THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF AIRPORTS, CRITICISM TO NON PLACE THEORY

Maximiliano E. KORSTANJE
International Society for Philosophers, Sheffield, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

This text contains a set of personal experiences, product of my personal ethnographies in well-known airports, as well as a conceptual discussion around non-place´s theory. Marc Augé, a famous ethnographer, formulated this thesis to express a deep analysis about the philosophy of modernity and mobility. He is convinced that modernity has been changed into a new way, hyper-modernity, which is a producer of "non-places", spaces of anonymity that effaces the attachment to past. This essay-review not only contradicts with such a radical idea, but also presents contrary evidence respecting to airports as disciplinary mechanism of control, oriented to disseminate to citizens, the main values of society.

INTRODUCTION

It is safe to say that globalization has recently connected a great variety of geographies, cultures, nations and heritages into the same plane, which to lesser or major degree has changed our customs and current behavior. Although a process of this caliber abounds in ancient history, for example as the gravity exerted by empires to their periphery, modern globalization seems to be something else. It presents not only a high degree of connectivity but also connected the entire world based on the

technological advances in mobilities and transport. Cultural industries such as tourism and hospitality allow a passenger flies from Buenos Aires to Tokyo in hours. In this vein, as anthropologist Jose Anta Felez put it, the airplane has become in the conduit of globalization and multi-culturalism produced by mobilities. Its success is not limited to the acceleration of speed, but depends on the efficacy to transmit symbolic codes to the citizens (Anta-Felez, 2013).

In fact, interesting studies denounced airports serve as ideological instruments, cloned to lead citizens to "pecuniary consumption", inherent of late-capitalism (Cresswell, 2010; Virilio 1997, 2005). In this stage of mass-consumption stimulated by the market, the consumers become in consumed fetish object (Bauman, 2001). Externally designed by central economies, hyper-mobility would expand ideological discourse of control over the periphery. Local communities would be more interesting in developing their own identities according to the tourist-gaze (Tzanelli, 2008, 2013).

Although airport-management literature evaluates its strategic position for marketing and managerial issues (Barret, 2004; Denis, 2005), little attention was given to the socio-spatial relationships in these types of spaces as well as its ideological power over citizenship. Airports are instruments of discipline over "hommo-consumers". In this essay-review we synthetize almost two years of ethnographies at the following airports;

Ezeiza Ministro Pistarini (Argentina), Aeroparque J. Newberry (Argentina, El Dorado (Colombia), John F. Kennedy (US), Comodoro Arturo Merino Benítez (Chile), Sky Harbor (EEUU), Internacional Salgado Filho (Brazil), Dallas-Forth Worth (US), and Internacional de Tocumen (Panamá). Even though ethnographies are qualitative methodologies which are not statistical representative, the heterogeneity of information validates our thesis. Far from being non-places as Marc Auge (2001) precluded, airports are mechanisms of discipline which operates according to two significant logics. At a first glance, the dichotomy between civility-nature is the primary aspects to discuss. Starting from the premise that the empire of law allows regulating the social relationships, in context of shortage where some citizens dominate others, the modern citizen reject its rights to live in state of nature to embrace the security of the law and legal jurisprudence. These states of nature are emulated in spaces of prosperity and consumption where the circulation of goods is free for consumers. The desire good can be touched and manipulated within certain perimeter. Beyond this, the citizens should pay for what

they get. Secondly, airports are regulated by three major forces, each of them are the "bulldozers of state": Customs, police and migrations. At diverse stages, travelers are subject to tighter controls by the security forces at time of entering in the guest-society. The material values of commerce, consumption and wealth are emulated by customs while police is screening mobile tourists alluding to the homeland security doctrine. The migration office validates the necessary requirements to confer a lease to strangers. It offers a restricted sense of "hospitality" to those who can the patrimony to return home. This means that migration office is in charge of saying if hospitality can be or not granted to aliens. As the previous backdrop, it is important to add that the term "visa" stems from the Latin "videre" which means "to see". By monitoring who is being leading to homeland is one of the functions of visa for modern societies. Interesting texts have denounced the pervasive logic of modern nation-state which offers two types of "hospitalities"; one for tourists, who are encouraged to consume and travel elsewhere, and others for blue-collar migrants (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000; Korstanje, 2008; Zizek, 2011). Avoiding the interpretation of this has been one of the main limitations of Auge´s theory. Instead of being a non-place, airport exhibits an anthropological space where ideology and politics converge.

