefebvre, 2013: 45)

There's a recurrent rhythmic pattern of concentration of excursion buses (plus taxis, and some independent tour providers), outside operating cruise terminals, early in the morning, when the passengers start to leave the ship to visit the city where they are docked and the region's touristic attractions.

Some cruise companies have their own tour guides coming down from the ship and accompanying the passengers on their tours – these excursion groups are sometimes

previously organized on board, and the passengers leave the ship already leaded by their respective guide (holding the distinctive lollipop), and, in some cases, additionally identified with stickers on their shirts.

Excursions can take passengers into the cities' monuments and touristic attractions, or to more faraway places. In case of Lisbon, for example, the geographical range of this cruise ship related spreading out movements can go as far as Sintra, Cascais, Setúbal, or even Fatima (more than 100 km away).

The more distant excursions can last all day-long, while the shorter ones only take half-day, generating another peak of activity in the circulation of buses besides the terminals around lunch time (with some passengers returning to the ship for lunch, where the meals are already included in their holiday package).

The next peak happens in the afternoon and/or evening, upon return of the passengers back to the ship, before she sails out again. Returning excursion buses then to arrive interspersed, so the morning concentration of means of transportation is not repeated. A glimpse on these circulations before the ship departs, can be seen on the following time-lapse series – this video, entitled *Waterscape*, has also been presented at the exhibition *The Future of Art is Urban: Artistic Research Practices and Methods in Social Sciences*[65]*,* at the Enclave, London, 30th May-14th June 2014.

Time Lapse Series 3 (please play from attached DVD)

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[65] http://thefutureofartisurban.weebly.com/

Still from the time-lapse series *Waterscape*, also available at http://youtu.be/zuSa8yXeXQY. Lisbon, overview of Santa Apolónia Cruise Terminal, where *Aidabella* was docked, February 2013. This time-lapse series makes non-human rhythms (clouds, tides and currents for example) more visible, while portraying a sequence of events (namely the interspersed return of excursion buses, dropping out passengers) prior to the departure of the vessel.

It's not only the daily dynamics of cruise terminal's immediate surroundings that become transformed by the inflow of visitors brought by cruise ships – with the frenzy departure and arrival of excursion buses, taxis, informal tour canvassers, pedestrians. These circulations, and their correlate multiple interactions, obviously extend into the everyday life of city centres and local tourist attractions, as next sections show.

Crew Anchors

Less visible, but most likely not less perennial, are the rhythms and transformations introduced by the circulation of staff and crew' members ashore. In 2013, in Lisbon, the presence of crew and staff members ascended to 232.496 (nearly half the number of visiting cruise passengers). Obviously most of them didn't even got out of the docked vessels. However, despite the fact that the "opportunities cruise-ship employees have to disembark from the ship are usually quite scarce" – "only once a week" -, which makes time ashore "valuable to cruise-ship workers" (used, for example, to "telephone friends and family, purchase toiletries and remit money home") (Weaver, 2005b: 177), they sometimes, nevertheless, establish 'more anchored' relationships with the places visited than cruise ship passengers. Since they move along with the ships, which often call regularly at the same ports in the most frequent itineraries, this allows for them to call more frequently than most tourists in some ports, and often to create some regular circulations of their own there.

This is something I had glimpsed during my fieldwork on cruise ship tourism in the port of Lisbon, in 2006, in the context of my MA in Urban Anthropology. Back then, Filipino crew' members were recurrent clients of the *Manila Karaoke* restaurant and supermarket, in a nearly abandoned shopping mall in Alcântara, nearby to the then more intensely used cruise terminals of Rocha do Conde d' Óbidos and Alcântara. The business was run by a former cruise ship crew member, who became a Lisbon

dweller, and his clients were mostly other Filipinos working on cruise ships, during their calls in Lisbon. Given the little time crew' members have ashore, the owner even provided a shuttle service in his white van, between the cruise terminals and the restaurant. By 2013, his business – a Filipino' food restaurant, with karaoke and an annexed shop – has already been relocated, from Alcântara to an area closer to where the new cruise terminal is going to be built (by Jardim do Tabaco/Santa Apolónia), following cruise movements in the city, which are now increasingly frequent in this part of town.

Touristic panacea versus contested presences

Let's now think about how the actual presence of these megaships is perceived in the visited port cities, and how it is affecting everyday life. I suggest that there are several different perspectives, depending on where they come from, and the interests at stake. City councils, tourist boards, port authorities, and local planners and developers, tend to emphasize positive iconic aspects and the potential economic benefits of cruise calls and turnaround operations. This is what happens in Lisbon, for instance, where the economic crisis turns tourism into some sort of panacea. Port discourses and press and TV coverage of special cruise events (like peak days with higher affluence of passengers, or first calls of certain ships) are dominated by a propagandistic tone – with high numbers of cruise tourists taken as a success indicator, and emphasising the money inflows for the port and the city. In Lisbon, the Port Authority is a limited company run with public money, with a board of directors indicated by the government, and working under tutelage of the Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Finance, which makes its perspectives easily instrumentalized by the government, and politically biased.

However, critical voices and local discontents, echoing different perspectives on cruise ship phenomenon, are also getting increasingly heard. In many port cities these massive affluxes are already causing destinations' saturation, with congestions in town centres and access roads (Gui and Russo, 2011: 138; McCarthy, 2003: 344), or even a loss of local quality of life, generating residents' fiery protests (Davis and Marvin, 2004: 205-206).

The urban impacts of these megaships often stretch beyond the places where they dock, and their recurrent presences/transits have significant cumulative effects.

Starting with their colonization of the cities horizons, with their massive volumes spoiling the skylines and the water views.

In Lisbon, the number of cruise calls has been increasing, with an average annual growth of 3% between 2009 (with 294 calls) and 2013 (with 353 calls). In terms of passengers, the average annual growth is around 7%, from 415.700 in 2009, to 558.040 in 2013 (further data can be found on Annex IV). The average daily number of cruise passengers in the port of Lisbon in 2013 was 1.972[66]. In peak days, in which Lisbon can currently host up to five cruise ships at a time, this afflux of visitors has already reached 18.000 people (part of which are crew and staff members).

Several recent press articles[67], for example, demonstrate how Lisbon is being transformed by these recurrent transient presences (which add to other existing touristic movements, and tourist propelled gentrification in the city), giving voice to local residents, who express their concerns over the historical centre being turned into some sort of 'theme park' for tourists. Not only everyday commerce prices there are rising, as tourist oriented stores (selling *souvenirs*) spread, and tourist circulations collide with residents needs and expectations through multiple nuisances: noise, traffic jams, hassle, disrespectful occupation of public spaces, invasion by pedestrians, buses, *tuk tuks* and segways, etc..

This is not surprising. As a speculative exercise, if we account for the resident population of Lisbon's historical centre, considering the three current *freguesias* (smallest local administrative units) of Santa Maria Maior (12.765), Misericórdia (13.041) and São Vicente (15.399)[68], the total is of 41.205 inhabitants. Roughly, this

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[66] According to the 2013 Cruise Activity Report of the Port of Lisbon, available online here:
http://www.portodelisboa.pt/portal/page/portal/PORTAL_PORTO_LISBOA/CRUZEIROS/ESTATIST
ICAS/tr%E1fego%20de%20cruzeiros_relat%F3rio%20de%20atividade_2013_portal.pdf

[67] Like these: http://publico.pt/economia/noticia/o-bezerro-de-ouro-1636868, http://www.publico.pt/portugal/noticia/a-turistificacao-de-lisboa-e-porto-ainda-pode-crescer-1668034, http://ocorvo.pt/2014/06/19/da-airbnbizacao-de-alfama/, http://www.publico.pt/local-lisboa/jornal/fetiches-historicos-26301298 .

[68] Data from the 2011 CENSUS, available in the municipality's website (http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/municipio/juntas-de-freguesia). These three Lisbon's downtown *freguesias*, result from the 2013 local government reforms, aggregating former "civil parishes", as follows: 1) Santa Maria Maior (1,49km2) - Santa Justa, São Nicolau, Castelo, Sé, Madalena, São Miguel, Santo Estêvão, São Cristóvão e São Lourenço, Socorro, Santiago, Mártires, and Sacramento; 2) Misericórdia (1,11km2) -

means that on a single peak day, incoming cruise passengers represent an extra affluence of more than 1/3 of the city centre's population. Of course not all days are peak days, and not all cruise visitors stay around this area, but this gives an overall idea of the scale and potential impacts of these events.

Henceforth, this situation will quite probably worse, given the ongoing (and publicly anticipated) project of the new cruise terminal, with which the Port Authority of Lisbon intends to double the current traffic of 550.000 passengers/year in the medium term. The new cruise terminal – with prevision to begin being built in January 2015 and to be operational by 2016 - is expected to provide the port with an estimated 1.8 million passengers, and to support the growth of turnaround operations.

Urban politics, and questions like whom is the city being planned for, and how these processes unfold and articulate (or not) with existing urban fabric and with local citizens and city users, arise. In Lisbon, for instance, general claims regarding the need for the city council to promote expert groups and public' discussions on touristic growth, as well as particular demands, for example on the need to regulate the local circulation of *tuk tuk* vehicles, multiply[69].

While in Lisbon local contestations are just beginning to get heard through the media, in other cases, like Venice - where in 2013, the number of passengers ascended to 1.815.823, with 548 cruise calls[70], around the triple of the one registered in Lisbon -, they have already propelled social movements against these "big ships". The following section brings forward these contestations echoing throughout Venice.

An account from Venice

Even though Venice was not included in my empirical research, it is worth of notice as an emblematic case of a city where the presence of cruise ships is increasingly

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Encarnação, Santa Catarina, São Paulo, and Mercês; and 3) São Vicente (1,25km2) - São Vicente de Fora, Graça, and Santa Engrácia.

[69] See, for example: http://www.publico.pt/portugal/noticia/a-turistificacao-de-lisboa-e-porto-ainda-pode-crescer-1668034, http://ocorvo.pt/2014/07/09/pressionada-pelos-taxistas-camara-de-lisboa-vai-por-ordem-nos-tuk-tuk/.

[70] According to data from the Association of Mediterranean Cruise Ports – MedCruise -, available online: http://www.medcruise.com/port/532/venice/information.

unwelcomed. Their contested massive impacts can act as a warning against the excessive growth of cruise ship tourism, and/or the un-acknowledgement of local populations.

In this city that may be, "for its size and population, the most touristed city on the planet", "these monsters promise to transform completely the whole relationship of the ancient city to the postmodern world of tourism" (Davis and Marvin, 2004: 1; 204). "As they pass, such ships seem to rip the visual fabric of the city apart", recalling an apocalyptic landing of an alien spaceship, with "citizens fleeing in terror, phones ceasing to work, television signals interrupted, gondolas plunging wildly in our wash, minor canals drained" by their monstrous gravitational pull (Davis and Marvin, 2004: 204-205). Worryingly though, this fantastic evocation contains nuggets of truth. As the port of Venice "has risen to be the most important in the Mediterranean for the cruising industry", the presence of these vast floating hotels is intruding "ever more insistently into the lives and even the homes" of the Venetians, so much that the vociferous "No Big Ships" social movement is becoming more and more popular (Cocks, 2013; Davis and Marvin, 2004: 205-206). The negative impacts of these big ships can range from "blotting out the view, polluting the air, shaking the houses, and displacing water up into the canals off the Giudecca", to other more subtle but no less annoying acoustic and electromagnetic disturbances (Cocks, 2013).

