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Structures and Dispositions of Travel and Movement

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By design, the title of this collection of essays; *Going First Class? New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement* prompts the question of the type and scope of the "privileges" that should generally be addressed in comparative studies of spatial mobility and, in particular, by the present case studies. To note in response that privilege is relative is to invoke at one and the same time a tired truism and an open-ended set of analytical complications. Thus one of the central emphases in much of the anthropological literature on "elites" has concerned the importance of relating the issue of relative advantage and power to particular social and political contexts. As a result, anthropological writings on elites have featured situations that when compared to each other appear to be highly divergent in terms of relative resources, influence, power, and scale. Thus Carol Greenhouse's (1983) analysis of elite status concepts among local Baptist, business, and professional networks in a small Georgia suburban town is included in the same anthology as George Marcus's (1983) study of extremely wealthy American family dynasties. Similarly, the cases included in Shore and Nugent's compilation (2002) range from *mestizo* traders in a small rural Peruvian town (Harvey 2002) to the PRI political party machine that governed Mexico for seventy-one years (Gledhill 2002). In other words, anthropologists have dealt with the comparative problems of assessing the general concept of elite by calling upon a flexible notion of the "local" stretched to accommodate a wide range of organizational levels ranging from villages to nations.

Whatever one might generally make of such an accommodation in a discipline that over the last twenty-five years has made increasing efforts to problematize the "local," it is immediately complicated by an ethnographic focus on travel and movement. After all, the mandate of travel, and

especially the kind of long-distance travel with which this volume is concerned, is the movement between different "locals." Accordingly, many of the chapters in this volume are concerned with the tensions between different hierarchies and criteria of status and privilege as travelers move from one context to another. Highly mobile British cinematographers who work on location around the world bristle at the suggestion that the "visual" expertise of their French, Polish, or Czech counterparts can provide a more innovative and distinctive product for British producers and directors looking to hone their own competitive advantage (Greenhalgh, this volume). Brazilians arriving in Portugal believed that their professional skills and cultural knowledge could ensure their integration into the Portuguese middle class, but to their surprise they discovered that their influence as well as professional and entrepreneurial success often provoked resentment rather than admiration (Torresan, this volume). The members of a middle-class Jamaican family who had immigrated to the United States worked hard to distinguish themselves from the masses of lower-class Caribbean emigrants with whom they were often identified by members of the receiving society (Olwig, this volume). In Indonesia, their common status as "Westerners" brings expatriates together with people from a wide variety of socioeconomic backgrounds, people with whom they would not normally have socialized in their home countries. And while Western status unifies as well as segregates, it has not eliminated the significance that still continues to be accorded to distinctions in corporate rank among these expatriates. (Fechter, this volume)

The chapters in this volume deal with very different types of voyaging: occupational journeys, migration, corporate-sponsored expatriacy, life-cycle transition. But they feature certain commonalities of privilege that may well point to broader developments in the global scapes of travel and movement. First, all of the chapters deal with instances of voluntary movement and with people who have the resources -variously of money, time, or credentials—to undertake these journeys. Second, if on a global scale the availability of these resources may demarcate these people as among the world's relatively affluent, they could not be described as members of its most powerful elites. They surely do not command the kind of resources or influence of the extremely wealthy ethnic Chinese entrepreneurial "astronauts" participating in the "Pacific Shuttle" described by Aihwa Ong (1999). Micklethwait and Wooldridge have contended that globalization has encouraged the formation of a "cosmocrat" ruling elite, although their description of a densely networked set of corporate executives with an almost "pathological need to remain in touch," hopping around the world, consuming sea bass from Chile, reading magazines like *Wallpaper* or *Condé Nast Traveler* (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2000: 232–33), seems to owe more to the overworked caricatures promoted by these kinds of popular media outlets than to a rigorous analysis of global economics. In any event, not only do the travelers described in this book

not participate in these kinds of lifestyles or occupy these types of socio-economic positions, but also their more modestly prosperous situations likely reflect a much broader reorientation of global long-distance travel and movement around middle-class rather than either very affluent or very poor voyagers.