PHILOSOPHY AND THE NATURAL STATE

Over centuries, philosophers have posed the following question; how the society keeps united? In other words, what is the factor that makes the social cohesion? As a corner-stone the social bond has become in their priority up to date. John Locke (1988) argued that man in the state of nature was free respecting to the rules of civility. However, this freedom dragged the man into enmity with its brothers. The legal world is preferred by humans to avoid a radical conflict. Abandoning the state of nature means the adoption of security as primary value of life. In this view, Locke´s development is not pretty different than Hobbes (1928). However, unlike the latter one, Locke believed in the republican division of powers. The deliberative democracy prevents the advance of dictatorship and tyranny. Even, in case of injustice, the king can be dethroned by the peoples. Pitted against R. Filmer (1991), he explained that though all peoples are free from their cradle, social inequalities resulted from the individual attachment to labor. It depends on the produced wealth or property one may earn in the life. The division of powers was the epicenter for the society to be fair. Rather, in Hobbes´s

mind the state fulfilled the function to exert coaction over the individual will to avoid the "war of all against all". At the time, one desires the other´s property; the possibilities of being exploited by others lead us to think in conferring the authority to a third party (Hobbes, 1928).

Quite aside from this, in both persists the idea of natural state, which emulates the belief in the lost paradise where shortage does not take place. The concept of prosperity goes in contradiction with civility which is enrooted in the principle of accumulation. The political philosophy has paved the pathways to conform a new theory where the law becomes in the key factors for the well-being of peoples (Dworking, 1986; Minda, 1995; Rawls, 2001; Sunstein, 1985).

The modern economy that formulates civil order, associated to principle of shortage, stems from the catholic influence in Middle Age. The disciplinary power civilizes threats into more nuanced categories. In M. Foucault (2006), risks should be understood as a controlled threat that makes possible the social life. In homology to a vaccine, which denoted an inoculated virus, the risk is linked to the crisis. Whether the discipline draws the strategy, the security regulates the legal scaffolding to exert control on social interaction (disciplinary normalcy). The risk, in this vein, reduces and mitigates the impacts of dangers to the extent to condition the circularization of goods. In doing so, societies accept and adapt to the presence of certain threats and incorporate them to their habits (Foucault, 2006).

Fernando Diez in his book Economy, Desire and Virtue, explains the medieval cosmology envisaged the nature from a pejorative connotation, but at the same time, it was considered good because it was set apart from the corruption of civilized world. The question whether law makes the world a safer place, its costs was higher. Citizens not only sacrifice its freedom but also adopts the principle of shortage as its main value when accept civil order. Following this discourse, the figure of "the savage" does not work because of its state of nature. The wealth not only denotes admiration but paves the ways to encourage guidelines to follow by the modern society (Diez, 2001). The epicenter of modern economy rests on the poverty as the main reason to exist. From its creation, economic theories have developed diverse forms of administering the poverty and its impacts of accumulation process (Heilbroner, 1974, 2011). The civilizing process would purge the unproductive enhancing the productive tasks. In this, leisure prevents the trace towards the progress. The super-habit exhibits the welfare of nations and the privileged

positions in the trade. The center has major possibilities to induce their produced goods than the periphery. Whether the medieval economy, the labor was a necessary hurt, for modern scholars leisure was a reward for the work done. It corresponds with a strategic instrument to create richer nations (Diez, 2001).

The discussion on Lockean and Hobessian theses, leads us to explore the legacy of another thinker concerned on the problems to pass from natural state to society, Jean Jacques Rousseau. Unlike Hobbes, he argued that men fell into corruption when embraced the state of civilization. The violence was not inherited to the natural state, but also incorporated by the men in the societal order. People become violent when have to defend the property. The division of labor in Rousseau´s insight was of paramount importance to understand the role of subject, as well as the social agreement. He not only sheds the light on the problem of social bond, as it has been formulated by philosophy of Enlightenment, but also paves the ways for the upsurge of other French scholars interested in knowing further on how the society is tied (Rousseau, 2002). Among Rousseau followers, Emile Durkheim (2012) presented his thesis of organic and mechanic solidarity around the figure of religion in primitive societies. Underpinned in diverse types of law enforcement, the circuits of solidarity, which are given by the good-exchange, depend on diverse economic structures. The primitive aboriginal society contrasts to modern ones. To cut the long story short, the social bond in Durkheim was a result of the interaction and swamp proper of the market (Durkheim, 2012, 2014).