A single big ship is "able to dump upward of twenty-five hundred passengers – the equivalent of around fifty tour buses – onto the city in the space of just an hour", and in one single day Venice can now take eight ships at a time. "To help the customers maximize their Venetian time, getting them as quickly as possible to the shops and sights at San Marco, the big ships employ dozens of *lancioni* to shuttle back and forth from their berths, sending them up the Giudecca and "transforming… that canal in a kind of autodrome for tourist motorboats, each one uglier than the last." Even when they themselves are tucked away in their slips and their giant engines stopped, these cruising hotels thus still make their contribution to the *moto ondoso*[71]" (Davis and Marvin, 2004: 204).

Furthermore, the massive systems of power and technology (including air conditioning), that the cruise lines have had resort to, in order to ensure their

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[71] With the city's normally placid waters turning into tumultuous ones, and acting as a "continual battering ram against its crumbling palaces and quays" (Davis and Marvin, 2004: 206).

passengers' fantasies, comfort, and isolation, are simultaneously tormenting the local residents with a continuous booming and buzzing [causing] the windows [to] vibrate constantly. When a big cruise ship docks overnight at Riva dei Sette Martiri - an anchorage nearer to San Marco where these ships continue to tie up, despite having the facilities of the Port of Venice -, the noises and vibrations that one notices distractedly during the day can become hammering and unbearable at night for those who actually live facing out onto the Riva. And "as if all that were not enough, the huge electrical implants of such ships send normal electronic appliances completely haywire, such that there is "the aggravation that, if you can't manage to sleep, you can't even distract yourself with the TV, seeing that the reception becomes terrible." (Davis and Marvin, 2004: 205-206)

Long-term effects

Adding to the cumulative effects and transformative rhythms of the recurrent ephemeral presences of cruise passengers in the places visited, projects like new cruise terminals add long-term changes in the built environment and catalyse further social transformations in the waterfronts.

Architectural image from the regeneration project to take place at Enderby Wharf, in the London Borough of Greenwich. Together with the a newly built International Cruise Liner Terminal, the project includes "251 bedroom hotel, 770 luxury townhouses and apartments, business and commercial accommodation and the provision of a new river bus pier serving the site from the River Thames".
Source: http://www.westproperties.co.uk/portfolio_greenwich.html

Furthermore, the development of new cruise terminals is often interrelated with broader regeneration and gentrification processes, as in the case of the one projected to London (image above), which also integrates a hotel and hundreds of new luxury townhouses and apartments. Similar concerns, regarding how cruise-terminal related waterfront redevelopments often fail to address social and economic problems of port cities, failing to incorporate rigorous enough requirements for community benefits, catering primarily for visitors than local people, have also been signalled in other ports, like Valletta, Malta (McCarthy, 2003: 348).

Additionally, if we take into account broader time-scales, it's important to notice that most of these interventions in the waterfront (often quite near the water edge of cities) are short-sighted (as noted by Cocks, 2013, regarding Venice), as they tend to absolutely ignore climate change and expected sea level rises - between 26 and 82 cm by the end of the century -, and consequent submergences and coastal flooding (IPCC, 2014: 63).

5.7. Conclusions

Approaching the encounters between cruise ships and the places visited, and trying to grasp their multiple rhythms and complex interactions, through the lens of sensory ethnography and experimental methods, has both enliven and expanded the scope of actions and interveners usually considered in such networks (as those identified by Gui and Russo, 2011: 133, in the diagram presented in this chapter).

As a result of my own fieldwork' encounters and exchanges, the dynamics that enact and enliven cruise terminals and their environments are now understood as polyrhythmic socio-material assemblages, intertwining specific embodied knowledge with watercraft' technicalities and articulated procedures. On one hand, my analysis foregrounds the regularities within aquamobilities' common practices – from the way daily operations in the quays and terminals unfold, including the peak moments of circulation of passengers, to the seasonal peaks of cruise activity, or the ritualized procedures of special occasions (like first calls of a cruise ship at a given port). On the other, attention is given to how these are punctuated by (and closely articulated with) the cosmic rhythms of the sun and the sea, and simultaneously influenced by the (often) unpredictable variations imposed by the sea and the weather.

Further human participants and socio-material interactions were then made visible: for instance regarding the activity of pilots, mooring-men, local authorities, journalists, or crew' members and their social moorings ashore. As were other temporal and spatial scales of interaction – from the reservation of berths by ship agents, around two years before the actual cruise ship call, to their mediation of local supplies in articulation with regional offices of the cruise company.

Here, attention was also given to the experiences of local port workers and, through their voices, other senses of time and place emerged. From the forced immobility of some of them - unwittingly tied to their jobs by current socio-economic contingencies -, to the harsh working conditions of long hours exposed to the weather in the quays. To those who, day after day, year after year, witness the changes in the port and maritime activity of the cities, cruise ships' contemporary transiences loose meaning, from the time-frame of their experiences, memories, affects, and imaginations triggered by the sea and its relationship with the city.

The importance of the river as an ecosystem, or the corrosive power of salt, demanding constant onshore maintenance of vessels, for instance, were brought to light by those who partake in cruise activity by performing work. Wider entangled human and material agencies, and long-term connections and processes, beyond the current historically or geographically situated ones, are thus cast back into how we can perceive these encounters between cruise ships and the places visited.

This kind of metabolic imagination, foregrounds broader socio-material dynamics (and also the possible impacts – from water and air pollution related with cruise ships, for example), while the multidimensional, polyrhythmic, open, and becoming character of these transition places (around cruise terminals) gets emphasized.

Further conclusions arise, by thinking through the diverse circulations of people and supplies within and around cruise terminals, in comparison to those happening in airports. First, similarly to what happens with the exchanges taking place in airport platforms (between land and the aircrafts), the exchanges taking place in the quays (with vessels), also require specific protocols and socio-material interactions, as well as peculiar systems of expertise, multiple co-ordinations, and careful synchronizations, in the course of boarding/disembarking, or loading/unloading operations (Peters, 2009). Some materialities are even shared in both places, like pallets, fork-lifts, or walkie-talkies. However, the scale and rhythms of cruise aquamobilities are quite different from those in aeromobilities. As mentioned in

chapter 4, the size and specific maintenance/repair requirements of the vessels themselves are quite diverse, and circulating through air (and landing and taking-off) is technically very distinct from circulating through water (and mooring/unmooring). Moreover, on what concerns aquamobilities, bridging over the gap between the aquatic and the terrestrial environment creates further difficulties in these hinge areas, and demands additional synchronizations and embodied skills, given the constantly mutable characteristics of the water (due to currents, tides, and unexpected weather influences).

It is also possible to think about cruise terminals and their immediacies as 'distribution architectures' (as Fuller, 2009, suggests regarding airports), with their own "protocols of store and forward", and their sequences of hold and release (of bodies, supplies, baggage), queues and occasional congestions in the circulation of passengers, pauses alternating with movements. Again, aquamobilities have their own specificities, either in the scale and rhythm of those circulations (with shore excursions of passengers intrinsically shaping their patterns), or in the particular technicalities and socio-material mediations, which perform and manage them.

Furthermore, in the light of my ethnographic findings, I problematize Jensen's *Staging Mobilities* model, and its distinction between scenographies and choreographies, front and back regions (Jensen, 2013). The idea of socio-material assemblages (with imbricated and processual scenographies and choreographies, objects and bodies) seems more appropriate to how aquamobilites' mediations and performativities unfold. And, as time lapse series and the photographic sections articulated with this chapter demonstrate, these performativities suggest rather that there are mutable co-existent multi-layered stages (or mixed stages), with diverse simultaneous (or even shared) "front" and "back" regions.

Lastly, this chapter calls attention to wider urban impacts and transformations that the recurrent (and growing) presence of cruise ships and their passengers induce in the places visited.

Chapter 6

Sonic imaginations and performativities

"The special sense of a city maybe no longer is given by tower-clocks and church-bells – by sounds, that is, which tell time – but rather by those that tell motion. The peculiar sounds of transit are the signature tunes of modern cities. These are sounds that remind us that the city is a sort of machine. The diesel stammer of London taxis, the wheeze of its buses. The clatter of the Melbourne tram. The two-stroke sputter of Rome. The note that sounds as the doors shut on the Paris metro, and the flick, flick, flick of the handles. The many sirens of different cities."

(Benjamin, 1928: 132, quoted in Tonkiss, 2003: 306)

"How many of the sounds in everyday life existed ten years ago? Twenty? Thirty? Fifty? That's just the sounds – but what of the contexts in which they happen, the ways of hearing and not-hearing attached to them, the practices, people and institutions associated with them?"

(Sterne, 2012: 1)

6.1. Introduction

It was not just the XIXth century villages that were sonically framed by acoustic signals – like church bells, which "prescribed an auditory space" with an "emotional impact", creating "a territorial identity for individuals living in range of its sound", through "public announcements, alarms, or commands" (Corbin, 2003: 117-118). In contemporary cities, sound continues to be present and significant "for people's everyday spatial and symbolic orientation" (Pinch and Bijsterveld, 2012: 12).

In many communities, church bells, or muezzin's calls for prayer from mosques' minarets, still hold assembly power. But many other *sound signals* – "sounds that stand out clearly against the ambiance background noise" – still act (more or less subtly) as "reminders of the dominant institutions of the community", and are "reflective of its social and economic base" (Truax, 2001: 67; 69). This author points out, for instance, how "the shift whistle of a factory may mark the time to go to work for an employee, but it may simply be a subtle reminder of an important economic

institution in the community for someone with no other connection to it" (Truax, 2001: 69).

Public sonic announcements are also quite common across transportation systems, playing diverse roles in managing mobilities' crisscrossing of multiple transits. These kinds of acoustic prompts or warnings (as the examples bellow show) are quite common in our everyday life, as commuters or travellers. So common, we don't seem to notice them anymore, taken for granted within the urban metabolism. Yet, their overlooked roles in marking and catalysing rhythms and movements, in sorting passengers and managing crowds, might be worthy of sociological attention.

I hope I have the chance to develop these issues further elsewhere, but for now I'll just leave this brief mention, as they lie beyond the scope of this thesis. From memory, for instance, I recall similar audio messages, intentionally meant to inform and/or drive passengers' behaviours, from London's train and tube coaches:

- *Attention, doors closing.*
- *Attention, doors opening.*
- *Mind the gap.*
- *The next stop is…*

Complemented by multiple messages in transportation terminals, such as the following, transcribed from recordings belonging to my own sound archives:

- *Caution, you are approaching the end of the escalator…* (automated recorded voice, activated through sensors, upon the presence of passers-by, in the interface between the Railway station and Gatwick airport).
- *The train now approaching platform C is the 11:39 Southeastern service to Hays"* shortly afterwards followed by: *"The train now standing at platform C is the 11:39 Southeastern service to Hays, calling at St. Johns,…* (woman's voice, broadcasted via loudspeakers, New Cross Railway Station).
- *You are reminded not to leave any luggage unattended at any time…* (man's voice, widespread through loudspeakers, Gatwick Airport Railway Station)

What can we further learn about contemporary port cities and cruise aquamobilities through sound?