There are various impetuses for this reorientation that are as much about the strengthening of existing trends as about entirely new developments. On the one hand, as Angela Torresan notes in her chapter, migration out-flows have always tended to select for people with access to the kind of resources and skills that would facilitate their mobility, whether these are personal network connections, financial resources, youth, education, and so on. Thus even those migrants who may appear relatively disadvantaged in respect to the hierarchies of their destination countries possess "above-average levels of education and occupational skills in comparison with their homeland population" (Portes and Rumbaut as cited in Torresan, p 106). Voluntary migrants are not usually drawn from among the poorest and most destitute sending populations. As industrialized countries have reoriented their economies (or at least their economic aspirations) toward knowledge-based industries, their immigration policies have featured an increased emphasis on recruiting highly skilled and well-educated new-comers, even as their sources of recruitment have shifted from the global North to the South.

On the other hand, as Sawa Kurotani's chapter illustrates, an intensification of global competition has forced many corporations to reorganize the nature of their overseas job assignments away from the elite cosmo-crats described by Micklethwait and Wooldridge. Facing American trade restrictions, the Japanese firms with which Kurotani is concerned moved their production sites to the United States and, subsequently recruited a wider variety of less elite company workers. To cut the cost of these for-eign assignments, Japanese companies have identified a specific group of workers as generic, longer term, overseas specialists and redefined these kinds of assignments from "prestige" to "routine," thereby allowing them to reduce the salary and special benefits that had previously been granted these expatriates. Along similar lines, a recent "how to" guide (Malewski 2005) for young expatriate workers notes that the efforts of corporations to reduce the costs of maintaining dispersed transnational operations has led to a greater tendency to recruit younger, more junior and hence cheaper workers for foreign assignments. Another corporate tactic noted by Malewski has been to formally redefine these assignments as "local" rather than overseas, thus eliminating the requirement to pay out the spe-cial benefits previously accorded "expat" professionals.

Leisure travel has always been and continues to be the province of the world's relatively affluent, those people with sufficient disposable income to expend on these discretionary diversions. But over the course of the second half of the twentieth century and now into the twenty-first, as

tourist opportunities and venues have diversified, the numbers and strata of people who are involved as both consumers and purveyors of these services have dramatically expanded, forming the largest industry in the world (Sheller and Urry 2004: 3).

> Internationally there are over 700 million legal passenger arrivals each year (compared with 25 million in 1950) with a predicted 1 billion by 2010; there are 4 million air passengers each day; at any one time 300,000 passengers are in flight above the United States, equivalent to a substantial city; one-half of British adults took a flight during 2001 . . . (Ibid.)

By the time we reach this scale of mobility, we are dealing with many active participants whose wealth may be relatively modest. Thus, all of the Canadian travel enthusiasts included in Julia Harrison's study were working or had worked at professional or managerial jobs and most had some postsecondary education, but their annual incomes ranged from about $20,000 to well over $180,000 (2003: 8–9). As Harrison notes:

> The frequency and variety of the travels they took was imagined at one time to fall only within the grasp of the upper classes, those of established, money backgrounds. . . . For some of these travel enthusiasts, their ability even in retirement to bite at the heels of those in the social strata above them was the source of many a wry smile. As Neil said "We are living proof that you do not have to be rich to travel." (2003: 11)

Along with the augmentation of who can afford to travel for leisure at all, and who can afford to tour frequently, there has also been an interesting shift in who can afford to travel for longer. As Rodman's chapter in this volume illustrates, the increase in the numbers of people who can embark on extended travel, away from their usual places of residence, has been achieved through a blurring of the boundaries between leisure and work. The "resident volunteers" in the Kalani Oceanside Retreat on the big island of Hawaii, paid a maximum of $500 a month for their stay, as opposed to the $1,500 paid by guests. In return for these reduced charges, they worked 30 hours a week for at least a three month period. Their visits occurred on the margin between the categories of guest and staff who also stayed at this spiritual-education retreat, a boundary that was regularly blurred through shared participation in daily activities as well as the movement of people between these categories. "Some who came as guests went on to become resident volunteers and then paid staff; former staff and volunteers have returned to visit as guests" (Rodman, p 146).