MOBILITIES, SURVEILLANCE AND LATE CAPITALISM

Western societies have developed a prone to vision. The same ocular-centrism, which has created the capitalist logic, exerted the control of epidemics and illness. Whenever we travel to other landscapes, the other is controlled by mans of our gaze. We travel to watch, and what is watched becomes in our possession. These practices, for Urry´s view, are systematized according to a cultural matrix that precedes the society. Understanding the evolution of these gazes, one might study the society and its mode of production. Tourist-gazes vary on time, epoch and culture. The society may be studied as an all-encompassing organism if we, the social scientists, draw attention to its gaze (Urry, 2002a).

In Urry´s account, tourism would have never surfaced in other times because it is associated to the aesthetical values of modernity. As social activity, tourism not only depends on the geographical displacement in the territory, but appeals to a change, to a temporal rupture with rules of daily life. This leads Urry to recognize that being tourist means the convergence between two contrasting logics, leisure and labour. Unlike other scholars, Urry is convinced that tourism is a modern phenomenon. The tourist-gaze expropriates the others respecting to specific forms of socialization, creating signs and ways of interpreting them. Being tourist is the only reified way of being modern (Urry, 2002b, 2007).

However, Urry does not give further explanation on those who are unable to move, such as vagabonds, homeless and people who had been relegated from the productive system. He even thinks "the hyper-mobility" is universal for all classes and types of citizens worldwide. At some extent, he falls in the same fallacy than Auge. In a co-authored book, Scott Lash and John Urry (1998) observe that that the mobility should be interpreted as a result of modern culture that provides with diverse nations a specific identity. In other terms, the current atmosphere of multi-culturalism is unable to find the division between high and low-mobility societies. The modes and developed skills to access to certain types of mobilities confer different status to citizens. The real and symbolic barriers to move are of paramount importance to know the status of a person. In the hyper-mobile world, the cars and mobility have emptied the real geography producing a broader sentiment of omnipotence and control (Lash & Urry, 1998). The trajectory of goods and humans (by the commerce or tourism) has created an empty space accelerating the decline of trust and social bond among persons. They appeal to the Maussian development of gift's theory to explain why trade affects seriously the human reciprocity. Most certainly, the economy coupled to the power of sign and image to blurs the geographical boundaries of space. Following this argument, the geographical markers that characterized the modern space, where the daily rites of life were achieved, have been disappeared to be visually consumed. Taking their cue from Nietzchean influence, authors say that the role of subject is subject to a radical change that modifies hierarchies and institutions. We are living a horizontalization of hierarchies that leads the production to reflexibility. The history and tradition have been blurred in the hegemony of allegory. Last but not least, Lash and Urry explores the role played by the tour operator, as professional whose experience was aimed at protecting its clients. The

function of travel agents falls in finding and absorbing the potential risk a traveller may face during its holidays. Today, there is a tension between experts and lay-people. From this viewpoint, the decision before planning the holidays seems to be made according to the abstract information the client may collate. The personal experience and mouth to mouth recommendations set the pace to new ways of indoctrinating the client's needs. In economies of sign, abstract, where goods are symbolic assets circulating here and there, the tourist-gaze serves as a new type of "re-enchantment of consuming" where the soil is emptied from its history (Urry 2002a, 2002b; Larsen, Urry, & Axhausen, 2006).