This chapter adds a sonic dimension to the materialities and sociabilities dealt with in in Chapters 4 and 5, drawing on the practice of an *attentive*, *deep*, *open*, and *active* listening[72], and on the analysis of my own field recordings.

My aim here is double: in one ear, to bring into attention the sonic atmospheres of ports and waterfronts as urban edge environments and the imaginations they foster; in the other, to think through the aural matters and performativities of contemporary cruise aquamobilities.

More broadly, I'm interested in further understanding the social roles of sound in urban dynamics, and in exploring the methodological potentials of aural textures in social sciences and humanities research. This chapter thinks through sound's ability to both disclose and convey a heightened sense of spatialities, temporalities and practices of everyday life in port cities, particularly around and within cruise terminals.

Here I'm considering not only the aspects of "acoustic communication" (in Barry Truax's terms, involving sound from a human perspective, and interlocking sound, the listener, and the environment as "a system of relationships", "where everything interacts with everything else", Truax, 2001: xvii-xix), but also how other material and natural existences, rhythms, and interactions are foregrounded in and through sound.

This chapter includes a selection of recorded fragments, which are either audible online, or through the attached DVD. They lay at the heart of the chapter's rhetoric, through their evocative and insightful sonic contents, which no words could translate. The listener can chose to listen to them when they are referred to along the text, or right away before reading this chapter. To listen to the audio files included in this chapter, I strongly recommend the use of headphones and the adjustment of the volume to your auditory comfort. These aural tracks are accompanied by brief contextual notes, which do not intent to narrow, nor replace, an engaged listening.

This chapter is structured as follows: after the introduction, there is a section on the practice of listening, capturing, analysing and conveying sound. Then, there are three main sections, beginning with a general reflection on contemporary aural

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[72] Back, 2012: 253; Bull and Back, 2003: 3; Shafer, 2003: 25; Drever, 2009: 43; Truax, 2001: xviii.

environments in post-industrial port cities and their waterfronts, secondly analysing some specific sonic aspects of cruise ship aquamobilities in the quays and outdoor urban environments, and finally focusing on cruise terminals' indoor soundscapes.

Given the sensory overload of urban environments, abundant in multiple stimuli and constantly immersed in a "roar of noise" (except eventually late at night), dominated by transport vehicles, construction works, and everyday buzz, most urbanites adapt self-defensively by getting desensitized (Landry, 2006: 52; Truax, 2001: 87). An adaptive *blasé* attitude Simmel had already thought about, back in 1902, in his text "The Metropolis and Mental Life". The task of casting back attention to sound in urban environments, through listening as engaged hearing, therefore requires an extra effort, including by social scientists, in order to be able "to notice that which is looked past and take seriously the soundtrack of the social background" (Back, 2012: 253, referring to the lessons provided by Murray Schafer's seminal book *Tuning the World*, 1977).

Sound is here understood as a slower pace method, since listening is qualitatively a different experience than watching, requiring a different type of attention (Back, 2012: 253; Gershon, 2013: 3). The process of setting a perceptual frame – the choice of what to draw attention to - when hearing, is different from the one when seeing. While vision drifts across space, between fields and relevant chosen points of view spatially situated, hearing is usually a more involving, ubiquitous and unintentional experience:

> "Sight isolates, sound incorporates. Whereas sight situates the observer outside what he views, at a distance, sound pours into the hearer ... Vision comes to a human being from one direction at a time ... When I hear, however, I gather sound from every direction at once: I am at the centre of my auditory world, which envelops me, establishing me at a kind of core of sensation and existence... You can immerse yourself in hearing, in sound. There is no way to immerse yourself similarly in sight."
>
> (Ong, 1982: 82, quoted in Ingold, 2005: 98)

With sound "the body itself operates as a resonance chamber that vibrates to the stimulation of its immediate surroundings" (Thibaud, 2011). Tim Ingold, therefore, suggests that the phenomenon of sound would be better understood through meteorological metaphors than by landscape ones, arguing against the concept of soundscape (2011: 136-139). He considers "ill-advised to assimilate the experience"

of sound "to a landscape perspective", understanding it rather as a quality of sensory experience, as a phenomenon "of the weather-world", which belongs "to the fluxes of the medium, not to the conformation of surfaces". In his words: "there is something oxymoronic about compounds that couple the currents of sensory awareness with a regime, implicit in the modernist equation of scape with the scopic, which reduces such currents to vectors of projection in the conversion of objects into images" (Ingold, 2011: 134).

To other authors, however, the notion of soundscape is still valid since, for them, both soundscapes and landscapes are understood as relational, open, co-constructed, contextually and culturally informed (Feld, 2003: 226, referring to Casey, 1996; Thompson, 2002, quoted in Drever, 2009: 38). Barry Truax (2001: 11), for instance, uses the term soundscape "to put the emphasis on how that environment is understood by those living within it - the people who are in fact creating it", presupposing an active and engaged role of the listener in "a dynamic system of information exchange". In Truax's perspective, "a sound means something partly because of what produces it, but mainly because of the circumstances under which it is heard" (2001: xviii).

Soundscapes in this thesis are then understood as aural relationships, and sounds as socio-culturally constructed, which means that as modes of representation, sounds are as incomplete or manipulable as images or other any other kind of representation (Gershon, 2013: 3).

6.2. On the practice of listening, capturing, analysing and conveying sound

So far, there haven't been many sociologists who include the practice of doing field recordings in their research, I felt, therefore, the need to include a section in this chapter, where I foreground some of the difficulties and pleasures, as well as methodological potentials, that this approach entails. In order to better unfold the specificities of field recording, in this section, along with my personal account, I resort on excerpts of interviews with contemporary sound artists, drawn from Lane and Carlyle's book *In the field: The Art of Field Recording* (2013).

In my perspective, to account for the process of using sound in the production of sociological knowledge, means that there are several stages to be considered:

1) Listening practices;

2) Doing sound recordings;

3) Storing/Archiving;

4) Re-listening / Logging / Selecting / Editing / Analysing;

5) Sharing / Communicating.

I'll briefly go through each of these (in practice often intertwined) aspects now.

1) *Listening practices*

Cultivating an engaged sonic awareness, has been part of my sensory ethnographic approach, since the beginning of this PhD research. In my case, attentive listening was motivated both by aesthetic and scientific quests, and practiced in the course of field work with participant observation and sensory walks, which took place in urban streets and public places and in port restricted access' areas.

My sonic journeys happened both through still and mobile experiences, sometimes simply with naked ears, others geared with recording equipment[73] - acting as an extension of my multisensory body -, which completely transforms the listening, simultaneously filtering and enhancing it.

Most of my acoustic explorations on the move took the form of *listening walks* – simple walks "with a concentration on listening", according to Murray Schafer's terminology (Schafer, 1994: 213, quoted in Drever, 2009: 39-40). Sporadically, however, they came closer to what Schafer designates instead as *soundwalks* – which, besides listening, involve explorations of the soundscape of a given area, using a score as a guide, through "ear training exercises", and eventual intentional "sound making", to promote an awareness "of one's own sounds (voice, footsteps, etc.) in the environmental context" (*Idem*), meaning there is an "active role" of the participant, shifting from a mere "audience member" to that of a "composer-performer" (Drever, 2009: 39-40, referring to Shafer 1994: 231 and Truax, 1999).

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[73] Namely, with a *Zoom H4n* Digital Sound Recorder (often covered with a wind-shield), occasionally coupled (through a cable) with a *HTDZ HT-81* Uni-Directional Microphone, *Creative* basic in-ear Headphones, and rechargeable AA batteries.

However, when listening while recording, I've tried most of the times to remain absent, acting more like an inaudible mediator between a given place/situation and future listeners.

> "Field recording is about standing still, listening and becoming present to what is occurring in a way that I don't get with any other approach. Field recording and listening are so key to understanding the physical world, the materiality of a place, the surfaces that surround you, the textures, the size and dimensions… So, with field recording my immediate associations are of my body, the feeling of the recorder in my hand, the sensation of sound in my ears, the feeling of almost trying not to swallow so that I do not interrupt what it is I am trying to hear."
>
> (Felicity Ford, interviewed by Angus Carlyle, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 87)

2) *Doing sound recordings*

In my practice, I can distinguish two types of recordings: the ones made after one (or several) previous naked listening engagements, like when you witness something that captivates your sonic attention, and you think to yourself - *I must record this*! -; and the other, longer recorded *sonic drifts*, when you simply just start recording and keep it "rolling" (throughout the course of a witnessed event, or a listening walk), and let yourself be surprised by whatever sounds that come along.

The process of capturing sound has its own technicalities and whims, as the following accounts show:

> "The technology is important in giving a particular result, if you're interested in capturing atmosphere its better to use omnidirectional microphones, whereas if you want specific sounds you're better off with a directional microphone. It depends on the weather as well (…)."
>
> (Peter Cusack, interviewed by Cathy Lane, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 193)

> "Recordings are about chance and, as such, improvisation is very much at the heart of how I record. Sometimes I even take recordings off a camera but, irrespective of any 'sound quality', what is important about some of those recordings is the emotions and feelings they convey."
>
> (Davide Tidoni, interviewed by Angus Carlyle, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 77, emphasis in the original)

In some cases I also felt that my recording equipment was inadequate, and unable to provide good sound captures in outdoor environments – like when trying to record ship's announcements from the distance of the quays, in which a good long range unidirectional microphone with a fluffy wind shield would be a better option than the one I've used for that purpose (a cheap *HTDZ HT-81,* with a sponge cover). But I've tried my best, in gathering evocative and insightful sonic fragments with the gear I had available.

The act of field recording is also performative, incorporating playful aspects in the relationship between the recordist and his/her surrounding context, at times catalysing curiosities from, and even further interactions with, co-present people. There's an undeniable physicality to it, from the way you play with distances to sound sources, and how that translates into acoustic changes, to the way you move your body in order to be (or to avoid being) present in the recordings.

> "I started becoming very interested in spatiality and the obvious difference between the studio and the outside world, outside is bigger so there's distance and sounds that move, that are above or at the side and that interested me very much."
>
> (Peter Cusack, interviewed by Cathy Lane, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 191)

> "(…) recording for me includes a certain level of attention for gestures and movements which are in dialogue with the space and dramaturgically interact with the context.
> I also use microphone and recording equipment in a scenographic way, as objects to play with, things with their own set of distinctive properties, affordances and constraints (...). So there's another layer that interests me and that goes beyond recording in itself. What fascinates me most is the situated relational process I enact on the field through listening. It's basically about what I can do together with a certain sound in a certain situation. A sort of performance that embeds immediacy, curiosity and physicality."
>
> (Davide Tidoni, interviewed by Angus Carlyle, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 77)

3) *Storing/Archiving*

There's a moment (ideally shortly after recording), when it's necessary to transfer sound files from the recorder to another storage device (computer, external hard drive, etc.), since good quality digital sound files generally are heavy ones.

This requires (similarly to what happen with organizing images), certain archival procedures, like cataloguing files with date and location of the recording. This facilitates further criss-crossing with other research materials (field notes, photographs, etc.).