Similarly, there is now a significant global workforce of young travelers, many voyaging as a break before or after completing postsecondary studies, who are supporting journeys of several months, occasionally even years, by working at the destinations they are visiting. Ironically, many of these young adventurers are supporting their own tourism by working in service industries serving other tourists. Thus, today, a tourist visiting a

London café or pub during the summer might well be served by a young traveler from his or her own country even as young Britons themselves leave their country for "gap year" sojourns abroad.

Overlapping Categories of Travel

This kind of overlap between different categories of spatial mobility is hardly a novel innovation. The transnational dispersal of the two family networks on which Karen Fog Olwig's chapter focuses, was formed through an initial stream of emigration from the Caribbean in the 1940s. Among the sets of siblings who were the progenitors of these networks, their respective departures from Jamaica and Dominica were initially prompted by a desire to pursue postsecondary educational opportunities abroad with an expectation of an eventual return in order to practice their acquired profession in their homeland. While some of these siblings did in due course return to their country of origin where they pursued successful careers, others settled abroad.

The immigration and border controls of most countries have traditionally stipulated a strict legal distinction between different categories of visitors, between migrants, tourists, students, temporary workers, and so on. But nonetheless the siblings with whom Olwig is concerned will hardly have been the first and certainly are not the last travelers to embark on temporary sojourns in one capacity only to end up staying in another. More generally, the overlap between different categories of travelers has been a significant aspect in the formation of unofficial migration channels. And most countries have always allowed some movement between these different statuses, offering amnesty to unofficial migrants, extending new visas to former students, converting temporary work permits into more permanent immigration standing, and so on.

What is more novel is the implementation of official categories of visitors that explicitly and intentionally incorporate an overlap between different forms of movement. Hence a number of countries now extend "working/holidaymaker" visas to young travelers, usually stipulating either an age restriction or student status. At the same time, international student exchanges may incorporate "co-op" work-study programs or internships, as well as opportunities for simple tourism. Thus three previously distinct statuses—guest worker, tourist, and visiting student—are now converged through visa programs underpinned by international agreements between governments, educational institutions, and travel consortia. An increasingly important segment of "guest" workers, a status once identified with relatively disadvantaged migrants, is thus now ironically comprised of middle-class Western youths who can at one and the same time be wooed as tourists and serve as cheap, compliant, and temporary labor.

At the other end of the life cycle we find a parallel development that also complicates the distinctions between categories of movement, in this case between migration and tourism. Caroline Oliver's chapter focuses on one segment of the burgeoning numbers of middle-class older people in Western countries who view retirement as a "a sphere of new opportunities, increasingly exploited through travel, marking a de-differentiation of tourism into retirement" (Oliver, p. 130). Accordingly, the seaside resorts of Spain, Florida, or Mexico, along with other sunny, coastal climes, have become the venues for an eclectic mix of short-stay tourists, long-term retirement residents, and so-called "snowbirds," retirees who divide their year between winters in warmer locales and summers in their less temperate countries of origin. So significant are these movements of retirees that the government of Canada recently made special efforts to encourage and enable their snowbird citizens to cast absentee votes during the January 2006 federal elections.

It is important to note that in all three types of situations identified above—the "resident volunteers" (Rodman, this volume), the "working holidaymakers," and the retiree migrants and tourists (Oliver, this volume)—geographic mobility has been initiated, in major part, as a vehicle for engaging with a significant life-cycle transition. While, as I will argue below and as others have also noted (Harrison 2003: 11), scholarly literature on tourism has sometimes exaggerated its transformative potential, I would like to suggest that the much more particular instances of life-cycle transition being pursued by a variety of contemporary travelers, while distinct, share a convergence between three different strategic opportunities for repositioning and affiliation.