Rather, Zygmunt Bauman goes beyond the concept of mobility. His model leads us to see a modern hommo-consumer transformed in consumed good. Interested in detailing the connection of security, surveillance and consumption, Bauman and his co-author, David Lyon (2013) argue convincingly that introduction of technology to mitigate risks, as 9/11 or terrorist attacks at airports, has improved the life in many senses, but undermined the ethics necessary to use these technologies. The manipulation of drones to conduct the war, exempts the user for any liability in case of errors of operations. This resulted from the lack of interest for other´s suffering. It is not mobility the problem, Bauman adds, but the ways of exerting the disciplinary mechanism of control over workforce. The model of panoptic which allowed the conditions for few ones control a whole has changed forever, to a new paradigm. Nowadays, the whole scrutinizes the life of a bunch of participants in a reality-show. The current dispositive of surveillances has a double-function. At the time, they are used to monitor the risks and threats making the life of people safer, users of this "liquid" surveillance technology are marked as "a desired guest", a privilege agent situated at the top of society. That way, society erects a wall among citizens depending on their capacity to consume. Following this argument, over centuries cities were defended by the construction of walls, while today the danger is inside. 9/11 not only posed a threat for West, terrorism, but also paved the pathways to expand the instrument of surveillance to the whole society (Bauman & Lyon, 2013). This begs a more than interesting question, why we say an Airport is a non-place?

THEORY OF NON-PLACES IN MARC AUGE

To understand the theory of Marc Auge and his philosophy of non-places, it is important to pay attention to French sociologists as Durkheim or Rousseau. In similar vein to Durkheim, Auge is exploring the antinomies of modernity as mechanism towards the production of non-places; in other terms, this alludes to anti-anthropological spaces where history dilutes.

The term non-place was originally coined by Marc Augé in the book *Non-lieux. Introduction a une antropología de la submodernité,* the text was published by first occasion in 1992. Now, it is the fashion to talk of non-places, as spaces of anonymity where the traveler's identity is radically altered. Not only is the meaning of non-place being discussed within social sciences, but also in disciplines as engineering, place management, built-reconstruction or architecture. Augé defines the place in view of the relational perspective created by history and tradition. Whether any space associated to tradition can be called as place, the non-place exhibits the contrary tendency where there is no tradition. (Auge, 1996: 83). It is difficult to frame the genre where Auge moves because it encompasses a great variety of multi-disciplinary forms. For some readers, he would write on anthropological concerns, whereas others would opt to think in his book as philosophical ones (Auge, 2001, 2008).

The concept of non-place, as it has been formulated by Auge, stems from an observation at the airport of Paris. The French ethnologist realized that travelers –modern tourists- are hyper-mobile agents conferred to a veil of anonymity. Until the traveler is checked out by the customs and migratory officers, nobody knows further on consumer´s identity. Tourists are enthralled to enjoy from the principle of free mobility at the airport, though it implies the erosion of social trust (Auge, 2008). The names of tourists are only requested whenever the state should validate the identity before the embarking. This suggests that airport are really spaces of anonymity, this means non-places. Placing the antinomy between the remoteness and closeness, Auge explores the origin of anthropology where the other was situated there, in an exotic different place (Auge, 2001). Now, rather, the other is like us, live like us. Also, the anthropological boundaries are being blurred. To what an extent, modern ethnologists may study far-away others, is one of main problems of the western social science epistemology (Auge, 1996).

If the method is defined as previous to the object, the role of anthropology consists in the eternal quest of new methods and objects to redraw the connection of self and time. Not only anthropology but also modernity is returning to the familiar spaces neglecting the exotic presence of otherness (Auge, 1999). We, modern readers, may validate is that what is before us is the real reality. From this point of discussion, the identity is formed by the super-excess of present, which led to destroy the past. The saturation of sense, as it is given by hypermodernity, has been determined by the technological advance in visual entertainment and transport. In other books, Auge will refer to tourism as –an impossible journey. In the sites of leisure, the ego is separated from its territorial attachment towards symbolic imaginaries where the id is a God-like. The non-places are not only the infrastructure to facilitate the circulation of persons who are seen as commodities, but the difficulty to confer the past an importance in the present. The sites of history and identity are being gradually obliterated from earth by the consuming-machine created by hyper-modernity. Without fixed limits, it exacerbates the self to collapse the social bondage. Auge clarifies that the organization of space and the consequent constitution of places, are the most valuable aspect of in-group where its practices will be structured. Ethnologists examine the fieldworks by unraveling how the place is constructed and of course the meaning around it. The places have three common aspects to be discussed. They serve as identifier, relational and historic. Everything we dwell, the neighborhood, squares, and shrines are producers of meaning. It is important not to lose the sight that the monuments, since altars of the Gods, are signifiers to discipline the future, responses to the unquestionable advance of death. The urban densely-populated cities confer identity to the citizens, exerting a type of new institutional power in their inhabitants. These centers are linked by a set of connectors, as highways, routes, where the touring itinerary is organized. At the entrance to cities, in the territory of great skyscrapers, or supermarkets, there is a lot of announces which guide the tourists through their visit to historical monuments. Undoubtedly, the space is symbolized only in present leaving the past only to the consumption of tourist-consumer segments. As previous argument given, Auge's thesis rests on the belief that hypermodernity is producer of non-places, oddly, spaces lacked of the anthropological assets proper of places. What is the role of tourism at this process?