Additional logging, with more or less detailed content description, can be made at this stage, upon memory, or by listening back to the recorded files.

4) Re-listening / Logging / Selecting / Editing / Analysing (not necessarily in this order)

Going through sound files is not as immediate as strolling through images – listening back, at regular speed, requires the same amount of time of the sound recording duration (as sound is real-time synchronous), and logging often requires going back and forth while noting time-codes attached to a certain content, in order to prepare following selection and editing stages.

At the re-listening stage, sometimes frustration happens (unfortunately more than would be desirable), when you realize producing good sound recordings may not be as easy as it would seem. The sound quality, or range, can be less than expected, a mismatch between the actual recording and your memory of being in that place/situation, or unexpected unpleasant interferences (quite frequent in outdoor environments, like wind grating on the microphones, for example), can (and do) occur.

Moreover, recordings somehow flatten the multidimensionality of the sonic experience. Listening to a recording (even if it as really good one) will invariably cut out the *in loco* vibrations that you can sensate and "listen" with your all body.

> "When I started doing environmental recordings I realized that they sounded very different to what I heard when I was recording and that the recording was in some way deficient, it represented an extremely rich reality but not the same one that I perceived when I was there listening."
>
> (Francisco Lópes, interviewed by Cathy Lane, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 101)

The good thing is that sonic serendipity also happens, and some aural complexities, layered textures, and lucky surprises, also reveal themselves when listening back to recordings.

Analysis and selection processes go hand in hand with re-listening, and depend on the purposes (and audiences) meant for the sound recordings. Choices can be more analytical or intuitively driven, attending to richness, uniqueness, or representativeness of content, aural sharpness (or fuzziness), aesthetical singularity, evocative qualities, etc..

> "*What do you look for in a recording, what makes it good or interesting to you?*
> Partly content, if it's an interesting place or event then the sound of the atmosphere or what's going is something that attracts me and my recording has become far more documentary as I've gone on. However I also do come across sonically interesting things when I don't expect it."
>
> (Peter Cusack, interviewed by Cathy Lane, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 191-192)

> "When I am recording, I don't record as a job or as part of a career path, I record for purely personal interest, I record because I like the sound of something. But when it comes to deciding, as I listen back, which of those recordings might work in a wider, more public context, I tend to select those recordings which are ones that, to my ear, capture the experience of recording in that space."
>
> (Jez Riley French, interviewed by Angus Carlyle, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 161)

Regarding editing, in my case, given my research driven intents, aesthetically inspired, but documentary focused, I've chosen to do minimal editing, without transforming the original sound files, apart from cropping in order to extract the sonic fragments I considered most interesting, converting mono files to stereo ones, setting fade ins and fade outs, and doing occasional volume adjustments – with the help of *Audacity* free software (version 2.0.6.)[74].

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[74] Some quality losses may derive from these processes, since the original sound files are imported, exported, and eventually converted into different formats, for instance in order to be made publicly accessible online.

5) *Sharing / Communicating*

> ""Listen to this. It is fantastic!" But if I can't be there in person – say it is installed in a gallery space – the audience's listening experience is completely different.
>
> (…) nine times out of then when I present work in public, it might not communicate what I wanted to say about the original place of the recording, but the one time out of ten that it does succeed is perhaps enough."
>
> <div align="right">(Jez Riley French, interviewed by Angus Carlyle, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 162)</div>

On what concerns academic audiences, sound can be used along texts and other materials (photographs, etc.), adding distinct layers of meaning, even if the existing examples aren't abundant – Lyon and Back's study (2012), and some works published on the Journal of Sonic Studies (like Thibaud, 2011, or Truax, 2013) are of the few I know.

Furthermore, sound recordings can reach audiences beyond academia, through sonic compositions and/or resonating installations, radio programs, or public sound archives, for example, bringing joy, engagement, and playfulness not only to the processes of generating knowledge, but also when it comes to its wider circulation. Sounds can then become sensory tools to stimulate collective memories and imaginations, social awareness and political engagement, towards better futures and urban quality of life.

6.3. Listening to the post-industrial port-city

> "If you are near a port, sounds seem to emerge from the bowels of the hulls of ships. Add to this the deeply pitched vibrations of heavy containers clanging and juddering on to the ground. The sound is paced and measured in ports; heavy machines don't zip about, although the agile forklifts can dart about like ants. The sense of slow movement is inflected by our knowledge of port activities. The noise of the industry has largely left cities whose economies are now based more on service industries and at whose edges the noise is trapped in large industrial sheds."
>
> <div align="right">(Landry, 2006: 56)</div>

This section focuses on the overall sonic atmospheres of contemporary urban waterfronts in post-industrial port cities. It is anchored in listening exercises and sound recordings in open air' environments from my passages through Tilbury and

Dover, and from my fieldwork in Barcelona, and mostly in Lisbon. My aural approach to these places was made in the spirit of Lefebvre's rhythmanalyst, listening to waterfront areas, quays and immediacies of cruise terminals as if listening to a symphony (Lefebvre, 2013: 32).

As Lefebvre puts it (2013: 70), "time-space-energy", are the "three terms are necessary for describing and analysing cosmological reality. No single one suffices, nor any single term-to-term opposition. Time and space without energy remain inert in the incomplete concept. Energy animates, reconnects, renders time and space conflictual." Sound, through the acoustic energies and colorations it carries, can thus help us to disclose, document, and express the multiple and complex interactions which compose and animate urban atmospheres.

Every sound is the product of an interaction, being "a series of energy transfers from source to listener" (Truax, 2001: xix). *Acoustic colorations* foster a "sense of place" and scale for the listeners (Wrightson, 2000: 11), since "the sound arriving at the ear is the analogue of the current state of the physical environment, because as the wave travels, it is charged by each interaction with the environment" (Truax, 2001: 17). Sound behaviour, or resonance – "how much sound energy is reflected, absorbed, or transmitted with each interaction" - is, then, affected both by the weather and by geographical features (topography, the presence or absence of vegetation, the presence of bodies of water), as well as by urban planning and architectural ones (the layout and materials used in the built environment, and if indoors, the reverberant quality of the space, the style of the building, and the amount of insulation between rooms) (Truax, 2001: 69-70).

As Thibaud (2011) suggests: "Any ambiance involves at once the characteristics of the built environment, the way people live, behave and interact but also the impact of the weather and the growing presence of technology. Those components are diverse and heterogeneous. If each sense relates to all those variables to a certain extent, I contend that sound is perhaps the most likely to incorporate, assimilate and weave them all together." Through sound, I argue, rhythms, movements, unfolding actions, people's practices, non-human presences and agencies, and the specificities of each place and moment, can thus be better grasped, re-listened to, and shared (listen to, and watch, Video-clip 1 – which sonically foregrounds an unexpected material agency).

Urban waterfronts share some common sonic features, given the undulated harmonies of tides and waves, and the soothing effects of rhythmic bodies of water, which may be traced back to our embodied pre-natal existence, as Anne Lockwood suggests:

> "I was also investigating why water sources are so magnetic for us other than the obvious fact that we start life in amniotic fluid and I began to think it's a combination of the brain being engaged by the constantly changing details in the texture of moving water combined with the apparent overall repetition. It's not quite repetition but feels like it. So the body is relaxed by repetition but the brain remains engaged because of the details."
>
> (Anne Lockwood, interviewed by Cathy Lane, in Lane and Carlyle, 2013: 31)

To Owain Jones (2010: 197; 201), tidal rhythms in urban seaways and in vast estuarine landscapes "somehow penetrate the body/mind", which makes intertidal spaces and their land margins "highly potent, affective spaces of becoming" (listen to Track 1).

https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/dover

Track 1 – *Dover, February 2012. This sound recording captures the local atmosphere by the seafront, with the ebb and flow in a pebble' beach, overlaid by seagull' (and sirens?) cries, the roaring of distant ships (and planes?) resonating through the bay, or my own footsteps as I walk. Occasionally we can hear accidental noises of my hands touching the microphone incorporated in the sound recorder, as I move around carrying it. In this recording, one of my first field sound explorations, I was playing with distances to sound sources (the seagulls, the waves breaking, etc.), and with my own body interplay with the sound recorder – how did the sound change when I placed the recorder above my head, close to the ground, circling it around 360º in the air. I was trying to capture the non-human environment and my own interaction with it, thinking through the unique ways in which sound propagates by the sea in this particular location of Dover's beach.*

Furthermore, the qualities of sound in open spaces by the water create unique *acoustic colorations* in urban waterfronts. Sound spreads differently here, across wider horizons. Even where post-industrial margins have been taken over by regeneration projects, imposing new built obstacles to the propagation of sound, there's always the open aquatic surface to spread across.

In maritime affairs, the intrinsic properties of sound used to be useful in gathering acoustic clues about where ships were located, in relation to their surrounding environments, through a kind of "echolocation" (equivalent to the one bats use to navigate and catch their prey) (Truax, 2001: 21):

> [The boat captains] used to get their position by echo whistling. They'd give a short whistle and estimate the distance from the shoreline by the returning echo. If the echo came back from both sides at the same time they'd know that they were in the middle of the channel. They could recognize different shorelines by the different echoes—a rocky cliff, for example, would give a clear distinctive echo, whereas a sandy beach would give a more prolonged echo. They could even pick up an echo from logs. Nowadays, if the radar breaks down, they have to put out an anchor. Their ears aren't trained to listen their way through the fog. (World Soundscape Project, 1978, p. 17)

This kind of practiced acoustic knowledge in waterfronts is becoming increasingly lost to technological ways of listening and scanning our surroundings but, nevertheless, port cities still hold special acoustic features.

The presence of the water and its dynamics, and the acoustic qualities of sound across the wider horizons of urban waterfronts, can, in the post-industrial context, turn them into sonically desired places, with a role of "mental cleansing rooms", or "places to escape from noise" and to "recharge and revivify" through quiet and silence, similarly to the one Landry (2006: 57) ascribes to "museums, galleries, libraries and places of religious worship". Their peculiar sonic atmospheres, often less cluttered than other urban environments, and their closeness to natural atmospheres, can also make them vantage locations to listen, distinguish and appreciate sounds, providing some sort of auditory panorama over city soundscapes.

> "How do we abandon ourselves to the larger/longer, space/time, patterns/rhythms of nonhuman processes which operate at very differing scales, frequencies and intervals? Thinking of a landscape as a musical score is one way, with differing parts played by light, seasons, weather, human non-human traffic, and tides." (Jones, 2010:195)

Attentive listening in waterfront spaces can therefore, I propose, stimulate our sonic imaginations, and open up reflections on desired urban soundscapes and collective audio futures.

Commonalities and singularities of cruise related port soundscapes

The transversal sonic patterns of quays with port activity are composed by the echoing voices, shouts and whistles of port and ship workers; walkie-talkie radio transmissions; all the possible variations of clanking and creaking metal; roaring engines, sizzling tires, the whoosh and swoosh of cranes, cars and trucks; expressive horns and honks; whining fork-lifts; sibilant space-ship like sounds of sucking mooring ropes devices; banging hammers; rolling trolleys; crumbling and drag out movements of loads. An orchestra of work related sounds, emanating from port operations, and the coordinated communications they imply, meshing with (and contributing to) the overall urban buzz and emplaced *sonic moorings*[75]*,* now and then interspersed with seagull squawks, over a background of aquatic resonances. A polyrhythmic open composition, ranging from regular machine beeps as warning sounds (in a crisscrossed circulations risky environment), and cadenced hybrid man-tool maneuvers, to random signals and sonic outbursts (listen to Tracks 3 and 4).