Travel has a long-standing cachet of cultivated tastes; that is to say, it has been one of the grounds for demarcating or claiming, first, elite status (as in the European Grand Tour of the nineteenth century) and, more recently, middle-class standing (Harrison 2003: 11). This association has been further heightened by the elaboration of a public discourse within many industrialized countries that trumpets the importance of "international experience" within a globalizing economy. The importance of this source of status enhancement is heightened during a period of life-cycle transition in which other sources of cultural capital might well be jeopardized. People on the verge of retirement are losing one of the most critical indicators of social status, namely, a work identity, and are in most cases facing the diminishment of their financial resources. On the other hand, young people leaving home to pursue educational or career opportunities are shifting from the comfortable if secondhand affiliation of their parents' class position and resources to the much more precarious path of establishing their own claims for status and independent incomes. Finally, many of the volunteer residents seeking an educational retreat at Kalani were facing the uncertainties associated with leaving secure if unsatisfying jobs. In these circumstances,

extended travel can both offer an escape from situations of potentially jeopardized status and provide its own source of cultural capital. It may well be more prestigious to be a retiree in a Spanish costal village than in Bolton. Similarly, a fairly mundane service occupation can be invested with more cosmopolitan overtones if it is represented as part of an exotic "coming of age" journey.

Second, the overlap between traveler statuses, which occurs in all three types of journeys, provides practical economic advantages. Many of the "snowbird" circuits involve a move to destinations with cheaper costs of housing, land, food, and other services from more expensive locales. In other words, the movements of retirees can serve to stretch further pensions accrued and paid out in one country, thus achieving a higher standard of living in another locale. As I have already noted above, working tourism, whether oriented toward youths or older voyagers, allows people to spend an extended stay away from their usual homes with a relatively small initial commitment of resources. In the case of the "resident volunteers" in the Kalani resort, it was likely cheaper to live in this educational retreat than "at home."

Third, as Caroline Oliver has noted in her chapter in this volume, this kind of "aspirational" movement offers the possibility of constructing new identities. But it combines the potential vested in a "blank slate" of initial anonymity with the comfort of relatively familiar companionability. Many of the snowbirds are moving to expatriate and tourist settlements set up to provide services for migratory retirees. Young travelers are moving through circuits of movements that are increasingly institutionalized and organized to attract and service mobile Western youths. By definition and design, the Kalani retreat offers an organized framework for sociability. This kind of movement therefore offers the possibility of change and self-development, but it encapsulates this potential within a structural bubble of people in similar circumstances. Thus the deliberate convergence between previously officially separate categories of travel has created new, sharply demarcated circuits of travel rather than simply creating a more fluid array of multiple possibilities for movement.

As the numbers and varieties of travelers traversing the globe expands, and as the distinctions between different forms of movement are deliberately blurred, it would be easy to succumb to the presumption that the whole world is in motion and to presume that different forms of mobility are but variations on a modern existential theme of displacement (Clifford 1997: 2). "The mobilities of people comprise tourists, migrants, design professionals, asylum seekers, backpackers, business and professional travelers, students and other young people 'travelling the world' for the OE (overseas experience)" (Urry 2004: 205). But the difficulty with this kind of enumeration is not only that it may minimize crucial differences between situation/experiences or that it can stretch the range of an expansive term like "travel" past the point of comparative utility (Clifford 1997:

11), but that it can also obscure a key impetus and ground for long-distance mobility in various forms.