Based on the legacy of Michel de Certeau, Auge considers the journey, the travellers, and tourists as the main argument to hold his

thesis. Travels have been stripped from the historical attachment. Even, tourists have no clear idea about or familiarity with the visited place, they not only do not know the history of the attractions, but also remain indifferent to natives. They do not develop any real attachment to the visited destination. A tourist may very well sightseeing a monument to the heroes of WWII, without feeling any emotion. The hyper-modernity imposes loneliness to the multiplication of non-places simply because it accelerates the decline of social bond (Auge, 2008).

However, Auge adds, places and non-places are not real spaces, but imaginary ones. A site passes from the typology of place to non-place whenever it is lacked of history and meaning. To put this in bluntly, the landscapes are being legalized by the modern contract creating a gap, which is fulfilled by the super production of information. The passengers of non-places only find their identity in the customs check in or at the toll cabin. The non-place not only is unable to produce identity and a relational view, in part because it only focuses on loneliness and likeness, but also sets the pace to history which eventually is commoditized as a product placed to the tourist´s consumption. As a great ethnologist, Auge have made substantial observations of how the life at airports goes. The airport is resulted from the expansion of hyper-modernity over other democratic institutions. The visual consumption controlled by the gaze does not need further explanation about history, beyond what a tour guide may offer. As a result of this, the mass-consumption that characterizes this world paves the ways for the advent of "narcissism", which corresponds with a biased image of id, designed by the marketing forces of private market. In the mobile world we are sensing now, the places, non-places, the experiences are being merged into moldable archetypes fabricated and cloned to exert discipline to the workforce (Auge, 2008). To the criticism against the lack of flexibility in Auge to determine what place means, he developed a response in *Toward anthropology of contemporary Worlds.* At some extent, what is or not a place depends on the subjective interpretation of the inhabitants. At the time, an airport can be seen as an anthropological place for air company's workforce, it is a non-place for passengers. Particularly, two contrasting interpretations arise when we discuss what history is. A wave understands history as a mechanism to record the past facts while other focuses on an ideological instrument to remind the golden times, which are politically manipulated. Since modern technology do its best in reducing geographical distances, the other is being considered more dangerous (Auge, 1999). In another of his radical text, L´Impossible

voyage (The impossible Trip), Auge expands his development about tourism, considered as "an industry of fantasy". Similarly to Paul Virilio, Auge understands tourism as a conductor of capitalism. Undoubtedly, tourists are strangers, aliens who allude to the difference to legitimate their status. States encourage tourism while discourage migration. The other in west is conceived as a threat. This happens because Western industrial societies appeal to institutionalize tourism as a fictionalization of the world. The logic of hyper-modernity is stronger if we live every moment as special and to live life from the heart. This separates the self from its biographical tradition. The life in urban areas looks to be experiencing a major saturation of images which attracts miles of tourists moved by needs of curiosity. Paradoxically, the same process depersonalizes the relationships among ordinary people, is conducive to enlarge the consumption, images, nets of information and media news dissemination; a couple of centuries back, travel was planned from the imagination, just after potential travelers read a book, or a poem. This imagined displacement was triggered by the needs of real contact to the unknown landscape and its natives. Ancient and medieval travels were based on uncertainness which made the discovery more desirable. As a new modern way of displacement, tourism, rather, is based on a false conceptualization of travels, where the other has no real entity. So for Auge, touring meeting is doomed to "pseudo-contacts" that emulate a fictional landscape. This is conducive to exert alienation over the workforce. People are moving towards spaces that never existed. This type of staged-reality, widely studied by many other critical sociologists, reinforces the material asymmetries inherited in late capitalism. The industry of tourism initiates a tendency self oriented to engender "false consciousness" in the other, at the time the world is drawn depending to the consumer´s needs. When we make tourism, we are launching to no-where (Auge, 1997).

