

Tourists' Embodied Transport Experiences of Travelling by Train

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TOURISTS' EMBODIED TRANSPORT EXPERIENCES OF TRAVELLING BY TRAIN



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Top left - Justine (11), top right - Jekabs (8), bottom left - Laima (12), bottom right- Anastasia (9)

Abstract

This thesis examines tourists' embodied experiences of railway travel by analysing how tourists inhabit, (co)produce and practice time-space while being 'on the move'. It responds to an under-researched aspect in tourism studies, tourists' experiences of travel to/from a destination and its role in the total holiday experience. Although transport has been recognised as an integral part of the tourist experience, existing research mainly examines transport experiences from the traditional transport economics perspective with an aim of discovering the positive utility of travel. Moving beyond economically-productivist studies, this thesis adopts an explicitly interdisciplinary research approach to uncover the multifaceted nature of the tourist transport experience. Empirical research, employing a combination of qualitative research methods (self-reflexive observation, passenger observation, rhythm analysis and ethnographic interviews on the move) and three data collection tools (time-space diary, photo/video camera and audio recorder), produces rich ethnographic data – written accounts, photographs, videos, ambient sound recordings and forty-six interview transcripts – which are analysed using multisensory research analysis techniques.

Empirical findings make an original contribution to knowledge in four main ways. Firstly, this study demonstrates that the tourist transport experience is not a self-contained experiential phase that is always perceived as a cost. There is a dynamic and reciprocal relationship between the experience of travelling to/from a destination and experiences at the destination. Moreover, tourists' lifestyles, interests and life-stage influence the mobile experience and the meanings that tourists attach to train travel. Secondly, this thesis conceptualises travel time as a 'time frame' that is filled with diverse time dimensions, practices, travel routines and unreflexive habits, embodied sensations, and rhythmicity of the journey. Thirdly, this study shows that social rhythms, different affective atmospheres inside a carriage and travel companions constitute important elements of the tourist transport experience. Finally, this thesis reveals that the mobile experience is explicitly multisensory, which is pronounced through sensing the transport mode itself, its mechanical rhythms, the built form of a train carriage and the railway route. In summary, this thesis presents new ways of considering the mobile experience and, by doing so, the present study makes an original contribution to knowledge in tourism, transport and mobilities research.

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Chapter 1 Research Outline

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide the rationale behind this doctoral study. I start with the background for my thesis - I explain my research focus on the lived experience, justify my choice to examine tourists' embodied experiences of different transport modes, and outline my interest in narrowing my focus to train travel. The background section is followed by a formulation of my research question and the summary of my research aims. I conclude this chapter by presenting the structural outline of the thesis.

1.2 The Background – The Tourist Experience and Twenty-First-Century Modern Social Life

The aim of this study is to enrich our understanding of the tourist experience. On the one hand, it could be argued that the tourist experience has been the key research area for scholars in tourism, marketing and business since the 1960s and 1970s. The attention on experiences in tourism and leisure has increased enormously over recent decades (Morgan, Lugosi and Ritchie, 2010) and, thus, one could ask whether there is still a need to research this phenomenon and whether there is scope for new findings. Yet, on the other hand, the analysis of existing research reveals that scholars in the field of tourism, marketing and business define experience and examine it from a quite restricted angle, that is, mainly from an organisational or supply perspective (Snel, 2011). From this perspective, experiences are often explained and treated as products or environments with objective qualities that can be produced, categorised and managed. For instance, the experience economy discourse clearly conveys this perspective (Pine and Gilmore, 2011; 1999), with the main idea being that "As goods and services become commoditized, the customer experiences that

companies create will matter most” (Pine and Gilmore, 1998: 97). Hence, the experience economy treats experiences as distinct economic offerings that should be staged, produced, sold, and managed as if separate objects that can be given or sold to the consumer. In a similar vein, Urry’s (1990) concept of ‘tourist gaze’ renders destinations as objects that are understood through a passive and detached way of seeing (framed by a tourist’s camera) and tourists are conditioned in that way of gazing through marketing messages, media and the tourism industry’s products. In other words, the tourist gaze cultivates the production of sights out of sites and the culture of being a sightseer, which creates an illusion that the tourist experience can be predetermined - constructed, staged, packaged, guided and sold.

Yet, scholars who take a cross-disciplinary approach to the subject of the tourist experience argue that experiences are not parts of ‘some objective reality’ but they are constructions in a social reality (Snel, 2011). Snel (2011: 17) stresses, “It is my strong conviction that experiences cannot be produced, managed, sold or directed either. You can however do your best to support, facilitate, and help people in having their experiences”. Equally, Edensor (2012a: 54) points out that the research in tourism has been confined to a specific academic ghetto and “analysis has been starved of ideas from the wider social sciences”. These statements create a need to take a different stance on tourist experience research and to develop a more holistic understanding of this phenomenon, which becomes the aim of this research project. To achieve this aim, I adopt an explicitly interdisciplinary approach to research, which enables me to gain ideas from disciplines, such as geography, sociology, anthropology, environmental psychology and tourism studies.

The analysis of existing literature reveals that the tourist experience has been perceived in contrast to everyday life and, thus, the focus of existing research has been mainly on experiences of exotic and specialised tourism products and services that are consumed during special times at specific places, like experiences of holiday resorts or different tourist attractions (Quan and Wang, 2004). This perspective has been questioned by performance turn advocates (e.g., Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen and Urry, 2004; Edensor, 2000a; 2001; 2007a) and mobilities advocates (e.g., Cresswell, 2006; Hannam, 2008; Sheller and Urry, 2006) who recognise tourism as a complex set of social and cultural happenings,

which are part of modern everyday life rather than being simply an escape from it. For instance, Cresswell (2006) argues that, for many people, tourism no longer represents the special and liberating activity it once was, while Urry (2000) even suggests that we are tourists much of the time whether we like it or not because tourism has become part of the way we now perceive the world. These scholars transcend disciplinary boundaries and place more emphasis on the tourist experience as a performative and embodied ritual. In this study, I adopt the mobilities and performance turn perspectives and I examine the tourist experience as an integral part of social life, imbricated with the everyday. I agree with Franklin (2003: 2) who states, "Tourism is infused into the everyday and has become one of the ways in which our lives are ordered". In other words, I accept that to better understand the tourist experience, it is important to analyse it as a key element of modern everyday life.

Finally, it is essential to recognise that the focus of existing research has predominantly been on cognitive (e.g. thinking, discourses and representations) and visual dimensions of the experience (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006) or the evaluated experience, like motivation to travel, attitudes, satisfaction levels or patterns of behaviour (Quinlan Cutler and Carmichael, 2010). Yet, scholars who examine the embodied nature of the human experience (e.g., Bærenholdt et al., 2004; Crouch, 2000; 2003b; Edensor, 2007a; 2006; Everett, 2008; Lyon and Barbalet, 1994; Obrador-Pons, 2003) assert that sight and discourse do not form the experience and reasoning is not sufficient to explain actions. To comprehend the complex and multidimensional nature of the tourist experience, sensual and practical engagement with the environment and different materialities should be scrutinised (Edensor, 2006). Rakic and Chamber (2012) point out that the tourist experience occurs during a dynamic interaction between people and the environment - the human body is active in the consumption, construction and sensing of a place while inhabiting it. Accordingly, to enrich the understanding of the tourist experience, firstly, I employ an interdisciplinary approach to research and, secondly, I aim to uncover the embodied, multisensory and intersubjective nature of the tourist experience as enmeshed in everyday habits, leisure and domestic tourism activities. Having explained my focus on tourists' lived experiences, in the next section, I justify my choice to examine the tourist

experience of mobile environments and, namely, how tourists inhabit and dwell in different transport modes. I conclude the next section by narrowing my research focus to train travel.

1.2.1 The Relationship between Mobilities, Tourism and Transport

Lash and Urry (1994) argue that modern society is society on the move, characterised by growing demand for expanding personal mobilities, both physical and virtual, spatially dispersed connections, and changing perception of recreation, leisure and tourism. For instance, many places, like churches, pubs, post offices or different waiting rooms, where people used to meet face-to-face, have been lost to a great extent and replaced by social interaction 'on the move' (Larsen, Axhausen and Urry, 2006; Larsen, Urry and Axhausen, 2007). Similarly, shorter and longer holidays as well as various leisure opportunities feed into the practices and networks of people's everyday lives, rendering them increasingly transport-intensive and communication technology-dependent (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006). These mobilities, enabled by developments in transportation, information and communication infrastructures, shrink the world; they change individuals' lifestyles and relationships, and perceptions of distance, time and space.

In narrowing the focus on transport technologies, although recognised as a powerful factor that affects the experience of modern social life and the distribution of different activities, the very ordinariness of transport systems often means that they are taken for granted (Shaw, Knowles and Docherty, 2008), both in everyday life and in tourism and leisure. Traditional transport geography, transport economics, and business studies perceive and treat transportation as ancillary to reaching a desired destination (Mokhtarian and Salomon, 2001). Movement is considered mainly as a cost and travel time is regarded as dead, wasted, or empty, and, therefore, to be minimised (Watts and Urry, 2008). Moreover, people are believed to be 'rational-mobile-individuals' who can make careful decisions and rational choices based on the saving of time, money and convenience (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011; Cresswell, 2006; Kaufmann, 2002). Hence, enthusiasts, like

'leisure motorists' who simply drive into the country or 'railfans' who conduct mobility for its own sake, have long been beyond the scope of spatial science and have been identified as scientific anomalies or simply irrational, awkward exceptions to general rules of movement (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011).

Accordingly, the importance of tourists' mobile practices and the social production of social space and time 'on the move' have been marginalised and, consequently, under-explored (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam et al., 2006). This shortcoming was first recognised by Stephen Page in 1999, when he pointed out that there was a gap in the research regarding analysing the relationship between tourism and transport in the context of tourist experience:

The mode of transport tourists choose can often form an integral part of their journeys and experience, a feature often neglected in the existing research on tourism

(Page, 1999: 8).