What link various forms of contemporary travel are not global convergences but a host of asymmetries. For all the hundreds of millions of contemporary passages across regional and international borders, the majority of the world's population is either not moving at all or not moving far. Those who do travel head to destinations because they offer something—landscape, food, exotica, institutions, networks—that other places, their homes most especially, do not have. On the other hand, those who move are able to do so because they have access to resources that other people do not. They travel because the value of their income stretches farther in one site than other. They travel because they have the time to do so when others do not. They move because their skills and expertise are better recompensed in one locale than another. They travel because their activities "away" impart cultural capital—"overseas experience"- when the same tasks carried out locally would be construed as mundane drudgery. They move because there are jobs in one locale and not in another. What drive all forms of movement are the potentialities unleashed by expectations and experiences of asymmetrical distinction.

Structures of Travel and Cosmopolitan Capacities

So is the asymmetry underlying movement the source of the cosmopolitanism that has so often been attributed to travel both in popular and scholarly accounts? Does the pursuit and exploitation of disparity and unevenness necessarily or even likely produce a greater openness to difference, to new ways of being and doing?

In a recent book on *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism,* Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen define cosmopolitanism as:

> . . . something that simultaneously: (a) transcends the seemingly exhausted nation state model; (b) is able to mediate actions and ideals oriented both to the universal and the particular, the global and the local; (c) is culturally anti-essentialist; and (d) is capable of representing variously complex repertoires of allegiance, identity and interest. In these ways, cosmopolitanism seems to offer a mode of managing cultural and political multiplicities. (2002: 4)

The difficulty with this effort at comprehensiveness is that it encompasses criteria that are by no means automatically or necessarily associated. Affiliations and networks can transcend the nation-state model and still be culturally essentialist. Anti-essentialism can be associated with ideals of universality identified with national citizenship. Complex repertoires of allegiance, identity, and interest may be intensely local.

The further difficulty of locating this concept socially rather than rhetorically is illustrated by Vertovec and Cohen's subsequent effort at

identifying its practitioners. They note that cosmopolitanism has often been criticized as available only to an elite with the "resources necessary to travel, learn other languages and absorb other cultures" (2002: 5). But while they acknowledge that historically this has been true, they argue that the omnipresence of cultural and linguistic diversity has now made cosmopolitanism a mundane aspect of everyday life. Brought together by travel and immigration, diverse peoples have been forced to interact with each other at work, recreation, markets, neighborhoods, and so on. In contrast, the authors suggest that the class of highly mobile elites more commonly identified as cosmopolitan—the kind of financial experts, corporate personnel, and the like that Micklethwait and Wooldridge identified as "cosmocrats"—"are marked by a specialized—paradoxically—rather homogenous transnational culture, a limited interest in engaging 'the Other, ' and a rather restricted corridor of physical movement between defined spaces in global cities" (2002: 7). So, it seems, the local diversities disseminated by contemporary forms of mobility have rendered cosmopolitanism an "ordinary" aspect of contemporary modern life. Yet the elites once so identified with it, while still highly mobile, are not, it would appear, very cosmopolitan after all. Is cosmopolitanism then a product of movement in itself or a product of what happens when people stop moving and must therefore contend with one another?

Many of the forms of movements encompassed in this volume reach beyond global cities like London or New York. And, as I noted above, the kinds of people being observed in these case studies occupy a more varied range of situations than the corporate financial elites more commonly associated with notions of a transnational capitalist class or cosmocrats. But most of these situations also feature many aspects of the social encapsulation and specialization identified by Vertovec and Cohen with cosmocrats. And it is interesting to note that this encapsulation appears to be most marked among those people who regard themselves as being on the move, that is as only temporarily present in a locale.

European and North American corporate expatriates and their families who are posted by their companies to Indonesia for periods of one to five years use metaphors like "bubble," "bunker," or "hothouse" to describe their encapsulation within Jakarta. Sheltering from the "local chaos," the noise, fumes, heat, and humidity of Jakarta in fenced villas or high-rise apartments, making their way through the intense traffic of the city in chauffeur-driven cars or taxis, they send their children to private "international" schools and participate in voluntary national associations. It is a "ghetto" some of these expatriates characterize as unreal, floating, a space so bounded and strange that one British woman explained that she "didn't suffer from culture shock with Indonesia. But I had culture shock entering the expat community" (Fechter, this volume, p 45)

While Japanese expatriate workers in the United States live in homes that are externally indistinguishable from their middle-class American

neighbors, their wives accept the responsibility of ensuring a domestic bulwark against the foreign *soto* outside, cooking Japanese food and ensuring that their children receive a dual education in both local American as well as supplementary Japanese-language schools. Here too the temporary sojourn is imbued with a suspension of reality, " a long vacation" that must in due course end when they go back to the real world of Japan (Kurotani, this volume, p 26).

