# Becoming Capital: A Journey Through the Political Economic Space of Copenhagen Airport

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**Abstract**

This article investigates processes of quantification in Copenhagen Airport in order to understand the capitalisation of human mobility and more fully grasp the becoming of passenger mobilities in airports. Through combined fieldwork and abstract research this spatial enquiry lays out an 'empirical journey' of the surface phenomenon of airport-space and a 'real journey' through processes of spatial power and interests, and thereby contributes to the growing political economic research on aeromobilities.

Using the theories of relational space, body and political economy offered by David Harvey and Henri Lefebvre and the latter's 'homogeneity-fragmentation-hierarchization' triad, the paper shows how human mobilities by the processes of airport-space are reduced by quantification and seized as capital. The article argues of three forms of capital: 'efficiency-capital', 'consumer-capital', and 'experience-capital', which are all commodity-capitals from which the airport profits. Given the strong relation between airport space and urban space the article is also relevant to address broader issues of capital, mobility control, and urban development in a capitalist economy. The article's empirical research of the less investigated Copenhagen Airport also broadens the empirical scope of aeromobilities research.

## Introduction

There is not much graffiti in Copenhagen Airport but I did find there the simple but evocative statement 'Freedom' on the inside of a cubicle door in a men's bathroom. Although this location does not offer much freedom of physical mobility, it could be the only place in the airport where one's physical mobility is not monitored and where one can escape, to some extent, the pervasive control of the airport. Imperatives of airport surveillance and security are well described (see for example, Adey (2004), Bigo (2010), and Lyon (2008)). Furthermore Fuller (2003, 13) describes the airport as a '…machine for processing and controlling mobility' and Fuller and Harley (2004), as well as Adey (2008), make important arguments about how bodies are differently modulated in airports. The latter expresses this using the term 'difference machine'.

However, as important as the 'difference' constituted by the 'machine' may be, I wish to focus instead on what connects different travellers, be they a graffiti-writer, a business or economy class traveller, or a 'risky' immigrant traveller; in particular, the general processes beneath their diverse and stratified mobilities. I argue that the airport is *equally* a 'machine' for production and for turning mobilities and bodies into capital and profit. This happens with processes of quantification inscribed by mobility control and the spatial order of the airport. The subject who became a graffiti-writer and seemingly has escaped some of the airport's control, for example, should have moved quickly, consumed something along the way and been pleased about it, as I will argue throughout this article.

Neither political economic perspectives nor power thinking is absent from literature on mobility and airports (e.g. Bissell, 2012; Minn, 2013). However, when Kesselring (2009) claims the political role of airports and airline routes in constituting global spatiality of power, I turn the focus onto the airport terminals and ask the question *which profit-related processes are producing airport-space?* Whereas McNeill's (2010) investigation of Heathrow Airport's terminals shows the need for ethnographic sensitivity to the economic value and revenues inherent in the buildings' spatiality and Cresswell (2010) convincingly argues for six mobility facets constituting the politics of mobility but neglects the influence of the social power of money, I ask *which political economic roles must mobile bodies play when travelling through airport-space?* The answers proposed here to these two questions are respectively *spatial quantification and capitalisation of mobilities* and the roles of what could be called *efficiency-capital, commodity-capital and experience-capital*. Other imperatives influence airport-space, but it is the aim of this article to contribute to the growing literature on aeromobilities, airports and urban mobility control by pointing to the benefits of application of these particular political economic perspectives.

However from a radical perspective, the importance of understanding how mobile bodies are turned into capital through airport-space lies only partly with the airport's role as gateway to an international mobility, which is a profound

parameter in contemporary societal hierarchy (Bauman, 1998). Such capitalisation is, after all, to be expected of private companies operating in a capitalist economy. The importance lies equally with the possibility to *translate* processes in the airport to urban space more generally. Fuller and Harley (2004) argue of the 'laboratory conditions' of airports, where certain developments happens first. Sheller and Urry (2006) claim that cities are increasingly becoming like airports and Salter (2008) recognises airports as particular urban spaces. If the contemporary city must be understood as an assemblage of different mobilities, which experience different kinds of inclusion and exclusion as Jensen (2013) claims, and if, as Bigo (2010, 1) argues, '…liberal governmentality is more and more driven by a reframing of freedom as speed and comfort…', then studies of airports seems particularly useful to become aware of certain urban developments, in a sense, before they might happen. Furthermore private owned airports seem to be particular useful cases to understand the political and economic processes of contemporary urban mobility control. This article investigates such an airport, Copenhagen Airport, and its findings are thus relevant for critical urban research.

***Bodies-spaces-mobilities-capital related***

The study of the body has to be grounded in an understanding of *real spatio-temporal relations* between material practices, representations, imaginaries, institutions, social relations, and the prevailing structures of political-economic power. (Harvey, 2000, 130, *my emphasis*)

Harvey's statement offers a great liftoff to a theoretical understanding of the relation between bodies, mobilities, space, and capitalisation. Space is *produced,* as Lefebvre (1991) famously stated. It is produced as a complex of related, often conflicting, processes (Harvey, 1996). 'Bodies - deployments of energy - produce space and produce themselves, along with their motions, according to the laws of space' (Lefebvre, 1991, 17) and mobilities are outcomes of bodily movement as well as the capacity to be mobile (Adey, 2010). This capacity is determined by the spatial laws, or spatial powers, as well as the subject's propensities for certain mobilities (Kaufmann, 2002). Bodies moving through airports thus produce spaces and are produced by the already existing spatial political economic orders. More precisely they are quantified along some kind of 'sameness', spatially located due to particular functions and placed in a hierarchy, which Lefebvre's (2009, 212) 'schema' of 'homogeneity-fragmentation-hierarchization' respectively describes. It is due to these dialectically related processes of spatial power that quantification of complex spatial elements can occur and mobilities achieve the 'sameness' necessary when treated as use-values to some and traded with an ascribed exchange-value and money-value: all in order to produce surplus value for the airport. Value set in motion to create more value is precisely defined as capital (Harvey, 2006). This is a mere condition of travelling through airport-space and it is what I mean by the *body becoming capital by the quantification of airport-space*.