A decade later, Page (2009) states that, although transport is recognised as an integral part of the tourist experience, the relationship between tourism and transport has mainly been conceptualised in terms of accessibility and analysed mainly from the supply side perspective with the focus on economic and instrumental benefits of transport for tourism. Similarly, Larsen (2001:81) points out that "the significance of mobility, or travelling, to the tourist experience has been almost completely ignored in tourism studies", considered as insignificant, linear, predetermined and frustrating. While Dickinson and Lumsdon (2010: 67) elaborate:

While experiential perspectives have emerged in a variety of tourism and leisure contexts, there is little work that examines travel as an experience both during the journey to, or from, the destination and as a part of the destination experience. In most research, travel is seen as a derived demand; however, it is more than that, it is integral to the tourist experience, and, in some instances, it might be the main purpose.

Thus, Cresswell (2006) summarises that there is a need to gain a better understanding of how the 'line' from one location to another is embodied and experienced. Taking up this cue, in this study, I analyse how mobile environments

are embodied and experienced by domestic tourists while they travel to/from their destinations. The aim of this study is to examine how tourists produce, consume, inhabit and experience time-space while being 'on the move' and, in particular, the focus of this study is on the tourist experience of travelling by train. In the final subsection of this chapter, I justify my choice to investigate tourists' experiences of train travel.

1.2.1 Train Travel – the Activity under Investigation

Train travel has always been accompanied with mixed feelings – it is a symbol of technological development, economic progress and superiority, on the one hand, and the object of nostalgic love, romance, heritage and a distinct transport experience, on the other hand. Yet, the former set of attributes (e.g., economic progress) has gained more recognition, attention and exposure among scholars and practitioners than the experiential dimension of train travel. To explain, the advent of the nineteenth-century railway is valued for its transformative effect on modern life – changing social, economic and political systems. It is recognised that the expansion of railway transport facilitated a new connectedness with distant places, annihilating time and distance through the 'compression' of space, which enabled economic growth, initiated a drive to speed and contributed to the development of an industrialised society (May and Thrift, 2001; Urry, 2007). Hence, reduced travel times became linked to more benefits to the economy and higher status. The assumption that time is more productive in destination activities than 'on the move' (Jain, 2011) and the association of speed with pleasure and prestige (Adam, 1998; Ory and Mokhtarian, 2005), justifies the engineering of faster trains, making the advances in train technology very desirable (Lyons, 2014; Lyons and Urry, 2005). For instance, nowadays, this trend is evident in debates on HS2 high-speed rail construction in the UK in which benefits, such as reshaped patterns of travel, reduced travel times, economic growth and status, are prioritised and valued (Department for Transport, 2013; BBC News, 2014).

Additionally, in the early nineteenth-century, railway played a significant role in tourism development, becoming the first form of mass transport for tourism (Conlin and Bird, 2014). For instance, railway access enabled a remarkable growth of some spas and seaside resorts, and established new relationships

between town and country. Hoyer and Aall (2005) highlight that, in England, railways were built to bring people from the main industrial cities to beach areas along the coast where the whole new towns, such as Blackpool or Scarborough, were developed solely to serve railway tourism. While, in the 1970s, the railway loses its importance in tourism, becoming a symbol of a sunset society and giving way to cars and airplanes. The renewed interest emerges in the early 1990s when sustainable development and sustainable tourism started to gain prominence (Page, 2009). As noted by Hoyer and Aall (2005: 264), "Railways were then presented as transport systems for the future sustainable society and crucial means to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from transport. They became synonymous with sustainable mobility". With reference to sustainable mobility and sustainable tourism development, Hoyer and Aall (2005: 270) contend:

The current levels of automobility and aeromobility are well above what can be termed sustainable. A mobility for the future must be based on rail and bus transport as the main transport means for the longer travels, and supplemented with walking and cycling for the shorter ones. All have the potential to take much larger share of the total mobility than they do today.

Although the importance of railway transport changes over time, in transport geography, economics, and tourism studies, attention has mainly been on the train's efficiency with reference to accessibility and its contribution to the economy and sustainable development. Hence, in the context of tourism, the train has rarely been examined as a meaningful social environment where social time and social space is produced, lived and experienced.

Turning to the experiential dimension of train travel, there are numerous guide books, travelogues (e.g., Bradshaw's Railway Guides, travelogues by Paul Theroux) and TV series (e.g., The BBC's Great British Railway Journeys and Great Continental Railway Journeys with Michael Portillo) that describe railway culture and illustrate different aspects of train tourism. Moreover, many fiction books and films (for instance, the overview of trains and travel in children's stories is presented by Frost and Laing, 2014) have been inspired by trains in which the train is often used as a context for action. Yet, it is not within the scope of this study to analyse fiction, travelogues and media sources. My focus is on academic knowledge and I review literature on embodied experiences of transport, mobilities,

and train travel in the disciplines of geography, sociology, anthropology, environmental psychology and tourism studies.

The analysis of the academic literature reveals that, in recent years, there has been a growing interest in how people experience mobile time and mobile places. For instance, in sociology and geography, scholars examine the mundane, habitual everyday practices of commuters (Binnie, Edensor, Holloway, Millington and Young, 2007; Bissell, 2008; 2010; Edensor, 2003; Hirsch and Thompson, 2011; Letherby and Reynolds, 2005 to mention but a few) while, in tourism studies, academics scrutinise experiences on heritage railways (Halsall, 2001; Conlin and Bird, 2014). Yet, tourists' experiences of modern rail services to/from a destination remain a poorly understood and largely under-explored area of tourism research (Page, 2009; Rhoden, 2010), mainly because modern trains represent heterogeneous public spaces that are inhabited by both tourist and non-tourist and, as a result, are outside the scope of mainstream tourism researchers.

Yet, Page (2009) urges for a change in the research approach to the study of transport, suggesting that as tourism and leisure become an integral part of everyday life, more focus needs to be placed on how mobile time-space is practised and experienced during recreational, leisure and tourism trips. For this reason, the focus of this study is on how tourists produce, consume, inhabit and experience the mobile time-space while travelling by trains to/from a destination. When referring to passengers who use trains for leisure/tourism purposes, I interchangeably use terms, such as 'tourist', 'domestic tourist', 'leisure traveller', 'day tripper' and 'holidaymaker', as synonyms, reinforcing the idea that the differentiation of tourism and leisure, tourism and the everyday is eroded.

Finally, I think, it is important to mention that my choice to examine trains is also linked to my personal experience. This is similar to other scholars who acknowledge that they analyse train travel because they hold a fascination, love or even obsession with trains (e.g., Conlin and Bird, 2014; Letherby and Reynolds, 2005; Theroux, 1977). In my case, there is no particular love or obsession with trains. Until I purchased my first car, public transport facilitated my travel to school, work and university. As a commuter, I travelled by public transport without thought,

never considering train or bus an experience. Public transport was part of my daily life that I seldom analysed or noticed, and only destination mattered. Then, in October 2011, at the early stage of my literature review, I joined a group of 40 young, active people (an organised coach tour) to travel around Western Europe. As part of the tour, we spent two days in the Swiss Alps where we had an opportunity to experience a train ride to the summit of the Jungfrau Mountain - the highest railway station in Europe, called the 'Roof of Europe', at over 12000ft (3658 m) high. The train journey that facilitated access to the summit turned out to be a fascinating travel experience in its own right. As the route unfolded, it presented a flow of adventure that was unexpected, utterly embodied and multi-sensuously experienced. This was the first trip by train when I felt an urge to make notes about my travel experience. I was astounded by the views, changing climate and altitude and the embodied sensations I felt as the train rose from ground level in Lauterbrunnen, where it was a warm and sunny autumn morning, and moved towards the summit where extremely harsh high-Alpine weather with constant snow and ice prevailed. When I came back home, I was inspired by this extraordinary train journey and I decided to conduct my research on trains.

Based on my personal transport experience and the research gap that I identified in the academic literature, in this study, my research questions can be summarised as follows:

1. What is the tourist experience of travelling by train? How is time experienced and mobile space encountered by tourists 'on the move'?
2. What role does train travel play in the total tourist experience?

To answer these questions, I developed the following research aims.

1.3 Aims of this Study

1. To critically analyse the embodied realm of human experience and human encounter with mobile environments of different transport modes.
2. To analyse the rhythms experienced by tourists whilst traveling by train.
3. To critically examine tourists' experiences of time during train travel.
4. To critically scrutinise tourists' embodied experiences of trains as mobile places.
5. To develop a holistic understanding of the tourist transport experience through attention to practice, embodied and emplaced dwelling over the duration of a train journey.

1.4 The Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1: Introduction

In this chapter, I present the rationale behind this study - I sketch the background to this research project and I explain the research focus on tourists' lived and embodied experiences of train travel. I conclude this chapter by stating my research question and summarising my research aims.

Chapter 2: Literature Review on Lived Experience

The focus of this chapter is on the lived experience phenomenon and the body-mind-environment relationship, which is the key to understanding the lived experience. Firstly, I review three approaches to lived experience, which have been applied extensively in tourism and leisure studies, i.e., the concept of flow (Csikzentmihalyi, 1975), the tourists gaze (Urry, 1990) and the performance turn (Edensor, 1998). Secondly, drawing together knowledge from the wider social sciences, I analyse the concept of embodiment, which entails four interlinked dimensions: sensory, emotional, cognitive and behavioural. Finally, I examine how tourists encounter places, dwell in them and form subjective experiences of them and, by doing so, (co)produce them.

Chapter 3: Literature Review on Transport Experience

The emphasis of this chapter is on the lived experience of mobile environments, i.e., different mobilities and diverse transport modes. Firstly, I examine the embodied experience of time, the notion of rhythm and the experience of speed and slowness, which are fundamental to the immediate experience of mobile place, as well as to the many deeply-rooted practices inscribed in it over time. Secondly, by focusing on ground transportation and, in particular, trains, I scrutinise the four dimensions of embodied experience – behavioural, sensory, emotional and cognitive. I also review different mobile cultures and the experiences of sociality and mobile atmospheres within the mobile place of a train. This chapter is concluded with a review of existing conceptual and empirical research on the subject of tourists' transport experiences.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter, I explain the methodology of this study. Firstly, I explain my decision to adopt the mobilities paradigm as the overarching philosophical assumption that I make about the nature of reality. Secondly, I present the non-representational theory (NRT) as the theory that guides my epistemological orientation and informs my methodological strategy and research methods. Thirdly, I outline my research strategy – sensory auto-ethnography – and review my data collection methods. Additionally, I present the context of the research setting, the research sample and the profile of interviewees. Finally, I explain my pilot studies, data analysis techniques and I outline the code of ethics that guides this study.