One of the most important aspects in Auge´s thought consists in denouncing the final destruction of causality; this means the connection between reason and effect. Respecting to his analysis of 9/11, it is imperative to understand that hyper-modernity altered the classical connection between reason and effects, in the same ways, the media upend the real context of terrorism. Metaphorically speaking, we live alongside a river where the reasons of events are posed backward. Since any image sets the pace to a new one visually generated to replace the earlier, nobody understands the real causes of things in TV (Auge, 2002). In respect to this, Hans Belting (2007) exerts a considerable criticism on the

way Auge develops the dreams. Likely, he admits, Auge should think the sensible world is not what stands before his eyes, but things are easier than due, travels are travels, place are places, and dreams are dreams.

THE LIFE AT AIRPORTS: MARC AUGE REVISITED

Let explain readers first I am an anthropologist educated in cultural studies, who had not only interested by the anthropology of tourism but also by the conceptualization of places through the social imaginaries. My own original concerns lead to read Auge´s book extensively. Though he reached very full approaching methods and interesting theses, we here will place the thesis of non-place under the lens of scrutiny. One of my first fieldworks was conducted at the Buenos Aires international airport (Ministro Pistarini). Originally the research was aimed at understanding the cosmology of expatriate who one day left the country and returned. With the advance of investigation, I discovered two things. At a first glance, they developed a strange nostalgia for Argentina repeating their achievements abroad all time of interviews, but secondly and most important, whole interviewees responded that Ezeiza airport was a place that evoked a strong sentiment of attachment respecting to what being Argentine means. Ezeiza for them was not a non-place, but a sanctuary of respect and emotion. The same sentiment was validated after important sporting spectacles as the international FIFA world cup where supporters embrace their "warriors" at the same airport. Adamantly, expatriates manifested in their interviews, the airport was a point of encounter, a meeting ground, an opportunity of new contact with relative and family. If the factors that help passing from one place to a non-place, as Auge put it, it depends on the subjective viewpoint, what are the criteria we have to follow to understand non-places. Most certainly, being far or closer seems not to depend on the terms formulated by Auge, but in the divergence between reference group and peer group. A couple of travelers living abroad brought their past with them their sentiment for the country, for them, the return were linked to the imagined place. He is not fictionalizing to come back to Argentina, because he still is Argentinian even living abroad. Philosophically speaking, there is no clear connection between the geographical and emotional distance. In the bunch of testimonies I collated, Ezeiza not only was a place, desired by many expatriates, but also did not correspond with a producer of anonymity as Auge precluded.

In 2006, the Aero-worker Union claim paralyzed the most important airports of the net, even Ezeiza. Hundreds of workers and front line staff of air companies and carriers grouped at the hall to the astonishing view of passengers, and stopped all services. This created not only a chaos but resulted thousands of tourists were stranded without any information. Though passengers condemned the strike, they were waiting for more than 6 hours to embark the next flight. In this occasion, the airports, once again becomes in a battleground, a place of conflict where Worker Union exerted a sudden strike for their claims to be heard by state. The same happened in others approaches during 2007/2008/2012 though my fieldwork interventions were intended to other issues.