### *The used methodology of journeys*

Even though I, as a moving body, do not experience myself becoming capital, it happens nevertheless due to the '*real spatio-temporal relations*' of processes of airport-space. To grasp these it is necessary to take an 'empirical journey' through the material surface of airport-space and, equipped with an initial conceptual apparatus, take a 'real journey', which digs though the abstract processes and unfolds the more accurate concepts to understand the complex of related processes. It is this complex that the empirical surface phenomena really express. Only then are the actual influences of general spatial political economic processes illuminated. Such methodology follows the dialectical spatial thinking offered by Harvey (2008, 1996). This methodology inheres a reduction of the complexity of relational spaces, but a necessary one, which is reductive in the sense that it illuminates the abstract processes that influence the production of concrete spaces (Harvey, 1989).

This article is ordered to express this methodology, with 3 chapters each analysing one capital form and each beginning with an empirical description of mainly one part of the journey, followed by a more abstract analysis and the illumination of processes. This does not mean that only one capital form adheres to the particular part of the journey, but is done to make the argument stand stronger.

The 'empirical journey', which is described and abstracted, follows my field observations conducted on three occasions (in 2009, 2010 and 2014). The two former occurred Landside (areas before Security Check) in Copenhagen Airport Terminal 3, when I was not actually a traveller but an observer. I spent approximately four hours sitting, observing, photographing, and moving back and forth among the main routes through the terminal (see Figure 1). As an observer I investigated the material elements of the terminal space that are passed and the audial, the visual and the emotional impressions associated with them. I also took photographs and notes that I later used to 'return' to the terminal. On the third occasion I was a traveller. By arriving three hours before boarding I was able to conduct a similar field study (minus photography) and extend it past the security check area to Airside areas. Also as a traveller, I conducted fieldwork in 2011 on the journey from Schiphol Airport to Copenhagen Airport through both Airside and Landside areas in Terminals 2 and 3. The methodology for this paper thus draws on mobile ethnographic methods (Büscher and Urry, 2009) and something similar to what Adey (2009, 203) describes as 'performing the practice of the airport journey...' In addition to these field studies, the empirical journey is constructed from an interview on flow management in Copenhagen Airport that I conducted in 2009. The interview took 1 hour, was conducted at different sites Landside in Terminal 2 and 3 and involved two employees from Copenhagen Airport: CPH's Product Manager of Terminals and CPH's and a architect in CPH's Master Planning Division. This interview, as well as annual reports from CPH, SAS and industry related organisations, helps to clarify the interests and processes behind the material order of airport-space.

***The Copenhagen Airport case study?***

Case studies are interesting as they can produce detailed knowledge of concrete spaces as well as knowledge of a more general relevance (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This case study of Copenhagen Airport mainly focuses on the Landside parts of Terminal 3, but references to other locations also appear in the study. These locations provide a micro geographic context for understanding the influence of quantification and capitalisation on mobilities and spaces. As this case study mainly focuses on the areas with the least severe control and which appear to be public places (but are not), it may be easier to 'translate' the findings to urban space more generally.

Copenhagen Airport is not well studied but is nevertheless an international airport and the biggest in Scandinavia in terms of the number of international flights and passengers, as well as its catchment areas (CPH, 2014a). It functions as the main hub to Scandinavia, although competition for this title has been increasing (Thelle et al., 2012). Copenhagen Airport is operated by the stock company Copenhagen Airports A/S, with a share majority (57.7%) held jointly by Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan and Macquarie European Infrastructure Fund III and with 39.2% owned by the Danish state. Scandinavian Airlines (SAS) is the key strategic partner to CPH (CPH, 2013a) and their operations are related. The credit rating agency Moody's (2014) even includes SAS in their considerations when rating CPH. Due to this close relationship between SAS and CPH, I booked my flight on SAS and thereby made SAS part of the case study.

Studies of airports tend to focus on the biggest airports, such as Heathrow (Cresswell, 2006; McNeill, 2010), Schiphol (Cresswell, 2006; Urry, 2007), Singapore or Sydney (Fuller and Harley, 2004) and the empirical findings thus add to diversity in knowledge on airports and aero-mobilities.

Throughout the article I make reference to the built environment of Copenhagen Airport as 'Copenhagen Airport' and 'CPH' for the stock company Copenhagen A/S.