Chapter 5: Rhythmanalysis

I start my analysis of the tourists' embodied transport experience by exploring train travel through the analytical lens of rhythms. I use rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004) to illustrate the temporal nature of mobile place and space of a train carriage as well as to highlight the dynamic and embodied nature of travel time. I identify that the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route consists of multiple rhythmic assemblages, which produce and reproduce the time-space of a train carriage as fluid, dynamic and practised. In the main body of this chapter, I scrutinise the diverse rhythms of the route and I analyse diverse mechanical, natural and social rhythms. In total, these rhythmic intensities constitute the

background of the train journey and they are an integral part of the mobile experience.

Chapter 6: Experience of Time

The focus of this chapter is on the embodied experience of different temporalities that constitute the train journey. Firstly, I examine the notion of leisure time. Secondly, recognising the non-linear nature of mobile time, I adopt a 'time frame' concept, which reveals that a train journey consists of different time dimensions, such as clock time, activity time, liminal time, waiting time, memory time and body time. These times constitute the duration of the train ride and render the mobile experience varied, changing, creative, rhythmic and 'in becoming'. Finally, I examine how the slow rhythms of the diesel train are experienced and valued by different leisure travellers, as well as what meanings leisure travellers attach to these rhythms.

Chapter 7: Experience of Mobile Space

In this chapter, I focus on the experience of space – the mobile place of the carriage and the fleeting landscape. I begin with examining different factors that influence the mobile experience, such as reasons to travel, destination and activities at the destination, socio-demographics of leisure travellers, their familiarity with train travel and their past experiences. Further, I turn to analysing the lived experience of a train carriage. I scrutinise different ways in which the mobile environment of a train carriage (e.g., train materiality, sociality and the atmosphere inside the carriage) and various sensory stimuli (e.g., the fleeting landscape, sounds, smells, temperature and movement) influence the lived experience. Moreover, I examine diverse place-making practices and how tourists inhabit and (co)create time-space of a train journey. I conclude this chapter by exploring the experience of the fleeting landscape.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In the final chapter, I provide a conclusion to this study that is based on the theories and concepts discussed in literature review chapters 2 and 3 and the themes that emerged from the primary research examined in chapters 5 to 7. I present four broad themes that run across the empirical research chapters: destination, the

tourist, and motivations to travel; experience of time, rhythms and activities on the move; social dimension of train travel, travel companions and affective atmospheres; transport mode, its built form and the railway route. The themes uncover that the tourist transport experience is integral to the total holiday experience and reiterate that the mobile experience is not self-contained but dynamically linked with experiences at the destination, both influencing and reinforcing each other. In conclusion, I emphasise the contribution to knowledge of my PhD thesis and identify future research opportunities.

Chapter 2 Lived Experience of Leisure and Tourism

2.1 Introduction: The Tourist Experience

During the 1960s and 1970s, the tourism and leisure experience phenomenon became a key research topic in the social science literature (Morgan et al., 2010; Uriely, 2005). The review of the literature on tourism and leisure experiences demonstrates that the word 'experience' can refer to two different states: the moment-by-moment lived experiences and the accumulated experiences in the course of a time period (Morgan et al., 2010). The former signifies immediate and conscious engagement with the surrounding environment and participation in different situations while the latter relate to evaluated experiences and memorable impressions, which are subject to reflection and prescribed meanings (Morgan et al., 2010). Larsen (2007) emphasises that both experiential states compose the experiences of tourism and leisure, creating a complex and dynamic process that is subjectively felt and perceived by a tourist (Ryan, 2002).

Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) identify three approaches to research into tourism and leisure experiences: the definitional approach; the post-hoc satisfaction approach; and the immediate approach, while Morgan et al. (2010), after reviewing these approaches, recognise a fourth: the marketing/management approach, adopted in business studies. The four approaches to tourism and leisure experiences are summarised in Table 2.1, including an overview of theories and concepts that can be categorised under each research approach. It is not within the scope of this study to review the massive literature on the various perspectives, theories and concepts developed within these approaches because many excellent reviews already exist, such as Quinlan Cutler and Carmichael (2010), Rhoden (2010), Ryan (2011), Sharpley and Stone (2011), to mention a few. However, these reviews demonstrate that there is an overwhelming amount of research conducted using the definitional, post-hoc satisfaction and marketing/management (business) approaches while the immediate conscious experience approach, that examines the nature of on-site real-time experiences, lacks attention in the field of tourism, although popular in leisure studies

Table 2.1: An Overview of Four Approaches to Tourism and Leisure Experiences

Approach	Description	Examples
Definitional Approach	This approach seeks to categorise tourists and their experiences. The focus is on different elements and dimensions of the experience that are in contrast to the daily experiences.	<p>Modes of experience (Cohen, 1972, 1979; Quan and Wang, 2004);</p> <p>Role of authenticity (Lau, 2010; MacCannell, 1973, 1976; Cohen, 1988, 2007, 2010, Wang, 1999);</p> <p>Phases of experience (Clawson and Knetsch, 1966)</p> <p>Tourist typologies (Ballantine and Eagles, 1994; Murphy, 1985; Cohen, 1972, 1979; Smith, 1977; Eagles, 1992; Plog, 1972, 2001; Rhoden and Lumsdon, 2006)</p> <p>Place and mobility (Larsen, 2001; Lumsdon and Page, 2004)</p>
Post-hoc Satisfaction Approach	The analysis of tourist experiences via satisfaction derived from touristic encounters. The focus is on subjective psychological outcomes to determine the extent to which tourists' expectations of holidaying are met by their perceptions of the actual experience.	<p>Examination of Motivations (e.g. escape, relaxation, freedom) (Ryan, 2002; Dann, 1977; Pearce, 1982; 2012; Pearce and Lee, 2005)</p> <p>Elements of satisfaction (Pearce, 2005; Ryan, 1995)</p> <p>Assessment of Experiences (Larsen, 2007; Morgan et al., 2010)</p>
Immediate Approach	This approach examines on-site real-time immediate conscious experiences to understand the nature of the experience as it occurs.	<p>'Flow' approach in leisure studies (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975)</p> <p>The Tourist Gaze (Urry, 1990; 2002; Urry and Larsen, 2011)</p> <p>Performance Turn (Edensor, 1998; 2000a, 2001, 2007a)</p>
Marketing/Management Approach	This approach treats the tourist experience as consumer experience, a product. The focus is on the quality of tourists' sites, activities and management techniques to enhance tourists' experiences.	<p>The theory of consumerism and service quality (Jennings and Nickerson, 2006)</p> <p>The experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 1998, 1999, 2011; Snel, 2011)</p> <p>Consumer Behaviour in Tourism (Moutinho, 1987; Horner and Swarbrooke, 1996)</p>

(Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; 2000). Moreover, the literature reveals that scholars mainly analyse cognitive (e.g. thinking, discourses and representations), visual and behavioural dimensions of the tourists' experiences (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006; Gretzel and Fesenmaier, 2010; Quan and Wang, 2004) and, thus, sensory and emotional aspects, as well as the social dimension, have been largely neglected (Edensor, 2006).

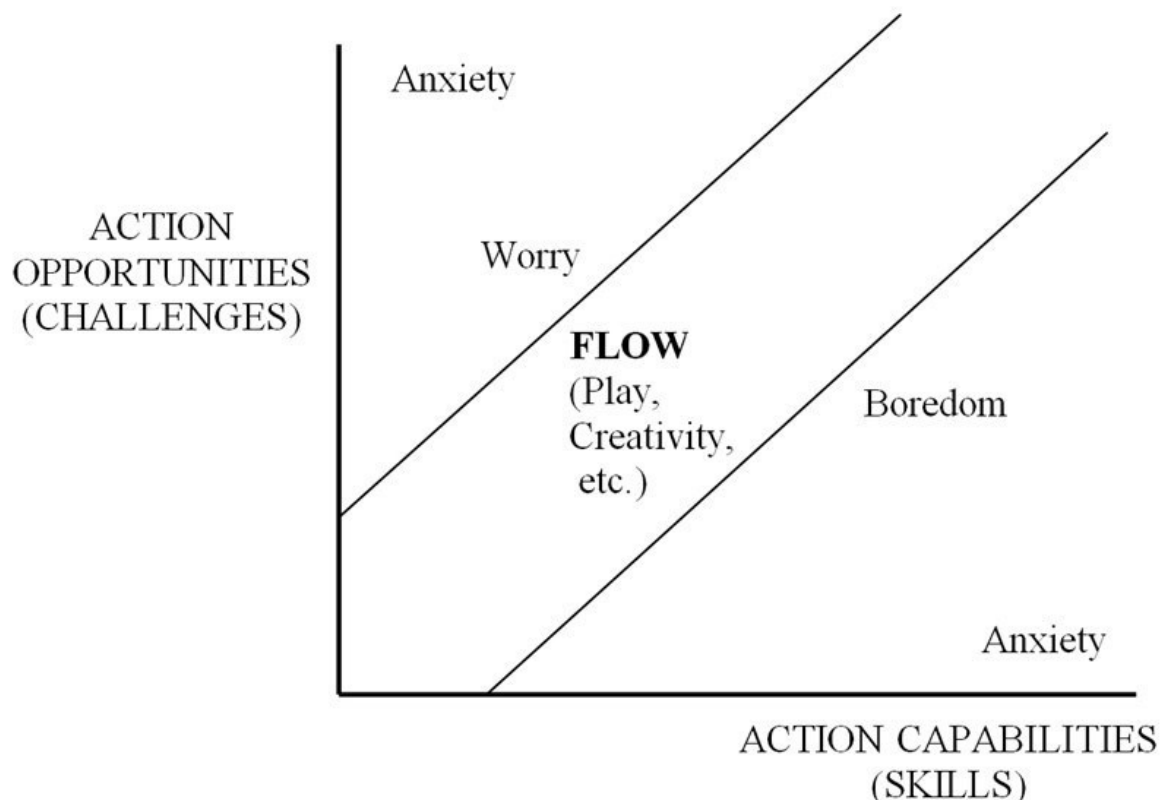
For this reason, the aim of this study is to focus on tourists' lived and embodied experiences, supporting Lyon and Barbalet (1994) who assert that knowledge does not form the experience and reasoning is not sufficient to explain actions. According to Lyon and Barbalet (1994), feelings must be integrated in an account of both the experience of the world and the understanding of actions within it. Further, May and Thrift (2001:23) maintain that going above Cartesian rationalism enables us to find a new and more dynamic relation to the world, that is, a being-relation, which "dissolves the abstract subject of cognition and liquefies the rigidified spirit [to open] a much greater sense of interaction with the world". The concept of 'being' allows us to understand how people bodily engage with, make sense of and experience time-space as lived and expressive. However, before I scrutinise the lived and embodied experience of 'being', the concept of embodiment and different ways in which people sense and actively engage with the surrounding environment, I review three approaches to lived experience, which have been developed in social sciences (sociology, geography and psychology) and applied extensively in tourism and leisure studies. These approaches are the concept of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975), the tourists gaze (Urry, 1990), and the performance turn in tourism studies (Edensor, 1998).