But, even if it is possible to identify a common range of sounds across different port-cities (from those related with the aquatic environments, to those related with work, maritime crafts, and cruise related operations), it's important to notice how each aural fragment presented here is also "context-sensitive", and reflects "the situatedness of each singular ambiance" (Thibaud, 2011).

The sonic singularity of each port-city may derive not only from its unique geomorphologies and characteristics of the built environment, but also from its respective stages of post-industrial development (as discussed in Chapter 2). Where current port activities are located, with regards to the city centre and the former port core, also creates diverse aural atmospheres by the waterfront. The preponderance of port sounds in each post-industrial waterfront soundscape is then site-specific (depending not only on each city, but also on the sonic peculiarities of each distinct section of the water edge) (listen to Track 2).

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[75] From the French *amarre sonore*, term coined by Pascal Amphoux (1997: 17), designating a sound or group of sounds which, by producing a common space of reference, tie a building or a street to its neighbourhood, or a neighbourhood to a city, or a city to a country, due to their collective memory dimension. The concept is similar to what Truax (2001: 67) defines as *soundmarks* (by analogy to landmarks) - *"associated with long-term memories"* and creating "continuity with the past".

Track 2 - *Gravesend-Tilbury ferry journey across the Thames, 21ˢᵗ March, 2011. One of the first sonic explorations of port environments I've recorded. Here, we can listen to fork-lift beeps, the ship's engine, water splashing along the crossing, birds, passengers talking, a gangway being set upon arrival, a ship worker's voice signalling passengers' allowance to leave the ship.*

Track 3 – *Early morning waterfront atmosphere in the vicinity of Alcântara Cruise Terminal, July 2013. The hum of traffic, (and later also a train) passing through the 25 de Abril bridge, pervades this aural fragment. A foreground sonic anchor is composed by aquatic swashes and splashes of the low tide Tagus over the margins' now exposed bottom small rocks covered with algae. Middle-ground sounds include birds and seagulls, clanging' loads being dragged and dropped in the nearby port area, or walkie-talkie distant echoes from port operations' communication between the workers. Complex synchronous multiple layers and scales of human and non-human coexistence are intertwined in (and revealed by) this soundscape.*

For instance, the atmospheres in the quays around cruise terminals in Barcelona, situated 5 km away from the city centre (Track 4), are less pervaded by sounds from the city centre than what happens in Lisbon (with cruise terminals closer to the urban fabric and the old downtown) - where church bells echo through the quays (Track 5). And in Lisbon, the immediacies of cruise terminals each have their own unique sonic fabric.

Sounds in the quays

Track 4 - *Barcelona, loading operations by Palacruceros Cruise Terminal, 19th November 2012. In this recording we can hear the working atmosphere in the quays, during the turnaround of the cruise ship Costa Fortuna, with voices of workers, trucks circulating, with their loud engines whooshing, and honking their horns, and the echoing high-pitched whining of a fork-lift moving around between the luggage X-ray control room and the ship.*

Track 5 - *This bell ringing was recorded at the Santa Apolónia Jusante Quays, by the Cruise Terminal, on the 20th April 2013. This is not what I consider to be a good quality recording, because of involuntary interferences - like the scratches of my own movements and some wind gratings on the microphone -, as well as sonic fluctuations provoked by the wind and by my interaction with the sound equipment as I was trying to get the best position to capture the distant melody from an unknown church bell. I nevertheless think this example embeds some of the difficulties inherent to outdoor field recordings, and that's why I'm displaying it here. And, in spite of the technical faults, I think this fragment holds some documentary potential on this local soundmark and the overall atmosphere of this quay place. If we listen attentively (and beyond of the unpleasant scratchy disturbances, for which I apologize), we can, for instance, also notice a foreground of birds, a man's shout, a background of traffic sounds.*

Outdoors versus indoors

One of the insightful characteristics of sound is that it can disrupt our spatial categorizations, opening up new ways of understanding places, as it is knows no borders, and transposes many physical barriers.

In my research, for instance, the distinction I had established in previous chapters between urban side immediacies of cruise terminals, cruise terminals themselves, and

the quays - to which correspond different patterns and kinds of socio-material interactions – amalgamates when thought through a sonic perspective. Sonically, interior spaces have distinct characteristics from the outdoor surroundings of cruise terminals, but the sonorities from the quays often interweave and mingle with those from their urban vicinities (as Tracks 1, 3, 4 and 5 show).

6.4. Listening to aquamobilities

Cruise ship aquamobilities' sonic identities and auditory markers, to which I will turn to now, and which are central to this chapter, are another example of such (often unnoticed) sound presences, and crafts, in the making of contemporary urban (everyday) life.

In port cities, maritime mobilities produce their own sonic moorings, which tie the city to the port. As a local institutional anchor, port's presence is often made noticeable through sound, and in the post-industrial context, cruise ships' aquamobilities make their own contribution to these places' soundscapes, as this section will demonstrate.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NVguD5PhJ84   (Gangway song – sound + video) [76]

Video-clip 1 - *Port of Lisbon, Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos Cruise Terminal, April 2013. Turnaround operations of the cruise ship Silver Spirit.*
This sound caught my attention in the course of a recorded listening walk through the quays of Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos. It first came up as some sort of distant call, and it was through a close-up movement that I was able to located it, and then capture this serendipitous encounter. Here the

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[76] An alternative exclusively acoustic version can be found here: https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/gangway-song.

163

gangway sonically embeds the transition between land and the aquatic environment, reverberating from the guts of its materiality, while performing as an oscillating interface between the quay and the floating ship, indirectly driven by the water dynamics. Since I also had my photographic camera at hand, and I was intrigued and astonished both by the sound and its source, I've used it to film a short clip, which visually reveals what we first experience only (as I did in the field) as an unknown creaking melody.

Not only because, in many cases - as in Lisbon's Santa Apolónia Cruise Terminal, for instance -, they bring back the soundmarks of port operations to waterfront areas where they were no longer heard, closer to the city centre, through the reactivation of former maritime stations or the development of new cruise terminals (listen to Tracks 6, 7, and 8).

https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/mooring-operation

Track 6 - Lisbon, Rocha do Conde d'Óbidos Cruise Terminal, April 2013. Fragment of sonic ambiance in the quays, during mooring operations of Club Med2, with the striking sound of ropes being lifted.

https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/ship-horn

Track 7 - *Adonia's ship horn, Lisbon, 20th April 2013, recorded in the afternoon, by Santa Apolónia Jusante Quays. One prolonged blast to signal ship's preparation to departure, echoing through the quays.*

But also, through cruise ships' resounding horns, perhaps the most resonant of all port sounds, and those with the most extended *acoustic profiles[77]*. Anciently integrant to nautical rules and traditions (ranging from emergency to courtesy codes), nowadays these ship horns often also contribute to a sense of spectacularization on the presence

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[77] The areas over which they can be heard, in Truax's terms (2001: 67).

of cruise ships, as the sounding piped out announcements of their arrival or departure spread across the cities visited. Here, sound often co-creates the (ephemeral) urban event of cruise ship's presence, performing the maritime identity (often appropriated and re-invented as branding strategy) of port-cities.

Specific cruise related port soundscapes, which are audible mainly in the immediacies of cruise terminals, are furthermore marked by the on board music many cruise ships broadcast through their powerful loudspeakers, upon arrival and/or prior to a departure from a destination place – creating a festive atmosphere (as in Track 8) -, and by the announcements to passengers made by the captain or crew members, which acoustically spread around the places where they dock (listen to Track 9).

https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/first-call-festive-atmosphere

Track 8 - *Quays by Santa Apolónia Cruise Terminal, 24th May 2013. MS Europa 2 calls Lisbon for the first time, and is welcomed, upon arrival, by Hanseatic, a fellow German ship from the same company (Hapag Lloyd Cruises). The polyphonic acoustic atmosphere in the quays mixes the keynote background music sounding from the Hanseatic, with fork-lift beeps, voices from the workers and journalists (showing their excitement as they prepare themselves to host the arriving MS Europa 2, about to dock in the neighbour Santa Apolónia Jusante quay), among other sounds and noises, like breaking glass, steps, shouts, coughs, a car engine roaring. Around minute 01:40, the musical background gets interspersed with a dialogue of ship horns' salutations between both ships, signalling this first call in Lisbon through this sounding manifestation, which in turn (within its audible range) becomes an ephemeral urban sonic event.*

https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/captains-announcement

Track 9 - *Lisbon, 25.04.13, Club Med 2 docked at the Rocha do Conde de Óbidos Cruise Terminal. Captain's announcement (in French), prior to debarkation of passengers, in the course of mooring operations:*

Dlin dlon dlun

Dlin dlon dlun

- Dear passengers, good morning. We remind you that the authorities haven't climbed on board yet,

and that we have no permission to debark. As soon has we have clearance from the authorities, we will make another announcement to inform you, and you can then debark. Thank you, and have a nice day in Lisbon.

The content of such announcements marks and makes on board rhythms, and can range from safety and security instructions upon embarkation, to warnings in case of emergency, information related with the management passengers' circulations, the unfolding of each operation, or with the vessel's itinerary (next port, hours of expected arrival, etc.), or the scheduled activities on board, etc..

Even though these cruise ships' information and instructions to passengers, that sonically spill into the quays and cruise terminals' surroundings, are not directly within my frame of analysis (since I'm focusing on what happens ashore, in the cities visited), I nevertheless think they hold an enormous research potential. Particularly on what concerns the sociology of mobilities. These sounds, which are purposely broadcast to communicate and mobilize, are at the root of what I call *elusive acoustic communities*, inspired on Barry Truax's concept of "acoustic community" (2001: 66). Truax defines an acoustic community as "any soundscape in which acoustic information plays a pervasive role in the lives of the inhabitants (no matter how the commonality of such people is understood)", with the community being "linked and defined by its sounds" (2001: 66). Aquamobile visitors (passengers, crew and staff members), together with the local hosts working within port facilities, can, I suggest, be understood as a transitory community in which sounds play an aggregator role – an acoustic community with temporary bonds. These elusive acoustic communities are, I suggest, similarly found across other mobilities, with sound acting as an agglutinating factor and as a conveyor of a sense of belonging to an ephemeral and mobile group of passengers – like among fellow plane passengers or train travellers, for example.

Regarding aquamobilities, the acoustic features that characterize (and distinguish) these elusive communities vary from place to place, but it is possible to identify some common traits in their sonic regularities and regulations, namely in the indoor atmospheres of cruise terminals, that I will now analyse.

6.5. Listening to cruise terminals

Across the auditory spaces of diverse cruise terminals, sonic commonalities include: the hubbub of gatherings of passengers; X-ray control machine' beeps and screening preparation procedures (sonic aspects shared with places like airports – audible in Track 10, for instance); and, the marking and managing of people's circulations, through sonic propellers (commands, punctuations of movements), either with naked voice instructions (Track 11), or through sound amplification systems.