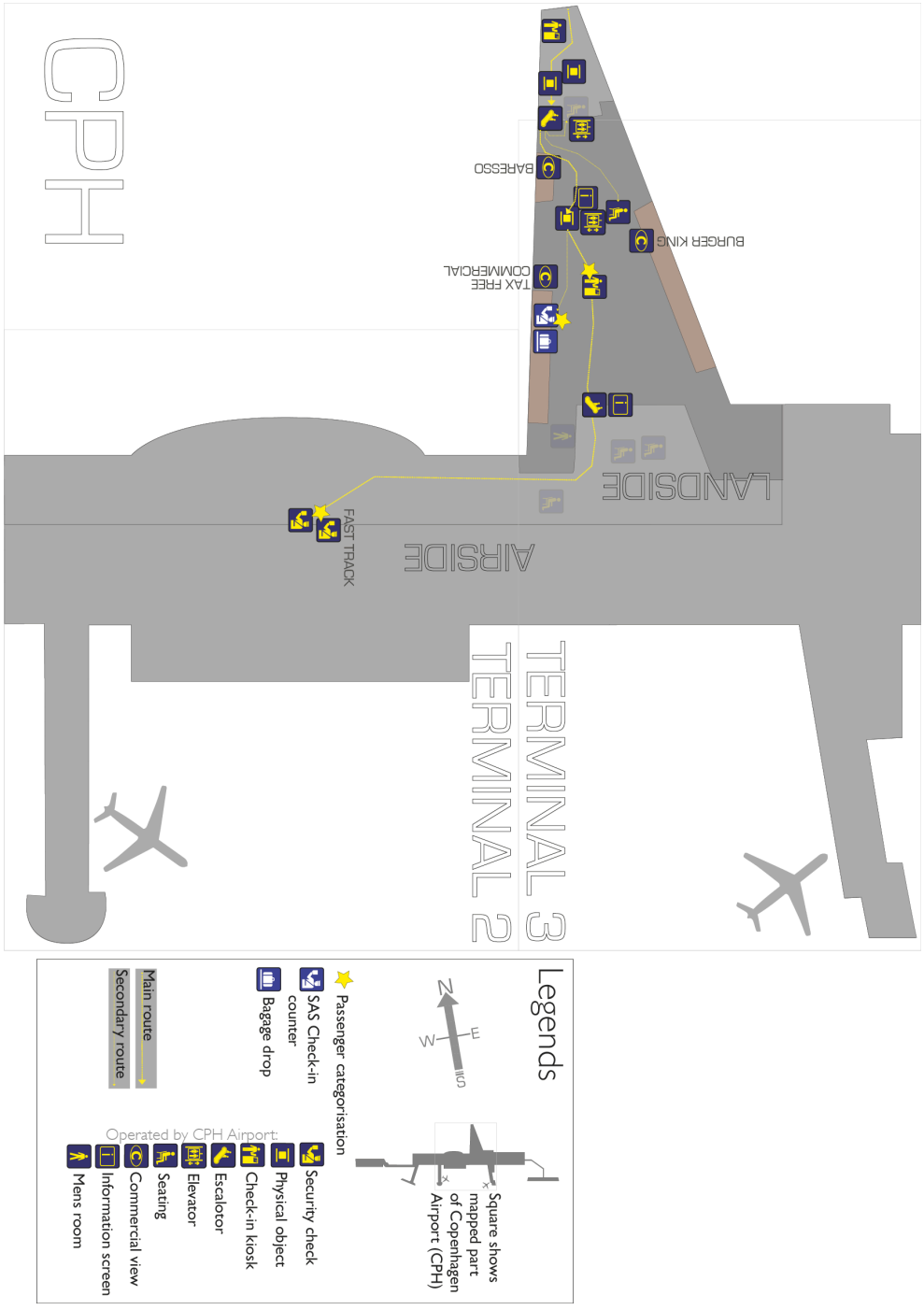


**Figure 1: Representation of the airport space, as it is constituted along an empirical journey in Copenhagen Airport. The map is made from field studies conducted in 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2014, as well as from maps of Copenhagen Airport (CPH, 2013).**

## How to move efficiently in Copenhagen Airport

In order to understand how passengers become capital, and the relation to efficient movement, one can begin an empirical journey in the north end of Copenhagen Airport (Figure 1) when leaving the metro-train station. This area actually belongs to the metro company but the station was built by CPH to increase its competitive advantage (Thelle et al., 2012). From here the lights and different coloured flagstones in the floor led me through the airport, pointing out the direction, and I quickly spotted a sign that informed me of the location of Terminal 3. I then moved forward toward some self-service check-in kiosks (Figure 1), which I could have used if I had not already checked in on for example my smart phone or if I had not wanted to check in at the SAS check-in counters located near the south end of Terminal 3. These self-service kiosks are part of CPH's passenger processing strategy and many travellers use them, thanks to an effort to educate passengers initiated by the airport, as explained by CPH Product Manager of Terminals. They seem logically connected to the use of machine-readable tickets and to the digital exchange between airlines and border police of advanced passenger information (API), collected at booking and check-in and stored in a database operated by the IT company Amadeus (2009). Where machine-readable documents reduce processing time, API exchange is sought standardised in terms of the amount of data and, in the case of interactive API systems (where data transfer is provided by the border police) mobilities can be controlled in four seconds or less (WCO et al., 2013). Data collection is indeed important to geographies of mobilities (Graham, 2005; Kitchin & Dodge, 2011).

The now reached self-service kiosks are placed in front of big windows, which offer a great view of the traffic and the sky. This could easily have been a spot for a pause in the journey but without any obvious place to rest or linger, standing here was not an attractive option. Had I chosen to stay anyway, I would have blocked some of the flow of human traffic and obstructed the efficiency of the flow gained by using self-service. The speed of the flow also seems to be at a specific level; slowing down, I notice some passengers moving closer to me from behind and I so accelerated a bit. This is not an optimal place for standing still.

Moving towards Terminal 3 a passage between an art globe and some pillars directs the passenger flow. It offers an impression of the right direction in which to travel and seems to separate oncoming flows. At this location the ceiling is not particularly high (in comparison to much of Copenhagen Airport. Even though the dimensions are important for movement, and large dimensions are consciously used both to produce faster flows and direct it, as explained by the interviewed architect, it still feels as though movement is the meaning of this space and the route appears obvious. Then reaching the escalator, which leads down from this plateau to Terminal 3 (Figure 1). My modest luggage made this movement possible. If I had had more luggage and used one of the carts offered by the airport (or just pulled a bigger suitcase), the passage through the metal fences would have

been impossible and I would have had to use the elevator, which would have made the journey slower.