2.2 The Concept of Flow

In psychology, the concept of flow examines the nature of the on-site real-time immediate conscious experience as it occurs. This creative concept was developed by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1975) with the aim of explaining one's psychological state during a pleasurable and satisfying experience. In short, Csikszentmihalyi suggests that during a positive and preferred experience individuals are fully involved in the present moment (absorbed in an activity). To reach this state of

mind and body, one needs to engage in situations in which the challenges of an activity are in balance with the skills of the person, since “flow seems to occur only when tasks are within one’s ability to perform” (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000:39) (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: The Concept of Flow



Source: (adapted from Csikszentmihalyi, 2000: 49)

As demonstrated in Figure 2.1, tasks that appear to be too challenging (self-defined competence) evoke feelings of frustration and possibly worry or anxiety whereas if one’s skills exceed the challenges of a particular activity or task, the situation can be considered as potentially boring. Hence, when the challenges match skills the flow experience is optimal and creative, the activity becomes all-absorbing and one achieves complete involvement with it (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). As a result, the flow experience is “the holistic sensation[s] that people feel when they act with total involvement” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975:56). This involvement generates a sense of being fully alive, the feeling of control over and visceral pleasure of the activity, focus and intense concentration on the present moment,

and transformation of time. What is more, the intrinsic reward of the task or activity becomes the activity itself because it is enjoyable (Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi, 1992).

To measure experiences as closely as possible to the actual state, Csikszentmihalyi (1975) developed the Experience Sampling Method (ESM). In his approach, he asks respondents to carry a beeper device or a pager set to randomly alert individuals to fill out a survey about what they are currently doing, as well as their emotions, motivation, concentration, and thoughts associated with the task. This technique has been widely applied as a measurement of flow experiences during consumption of leisure activities (Csikszentmihalyi, 1997; Csikszentmihalyi and LeFevre, 1989) or practicing extreme sports (Jackson and Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). In tourism, it has been used to explain the levels of satisfaction derived by adventure travellers (for instance, Ryan (1997) on rafting in New Zealand) or adapted versions are used to measure satisfaction of different services, for instance, Brunner-Sperdin and Peters (2009) examined satisfaction of high-quality hotels.

Having reviewed the concept of flow that represents one way of conceptualising and measuring the immediate conscious experience, I move to examining the next approach to the lived experience – the tourist gaze.

2.3 The Tourist Gaze

In sociology, John Urry, in his seminal work *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), develops a seminal concept – the tourist gaze – that explains how tourists consume touristic places. According to MacCannell (2001), it is the first and serious account of the tourist subject, or subjectivity. Urry (2005: 78) highlights that the ‘tourist gaze’ is a combination of “collective travel, the desire for travel, the techniques of visual reproduction and the emotion of landscape”. Urry (1995; 2002) argues that the pleasures of much tourism are grounded in the enjoyment of gazing or visually consuming places, which are different, extraordinary and located away from home and the mundane. Urry offers the idea of a prolonged, contemplative, disengaging look across a tranquil interval that “enables to take possession of

objects and environments, often at a distance” (2002:147). According to the concept of the tourist gaze, visual sense (while not the only sense) dominates tourists’ experiences and organises the place, role, and effect of the other senses (Larsen and Urry, 2011).

The concept of the tourist gaze highlights that looking is a learned ability (Larsen and Urry, 2011) and the tourist gaze is a trained and cultivated form of seeing that leads to production of sights out of sites and results in emerging culture of being a sightseer (Crang, 2011). Hence, the tourist gaze is socially and culturally constructed, organised and directed through travel literature (e.g., travel brochures, advertisements, or travelogues), media and the products developed by the tourism industry. The tourism industry commodifies places, guides tourists’ movements and controls what tourists are drawn to gaze upon by framing views, sights and photography points (Urry, 1990). Urry (2002) remarks that the contemporary tourist gaze is increasingly signposted. There are markers that identify the things and places worthy of the tourist gaze.

Furthermore, the concept of tourist gaze portrays tourism as different ‘ways of seeing’ and recognises the importance of sociality. Urry (2002) distinguishes between romantic gaze and collective gaze that represent two different types of emotional relationship with a place, resulting in two different emotional experiences of it. The former relates to a solitude, personal, semi-spiritual relationship with a place that is experienced privately or with ‘significant others’. According to Urry (2002), ‘undisturbed natural beauty’ is the typical object of the romantic gaze. The latter is linked to public places with many people. The collective gaze requires the presence of large numbers of other people because people give atmosphere or a sense of carnival to a place. Good examples include New York, Las Vegas, the Olympic games or clubbing in Ibiza (Urry, 2005). Thus, Urry (2002) recognises that the attractiveness of a place also depends upon how many other people are staying in the same place, and especially how many other people are there like oneself.

Crang’s (2011) study of tourism in Cephalonia Island (Greece) is a good example of Urry’s tourist gaze. In media and travel brochures, this island is promoted as a picturesque destination. Crang (2011) examines the effects of the advertising on tourist flows and their activities on the island. He notes that many tourists, instead

of actually experiencing the beach corporally and emotionally, mainly choose to gaze from the viewing platforms at the scenes they have seen before in promotional tourist brochures or travel guides and desire to consume them visually. Thus, Crang's study demonstrates that the aim of many visitors is to be there and to get 'the view' and the picture. Crang concludes that for some tourists it is as a ritual to be performed.

Nevertheless, since the publication of Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), the concept of 'gaze' has been increasingly criticised by other scholars who stress the embodied and active nature of tourist experience. For instance, Edensor (1998; 2000a, b) proposes the metaphor of 'performance' to demonstrate that more attention must be paid to non-visual, non-representational aspects of the lived experience, namely, how people sensuously and emotionally embody time-space. In a similar vein, Andrews (2011) argues that Urry over-emphasises the gaze in privileging sight above other senses. Her research of British charter tourists in Mallorca demonstrates that "people feel their holiday as burnt skin, being too hot, being drunk, feeling sick, smelling vomit, falling over, dancing and hearing too much noise" (Andrews, 2011:14). Similarly, Everett (2008), analysing food tourism, remarks that a visual approach is inadequate to address how space is experienced multi-dimensionally and multi-sensuously. Furthermore, Perkins and Thorns (2001) present a case of adventure tourism to argue that gazing is only one component of the tourist experience. Thus, the performance perspective has been acknowledged to be a better metaphorical approach to tourism, which incorporates ideas of active bodily involvement, physical activity and gazing (Edensor, 2000b, 2001, 2007b; Perkins and Thorns, 2001). Finally, in *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, Urry (2011) himself rethinks the concept of the tourist gaze as performative and embodied practice, acknowledging the limits on how much vision can explain. Accordingly, in the next section, I review the theory of performance and how it is applied to tourism and leisure.

2.4 Performance turn in Tourism and Leisure

When reviewing 'performance turn' in tourism and leisure, it is important to point out that this perspective examines tourism as a constituent of everyday life rather than being simply an escape from it. The metaphor of 'performance' proposed by Tim Edensor (2001; 2000b; 1998) emphasises the sensuality of tourism places and the multi-sensuous, active bodily engagement with various natural, social and built environments. Edensor (2007b, 2006) asserts that different cultural contexts like industrial ruins, enclavic tourist spaces (e.g., the beach, attractions and mass tourism holiday resorts) and heterogeneous tourist spaces (e.g. Indian bazaar, public transport) offer a wide variety of sensory stimuli and different 'affordances' that enable a multi-sensuous and active bodily engagement and evoke diverse sensual experiences. As Veijola and Jokinen (1994) put it, it is about being-in-context, losing self and absorbing the atmosphere around.

As mentioned earlier, the metaphor of performance is used in opposition to classic mainstream tourism theories like 'the tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990; 2002), demonstrating that space is lived, (re)produced, embodied and influenced by culture and identity (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010). Franklin and Crang (2001:3) point out that, "tourism has broken away from its beginnings as a relatively minor and ephemeral ritual of modern national life to become a significant modality through which transnational modern life is organised." Similarly, Edensor (2007a; 2001) suggests that, in western and northern societies, tourism is carried out so often by so many people in so many spaces, that many practices and performances have turned into habitual, unreflexive enactions. He sees these performative habits as the *work* of tourism during which tourists (e.g. package tourists or backpackers) develop their own habitual and unreflexive procedures, which help to plan and experience a trip. These practices create an unreflexive sense of being in place, as well as a sense of having a good time (Edensor, 2007a). Thus, Edensor (2007a; 2001; 2000b) points out that, although tourism offers encounters with exotic 'otherness' and escape from everyday routine, it also contains familiar activities and unreflexive habitual performances.