It is hardly surprising to discover that geographic mobility does not override and may even exaggerate status distinctions of class, gender, nationality, or race. After all, the stratifications vested in other venerable forms of movement from colonial passages to labor migration have provided considerable previous documentation of the ways in which the disparities that propel travel can also shape attendant sojourns and settlements. But here I want to point to the ways in which these socioeconomic distinctions further interact with the variable purposes, circumstances, and structures of travel. Thus a Euro American development consultant making a site visit of only several weeks to a locale such as Jakarta is likely to engage with different sets of people and services than an "expatriate" consultant of the same nationality who has accepted a longer term assignment of a year or two in the same place. By the same token, a Euro American tourist who can claim comparable educational qualifications and financial resources will engage with still other people and services.

The development consultants with whom my own contribution to this volume is concerned are part of a larger transnational circuit of professionals who advise on various aspects of infrastructure development in the global South. While resident in Canada, they spend a large portion of their year traveling to projects located in diverse locales. Each successive project involves them in a new team of local and international specialists. The transience of these teams and the diverse nature of the projects on which these professionals consecutively work mean that many of the occupational relationships established at any one locale were not maintained over the longer term. Nor was there much opportunity in these relatively short and intense work trips to meet and form relationships with longer-term expatriates. And because time overseas involved intense and long workdays and weeks, these traveling consultants were rarely accompanied by their families on their project journeys.

As Cathy Greenhalgh relates in this volume, the radical restructuring of the old Hollywood studio system has meant that the larger global film industry is now almost entirely project based and draws on networks of freelance employees. As a result, film production is much more dispersed than it once was, occurring at various studio bases as well as on locations around the world. Film crews are constantly reconstituted from project to project. While many crewmembers working at these dispersed sites are hired locally, feature film cinematographers are among the mobile personnel who travel widely, working at a multitude of locales across the world.

Yet the reputation of cinematographers depends not only on their individual talents but also on their ability to organize and deploy a good crew. Hence there is a tension between the shifting structure of teams from location to location and the efforts of cinematographers to retain key personnel between their various projects. But whether working with new or familiar crewmembers, the travels of these cinematographers are largely bringing them into intense if transient contact with the personnel of a dispersed transnational film industry.

The movement of hundreds of millions of people around the world has given rise to specialized structures that accommodate but also canalize the different circumstances, networks, and resources engaged in these various forms of travel. The ubiquitous list of contemporary travelers that is regularly trotted out by scholars to enumerate contemporary forms of movement—the tourists, backpackers, business travelers, expatriates, migrants, students, refugee claimants, working holidaymaker, etc.—is thus not just one featuring variants on a common theme of mobility. These travelers' voyages are critically implicated in the development of differentiated circuits of travel that encapsulate even as they facilitate movement. As a result, travelers moving through these specialized circuits are most likely to encounter other travelers like themselves. By now, backpackers trying to avoid the beaten path trodden by other tourists make use of an almost equally well developed circuit of specialized hostels, tour providers, locales, internet sites, and blogs. Indeed, a transnational industry of agencies has developed that specifically focuses on and competes for youthful clients. As a result, backpackers are most likely to meet and make their most frequent contacts with other backpackers. Retirees relocating—whether for part or all of the year—to centers that have arisen to meet their specific needs are most likely to meet other retirees, often from the same country or region. Cinematographers traveling to work at a temporary film location will have their most intense interaction with film crew members with whom they may well have already worked in a dizzying range of locations around the globe. Development consultants moving from the global North to a diverse range of locales in the South largely engage with industry colleagues—other international and counterpart consultants, multilateral and national agency officials- involved in the same sector. Euro American expatriates in Jakarta make use of a set of institutions, associations, and networks geared to other short-term corporate expatriates like themselves. In short travel, heralded as the most important vehicle for the cultivation of a cosmopolitan orientation and a competence to deal with divergent cultural experiences (Hannerz 1996: 103), is systematically shaped by structures that channel voyagers into contact with others like themselves. As Fechter's chapter indicates, some travelers and temporary sojourners actively erect barriers against the strangeness of the locales they are visiting and purposefully search out people of similar backgrounds,