Imagining that it was possible to look beneath the empirical surface of the airport, it would already be possible to observe several control processes at this point of the journey. The ways in which the physical elements direct movements or stop particular mobilities are obvious means of controlling the mobility. Using signs, light, and materials to suggest, rather than force, particular movement, is not a coercive means of control, but they are still control mechanisms. The correct routes to follow are pointed out and create better passenger orientation or 'way finding', to use an expression from the CPH Product Manager of Terminals. According to him, 'way finding' is important in creating efficient passenger flows. This is an important point: 'way finding' incites movement, a point somewhat similar to that of Fuller (2008, 165). Relating to use of glass, transparency and sequence in airports, she writes: 'We are pulled in, ineluctably drawn to the next scene. The momentum of the terminal emulates that of the plane: forward, directed, and controlled. It is hard to stop the forward motion, once you've begun the processes for flight.'

The material spatial order of the airport, with its use of light, glass, flagstones, location of physical objects that function as barriers, and kiosks for faster processing, produces greater velocity in the material sense and affects the minds and lived spaces of bodies by creating better 'way finding'. This leads to more efficient flows. In other words, the order of the material space is used to produce a space guided by the 'laws' of speed and efficiency.

### *Interest in efficient material mobility*

But what is the interest in producing the efficient flow of moving bodies? Adey (2007) argues that airports are interested in keeping passengers in specific areas in order to consume while airlines are interested in the fastest flow of passengers possible. Airline companies do, as Peters (2009) shows in his enquiry of time and aeromobilities, meticulously seek to coordinate time of arrival, boarding, loading and departure, as delays could mean economic loss and further delays of connecting flights. When flights are delayed airlines could face penalties from handling companies, additional airports charges, higher fuel costs and/or mandatory reimbursement for passenger accommodation. Such costs increase proportionally with the length of the delay (Cook et al., 2004). This may explain the 19 passenger calls or boarding calls for different flights I observed during an hour Airside in Copenhagen Airport. Following Adey's argument one could conclude that this part of the journey, where efficient movement appear so important, is in a space where airline's interest dictate, before the passenger reaches the 'consuming' space where the airport's interest lies. This could explain the airport's interest in transferring people as fast as possible from 'Landside' to 'Airside'. The average time spent 'Landside' (before check-in) (Figure 1), is 10 minutes, while they spend 90 minutes 'Airside', where most of the shops are

located, as the two interviewed CPH employees explain. However such division of spaces of interest does not capture the interest in efficient passenger movement.

It is CPH (2014b) that maps walking distances in time intervals and CPH that express its emphasis on efficiency in passenger processing in an annual report:

> For this reason, CPH will expand its focus to include the total cost that airlines incur in operating at Copenhagen Airport, by seeking collaboration and *optimisation of common processes and a better understanding of its customers' business*. This means that Copenhagen Airport's offering and quality of products and services to travellers and airlines from arrival to departure – for example check-in, security, baggage, regularity, transfer services and turnaround time, among others – must provide optimal value to its customers. (CPH, 2011, 15, *my emphasis*)

The word 'customers' here refers to the airlines. By processing passengers efficiently, CPH aims to achieve what CPH Master Planning Division architect calls 'space management', i.e. finding the right relation between flow-speed, number of passengers and dimensions. The material airport space is designed around standards suggested by the International Air Transport Association (IATA) giving areas with flows in both directions a width of 6 meters (CPH, 2013b). Terminal 3 Landside is generally characterised by both arriving and departing passenger flows and designed with respect to the near peak number of passengers (Smith, 2003). In this way efficient passenger flows can be quantified by a particular passenger-to-meters ratio. Similar quantification is found in the terms CPH (2013b) sets for airlines operating in Copenhagen Airport, where airline check-in and boarding areas are clearly defined in terms of distance from counters. But perhaps most clearly expressing the relation between quantification and capitalisation is the criterion of 'average process time' by which airline counter hours and placement are decided (Ibid.). This criterion is a quantified entity resembling the 'average social labour time' constituting value, a subject to which I return later in the paper.

However it is not the thrill of observing efficiently moving bodies that is of interest to CPH. Rather, such efficiency is a vital use-value to CPH's political economy. The interest lies in the possibility of 'commodifying' mobility by reducing the complexity of mobilities to fit a standard of money-value. The rate of efficiency in processing passengers, and thus the acceleration of passenger flow, should be understood as a commodity offered by the airport to the airlines. CPH Product Manager of Terminals pointed to this relation in describing what he calls the 'check-in product': 'We are selling it to the airlines, you know,' he said. 'We offer it to the passengers, of course, but via the airlines'. The effort and practices of modulating bodies and producing mobilities, as well as the bodily movement of passengers, which should be considered work conducted *for* the airport, are reduced to the 'sameness' of the amount of necessary labour time generally

required to produce a certain number of processed passengers. This is expressed in Marxian terms as 'socially necessary labour time' and defines 'value' (Harvey, 2006). It is achieved through the spatial processes of 'homogeneity' through which spaces are produced around such 'sameness' and 'fragmentation' where the functions of processing (move, check-in and the like) are located strategically by 'space management'. By processing passengers, movement is quantified into minutes (wait time for a security check, for example) and different propensities of mobility become a matter of number of passengers per minute. Because this quantified mobility satisfies the goal of a given number of passengers at a particular time, it becomes a use-value to both the airlines and the airport and with its 'homogeneity' it becomes possible to associate an exchange-value and a money-value with it. This makes a trade possible. Airlines buy this commodity by paying passenger charges as well as the costs of security, take-off, aircraft parking, and handling. In this way CPH earned 2,070.9 million DKK in aeronautical revenues in 2013, which came to 56.8% of its total revenue (CPH, 2013a).