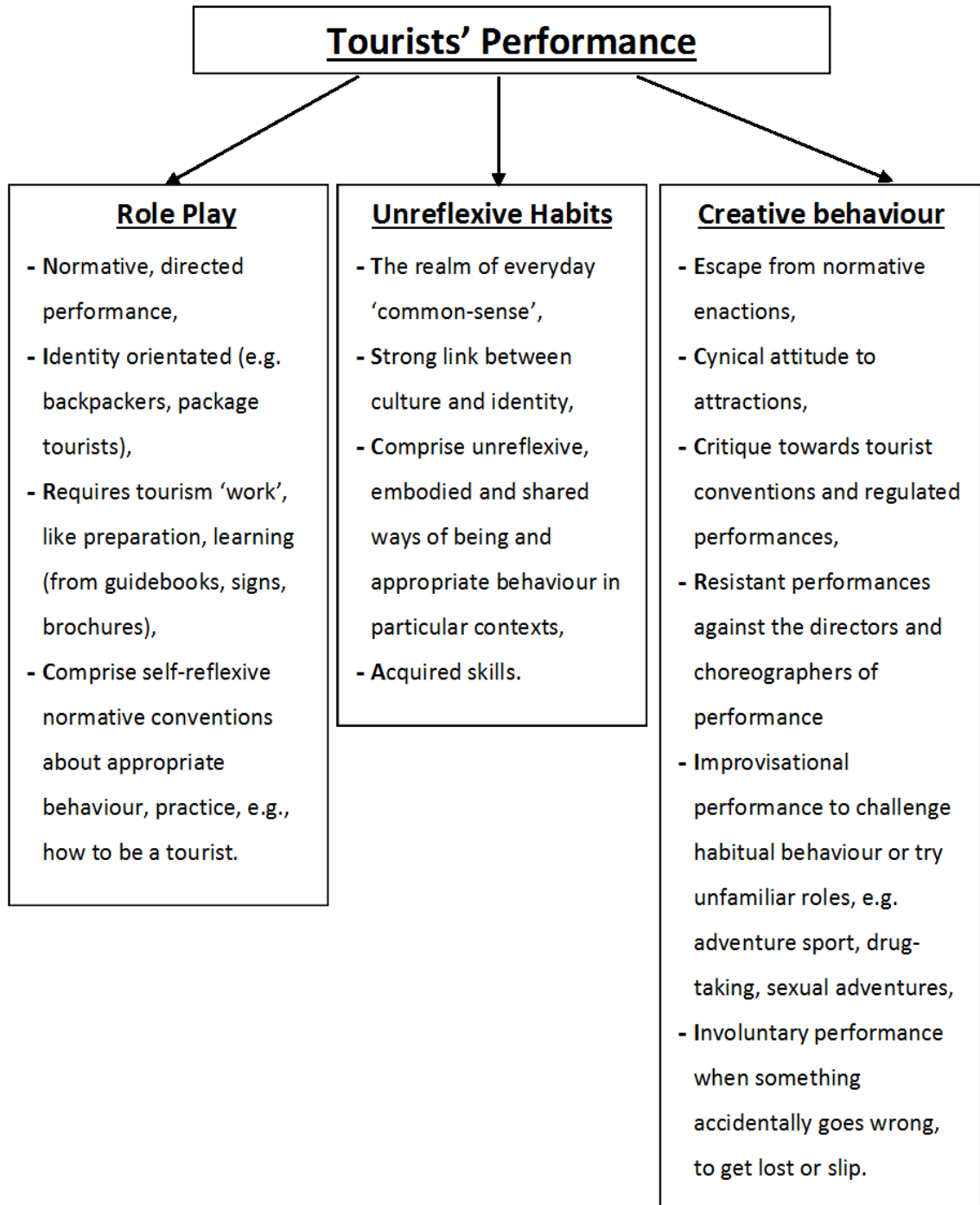
What is more, Edensor (2007a) demonstrates that different tourist enclaves generate a shared set of codes of action that ensue a particular form of 'dwelling'

styles of movement, activities practiced, modes of looking. In response to these codes and assumptions, tourists, rather than representing different typologies, intentionally adopt diverse roles and travel in a certain style that corresponds with the holiday type. For instance, the practices, performances and codes of acceptable behaviour vary considerably between package tourists and backpackers (Edensor, 2007a; Molz, 2005).

Further, Edensor compares tourist space to a 'stage' where "commonly understood and embodied practices and meanings are reproduced by tourists through their performances" (Edensor, 2001:71). These performances can be divided into three components: role-playing, unreflexive habits and creative, spontaneous actions (see Figure 2.2). As identified in Figure 2.2, firstly, tourists' performances include mundane, unreflexive behaviour (unreflexive habits), such as visiting particular sites, learning something about the culture visited and taking photos at symbolic attractions. These activities help to plan and organise a trip while they also minimise constant reflection on activities undertaken. Secondly, there is learned behaviour (role-play) that is relevant to each holiday setting or holiday type (e.g., backpacking holiday, package holiday). Edensor (2007a, 2001) explains that to acquire competency and give the 'right' impression, tourists require preparation, learning and rehearsal before enacting performances because performances only make sense if the meaning is understood and shared by some audience. Finally, Edensor (2001, 2007a) notes that performances always involve disruptions when norms are broken and spontaneous behaviour takes place (creative behaviour). These situations happen when habits are challenged, giving way to more creative and improvisational activities.

Consequently, the performance turn emphasises that tourists generate experiences through practice both unreflexive behaviour and creative performances. This recognition is important for the present study and, to gain a better understanding of tourists' lived, practiced and performed experiences, in the following four sections, I examine different theories and concepts that explain how humans sensuously and emotionally engage, sense, experience and make sense of the surrounding environment. The understanding of these concepts forms the 'backbone' of this study.

Figure 2.2: Three Dimensions of Tourists' Performance



2.5 Body/Mind Dualism

Since the times of Plato and Aristotle and later the philosophy of Descartes, there has been a distinction between mind and body – ‘Cartesian dualism’ (Synnott, 1991). According to Descartes and many advocates of his standpoint, the mind and soul are non-physical and capable of reasoning, self-awareness and conscious actions while the body is material and sensual, representing the animal part of humanity (Synnott, 1991). Thus, according to Descartes, mental processes are entirely distinct from the material body, manifesting the superiority of the intellect over the senses. An example of Cartesian dualism is Turner’s (Turner, 1986) approach to distinguishing between ‘mere experience’ of the body and ‘an experience’ formed by the mind. The former is received by consciousness; it is how life as lived (reality) presents itself to consciousness while the latter is an expression – the intersubjective articulation of an experience, its symbolic manifestation. According to Turner, there is a critical distinction between reality, experience as consciously perceived and its symbolic manifestation. On the other hand, Csordas (1994) argues that ‘the body’ cannot be considered as a brute fact of nature, a fixed, biological entity characterised by unchangeable inner necessities, or an instrument of the rational mind. According to Csordas (1994), ‘the body’ is a cultural phenomenon because culture is grounded in the human body through the process of early upbringing, education and self-development. As Bourdieu puts it, culture is “*made body*” (Bourdieu, 1977: 94 original emphasis).

In approaching the mind and body relationship from the lived experience perspective, Csordas (1994) asserts that practical engagement with the environment embraces sensory perception and cognition, body and mind, mental and material. In a similar vein, Ingold (2000) explains that perceiving and doing is inseparable from thinking because cognition is embodied (‘embodied mind’ or ‘a body in the mind’) and arises from bodily interactions with the world (Rakić and Chambers, 2012). Supporting the interrelatedness of mind and body, Tuan (1993:35) also asserts that the total lived experience is a combination of senses and the active and reflexive mind because “the senses, under the aegis and direction of the mind, give us a world”. In addition, Merleau-Ponty (1962) points out that the body is the condition and context through which an individual makes relations possible between objects and other subjects. The body is the instrument

by which all information and knowledge is received and meaning is generated. Moreover, with regards to the notion of immateriality of the mind, Merleau-Ponty (1962) explains that due to the embodied nature of the mind, the feeling of the body disappears from awareness while carrying out every day habitual and routine performances. Thus, the body's own structure leads to its self-concealment, and to a seeming notion of the immateriality of mind and thought. As a result, and in opposition to Cartesian dualism, Csordas (1994:10) suggests "a being-in-the-world" concept that demonstrates inseparability of bodily sensations and feelings and the formation of cultural meanings.

Narrowing the focus to tourism research, Pritchard, Morgan, Ateljevic and Harris (2007) point out that, until very recently, 'the body' has been a silent and, indeed, an absent entity in tourism studies, reflecting the masculinist and disembodied research traditions. Similarly, Edensor (2007a) acknowledges that mainstream research avoids the complexity and ambiguity of the world when analysing tourists' behaviour, satisfaction levels and feelings, perceiving tourists as disembodied subjects, detached from space. Veijola and Jokinen (1994) summarise that the sensing, gendered bodies (Johnston, 2001) and non-visual performances (Perkins and Thorns, 2001) have been frequently neglected in tourism research. Nevertheless, as more reflexive and embodied researchers engage within tourism scholarship, a shift towards sensuousness and embodiment takes place. For instance, Veijola and Jokinen's (1994) work leads towards an understanding of the sensuous body in tourism and that the body provides a point of 'affordance' between self and the surrounding. They demonstrate that beach holidays often revolve around different bodily sensibilities that arise from feeling the sand, being in the sea, sunbathing, eating or being around other people. These practices immerse the body in different cultural contexts and result in different non-representational, multi-sensual experiences. Summarising the notion of embodied and sensed experiences in tourism, Bærenholdt et al. (2004:5) highlight that

Tourism is one of the ways of being in the world, encountering and sensing the world, looking at it and making sense of it. It incorporates mind-sets and performances that transform places of the humdrum and ordinary into the apparently spectacular and exotic.

Thus, the next section examines the concept of embodiment that provides an explanation of how individuals construct their lived experiences within different environments.

2.5.1 Embodiment

The world we inhabit does not confront us, it surrounds us

(Ingold, 2000:168).

For Merleau-Ponty (1962) the process of embodiment occurs through the notion of 'the flesh' – a mutual perception between subjects and objects. Bourdieu (1977) emphasises that individuals embody the world through practice that is mediated by 'habitus' – everyday habits and learned cultural skills. Csordas (1994; 1990) combines both standpoints and defines the paradigm of embodiment as a perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the world. In other words, the idea of embodiment is a *process* of developing a relationship (perceptual and practical) between humans and the surrounding environment:

[It is] not primarily the discovery of how the world 'really is', or its representations. Instead, it is active in making a sketch, a continuity of engagement that allows us to know how things are because of what we did to bring them about...