thus accentuating or even exaggerating existing status differences. But other travelers voyage far, in an enthusiastic effort to engage with the "Other" only to find that the circuits through which they are journeying are occupied by other people much like themselves, engaged in similar missions. Hence the image of the "bubble" floats through many of the cases encompassed in this volume.

On the Other Hand: Settling Down and Liminality

Nonetheless, in noting the frequently encapsulating structure of contemporary circuits of travel, I am not arguing that these channels are prisons. Travel that has been initiated to meet particular resources and aims can be transformed in the course of journeys into other pursuits, in the process sometimes radically shifting the terms of social engagement. Nor do all forms of movement entail the same types or extents of enclosure. Thus, among the case studies in this volume we can find instances of two other kinds of postures that seek to mediate, if only partially, the bounded structures of movement.

Two of the case studies (Torresan; Olwig) deal with the most straightforward counter to the circumscription that is often an inescapable entailment of transience; namely, instances of immigration and settlement. The Brazilians immigrating to Portugal, or the Dominicans and Jamaicans who eventually chose to stay in North America and Britain, were seeking to further middle-class aspirations by settling in, rather than passing through their adopted countries. Their aspirations for advancement depended on integration into these new socioeconomic contexts; that is, for the most part, their quests for jobs, clients, recognition, lifestyles, and status depended on local *acceptance,* not separation.

A somewhat different posture is offered by two case studies (Oliver; Rodman) that explore the liminalities of aspirational movement. In certain respects, both of these situations, respectively of a retirement settlement and an educational retreat, exemplify the kinds of encapsulated circuits of mobility I have discussed above, since they involve spatially and socially circumscribed holiday enclaves. But the radical break that participants had made from their previous work roles and involvements, and the sense of holiday relations in these enclaves, generated a state of fecund liminality. And as in Victor Turner's (1969) seminal rendering of this state of "betweenness," in both these situations liminality was invested with communitas as well as the potentialities of self transformation. But as Turner also reminded us, liminality and its attendant sense of communitas cannot comfortably be sustained over the longer term. Retirees in Tocina resentfully found themselves pressed to depart from the anonymity "of being who one wants to be" and to release details about themselves they had not necessarily wished to divulge. In the face of the constant turnover at the

Hawaiian retreat of Kalani, people found it hard, after a time, to maintain a state of openness to new friendships; most moved on within a year.

If people operating within a safely circumscribed field of relations with others largely sharing their aspirations for "community" and self-fulfillment still found it difficult to indefinitely maintain the sense of openness and engagement with new people and possibilities commonly identified with cosmopolitanism, then it is not difficult to understand why in journeys through more uncertain and unfamiliar terrain many travelers would be unwilling to relinquish the advantages and comfort of remaining within a moving convoy. It may therefore be that rather than searching for cosmopolitan transformations among the often regimented and bounded circuits of contemporary travel, we are more likely to find an engagement with diversity among people more modestly in search of satisfying—in terms of livelihood, status, recognition—places to set down. These prospective settlers may not be seeking to ride cosmopolitan waves of international mobility, but in their efforts to win space for themselves in new places, their unavoidable mundane encounters with "others" may well effect more or less subtle changes in perspective and organization.

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