Sonic atmospheres in the interior of cruise terminals

https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/cruise-terminal-x-ray-screening-area

Track 10 - *Barcelona, Palacruceros Cruise Terminal, 11th December 2012, ground floor. In this sonic fragment, machine beeps mix with noises from passengers placing their hand luggage and metal objects in trays in order to be X-ray screened, before they pass through the metal detector portals, to be allowed into the terminal's restricted (passenger's only) access area. Here, voices of local workers (one shouts - Stop!), passengers and crew members, talking in different languages, are heard. Crew members' exclusive entrance to access the ship is nearby, also on the ground floor.*

https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/check-in-area-ambiance

Track 11 - *Lisbon, inside Alcântara Cruise Terminal, 23rd April 2013. Overall atmosphere in the open space area where check-in operations and X-ray screenings were taking place, during a technical turnaround (only workers embarking) to the Brilliance of the Seas. In this fragment we can listen to people's buzz, voices and laughs, machine beeps, luggage trolleys rolling, steps and shoes sizzling on the pavement, staff shouts to manage people's circulations and operations procedures.*

Audio scripts

Sonic performativities play a significant role within cruise terminals: sounds either structure, incite, or compel social dynamics. Informative and procedural messages, by cruise ship's staff members ashore (or local port workers), mark, catalyse, and coordinate the rhythm of operations like check-in, or pre-embarkation in simple calls. Acoustic cues and signals - like the examples in Tracks 12 and 13 foreground -, keep these elusive communities inside terminals "in touch with what is going on", simultaneously playing a part in orchestrating passengers' behaviours (Truax, 2001: 66).

Sonic cosmetics

A smooth and subtle version of auditory regulation, is found in the musical ambiances - audible in the sonic background of Tracks 10, 12 and 13 - pervading the acoustics of state of the art cruise terminals (like the one I've visited in Barcelona), disseminated through their in-built sound systems, identic to the ones found in shopping malls.

In his inspiring book *Acoustic territories*, Brandon Labelle traces the historical roots of specifically designed musical ambiances (*Musak*[78]) back to the early 1920s, when:

> "(…) Following the developments of radio and telephone technology, the possibility to wire in sound from a central control led to a systematic appraisal of music's effect on labour and the psychology of the worker. It was found that the tasks of work could be better supported by providing background music in the workplace, giving workers an auditory frame through which bodily rhythms, the repetition of physical tasks, and the often monotonous passing of time could be eased (2010: 171-172)."

Labelle notes how Musak's "atmospheric architecture" soon began to be used also to

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[78] According to Labelle (2010: 172-173) the development of Musak, "originally by Major General George O. Squier, a decorated veteran and then Chief Signal Officer of the United States Army", was also linked ("well into the 1950s") to military testing in the reduction of stress and fatigue and the increase of attention and productivity. In 1934 it was reorganized as the Musak Corporation, which not only sent out "programs of recorded classical compositions to workplaces", but also spread their sonic system into residential households, and later into restaurants, offices, transit areas, supermarkets, elevators, and even into the White House (in the 1950's), providing "functional music" to postwar America.

conduct consumers' moods and behaviours. However, in his analysis of contemporary shopping malls' acoustic design he prefers not focus on the "negative" and manipulative aspects of Musak. His perspective, instead, introduces "ambiguity" and "mishearing" in a relational approach between each individual listener and her/his acoustic environment, emphasizing how background music may add "richness to the overall oscillations of place", creating "surprising moments of juxtaposition and fantasy", and adding to the "many auditory experiences through which we still may learn to listen" (Labelle, 2010: 180-200).

Even if as a researcher I can relate to this generative and dialogical approach to listening to acoustically aestheticized spaces, personally I'm not so keen on the proliferation of this kind of "psychoacoustic" supplements[79], which nowadays pervade most spaces of consumption[80]. Musical ambiances in cruise terminals, like the one in Barcelona's Palacruceros Cruise Terminal, in my opinion simply replicate this overall trend, increasingly common in our everyday experiences, but which we often don't even notice anymore. Contemporary uses of *Musak,* across most spaces of consumption and many public spaces is, in my opinion, another issue worth of further sociological studies, in which sound can be used as a research tool.

https://soundcloud.com/alexandrabaixinho/cruise-terminal-lounge-area

Track 12 - *Interior atmosphere of Palacruceros Cruise Terminal, Barcelona, 11th December 2012. Extract of recording made in the lounge area of the upper floor (close to the local bar). We can hear passengers' chitchat (including children), over background ambiance music, interrupted by a welcoming to passengers (women's voice broadcasted through the terminals loudspeakers system). Spanish version followed by English version, transcribed here:*

Dlin dlon

- Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon.

Costa Cruises is pleased to welcome you to Barcelona and wishes you a pleasant stay on board of Costa Deliziosa. In a few minutes we will start embarkation. You will be called according to the number assigned at the check-in desk. Please keep your valid ID or passport handy, as well as the fully

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[79] Labelle, 2010: 174.

[80] To me, they often just add more *junk sound,* particularly in malls, where multiple sonic ambiances from each store coalesce and add to the overall musical background, and to the noise from the crowd.

complete boarding form. You are kindly requested not to queue in front of embarkation area and to wait calmly, for your number will be called.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Track 13 - *Ambiance similar to previous recording from the lounge area of Palacruceros Cruise Terminal. Calls to passengers according to their boarding numbers. Spanish version, followed by English one, translated here:*

Dlin dlon,

Your attention please,

Guests with number 5 can please now proceed to embarkation area with your documents ready. Thank you very much…

6.6. Further sonic explorations

Track 14 – *This soundscape is the result of an underwater listening experience that I've made in Santa Apolónia Jusante Quays (Lisbon, 20th April 2013), with a cheap hydrophone attached to the sound recorder. First we can perceive the difference between the surface's sounds in the quays, and the sounds heard through the submerged device. The focus is then turned to the underwater environment, in which we can listen to the massive cruise ship engine, its propeller's vibrations, and the swirls it generates, as the vessel (Adonia) undocks and sets sail (pumping out departure ambiance music).*

Even if doing underwater recordings was not a path I've developed much, Track 14 provides an example of how cruise aquamobilities are also noticeable and impacting in the aquatic environment.

6.7. Conclusions

Thinking through the peculiar sonic features of post-industrial port cities' waterfronts, and their cruise aquamobilities, this chapter (including its aural component) demonstrates how sound can be a good sociological tool to investigate complexity in urban environments.

Being context-sensitive and revealing the natural unfolding of time (in unaltered recordings), sound furthermore resonates the inherent material constitution, as well as the meteorological, natural, and social polyphonic compositions and rhythms of these transition places, foregrounding, like no other method, both human and other than human agencies.

Pebbles, gangways, seagulls, fork-lifts, ropes, or waves (for instance) thus may add their own voice to everyday symphonies of waterfronts in port-cities, as the open and relational character of each place dialogues with every listener. Sound generates new affective spaces of becoming, together with potential auditory knowledge on contemporary social practices.

Attentive listening to nowadays port cities' soundscapes by the water edge, where, as an overall trend, industrial sounds are no longer (or are more seldom) heard, may engender new acoustic relationalities, both with the aquatic environment, and with cities themselves. Waterfront ambiances can act as acoustically smoother urban places, where people may detox from noise, and re-learn to listen (even to cities themselves). Alternative, more sensory aware, futures can thus be envisioned and claimed.

The way most post-industrial port cities sound like today is, on the other hand, increasingly filled with the sonic presences of cruise ships and the socio-material dynamics they promote (which can even generate aural disturbances to the local residents, as we've seen in the previous chapter regarding Venice).

My focus here is on how maritime mobilities (re-)animate the sonic atmospheres of these places with relevant soundmarks, like ship's resounding horns, announcements, and on board music, which spill into the urban surroundings of the places where the vessels dock. During my experience of doing fieldwork in Lisbon, I've also noticed how aquamobilities' sonorities often contribute to create a festive atmosphere around the ephemeral events of cruise ship calls, quite evident in special occasions like first calls.

Even if the common range of maritime operations involved in these aquamobilities establishes some similar sonic features across different ports, the emplaced character of sound also discloses singular sonorities in each place (geographical, cultural, architectural, related with the current stage of post-industrial development and the particular activities taking place in the surrounding areas, etc.). Hence, while any sonic atmosphere from quays in the course of loading operations to a cruise ship, will, most likely, contain fork-lift beeps (for example), no two overall sonic ambiances from quays will ever sound alike – each will have its particular acoustic colorations, and contaminations from its urban immediacies, even in the same port city. Sound can thus provoke new readings on urban spaces, calling attention to aspects otherwise unnoticed. Listening to restricted access port areas, like the quays, for instance, can promote new understandings on the relationships between the port and its urban vicinities.

7. Conclusion

This thesis examines the phenomenon of cruise ship tourism from an ashore perspective, drawing on a multi-sited, sensory, and experimental ethnographic approach, through diverse port-cities – namely Tilbury, Dover, Bergen/Oslo, Le Havre, Barcelona and Lisbon[81]. The core of this research was anchored on cruise terminals and their surroundings, as crucial interfaces between the floating resorts and the visited port-cities. This focus encompassed not only the infrastructures themselves, but also the quays, and their urban vicinities.

The interwoven connections between cities and mobilities have long been acknowledged by social scientists (Sheller and Urry, 2006a), and mobilities literature has included work on aeromobilities, automobilities, velomobilities, and other kinds of passengeering (Sheller, 2014: 800). However, while the importance of the study of aeromobilities (including airports, aviation and air travel) has been considered central to the understanding of key issues of our time[82], *aquamobilities* (a term I have introduced) and ports have not yet been given enough attention as equally relevant systems of mobilities embedded in the urban realm. This thesis thus brings on aquamobilities as a new category, so far mostly unacknowledged, to mobilities research, by addressing cruise ship tourism as a specific kind of massive leisure aquamobilities.

How do these encounters between cruise ships and the cities happen? How are they changing the places visited? And how can we grasp and (make) sense (of) these fleeting complexities? These were the initial questions underpinning this research. My argument is that these cruise aquamobilities are constitutive and transformative "forces" in contemporary post-industrial port cities, and in this final chapter I will highlight how these are, fleetingly and cumulatively, or even more permanently, co-producing urban spaces, and impacting in the urban metabolism.

I contend that these aquamobilities matter, as they constitute an understudied recent phenomenon, which has boomed mostly from the 1990's onwards. As detailed in chapter 2, this contemporary version of maritime cruise tourism is something new,

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[81] With longer' term fieldwork in Lisbon (six months), and Barcelona (three months).

[82] Cwerner *et al* 2009; Gottdiener 2000; Sheller and Urry, 2006b; Lloyd, 2003; Lassen, 2009; Fuller, 2009; Harley, 2009; Adey, 2006.

very distinct from the maritime transportation of passengers in liners (still evoked in Le Havre), which constituted the main long distance commuting vehicles between port cities (until shortly after the World War II, when they practically disappeared with the rise of airplanes). Now, no longer a transportation oriented service, but a tourist product one, cruise industry, run by mega-corporations, under neoliberal tenets, is one of the fastest growing tourist activities worldwide[83].