(Radley, 1995:5).

Crouch (2000:68) complements this assertion by emphasising the interrelationship between body and mind: "embodiment is a process of experiencing, making sense, knowing through practice as a sensual human subject in the world".

To summarise the literature on embodiment, it could be argued that the notion of embodiment consists of four interlinked dimensions: sensory, emotional, physical or behavioural and cognitive. The four dimensions, interacting with each other and engaging with the surrounding environment (natural, built and socio-cultural), form the lived experiences of space and time. To understand better the lived and embodied experience of place and the relationship people form with surrounding environment, in section 2.6, the focus is on sensory perception and the main characteristics of the senses while, in section 2.7, I analyse how tourists experience different places multi-sensuously and through practice and, by doing so, build the body-mind-environment interrelationship with these places. Finally, in section 2.8, I examine the emotional dimension of embodiment.

2.6 Sensory Perception

According to Ingold (2000:166), sensory perception is an active and exploratory process of information picking. It allows one to obtain practical knowledge of the 'affordances' of different environments in relation to the activity in which one is engaged. Information gathering can result in conscious perceptual experience as well as unconscious perceptual processing. Schmitt (1999) points out that vivid and salient, as well as meaningful, stimuli capture people's attention and form permanent experiences. Thus, more intense sounds and rough surfaces or sensory information that stands out in contrast to ordinary information will get higher levels of attention. In addition, people prefer and notice information they can relate to and that fits into their sensory preferences. As different people have different social backgrounds, lifestyles and interests, they pick up slightly different aspects of new sensations and environmental stimuli while attaching subjective meanings to them.

Michael (2000:111) points out that "depending on the kind of activity in which we are engaged, we will be attuned to picking up a particular kind of information, leading to the perception of a particular affordance [of the surrounding environment]". Thus, although the whole body engages with a place, different activities and movements shift individuals' conscious attention to more immediate and meaningful sensory inputs, downplaying other sensory stimuli and information. This tendency has found support in several studies. For instance, Degen, DeSilvey and Rose (2007:1912), in their study on people's visual experiences of designed urban environments, demonstrate that activities like minding children or talking to a travel companion shift attention from the total surrounding environment to the immediate happening:

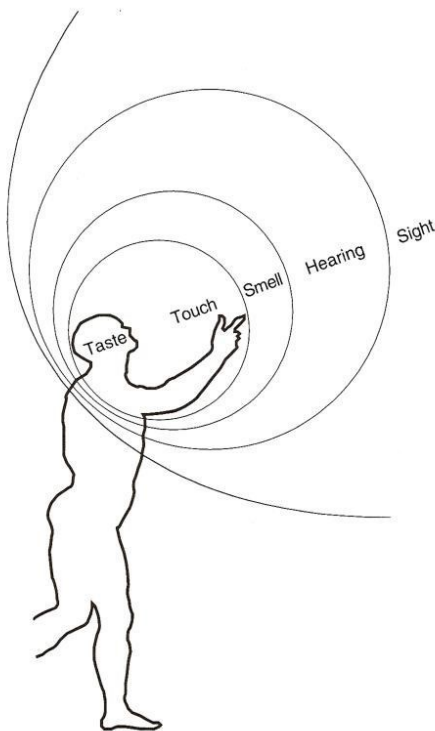
...modes of looking also entails ways of not looking...And sometimes the visual just disappeared...we found repeatedly that when we were with somebody else in the mall, we tended to focus our attention on the interaction with that person. Neither person then seems to pay attention on the interaction to other people or the surroundings.

Applying this knowledge to tourism studies, Veijola and Jokinen (1994) note that the notion of "departure" and breaking with established routines allows one's senses to encounter new sets of more vivid sensory stimuli. Tourists anticipate

the change and look out for the engagements with difference. In the words of Rojek and Urry (1997), tourists act like keen 'sensory filters' seeking to actively gather a range of new environmental information.

What is more, according to Crouch (2000), sensory perception divides environment into two interrelated 'spaces'. There is a 'close up' or surrounding space that is felt multi-sensuously and performed bodily through practices like sitting or touching while there is also a 'far off' or distant space that can be reached only through vision and sound. These findings lend support to earlier studies of Rodaway (1994) and Tuan (1993) who order senses into proximate and distal. Tuan asserts that the proximate senses, like touch, sensitivity to temperature and movement, smell and taste, yield the world closest to us, including our own bodies, while hearing and sight make the world "out there" truly accessible (Figure 2.3). Nevertheless, both spaces, the immediate and the distant, are not separate but experienced together and in relation to each other (Crouch, 2000). Similarly, each sense dimension operates over both surrounding and distant ranges, though with different efficiency (Rodaway, 1994).

Figure 2.3: The Reach of the Senses



Source: (adopted from Rodaway, 1994)

In addition, Rodaway (1994) recognises that there are two dimensions of perception: perception as a sensation and perception as cognition. The former develops a relationship between the person and the surrounding environment by reception of environmental stimuli (information) through the sense organs, while the latter is a mental process of remembering, associating, decision-making and sense-making of this sensory information. Moreover, Tuan (1993) highlights that the process of perception is always multi-sensual, involving more than one sense organ when gathering the information. The more senses that are involved in perceiving a place, the deeper and more memorable the experience. Thus, perception is corporeal, mediated by the whole body (e.g. its position, size, and locomotion) and influenced by the efficiency of the sense organs (Rodaway, 1994).

However, it is also important to realise that perception is a learned behaviour, a skill that can be cultivated through the earliest upbringing, education, and self-development (Howes, 1991). Bourdieu (1977) uses the term 'habitus' – cultural rules and learned practices sedimented in the body – that determines the relationship between self and a place (Casey, 2001). As a result, different societies and individuals of different ages and sexes, education and socio-economic backgrounds perceive differently and hold diverse values. What is more, perception is situated in and mediated by geographical environment, explaining why western societies are overwhelmingly dependent on visual and verbal faculties for their experience of the world while other societies use and combine senses in different ways and give different meanings (Howes, 1991). A good example is Feld's (2005) study of Kaluli of Papua New Guinea, who make sense of their tropical forest environment in predominantly sonic terms. Feld examines how Kaluli engage with the tropical forest environment and transform it into a place through their own vocal and instrumental music as well as using their acute hearing for locational orientation and listening to sound to hunt. Another example is presented by Geurts (2005) who examines the Anlo-Ewe culture of Ghana where kinaesthetic sensorium and sense of balance dominate because in this culture it is common for women and children to balance huge loads on their heads on a daily basis.

Furthermore, Howes and Classen (1991) assert that human sensorium is not static and given, it develops and changes through experience and over time, just

as cultures do. Cohen and Cohen (1985) note that environmental awareness and perception of a place also depends on the length of residency and familiarity with a place. These findings have found support in van Hoven's (2011) study about hiking and bear watching in the British Columbia rainforest. She notes that the level of familiarity with the environment greatly influenced the perception of the surrounding environment. The guides who knew the forest felt confident and comfortable navigating the environment while for tourists, hiking was a great physical and emotional strain and challenge that required a lot of attention and effort along the route.

As the above examples show, the concept of a hierarchically dominant sense is culturally, socially and geographically defined (Howes, 1991; Ingold, 2000). For intellectual and practical purposes, each culture educates one to attend to some types of perception more than others, prioritising a particular sense or some cluster of senses, while neglecting others (Ong, 1991).

2.6.1 Senses and Their Main Characteristics

Tuan (1993) and Rodaway (1994) claim that humans practice, perceive and experience the surrounding environment multi-sensuously. Similarly, Merleau-Ponty (1962) emphasises that during a lived experience the senses complement each other, interact and communicate with each other, adding to and enriching the perceptual accuracy of the environment. Supporting this idea, Howes (2005) suggests a metaphor of the knot to demonstrate that each sense provides different experiential dimension to the total lived experience. For instance, sight and touch communicate with each other to provide confirmation (or contradictions) of each other, similarly taste and smell enrich each other's knowledge of the environmental stimuli (Grosz, 1994).

Further, with regards to sensory experiences, Rodaway (1994) identifies that under various circumstances, each sense requires different levels of stimulation (a threshold) to register environmental stimuli and provide a conscious experience. For instance, in some situations, like going on holiday, novelty may lower the sensuous threshold, rendering tourists more sensitive and perceptive to different, previously unencountered stimuli of various new places and activities, whilst the

sensory threshold is higher during familiar and habitual happenings, making people less attentive to these stimulations. In addition, analysing experiences of food tourism, Everett (2008) contends that the more senses are stimulated, the deeper and longer lasting the experience and knowledge of a place.

Finally, Radaway (1994) states that senses establish reciprocal connections between the individual and the surrounding environment. For instance, to touch something implies to be touched. Rodaway (1994) develops a sensuous matrix (see Figure 2.4) that represents the integration of physical and mental processes (vertical axis) and geographical reciprocity between an individual who perceives (actively or passively) and simultaneously is perceived by the environment (horizontal axis). Since these factors strongly influence the total environmental experience, the next section examines the experiential dimensions of each sense and how their qualities contribute to the total lived experience.

Figure 2.4: Sensuous Matrix

P E R C E P T I O N	SENSATION		P R E S E N C E
	To hear	To be heard	
	To feel or sense (contact)	To be touchable (tangible)	
	To notice a smell (generalised)	To be smelled (odour signature)	
	To see	To appear (to be sees)	
	To listen	To sound, voice	
	To touch, feel (explore)	To touch or reach (communication)	
	To smell, sniff (exploratory)	To give out an intentional odour (communicate)	
	To watch (look)	To appear (to give an image)	
	MEANING		

Source: (adopted from Rodaway, 1994)

2.6.2 Touch

The Haptic system (Gibson, 1966) includes different and complex functions of touch, balance, orientation and kinaesthesia (the body's ability to perceive its own motion) (Rodaway, 1994). This sense also detects somatic sensations of pressure, pain and temperature as well as providing information of shape, form, texture and frequency (Paterson, 2009). What is more, tactile experience involves the whole body-brain system and, thus, has a part in the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity (Obrador-Pons, 2007). It also plays a central role in constitution of affective feelings because touch is an intimate sense and the reciprocal nature of touch creates a close relationship between an individual and his/her surrounding environment. Thus, haptic sense demonstrates that people are not just passive observers but also actors that practice the surrounding environment and that are able to modify its objects (Tuan, 1993). In addition, touch is responsible for habitual perceptions, for touch offers the means to remember and store sensory information as involuntary bodily knowledge (Obrador-Pons, 2007). Gibson (1966:98 original emphasis) summarises:

The haptic system...is an apparatus by which the individual gets information about both his [*sic*] environment and his body. He feels an object relative to the body and the body relative to an object. It is the perceptual system by which animals and men are *literally* in touch with the environment.