Another reason why the theory of non-places does not apply in the daily life depends on its ideological interpretation by the elite. Like many Latin American countries, Argentina experiences a great rate of unemployment and people who have been relegated from the formal circle of work. People not only living in miserable conditions, but also some of them as homeless or vagabonds recently settled at the surrounding of ports, subway refuges, or train stations. At the time we think a train station is a non-place, involuntarily we think it is a producer of non-right, if people living in non-place, has non-right, also these undesired "guest" are non-persons. The place as political instrument is the sanctuary where the rights have sense. A non-place also engenders non-rights. This represents a dangerous message for many right-wind organizations that see in Auge´s viewpoint a good ally to reinforce their claims for "mano dura", "more strong rules" where these residual agents were isolated from the whole society. Homeless opt for these places because the rules there are minimal for them, besides of the benefits to live on passengers charity. For them, the bus stations are representing the last being in this world, a new type of symbolic re-appropriation of what is public. At the time, the citizen embraces the promise of private market, which encourages us to buy products to feel more security, happiness and excitement and, of course, enclose our hermeneutic circle to home they go in the opposite direction. Vagabonds fulfill the so-called non-places by bringing his intimacy, his life to the total publicity. They are open because have nothing to lose. Subject to different applications of hospitality, the current laws of nation-state only protect to the tourist, not the homeless (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000; Korstanje, 2008). Our thesis is that the concept of non-places, as it has been formulated by French philosophy, is conducive to some elitist discriminatory practices, because it alludes to think people living there, in places of anonymity, have non-rights.

Whatever the case may be, Auge´s development of new places less from being polemic, alludes to certain complacency with the status quo interest. At a first glance, many other scholars have found similar objections to hypermodernity as Dean Maccannell (1976), Paul Virilio (1997), Jean Baudrillard (1995), but they did not refer to the "non-places" as Augé did. In other terms, we understand Auge´s worries for the decline of social trust, which is associated to saturation of present; furthermore, we must accept the invention of new pseudo cultures, spaces offered to international tourism worldwide. However, this does not allow us to say that places can be emptied. One might speculate the non-place as imagined by Auge becomes in a real place, whenever the conflict arises. Following this, Ezeiza airport was conceived in my fieldwork as a place only for those tourists or passengers involved in a type of rupture that allowed a further attachment to the past, this means worker unions, expatriates, homeless and so forth.

Also, a more interesting question surfaces, is hypermodernity expanded by the lack of conflict? A tentative of Auge would be yes. No further evidence is needed to show he is wrong. One of the aspects that make capitalism stronger is not the production of non-places, but the production of "conflictive hot-spot" to activate the stage of securization that today monopolizes the workforce worldwide. Ordinary people are not alienated by consumption, even if it poses an important aspect of their life, but by fear and conflict.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF AIRPORTS

The concept of tourist travel is not being determined by the needs of departures, but by arrivals. This concept will be explained in next lines. The whole departures are subject to the scrutiny of a great number of institutions aimed at securitizing the air-space. The protocols are ruled in time and space. The accuracy and timeliness not only define the quality of service offered by the company but also evaluate to what an extent the passengers would choose the product at a later day. If the company delays its departures, its opportunities to gain further segment of the market declines, in comparison to those that schedule the flights in time. The time of travel has been outweighed by the time of arrival. Through the websites, passengers click down on the trips that arrive in the morning. The flying experience is previously determined by the conditions of

arrival. This happens because tourists look to produce "solipsistic" and "outstanding" experiences.

Most certainly, one might access to airport in two ways, using a shuttle bus or by car. The former refers to a passive way of being carried, while the latter one connotes "possession". Drivers are psychologically prone to take the control of their daily situations. It is clear how in a contexts of familiarity, tourists prefer to use personal cars to move, whereas abroad this practice is declined. Abandoning the security of home not only changes our behavior but also appeals to diverse strategies to reach the shelter. Airports, hotels serve as symbolic shelter that mediates between the self and uncertainness. My grand-father said that travelling was the art of lifestyle, a way of existing in the world.

Once inside the airport, it is important to be familiar with the check-in steps as well as other types of requirements as luggage max weight. Anthropologically speaking, luggage is vital because it represents the symbolic opportunities of visitors to survive out of home. Those passengers damned to loose the "sacred baggage", will have less probability to remain abroad. Although there is a great industry of insurances to avoid situations of this caliber for tourists, it is important not to lose the sight that flying or traveling implies a rupture between the certainness of home and the "unknown".