However, while social sciences literature on cruise ship tourism[84] tends to be focused on the global features of the business, or on what happens inside cruise ships themselves, leaving aside what happens ashore; within the literature on the development of post-industrial ports and change of waterfront spaces, the phenomenon of cruise ship tourism is still absent.

This thesis brings together these interdisciplinary bodies of knowledge, to foreground the role of cruise ship tourism in the co-production of urban space and everyday life in post-industrial port cities. And, while most recent work on mobilities in urban contexts is still developed at an abstract theoretical level (Sheller and Urry, 2006a: 3), my research adds to extant knowledge, by calling attention to the relevance of cruise aquamobilities, and their consequent interactions and transformations catalysed in the visited places (from an ashore perspective), through an empirically based account.

Methodologically, my practice-based approach to this elusive subject, involved a set of intertwined sensory ethnographic tools – like walking, photographing, doing time-lapse series, and sound recordings. These choices partly came up in response to the complex multiple transiences of the field, but they also derived from an initial phenomenological and art-inspired openness (influenced by authors like: Pink, 2009 or Ingold, 2011; and by the multiplying calls for a fluid, live and inventive sociology – Law and Urry, 2004; Back, 2010; Back and Puwar, 2012; Lury and Wakeford, 2012).

Since my understanding of visual sociology is one that encompasses all the senses (drawing on authors like Sarah Pink and Tim Ingold, as further developed in chapter

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[83] With 8.4% growth a year over the past decade, and 21.31 million cruise passengers embarked from ports around the world in 2013 (Clancy, 2008: 406; BREA, 2014: 18).

[84] Mostly coming from Geography (Weaver, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Charlier and McCalla, 2006; Magrinyà and Maza, 2005; Figueira de Sousa, 2001; or Rodrigue and Notteboom, 2013, for example), Planning (McCarthy, 2003), Political Science (Clancy, 2008), Political Economy (Chin, 2008), or Sociology (Ritzer and Liska, 1997; Wood, 2000, 2002, 2006; Klein, 2006).

3), the diverse materials I've gathered, in the context of emplaced perceptions and interactions, reflect my own gaze and sensibility, but also that of the research participants, with whom I have engaged with, along shared walks, guided visits, formal interviews or informal conversations – from port authorities and cruise terminal managers (in Dover, Barcelona, and Lisbon), to local port workers, cruise ship crew or staff members, security officers, or passengers.

Therefore, the visual and audio materials included in this research were self-produced, but co-constructed throughout intersubjective sensory practices. Such interactions (no matter how brief or unplanned) have definitely influenced my understanding of quays, cruise terminals, and their surroundings, as well as my choices on what to depict/record, and take into consideration in my analysis. The relevance (and mutability) of certain objects, or the metamorphic character of space inside cruise terminals, for instance, acquired further emphasis due to other people's perspectives, their experiences, affects and memories, and aspects they've called attention to.

In this work, therefore, the research outcomes – a selection of which has been included along the text, or presented in the attached DVD, and in the Photobook – also carry (more or less directly) these people's sensibilities and worldviews, which I've tried to give voice to/ make visible as much as possible. As accounted for in chapter 3, despite the different engagement tactics and time spent in each port city, I consider that each place has brought its own contribution to my research, and that the diversity of experiences and materials gathered along this pathway has been analytically productive, allowing comparative understandings.

Reflecting the performativity of these methods - their effects, the way they make differences and enact realities, helping to bring into being what they also discover (Law and Urry, 2004: 393) -, the knowledge issued from an intentionally experimental research approach has also assumed unconventional forms, being perhaps more fragmented, ambiguous, incomplete, but, hopefully, also more vivid, imaginative and open. Altogether, texts, visual and aural materials can, I suggest, be understood as "chronicles of a society observed in a given historical moment", similarly to what Behar (2003:19) states regarding ethnographic texts, without denying the role of the ethnographer's sensibility, and the "fictions"[85] unwittingly

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[85] In Behar's words: "the fiction of who the ethnographer thought she/he was in the field, the fiction of how that society was constructed by the ethnographer, whether harmoniously or conflictively,

embraced in the construction and communication of "ethnographic places"[86] (Pink, 2009: 42).

The originality of this research, lays not only in its ashore perspective on cruise aquamobilities, approached through experimental ethnographic methodologies, but also on the way diverse materials and formats are here interwoven and displayed, inviting the reader to journey across multiple paths of sensory engagement and understanding.

Here, still images, time-lapse series and sounds, constitute alternative "representational strategies and outputs" (Schneider and Wright, 2010), holding indexical and evocative qualities beyond words. These materials, which derive from a set of articulated practices in the field (ethnography, walks, photographing, doing sound recordings), have been structured in close articulation with the written chapters of this thesis, through a process of careful selection and analysis. Beyond being relevant as sociological data, the visual and audio materials in this thesis are also traces of emplaced lived experiences, with "expressive value", which play a part in communicating what has come out of the study (Pauwels, 2011: 18).

Thus, in this study, my multimodal (and expanded) version of visual sociology - which encompasses documentary style photographs, but also art-contaminated visual formats, as well as sound recordings - multiplies the paths and "evidential details" that promote a "deepening of the understanding" of the research subject (Becker, 2002: 11). These methods, have allowed me to preserve my observations and to "record information that would be too fleeting or complicated to remember or to describe in writing" (Harper, 1988: 61), thus alerting me to things that could not "readily be seen in real time" (Lyon and Back, 2012: 2-3).

As a major benefit, my sensory ethnographic approach, to contemporary waterfronts and cruise aquamobilities infrastructures, has helped to reveal characteristics that mark and are transforming these places, and to identify "patterns of structural transformation that form 'the bigger picture' (…) on what is happening to urban life"

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depending on the nuances of the ethnographer's sensibility and the historical moment in which the ethnographer happened to be present as an observer" (2003:19).

[86] Which are "not the same actual, real, experienced places ethnographers participate in when they do fieldwork", but rather "ethnographic representations", that involve "the combining, connecting and interweaving of theory, experience, reflection, discourse memory and imagination" (Pink, 2009: 42).

in postindustrial port cities "at the dawn of the twenty-first century" (Suchar, 2004: 162).

For instance, going through the Photobook, and comparing images from different port cities (like Barcelona, Oslo or Lisbon)[87], a sense of the scale of cruise aquamobilities, and their impact in the landscape of the visited places, becomes quite evident. The gigantic volume of cruise vessels colonises the horizons and urban skylines, constantly marking port cities landscapes, like some sort of appendix to the city fabric.

Similarly, across the series *Post-Industrial Waterfronts* (pages 17 to 32 in the Photobook), we can grasp more clearly the symbolic relevance of the water edge across different port cities, as well as some similarities in their built environments, structures, and uses of space. Through these images, we can easily visualise how post-industrial processes (described in chapter 2), and the global trends and technological advances, that have been gradually pushing the ports away from their former urban cores, are somehow present in all these places, in spite of the particular geographic, historic, and socio-economic contexts of each port city. Whether in Le Havre, Oslo, Barcelona, or Lisbon, we can notice redevelopment of the waterfronts, and/or new leisure and cultural urban uses, in territories formerly devoted to port activities. Here, adding to such proliferation of leisure and recreational activities[88], cruise ship aquamobilities are also increasingly present.

On the other hand, in this research, by stepping into art-contaminated grammars, through more experimental uses of images – like with the *Digital Pin-hole Portscapes* or the *Light and Im(matter)* series in the Photobook – "other kinds of critical imagination", together with more poetic and aesthetic dimensions, have emerged (Back an Puwar, 2012: 11). More than mere data, these materials also play a role as research outcomes, conveying sensory expressions, critical interpretations, and analytical synthesis, in themselves.

Digital pin-hole images, for instance, have allowed me not only to inscribe emotions in my visual work (reflecting the difficulties and uncertainties I've been through while doing fieldwork in Barcelona), but also to "write with light" in a singular way, fostering the viewer's sensations. Barcelona's overcrowded, hyper-touristic,

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[87] For instance in pages 16, 22, 23, 30 or 31 (see captions in the List of Images for further information).

[88] The post-industrial city as an "Entertainment Machine", in Lloyd and Clark's perspective (2000).

waterfront here critically (and surrealistically) becomes something else. Like some sort of mirage, an ambiguous sense of time-space emerges in the depicted portscapes - as if it could be anywhere, in any given port-city's past or future.

In the series *Light and (Im)matter* (pages 104 to 110 in the Photobook), the emplaced agency of sunlight and the very material properties of glass, embodied both in cruise terminal infrastructures and in cruise ships architectures, are inscribed in the images. Through them, quays, cruise ships, cruise terminal interiors, and public spaces in the city, mingle in unexpected ways; interiors and exteriors are confounded. By playing with transparencies and reflections, these photographs convey the atmosphere of inbetweenness of these transition spaces – through these juxtaposed transiences, a sense of disorientation and elusiveness prevails over spatial boundaries: *where does the floating city end, where does the visited one begin?*

Through panoramas, another explored format, we get wider (more encompassing) perspectives on waterfront areas, quay spaces and the immediate surroundings of cruise terminals in diverse port-cities. Moreover, some panoramas (page 43 in the Photobook) also portray the fleetingness of cruise passengers' movements, on their way between the terminal and shore-excursion buses.

By animating still images, time-lapse series (included in chapter 5, and in the attached DVD) add a sense of movement, rhythm, and unfolding of aquamobilities events - such as like arrivals, or departures -, in their emplaced contexts of quays and cruise terminals surroundings, that words (or images) alone would hardly convey. As they cover diverse perspectives, including views from afar, these time-lapse series contribute to make visible the complexity of the quays as interface environments between water and land, and the multiple actions performed in them; or, the huge scale and visual impact of cruise ships in Lisbon's landscape and urban fabric; as well as some dynamics and particularities of cruise logistics; and the circulation of passengers in and out of vessels, or excursion buses. They simultaneously portray human and non-human coexistent temporalities and agencies, bringing light and shadows, clouds and currents, birds, or the rhythm of the oscillating floating vessel, as further (usually unnoticed) juxtapositions to the movements of humans, vehicles, or machines. The weather, and the cosmic rhythms (which in turn highly influence aquamobilities schedules and the course of operations) thus become more evident through this method.

Finally, through the sonic dimension (explored in chapter 6) another path of sensorial critical engagement, with urban waterfronts and cruise aquamobilities, was foregrounded. Even if sound recordings can't really capture the vibrancy of live listening experiences (in which the all body resonates), I have claimed that sound is a powerful tool to disclose and convey a sense of space, unfolding practices, rhythms, and human and non-human presences, agencies and connections – hence a promising method to research urban complex, multi-layered, environments. While the visuals were mute, sound recordings add a liveliness, which is able to affectively carry us into the heard place /situation.

As sound is a time-based medium, unedited sound recordings carry the unfolding of time and the multiple urban, natural, and workplace rhythms, in the polyphonies of everyday life in port cities, waterfronts and their cruise terminal infrastructures. I have reflected on the contribution of cruise aquamobilities to the aural character of the visited places, and on the sonic performativities in cruise terminals and their surroundings. In Lisbon, for example, new sounds marks by the waterfront act as reminders of the maritime identity of the city, now in its contemporary version of mass tourism cruise vessels, with their sirens and horns echoing across the landscape.