Emphasising the multisensory nature of perception, Tuan (1993) states that tactile sensations are closely linked to seeing. These two senses complement and enhance each other. On the one hand, Tuan explains that most tactile sensations or "tactile qualities", like fluffiness of a blanket or graininess of sand, can be felt indirectly through the eye (also engaging the sensory memory). Similarly, through vision individuals can experience tactile variations of, for instance, roughness and smoothness of surfaces or weight of objects. On the other hand, referring to physical touching, Paterson (2009) stresses that seeing paired with touching provides a sense of reality and authenticity. As a result, Obrador-Pons (2007), analysing practices of nudity on the beach, asserts that the inter-relationship between touch and sight combines the proximal and the distant, the performative and the representational forms of sensory knowledge, as well as mixing subliminal

(Paterson, 2009) with visible and conscious. For instance, van Hoven illustrates how, whilst hiking in the British Columbia rainforest, the sense of touch was closely connected with the sense of vision, creating a sense of immersion and presence, feelings of intimacy and proximity with nature:

Touched *enhanced* our seeing, gave it more depth and provided nuances to our view of the forest. Rather than just seeing lots of different sizes and shapes of leaves, we were able to name them and describe them in a personalised way, thus enhancing their meaning
(2011: 43, original emphasis).

What is more, the experiential dimension provided by the haptic system can be derived not only directly from the surrounding environment but can also be sourced indirectly through extended and imaginative touch (Rodaway, 1994). The latter involves imagination that is rooted in the memory and expectations. Thus, imaginative touch enables the experience of intimacy with people and places at a distance.

2.6.3 Taste

According to Tuan (1993), eating is a form of touch that enables us to feel texture and flavour of food. Similarly to other senses, eating/tasting is a culturally influenced activity, accompanied by values and cultural norms that range from food preparation, table manners to food itself. From the aesthetic experience perspective, Tuan (1993) notes that people like to combine eating with other activities, like social conversations, music or other aesthetic pleasures.

Further, van Hoven (2011) examines that taste is also an exploratory sense that provides new experiences and knowledge. For instance, her research on bear watching in the Canadian rainforest demonstrates how the sense of taste becomes the most 'educational' sense because it is linked to aboriginal knowledge about the use of plants. Similarly, Everett (2008) recognises that local food consumption is an important experiential dimension that offers, firstly, an embodied engagement with a visited place; secondly, it enhances the feeling of a real encounter with an authentic cultural experience; and, thirdly, it enables us to attach personal

meanings to visited places.

What is more, similar to smell and auditory sensations, taste can evoke strong emotional responses that may range from repulsion to something wonderful. These emotional responses together with food flavour become sedimented deep in the sensory memory of an individual and, when triggered, can awaken experiences of the past (Everett, 2008). For instance, gastronomic pleasures of food and drink can easily invoke one's memories of a visited destination (Dann and Jacobsen, 2003). Recalling touristic experiences of rainforest hiking, van Hoven (2011:44) states that "taste extended our experiences and encouraged us to revisit the forest in our imagination at different times and in different ways".

Both taste and smell are chemical senses; smell accompanies breathing and taste is associated with eating (Gibson, 1966). Gibson refers to a smell-taste perceptual system (1966), for both senses are closely linked and implicate each other's perception. Tuan (1993) elaborates that food without aroma has little appeal and can even be repellent because the sense of taste requires the sense of smell to inform the perceiver about the flavour of food. Similarly, Rodaway (1994) summarises that people can taste a strong odour as much as they can smell it, especially in the context of food consumption.

Emphasising the multisensory nature of the perception and the link between taste and smell, Tuan (1993) poetically describes how the surrounding environment stimulates senses during a leisurely walk through a landscape. He notes that the human body is first aware of 'the smell of the day' that is a combination of smell, touch and taste, then "the body feels the warmth or the chill of the atmosphere, the inhale of cold or heat, and the feel of the wind on ones bare skin" (Tuan, 1993:167). In total, according to Tuan, this mix of sensory information provides 'the taste of the day'.

2.6.4 Smell

In the academic literature, it is recognised that olfactory sensing is an often overlooked, and thus, least researched dimension of human sensory perception

(Porteous, 1985; Drobnick, 2002). There are several interrelated reasons that have contributed to this lack of knowledge of the olfactory sense. Firstly, since the philosophy of Aristotle, due to smell's function as an alerting/warning device for food, disease and sexual attraction (Porteous, 1985), smell has had a very low ranking in the hierarchy of senses and has often been associated and treated as an 'animal need' (Synnott, 1991). Secondly, in the Western tradition, there is an odour-denying attitude that has led people to become extremely self-conscious about their body odours and the 'smell of the other' (Howes, 1991). Thus, in western societies, public spaces are planned and regulated in zones to keep strong sensations and, in particular, smells at bay (Urry, 2000; Edensor, 2007b). This tendency creates "blandscapes"– the antiseptic symbol of sensuous death (Drobnick, 2002) – that desensitize sensory experiences and lead to a modern sense of placelessness (Porteous, 1985). Finally, according to Rodaway (1994) and Drobnick (2005) the perception of smells is often subliminal because familiar or low intensity scents escape people's attention (Tuan, 1993). Besides, in general, the human perception of environmental information through nose is weak and, thus, most people "inhabit a smell-poor sensory environment" (Porteous, 1985). As a result, most individuals evaluate smell as the least essential sense for aesthetic experience and quality of life (Synnott, 1993).

Despite these assertions, Tuan (1993), emphasises the important role of the olfactory sense and explains that smells provide a rich, unconscious background for any social interaction. Robbed of scent, life and the surrounding world would become grey and passionless, for smell offers the savour of life and "arouse[s] the deepest emotions and instincts of one's animal nature" (Tuan, 1993:58). Moreover, in combination with vision and tactility, smell provides considerable enrichment to the sense of place (Henshaw, Cox and Clark, 2010). Scents capture the aesthetic-emotional quality of place and make them feel more real and authentic in a way that visual images alone cannot accomplish (Tuan, 1993). Thus, smells enhance or minimise the attractiveness of natural objects and add meaning to them, for example, the smell of pine needles and fir cones add to the ambience and aesthetic beauty of the forest (Tuan, 1993). These meanings are individually and socially constructed (Synnott, 1993) and they influence how places and people are perceived (Drobnick, 2002). For instance, odours act as status symbols, and boundary markers between good and bad people and places (Synnott, 1993).

Porteous (1985) highlights five main features of the olfactory sense that considerably influence the ways environmental stimuli of smell are experienced. Firstly, Porteous notes that the concept of adaptation is vital, meaning that although a smell may not disappear the ability to perceive it declines rapidly after one has become habituated to it, explaining the fact that smells are problematic to describe and adequately communicate (Synnott, 1993). Thus, smells create nebulous and ephemeral experiences (Drobnick, 2005) that are episodic in time, and fragmentary and liminal in space (Dann and Jacobsen, 2003). For this reason, periodic smells are more likely to be noticed (Rodaway, 1994) and travellers and outsiders are more likely to recognise and remember smellscapes of visited places because unfamiliar smells are the first key markers of cultural and spatial difference (Drobnick, 2002). For instance, Edensor (2007b) demonstrates that research on industrial ruins enabled him to sense the contrast between familiar urban realm and derelict places where one can feel the intense, complex and sometimes repulsive smells straight away. Similarly, describing his first visit as a tourist to India, Edensor (2006:15) vividly recalls rich and varied 'smellscales' of a small Gujarati village, commenting that 'the scent of buffalo dung, the fruits produced by the village, the earthy aroma of rain on dust, the *bidis* and smell of kerosene' were at variance to his habitual lifeworld.

Secondly, according to the psychology of hedonics, humans consider only 20 per cent of all smells as pleasant (Porteous, 1985). Usually, these 20 per cent fall into a category of familiar smells while unfamiliar smells are mainly judged as unpleasant. Thirdly, odour preferences and grouping is extremely subjective and perception is strongly linked to cultural nasal expectations (Synnott, 1993). This leads to the fact that there is no agreed scientific classification system for olfactory and the vocabulary of smells is limited (Synnott, 1993). Most smells are described by indicating their origin, for example floral, pepperminty or garlicky smells. Thus, the sense of smell is the least well articulable of the senses (Howes, 1991). Fourthly, odour tolerance and preference appears age-related (Porteous, 1985). For instance, Porteous notes that adults notice fewer smells than children and are less tolerant to different body and environmental smells, usually rating them as unpleasant. Children, on the other hand, are not only open to all sensations but smell also seems especially important in childhood because the body discovers

and learns through senses like touch, taste and smell (Seremetakis, 1994).

Finally, Porteous (1985), Tuan (1993) and Seremetakis (1993) recognise that smell stimuli not only provide information about the environment but also evoke emotional responses that become stored in the sensory memory of the body, establishing a strong bond between the person and the surrounding environment (Rodaway, 1994). Encountering the same aroma again may evoke associations, imagination and memories (Tuan, 1993) and one can “live the [past] moment over again with the full chord of its emotions vibrating our soul and startling our consciousness” (Howes, 1991:132). For example, Edensor (2007b) contends that powerful aromatic sensations of rotting wood and plaster in ruined spaces invoked rich sensations of forgotten memories and earlier experiences from childhood. Similarly, Seremetakis (1994:29) associates her childhood memories with a combination of smells in her grandmother’s house:

...The garden aroma combined with the animal dung; the oregano bunch hanging over the sheep skin containing the year’s cheese; the blankets stored in the cabinet which combine rough wool with the humidity of the ocean; the oven exuding the smell of baking bread and the residue of the ashes... As one moves from place to place in the house and gardens, these smells come in waves.