Both CPH and the airlines are interested in efficient passenger flows. The more efficiently travellers are processed through the airport the more flight departures and arrivals can occur at the same numbers of gates. CPH has recently invested in improving its passenger transfer facilities in partnership with SAS, e.g. by providing better information and a special baggage handling process, which has reduced the minimum connecting time from 40 to 30 minutes and enabled additional 70 daily SAS flights (Thelle et al., 2012). Furthermore CPH's recent development of automated processing by self-service check-in kiosks and automated security gates express similar intent to make processing more time efficient. Such material structures constitute some of Copenhagen Airport's built environment and must, according to Marxist economic theory (Harvey, 2006), be understood as 'fixed capital', a capital form that is part of profit making: a point somewhat similar to that made by McNeill (2010) about Heathrow Airport. With more passengers and more flights processed and without building additional physical infrastructure CPH can make its 'fixed capital' produce profit at a greater rate. In short, the turnover time (Harvey, 2006) of CPH's capital is enhanced by speeding up processing.

It is such processes of quantification that make it possible for the velocity of my moving body to become a form of commodity the airport can sell. This commodity, quite literally, becomes value (or money) in motion; in other words, capital for the airport. The mobility of the body follow a spatial order produced by the powers of airport-space in a way that incites efficiency and first and foremost becomes 'efficiency-capital'. This is the first example of the body becoming capital.

## How to stay in the 'Land of passion and luxury'

Investigating the relation between moving bodies becoming capital and consuming brings the empirical journey back at the top of the escalator Landside at

Terminal 3 (Figure 1). What one sees first from that vantage point is a huge ad for the Tax Free Shop. With the text 'Welcome to the land of passion and luxury' it invites passengers to consume at a later point in their journey. But it is already possible to consume just after one descends the escalator. A Baresso coffee bar with its open design and location in the flow route invites travellers to stop for a coffee, either 'to go' or to drink while seated at one of their tables. This is the first area of seating one comes to in Terminal 3 when arriving on the metro.

The Baresso shop is located at the edge of a big square-shaped area, which easily could have been a spot for sitting without consuming a Baresso product. Here people could have sat at tables and enjoyed a packed lunch, worked on their laptops or simply waited for their flights, instead of sitting on the floor as many passengers do. But the square does not offer such possibilities. In order to find a 'free' place to sit with no strings attached, there are really only five benches in Terminal 3, where I could sit without purchasing anything. And only two of these are in this northern part of the Terminal. One bench is hidden behind the escalator that leads down from the upper plateau (Figure 1), where I could sit feeling stuffed away in a corner. Instead I chose to walk to the approximate center of Terminal 3 and the eastern side of some escalators (Figure 1) (where the bench was located during my first and third visits, but not the second). The benches consist of several individual seats divided by armrests. This construction creates a locked sitting position and, as such, as Adey (2007) points out, produces particular views. Here I sat under some information screens, feeing uneasy as passengers stood close to me to view the screens. Whenever I looked up, I saw the big ad welcoming me to the Tax Free Shop and another signposting Burger King.

***Do stay to consume***

The lack of (decent) sitting places produces flow instead of an urge to stay. This is precisely the CPH's main interest in this northern part of Terminal 3 Landside, if we believe the architect for CPH's Master Planning Division. In fact, sitting areas in this section have been removed. However, this does not tell the whole story. If I wanted to sit comfortably I had to go to Baresso, Burger King or Starbucks and become a consumer. Although the aforementioned 'free' benches were comfortable enough, they did not feel like a place to stay for more than a short period. Perhaps I simply was not tired enough. While sitting at Burger King was tempting and symptomatic to the fragmented spatial order of the airport, I chose to buy a coffee and stay at Baresso for field observations – it really was the only decent place to sit while observing the passenger flow in Terminal 3. This lack of places to sit is intentional and interesting from a commercial point of view, as CPH's Product Manager of Terminals explained:

> There is of course a relation between the number of seats you make publicly available and the number of seats in restaurants. That is clear. It is not defined, the exact relation between them; that is not.

> But of course, if one wants to sit somewhere, then it could be that you have to go to buy yourself a cup of coffee.

Put cynically but precisely: what seems to be the *passion* of this space is processing passengers to the right place while *luxury* is something you buy.

There is another illustration of this point. Sitting areas alone do not produce spaces to stay. There are also sites that invite one to stand and wait before moving again. Imagine that I did not want to sit - instead of crossing the square to the other side of the terminal, I could follow what seems a more obvious route through Terminal 3. This would lead me to some self-service check-in kiosks and big screens displaying information about boarding and check-in (Figure 1), information that would instruct the right flow from there on. I could stand there afraid of missing my flight, as Adey points out (2007), watching the information screens for gate numbers and the time on one of the clocks in sight. If I was calmed by access to flight and time information, I could have used one of the pillars to lean on, giving me a feeling of ease. Such pillars are obvious places to stand (Gehl, 2007). However standing both in front of the screens and the pillars commercial ads and places to consume quickly caught my eye.