I have also called attention to sonic regularities, and acoustic regulations: from the role of sound in managing the movement of passengers in cruise aquamobilities ashore, through diverse sonic announcements, prompts and warnings, which pervade the quays, and which are part of cruise terminals' soundscapes; to the smoother control of ambiances, through the aural aestheticization of cruise terminals with music (as in Barcelona's Palacruceros Cruise Terminal). These sonic insights, and the idea of *elusive acoustic communities,* suggested in this chapter, can eventually inspire similar approaches to other mobilities' auditory framings, both on what concerns their spaces of transition (like airports or rail stations), and their performativities on board (the tube, train, airplane, etc.).

Additionally, sound has also emphasized non-human presences and agencies, which compose (and co-produce) the waterfront atmospheres in contemporary port-cities. Here, I have suggested that through sound, and by listening to port-cities' singular sonic atmospheres (were waterfront environments can act as aural "detox" urban spaces) new epistemological and ontological relationalities can emerge, opening up alternative imaginations and affective engagements with urban waterfronts and their (our) futures. As a sensory tool, listening can foster alternative, and more intuitive,

ways of knowing, which can foster curiosity, awareness, critical thinking and action towards better quality of life in urban environments.

As mentioned above, my fieldwork took place mostly in the port restricted access areas of cruise terminals and quays, which are the interfaces between port-cities and cruise ships, the docking junctions where borders are performed, and also where the transition between the aquatic and the in land environment occurs. My sensory ethnographic immersion across these infrastructures and their urban surroundings (briefly in Tilbury, Dover, and Barcelona; and with long- term engagement in Lisbon) allowed me to develop a closer, empirically based, analysis into aquamobilities practices ashore, focusing on how they actually unfold, in their social, spatial, material and temporal dynamics (which constituted the content of chapters 4, 5 and 6 in this thesis).

While most existing sociological literature on mobilities tends to overlook the actual processes and practices taking and making place at the infrastructures enabling mobilities, conceptualizing them as fixed 'moorings' or 'immobile platforms' (Sheller and Urry, 2006b: 210; 212; Hannam, Sheller, and Urry, 2006: 3), my work questions such assumptions with evidences that, at least on what concerns cruise terminals, they are instead vibrant, extensible and mutable.

The typology of cruise terminals, that I've suggested in chapter 4, drawing on my fieldwork, demonstrates the variety of existing infrastructures: old maritime stations adapted to these new aquamobilities; other port structures (like former warehouses) converted into terminals; or recent purposely built (mono or multi-functional) infrastructures.

One of the most striking findings, that came out of my fieldwork, was that, despite the diversity of socio-cultural and geographical contexts of each port, as well as the particular history of each infrastructure, all cruise terminals seem to be animated by spatial and material plasticity in the course of cruise ship operations.

Ephemeral architectures are set; multiple wheeled, foldable, customizable, portable materialities, or even disposable signage are mobilized, in the quays, inside the terminal infrastructure, and often also beyond its confinements – extending into the city's public spaces (as in Barcelona, where some of these cruise related transitory spatial markers were set as far as 5 km away from the cruise terminals, in a downtown square – see pages 74 and 75 in the Photobook, and their respective captions in the list of images, and also Annexe III).

The literature addressing cruise ships' on board environments emphasises their "McDonaldization/ McDisneyzation" trends, "composed of simulations" and "themed environments", and based on the core principles of "efficiency, calculabilty, predictability and control" (Ritzer and Liska, 1997; Weaver, 2006: 390). But, what the perspective issued from my fieldwork brings to light is an ephemeral pervasiveness of that corporate space ashore, through standardised performativities and material settings, which unfold in the quays, the interior of cruise terminals[89], or even farther into the cities (as the series *Temporary Spatialities/Metamorphic Materialities,* in the Photobook, or *time lapse series 1*, in the DVD, disclose). The corporate environmental "bubble" (Weaver, 2005b: 169), that encapsulates cruise passengers on board, is often (as my work unveils) extended ashore, in different port-cities, through similar patterns:

- transient appropriation/ customization of cruise terminal spaces and objects;
- branded paraphernalias unfolding in the quays (or farther into the terminals surroundings/and urban public places – as in Barcelona);
- regimented rhythms in the channelling of passengers (to X-ray screenings, or towards shore excursions);
- a certain "carnivalisation"/festive atmosphere, across arrivals, departures and welcoming rituals (also sonically resonant);
- complex networked logistics inherent to economies of scale
- cruise ship's infrastructure (hardware, software, workers, etc.), and/or revenue capture, stepping into the terminals (in the course of check-in operations, or by selling well-being or beverage packages).

In this thesis, I also have argued that cruise terminals themselves are just a central node of these aquamobilities infrastructures, and that the reception apparatus to vessels, passengers and crew members, includes mobile components and performativities - like excursion and shuttle buses, and temporary settings -, which spread to the immediacies of terminals and occupy (and co-create) multiple public spaces in the cities visited (as the series *Circulations* in the Photobook foregrounds).

The diverse materials I've analysed in this research demonstrate how these infrastructures not only encompass a web of circulations and co-related services

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[89] A paradigmatic example, of themed park environments stepping ashore, are the fake palm trees inside Palacruceros Cruise Terminal (visible in page 69 in the Photobook).

which deal with the tide of incoming visitors, as they are also made and animated by ephemeral and metamorphic spatialities and materialities, adjusting themselves to (and interweaving with) the variable circumstances and requirements of each ship operation. Such temporary and/or improvised mobilizations of objects - often themselves mobile, metamorphic, or even precarious - and spaces, within and beyond cruise terminals, have then emerged as a distinctive feature of these aquamobilities' infrastructures.

Moreover, this research has also uncovered aspects usually invisible of cruise aquamobilities infrastructures, such as their human side, namely here emphasizing the role of workers (and their embodied skills) as part of socio-material assemblages and systems of expertise. It further casted light on backstage areas and unaccounted for materialities (such as tensa-barriers, or lollipop markers) and intertwined cruise aquamobilities spatialities (crisscrossing the vessel's infrastructural components – workers, objects, software systems, on board products and services, etc.- with that of quays and cruise terminals, and even with the city's public spaces).

Thus, in chapter 5, I have introduced the idea of socio-material assemblages (some kind of hybrid scenographies-choreographies, inherently intertwined, and unfolding through action, instead of being set *a priori*) as more adequate to interpret the complex (and often elusive) dynamics enacting cruise terminals and their vicinities, than the approach advocated in Jensen's *Staging Mobilities* model (Jensen, 2013).

For instance, institutions and its regulations (something Jensen sees as "scenographies", or mobilities "staged from above"), in practice, are performed through the bodies of workers, who work together (in close articulation) with objects and material settings, to manage and co-produce these mobilities. I have suggested that in aquamobilities performativities, more than mobile and negotiable lines of demarcation between front and back staging regions (according to Jensen's model), there are rather multi-layered coexisting dynamic stages (mixed stages, as I designate them), with blurred, juxtaposed, interchangeable (over time), or intersected "back" and "front" regions.

On the other hand, my tentative rhythmanalysis has revealed watercraft's specific technicalities and embodied knowledge (such as that of local pilots, which always accompany cruise vessels into, and out of, ports) interwoven with the cosmic rhythms of the sea and the variations of the weather. Attention to multiple interactions and time scales, fostered by workers' perspectives (who understand the river as a living

habitat for other species, and as a resource for fishing), has triggered a holistic, metabolic understanding of the mutually imbricated connections between the port (and the mobilities coming in through it), the city, and the natural ecosystem.

If we expand Georg Simmel's theorization of the 'urban metabolism' to encompass an ecosystem perspective (as Amin and Thrift, 2002: 28, or Ibañez and Katsikis, 2014 have suggested), then the intertwined relationships between the city and its multiple mobilities (including cruise aquamobilities), need to also acknowledge non-human interactions. It's important, therefore, to raise awareness on cruise aquamobilities potential air and marine pollution risks – namely through waste, sewage, graywater, or ballast water discharges, or heavy metals contained in anti-fouling paints that coat boat hulls – (with the inherent risk of introducing toxic substances into humans through the food chain), specially when several critical accounts alert us to the huge power of cruise mega-corporations to shirk of environmental responsabilities (as we've seen in chapter 2).

While contemporary cruise ships have been understood as a paradigmatic case of neoliberal 'globalization at sea' (with economic globalisation meaning "the increased mobility of capital and its spatial disembeddedness")[90], in this thesis, the ashore perspective, brought by my practice-based approach, has called attention to how cruise aquamobilities actually unfold at, and co-construct, the visited places.

Thinking through existing and projected cruise terminal infrastructures, has made clearer how they shape urban dynamics and social life, their influence on social, political and economic relations, and how they (and their planning processes) express choices on "what kind of society we want to build" (Calhoun *et al*, 2013).

Here, we have seen how cruise aquamobilities are also transforming the waterfronts of port cities, through the investment in new cruise terminal infrastructures, often linked to wider regeneration projects (as expected in London). However, as the *Maremagnum* experience in Barcelona adverts us, things don't always work out as planned, and unaccounted surroundings, or a lack of community involvement, can end up ruining such investments (in this case through unforeseen social conflicts, which ended up leading to an existing ghost terminal).

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[90] They are, in Wood's words: "physically mobile; massive chunks of multinational capital; capable of being "repositioned" anywhere in the world at any time; crewed with labor migrants from up to 50 countries on a single ship, essentially unfettered by national or international regulations" (Wood, 2000: 352-53).

The enormous power of cruise corporations, which allows them to take control over other segments of the tourist industry, and even local port facilities and in land developments is not yet taken to the Caribbean extreme (referred in chapter 2) in the port cities included in this research, but is nevertheless manifest, for instance through the ownership (and/or management) of cruise terminal facilities and developments: in Barcelona, Palacruceros Cruise Terminal is operated by Carnival Corporation, with preference for Carnival Corporation Ships; and, in Lisbon, Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd holds 20% in the international consortium that will invest in the new cruise terminal.

Cruise-driven infrastructures and regeneration projects, often propelled by cruise corporations themselves, are thus one example of the more permanent transformations that cruise aquamobilities catalyse in visited port cities - in this case changing their built environment. The consequent displacement of local populations (most of the times left forgotten, or unconsidered, throughout these processes) raises concerns on "spatial justice" and "the right to the city" (Sheller, 2014: 797-798; Lefebvre, 1996).

Social displacement is also promoted through the increased cost of living, and the loss of quality of life of the residents near cruise terminals and visited places. As we've seen (in chapter 5), even if the scale of the protests in Lisbon is still quite far from that of Venice, the voices of the local discontents are, nevertheless, becoming increasingly heard. The cumulative effects, in port cities, of the recurrent presences of cruise aquamobilities (and their passengers, excursion buses, etc.) include multiple disturbances - visual obstruction, noise, invasion of public spaces -, and frequent congestions and everyday life disruptions affecting the everyday life of residents and local city users. These problems tend to multiply in high seasons, when cruise visitors add to those arriving by airplane. Moreover, there is the risk of reliance on tourism as a supposed urban/economic panacea, with historical centres being turned into some sort of theme parks for tourists, with local commerce and services being replaced by tourist oriented ones.

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