As the previous description, the check-in corresponds with a rite of passage, which can be contained in three stages. The first one begins when the traveler appears at airport to make the check-in. On the desk, the air-company will weigh the luggage and issue a ticket which should be presented at the final destination. The second stage signals to the control by the migration office, customs and police. Each one emulates diverse cultural aspects of modern hyper mobile society. Whether customs represents the control over the circulation of goods, which forms nation-states, migration office applies exclusively on the displacement of persons. States applies the hospitality (welcome principle) only to those who had identity and money to return. As Derrida put it, restricted-hospitality only can be offered to those who can pay for that. The etymology of the term, check-in, results exclusivity in a control, which is successfully passed, denotes "being in" the circle of privileged persons. Rather, others that have no financial resources to consume in the hyper mobile capitalism, as migrants and blue collar workers are subject to immobility and ignominy. Being controlled in this world exhibits a need to belong to an "outstanding class". In parallel, in the third facet, the police would certificate the "in-

comer" is not a dangerous person, certifying the homeland security is not being compromised. The airport police do its best for body-search or prohibited objects alluding of what Jose Anta Felez denominated the disciplinary mechanism of control on tourist´ bodies. These three institutions, migrations, customs and police work together to keep the security of nation state. Airports serve in this vein as ideological mechanism of discipline and control so passengers embrace the cultural values of current societies. Far from being non-places, they are spaces of politics and authority that marks the boundaries of passenger´s regulations. The question whether globalization has shortened the world is incomplete, if we does not question these travels and circulations should be done within specific channels authorized to connect states. The codes proper of military forces are replicated in and out the airplane. As Anta Felez (2013) observed, the plane and its flight are controlled by a disciplinary mechanism by which the immobility of tourists enable the movement of the machine. What a person can do in a flight is limited to the voice of captain and its crew. The experience of passengers leads to the lack of interaction. Each one is enmeshed into a plenty of cultural media entertainment which prevents the dialogue with others. This solipsistic experience alludes to the production of ideology, which reinforces the guiding values of society, by means of a rite of passage: the travel. Those values are the hospitality, security, trade and western efficacy. What is more important to discuss is how the airplane reproduces the codes of consumptions, proper of modern societies, instead of considering it as a sign of non-place.

Once arrived, tourists will face free shop establishments, where they can buy a lot of merchandises and products not taxable by local government. As real spaces of natural state where goods can be touched at the consumer´s discretion, Free-shop seems to emulate a type of lost-paradise (separating the self from its mother´s womb); one has sacrificed at time of embracing the civilization. However, the paradise has its limits. Beyond the free shop, the merchandise should be paid whether one trespasses the electronic boundaries of the shop. Ideologically, supermarkets, airports, free shop and other establishments operate in two difference senses. On one hand, they confer to citizens the idea of order and cleanness. As Mary Douglas (2003) has observed, cleanness exhibits a human attempt to classify the environment, from an "econometric" way. Our meaning of what is dirt appeals to the laws to maintain the symbolic structure; "prohibited" things (food) are not impure, in the strict sense of the word, but a reservoir against less sunny days. On another, airports

facilitate cloned practices where travelers do the same at the same time. However, this does not mean that the past disappears or it is merged into the present. Certainly, they emulate the prosperity of western society, offering the products often people desire. The liberty to be next these idealized products is equal to a staged-natural state, where Adam has unlimited access to everything he wanted. In these paradisiacal states, the idea of sacrifice and suffering were left behind. Although Adam was expulsed from the Paradise, humankind has tried to return there from immemorial times. Our current concept of labor is associated to the needs of replicating constantly the "lost-paradise".

In this respect, the social system opens the doors to the dichotomy nature-civilization, exacerbating the freedom to consume it is closed by tighter protocols of control over the mobile bodies. As Foucault puts it, the law is accepted because the shortage-principle takes place. Airports work as spaces where desired can be exploited, a type of new state of nature where pleasure is maximized. Secondly, the principle of surveillance and security, by where airports are fully monitored, the body is educated and disciplined by the three major forces of state: *customs, migration and police.* These controls evidence diverse values which are very important for hosting nations. It is unfortunate, in this direction, that the thesis of non-places obscures more than it clarifies. It is safe to say this is not an "ethnographic research" in its strict sense of the word, rather, as essay review; it alternates the personal experience with earlier fieldwork, to place the theory of non-places under the lens of scrutiny.

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