Again some processes of spatial control operate here holding mobilities temporarily fixed though seating, points of orientation or rest. These point directly to Adey's (2007) argument of the airport's interest in keeping passengers in specific places where they are encouraged to consume. This goal can also be achieved by artificially lighting shop fronts with more than 1000 lux in order to attract travellers' attention (Holm, 2006) or creating smaller flow widths where shops are located and a one meter zone in front of shops, as the interviewed architect explains is the case in some parts of CPH. Hereby producing fragmented spaces for consumption. However, this reduces the efficiency of passenger flows and points to a divergent interest between shop owners and airlines.

An element of equal interest between shop owners and airlines, though from different perspectives, is 'way finding', which also relates to consuming. It relates to the rate of stress passengers experience, which is important to the rate of consuming (Holm, 2006; Smith, 2003). This relation was described by the architect of CPH's Master Planning Division:

> There are many passengers with different needs but they are all interested in having a reduced level of stress…by far most purchases in shops are spontaneous, few are planned in advance…People want to consume – one could say that it is part of the desired airport experience.

By creating 'way finding' and delivering necessary information to passengers, CPH is able to influence passenger experiences and produce a better environment for consuming. It could be Allen's (2006) term 'ambient power', which is understood as a form of phenomenological spatial power. We as passengers are not forced but

rather seduced to consume by both the ambiance of airport-space and the intended visual impressions. In relation to the representation of airport-space as a 'consumerist land of passion and luxury' (one has to consciously resist an association between the tax free shop ad and Copenhagen Airport) and the passengers' 'wanted experiences' of shopping, a relational space is produced in which it feel attractive and obvious to consume.

***The airport's interest in consuming passengers***

Once again, however, there is more to the story. Why has CPH facilitated shops' business by implementing the CPH Advantage loyalty programme, which offers discounts in various shops? Members of CPH Advantage spend 20% more than other shoppers (CPH, 2013a), but CPH does not own Baresso, WHSmith, the Tax Free Shop or any other shops. The reason for such a programme could very well be CPH's monopoly of the built environment of airport-space. As Harvey (2006) argues such a monopoly offers the possibility attach a prize tag to space and extract rent or 'concession revenues', to use an exact term. This state sanctioned monopoly becomes a spatial power as it enables the airport to produce fragmented space in a similar way as it does in airline check-in areas '…into separate spaces occupied by functions that are exercised within these distinct spaces…' (Lefebvre, 2009, 214). Built environment can thus be treated as an economic asset and renting a parcel of this to commercial actors brought in 675.9 million DKK from the Shopping Center in 2013, which translated to 18,5 % of the airport's total revenues (CPH, 2013a). The implication of this is that when I bought my espresso at Baresso I was not a customer at the airport. To Baresso I was indeed a customer, but I was also a commodity purchased from the airport – a commodity made attractive through actual consumption by passengers and representation of travellers. Representation happens, for example, when CPH communicates B2B, to renters, about 'Copenhagen Airport Shopping Center' on their website (CPH, 2014c). In addition to categories of 'gender', 'age', 'nationality', 'travel purpose' ('business', 'leisure' and 'both'), passengers are profiled in clear economic terms by 'household income', 'occupation' (with three categories: 'self-employed, directors, managers or superior', 'all other' and 'no occupation') (CPH, 2014d). The category of 'nationality' is also part of the economic calculation, as indicated by a recent study that identified Scandinavian passengers as those least attracted to tax free shopping (Moodies, 2013). Although the study was concerned with tax free retail in particular, and is thus most relevant to companies like Gebr. Heinemann KG, the concessionaire of the Tax Free shop in Copenhagen Airport (CPH, 2013a), it highlights 'nationality' as an important economic parameter. Quantifiable elements found in the representation of airport-space also indicate that anticipated revenues could be estimated by renting companies or concessionaires. Airport-space is represented here in terms of the annual number of passengers, percentage of shopping passengers, and percentage growth in tourism and turnover of trade (CPH, 2014d). This gives the airport an anticipated revenue from a particular fragmented space, with which use-value and exchange-value can be ascribed onto

the built environment and rent or concession fees (see ICAO, 2013 for definition) can be set. The built environment of airport-space must once more be considered in terms of 'fixed-capital'.

It seems that CPH by the spatial ordering incites a consuming behaviour while moving through the airport. Hereby CPH intentionally produces attractive commodities in the form of consuming mobile bodies to renting commercial actors, which makes the airport an attractive location to them. What different bodies become, is really a spatial product of some anticipated revenue to shops and the airport. From this spatial relation, produced around a monopoly on space and rent, surplus value can be gained. Mobile bodies must be considered a commodity-capital: a 'consumer-capital'.

**Experiencing the 'Land of dreams and desire'**

To understand how passenger experience and feelings relate to capital in the airport the empirical journey will be taken back on the floor level of Landside Terminal 3, where it was now time to check in. If I had had more than my hand baggage, I would have had to approach the counters and stand in the long line of economy travellers, or 'SAS Go' as the category is called. I chose, instead, to use an electronic/automated check-in kiosk located in a cluster of kiosks in the approximate centre of Terminal 3 Landside (Figure 1). While following the check-in steps I experienced the first stratifying effect of my passenger category, as my choice of seat on the airplane was limited to the rear third of the rows. Leaving the kiosks the obvious route was up the escalator as indicated by a signpost indicating the direction to the central security checkpoint as well as a waiting time of three minutes.

At the plateau I noticed that the flooring material was now wood (whereas before it was stone). But even the wooden floor with its cosy ambience, as the architect of CPH Master Planning describes it, could not calm my anxiety as I approached security. To be fair I deliberately went to the wrong security checkpoint in order to conduct a field observation (for international instead of domestic travellers). However, this is the point in the journey where feelings of unease climax, where one most likely will experience being '…scanned, checked and made to feel guilty' (Fuller, 2003, 16).

CPH does seem to be aware of the unease felt by many passengers: 'Security screening will never be just a formality. On the other hand, it is quickly over' (CPH, 2008, 12). Despite the polite and even warm security staff in Copenhagen Airport directing me to the right line, the space of 'dreams and desires' as pictured on the commercial poster to my left seemed far away. Security is, like immigration control, an example of different interests in the production of airport-space. Here the predominating interest seems to be that of state security policy. Unease and less efficient processing times are not in the interests of CPH or

SAS and practices have been improved by CPH to manage discomfort, as CPH's Master Planning architect explained when talking about security:

> So we have put quite a lot attention into optimising the process and have become quite good at getting people through quickly. And we have given attention to culture, how the staff should, I think, address passengers.

In a similar vein I observed a group of passenger service staff as they were approached by a passenger. Attitudes immediately changed from a familiar joking tone to a polite focus on the passenger by one staff member, while another stepped into the background and the third staff member, who did not seem to notice the passenger, was discretely waved back by the interactive staff member with a hand on his hip. During another incident the staff's attitude was kindly joking. In these ways security staff address passengers and their needs in a manner that increases their comfort level. Yet another example is the manner in which passenger and security calls are delivered in a pleasant tone even if the repeated reminders not to leave luggage or carry another's bags create a level of anxiety. All in all experiences of ease and comfort seem very important to the airport.

It is of course not a 'SAS Go' passenger, such as myself, who will experience the most (or the least, given my nationality or skin colour) ease travelling through Copenhagen Airport. If I were a 'Business' or 'SAS Plus' traveller (SAS, 2013) or part of the upper classes of SAS' EuroBonus loyalty programme (SAS, 2014a), I could have used the 'Fast Track' to the left of the central security check, where I stood in line (Figure 1). I would also fit the category of 'frequent flyer' and could submit a passenger review on Skytrax's website, as this category particularly does (Bissell, 2012). Skytrax is a consultant-company that ranks airports based on passenger reviews. Although not based on reviews from this passenger category alone, Copenhagen Airport's security processing was awarded the best ranking in 2013 and 2014 by Skytrax, due, in part, to the presence of Fast Track ties (Skytrax, 2014a). Such Fast Track produces a fragmented hierarchic space clearly designed to facilitate the 'kinetic elite' of 'affluent business and leisure travellers' (Graham and Marvin, 2001, 364). Skytrax rating will be elaborated on later in the paper.

In order to understand how experiences of space are brought into capital processes some economic processes must be explained, starting with the economic terms of loyalty programmes.

### *Loyalty programmes in economic terms*

Loyalty programmes appear to be all about desired features, such as ease of travel and passengers' experience of convenience. CPH's loyalty programme, CPH Advantage, is, for example, marketed as a programme with 'more' benefits and offers, including earning points, reduced prices in airport shops, and access to WiFi (CPH, 2014e). SAS' loyalty programme EuroBonus is marketed in a similar

fashion: 'EuroBonus – Enjoy awards and benefits' (SAS, 2014b). Loyalty programmes are, in addition to their role in the production of stratified spaces, interesting from an economic perspective. CPH Advantage increases consumption at the airport, as members consume 20% more than non-members on average (CPH, 2013a). But the loyalty programme also enhances Copenhagen Airport's attractiveness to airlines. Passengers' choice of airline largely depends on airport location (Thelle et al., 2012); thus, if passenger loyalty to CPH increases, so does the dependency of airlines on CPH. Herein lies a potential conflict of interest between and airlines as the strength of CPH in negotiations will increase while the opposite will happen to airlines.

SAS's EuroBonus programme with its 'Member', 'Silver', 'Gold' and 'Diamond' categories produces different passenger categories based on different levels of earned points (SAS, 2014a). This simply means that the more kilometres a passenger flies and the better the passenger class in which they fly, the better the programme category in which they are placed and the more benefits they receive (e.g. full access to Fast Track security for 'Gold' members). The programme's goal is to attract frequent flyers to the airline, as frequent flyers account for 70% of SAS tickets sold in Scandinavia (SAS, 2013) and the airline receives payments from loyalty programme partners, such as retailers (IATA, 2012). Furthermore, the consultant company IdeaWorks (Sorensen, 2011, 8) estimates that SAS receives $34.7 million in incremental revenue due to the EuroBonus programme with frequent flyers in the 'Silver' and 'Gold' categories (this was before the 'Diamond' category was invented).

However, loyalty programmes require loyalty and negative experiences related to loyalty programmes can damage the image of airlines (IATA, 2012) and thus the important economic base for airlines and, presumably, airports. It seems as the good passenger experience is the one that produces greater revenue for airports and airlines.

### *Experience capitalised*

But there is more to the economic importance of passenger experiences than attracting the valuable frequent flyers and profiting from loyalty programmes. I now close in on how *passenger experience* is capitalised on by CPH describing two examples of quantification, which illustrate how 'homogeneity' is produced in order to discursively represent passengers' wanted experiences and produce comparable and manageable entities.

The first example relates to frequent traveller's top interests. How are the important experiences of these desired frequent travellers discursively represented? In an annual report SAS (2013) that ranked 15 interests of frequent flyers, five out of the six highest ranked interests were related to time. Although the quality of the data is difficult to determine (was a survey carried out?) and although it could be that such interests as (among the five) 'easily accessible airports' and 'non-stop

flights' are equally related to ease of travel, the point remains that SAS describes frequent flyers as interested first and foremost in efficiency of travel. If these interests accurately reflect the top desires of frequent flyers, they offer a passenger profile that explains the airline's focus on efficiency. Regardless of this, however, the profile fits the airline's interest in an efficient turnover time of their flights. After all, SAS, like the transport industry in general (Harvey, 2006, 377), sells the product of 'change of location' by airplane.

The second example relates to the earlier mentioned Skytrax. Skytrax conducts passenger satisfaction surveys of airports and airlines. Bissell (2012, 152) points out that reviews on Skytrax follow '…a highly formulaic set of conventions…', which seem to follow the route of passenger processing. But reviews are also ordered along specific criteria in the questionnaires answered by travellers. For example, related to security processing they ask passengers to score 'security staff attitude/courtesy' or 'waiting times/service efficiency at security screening'. Criteria like these, even the highly relational impression of 'security staff attitude/courtesy', are rated in five steps from '1 (Poor) to 5 (Excellent)' (besides 'N/A')(Skytrax, 2014b). The award given to CPH as 'World's Best Airport Security Processing' was based on quantitative online questionnaires and some additional qualitative passenger interviews (Skytrax, 2014a and decided by similar criteria: 'Security Clearance Queue Times – Departures' (both departure and transit), 'Premium / Fast-Track security facility', 'Security Staff Courtesy', 'Security Staff Service Efficiency', and 'Security Staff Language Skills'. Bissell (2012, 157) points out that reviews can modify expectations and be used by service providers to optimise their competitive advantages as 'spaces of review are enrolled into a broader suite of disciplinary strategies that serve to maintain the quality of service provision' and as Bissell (2012, 152) argues 'powers of expectancy' to attract prospective travellers (customers) with the promise of desired experiences. But it is also by using specific criteria and comparable entities such as numbers (in the airport rating) that a diverse and complex body of travellers' experiences are homogenised and made quantifiable and comparable. Skytrax even delivers a star-ranking, which creates a singular criterion for placing an airport in a hierarchy.

To really grasp how embodied passenger experiences are turned into capital one must consider to whom these discursive representations are communicated. In order to find information about the security processing award or to Skytrax one must either read the CPH annual report found on the press or investor site (CPH, 2013a) or read CPH's shareholder news (CPH, 2014f). SAS' annual report is likewise found on their company website (SAS, 2013) it is not on their customer website. In addition to communicating their performance to the press it seems that both CPH and SAS use their star ranking, awards, and their discursive representation of passenger to gain standards to include in their branding strategy in order to attract investment and additional revenue.

Mobility control here implies that the experience of the journey, in all its complexity of emotions, expectations and perceived ease of travel, are discursively represented and quantified. Hereby it is brought into the process of profit making by enhancing revenues and to attract costumers (passengers and airlines) and investment by enhancing the use- and exchange value of the brand of the airport. This is the third example of how the moving bodies is capitalised of in airport-space. This time the thoughts, emotions and values of the mobile body are used to produce a capital form, which could be considered 'experience-capital'.

**Experiencing the real journey in conclusion**

Returning to the unknown writer who wrote 'Freedom' in one of CPH's men's rooms: 'away' from the material spatial dimensions of the 'airport-machine', his (I presume) thoughts and emotions are still related to the process of capital production. Given the irregular nature of his act this particular passenger's experience may not be of tremendous economic interest to the airport but the spatial power remains: the body in the cubicle room is still in the process of becoming. One has to be. In order to become a passenger, one has to adjust to the spatial order and practices of the airport and follow the consciously planned processing.

Adding to the developing political economic research literature on aeromobilities and airports, this article has illuminated how human mobilities by processes of homogeneity, fragmentation and hierarchization are quantified and produced as capital by airport-space. The paper has argued for three forms of commodity-capital, to understand the becoming of passengers and aeromobilities. First, through passenger processing and quantification as a passenger/metre ratio, mobilities are turned into the 'number of passenger/time interval' commodity and sold to airlines. Thus, mobile bodies become what could be considered 'efficiency-capital' to the airport. Second, using its monopoly of built environment CPH divides material space into manageable entities, orders space to encourage passenger consumption, and profiles passengers. Parcels of airport-space thus become associated with an amount of potential revenue and are produced as attractive locations for retailers to rent. As CPH receives revenue from this, passengers are thus produced as what could be called 'consumer-capital'. Third, discursively representing passenger experiences and ordering experiences along comparable entities, the experiences of travellers are reduced to standards that are used to attract investors and partners in loyalty programmes. Experiences are thus turned into what should be considered 'experience capital'.

Passengers seem to produce some kind of labour for the airport through their fast movement, consuming behaviour, and expressed experiences. To paraphrase Harvey's (2000, 106) point on labour and labour power, 'the gap between what the [mobile body] as a person might desire and what is demanded of the commodity ['mobile body'] extracted from his or her body is the nexus of alienation'. By the processes of airport-space mobilities come to depend on their

capacity to make more money for the airport and 'free mobilities' must be considered 'dispossessed' (Harvey, 2012) for the sake of capital 'accumulation'.

Copenhagen Airport offers furthermore a micro geographic setting where urban developments can be investigated, in a sense, before they happen and in a context where spatial/mobility control is severe. Understanding processes of quantification related to capitalisation, as illustrated here, offers a conceptual and methodological perspective to address urban issues such as membership cards in public transportation, commercial activities in public squares or branding of city quarters and urban life. The quantification of mobile bodies offers an important perspective in understanding neoliberal urban developments and the production of stratified mobilities in urban environments. This seems to be an important element in urban struggles over the right to the city, which hopefully could resist the reduction of free mobilities to a capital accumulation strategy.

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