In a similar vein, Rodaway (1994) concludes that smells permeate the atmosphere, are inhaled and, thus, are inescapable (Drobnick, 2002; Henshaw et al., 2010). Thus, the sense of smell is an intimate sense that is capable of influencing an individual’s well-being and determining emotional reactions that can range from feeling relaxed and happy to anxious, disgusted or nauseated.

2.6.5 Sound

With regards to sonic perception, Gibson (1966) argues that people perceive sounds not only with the ear - the main sense organ for the auditory system - but also with the whole body that feels sonic vibrations similar to tactile sensations, especially against hard surfaces. In addition, Rodaway (1994) explains that auditory perception is multidirectional, although, only a few discrete sounds can

be followed simultaneously. However, Tuan (1993) points out that people usually do not consciously perceive environmental and habitual sounds that are routinely encountered and form the background of everyday life and, thus, their effect on people goes unnoticed. However, contrasting sounds that offer novelty or information receive more attention and are heard consciously (Tuan, 1993). For instance, Tuan observes how travellers vividly remark on a sharp contrast between the quiet of the countryside and the hubbub of towns. Thus, Smith (1994) elaborates that sounds, like traffic and church bells, fill space and give character to particular places, contributing to the sense of place and becoming auditory markers of space (Edensor, 2007b). On the contrary, an overload of sonic information, like heavy traffic or a mighty waterfall, as well as extreme intensities of sound, like sounds of pneumatic drills, are perceived as noise that masks weaker or quieter sounds and, in some contexts, contaminates the soundscape of a place (Tuan, 1993).

With regards to the auditory experience, Merleau-Ponty (1962) asserts that hearing provides a temporal and passive experience of the surrounding environment, while Rodaway (1994) contends that hearing also entails listening and making sense of the sonic information, rendering the auditory experience active and meaningful. Additionally, Gibson (1966) argues that the auditory world not only surrounds people but they are engaged in it as active participants because auditory experience is formed of external sounds perceived by individuals and the sounds individuals produce themselves, such as speech, breathing or music (Tuan, 1974).

Further, Tuan (1993) asserts that sonic sensations evoke strong emotional responses. For instance, unexpected and sudden sounds of modernity, like a ship horn or a train whistle, can evoke deep, almost primordial emotion while sounds of nature evoke feelings of pleasure, mystery or exhilaration. Moreover, silence can trigger contradicting feelings of the sublime, loneliness or emptiness. However, the greatest sensitivity people feel is towards human voices, which can evoke a range of emotional responses from feeling safe and happy to feeling annoyed and hostile.

In addition, music is a source of strength and comfort capable of touching humans at the deepest level and evoking emotions of alarm, pleasure, sadness, and

melancholy. People feel the need for music enriched backgrounds that contribute to the more pleasing, enlivening and sweetening ambiance of a place (Tuan, 1993). For example, Duffy, Waitt, Gorman-Murray and Gibson's (2011) study on how people embody festival spaces and how music triggers affective atmospheres reveal that music permeates the body and changes different bodily processes, like breathing, heartbeat and rhythm of movement, while, at the same time, the body absorbs the sounds of music and, through its aural rhythms, inhabits space. The twofold process stimulates joint social activities, enhances communication and strengthens group feelings, creating a collective identity. Similarly, Tuan (1993) notes that singing unites people in a larger whole and makes them feel as active participants of the group.

Finally, auditory experiences play a key role in anticipation, encounter and memory of place, imagination and dreams. Van Hoven (2011) in her study on bear viewing in the British Columbia rainforest demonstrates that perception of different sounds and movement in the forest trigger anticipations and imaginations that, in turn, evoke different positive (joy) and negative (concern, fear) emotional responses together with different physical responses, like sweating, goose bumps, and increased heartbeat.

2.6.6 Visual sense

Ours is a visual age. We are bombarded with pictures from
morning till night

(Synnott, 1993:206).

Since the times of Plato and Aristotle, in Western cultures, sight has been privileged and valued above all the other senses because it generates an immediate geographical experience (Rodaway, 1994) and has been strongly associated with production of knowledge (Synnott, 1991). With the age of modernity and constantly evolving new technologies (e.g. printing, photography, internet, maps, television), the hegemony of sight has further increased and western cultures more consciously depend on sight in making sense of the world (Tuan, 1974). A good example is the tourism industry where the benefits and importance of sightseeing are recognised

and valued more highly than the experiences gained through other sense organs (Edensor, 2007a). Nevertheless, Synnott (1993) argues that equating seeing with knowing and understanding is false because sight instantly provides access only to surfaces (Rodaway, 1994) while understanding evolves over time and, very importantly, is constructed from the perception of all five senses and past experience. Thus, the eyes play an important but not exclusive role in the formation of experiences and knowledge (Larsen and Urry, 2011).

With regards to the main characteristics of sight, Rodaway (1994) maintains that sight is an active and distant sense that offers detached, dynamic and abstract experiences of the world. Unlike the claims of ancient Greek philosophers that vision offers objective information about the world (Synnott, 1991), Tuan (1993) argues that visual experiences vary among different sociocultural groups. Firstly, culture directs people's vision and teaches what is beautiful. For instance, sunset and sunrise are not universally admired. Secondly, different social groups (with reference to age, education or profession) give different meanings to the same sights. Thus, each individual and social group compose a view by adopting culturally specific visual strategies:

Visual experiences flow past us, we catch glimpses of this and that, identify and linger on this or that, and so build up a collection of images and changes in our minds, that is, we compose a view
(Rodaway, 1994:125).

What is more, Degen, DeSilvey and Rose's (2007) research on visual experiences within urban environments demonstrates that visibility is multimodal. It is always accompanied by and gained through other sensory stimuli. For instance, Game (1991) stresses that the role of visual images is to evoke desire for participation in and engagement with a place. In a similar vein, referring to tourism, Veijola and Jokinen (1994) explain that seeing a beach gives an impulse to be there – to put one's feet or body in the sand, be in the water, sunbathe and be among other people.

Moreover, visual sense is influenced (guided and limited) by the structure of the environment which mediates the sensuous information (Gibson, 1966). For instance, Edensor (2013), examining the experience of walking in darkness, points

out that the absence of light impoverishes visual perception, yet, mobilises non-visual senses and imagination, which, in return, provokes in the sensing person complex affective and emotional reactions from being nervous and anxious to being excited and curious. Stressing the influence of the environment on the visual experience, Edensor points out that walking through a dark landscape changes the engagement with the surrounding environment and the experience of it. In darkness, lack of visual information turns walking into a practice more analogous to an adventure sport than a contemplative stroll because the environment becomes unfamiliar, difficult to navigate, strange and sometimes perceived as dangerous. This situation causes one to become cautious, for it is difficult to anticipate or recognise what would happen a few feet ahead. Hence, Edensor (2013: 465) alludes that “darkness offers opportunities to dream, mull over, remember and worry”.

Similarly, vision is influenced by activities performed within a given place and intersubjective relations between people and objects. For example, Degen, DeSilvey and Rose (2007) recognise that, in a shopping mall environment, three distinct ways of seeing prevail: manoeuvring, parenting and shopping. In addition, Rodaway (1994) asserts that visual experience is multidimensional, meaning that present visual experience always involves previous experiences, memories and speculations. Thus, seeing, combined with sensory memory enables one to recall sensory knowledge of an object (e.g. its shape and texture) and sensory experience and feelings of distant places (Tuan, 1993).

Finally, similarly to the other senses, vision triggers emotional responses. For instance, a distant view brings a sense of sublime of the vast, swallowing distances of visual space (Tuan, 1993). Tuan also argues that the better people see and the more vividly and sharply detailed the world becomes, the safer and happier they tend to feel (Tuan, 1993). On the other hand, when the time-space coherence of vision is suspended, as in sleep, or broken, as in rapid motion, people quite literally may lose their place in the world, spatially and temporally (Rodaway, 1994), and this can be accompanied by feelings of confusion, vulnerability or panic.

2.6.7 Sensory Memory

Feld (2005:181) states that senses and sensations are not limited to, and are more than, embodied presence, and physical and social contact because

There is no perception which is not full of memories. With the immediate and present data of our senses, we mingle a thousand details of our emplaced past experience.

Similarly, Bærenholdt et al. (2004) emphasise that embodied sensuous perception is not limited to a particular time and space, for it also comprises the dreamscapes of anticipation and remembrance. For example, van Hoven's (2011) study on bear watching and hiking in British Columbia revealed that sensory engagement with environment not only creates experiences of the present time and place but also enables the recollection of sensations that have been stored in the memory of the body. Somatic memories create multiple connections between places and previously felt sensations, that are, the self, the home, other places one has been as well as different times (or rhythms).

Seremetakis (1994) explains that sensory experiences are sedimented deep in the sensory memory of an individual. She notes that the senses are like the bearers and record-keepers of these experiences of taste, aromas and sounds from childhood, homeland or other places in past. Returning to past events and scenes is to return to the senses via memory. The sensory memory bears information and the body involuntary knows and uses it without conscious realisation. Seremetakis (1994) calls this process of remembering and imagining 'a moment of stillness' when past sensory landscape is translated into a present act.

Further, Seremetakis (1994) states that stimulation of one sense, such as seeing or hearing, can help to recall vividly the sensations of other senses, like taste, smell or touch. For instance, seeing a fruit can enable recollection of its taste, smell and feel. In a similar vein, Casey (2001:688) notes, "a place can be compressed into a single sensation, which, being reawakened can bring the place back to us in its full vivacity". Thus, places become lodged in the sensory memory of the body and become part of oneself:

Memory is the horizon of sensory experiences, storing and restoring the experience of each sensory dimension in another, as well as dispersing and finding sensory records outside the body in a surrounding of entangling objects and places. Memory and the senses are co-mingled in so far as they are equally involuntary experiences

(Seremetakis, (1994:9).

Finally, Seremetakis (1994) highlights that sensory memory can evoke different emotional responses, like nostalgia for some former times (e.g., homeland, childhood, friends, family or a place visited in past). Similarly, stressing the importance of affective feelings, Jones (2005) states that memories of past events can trigger prior emotional meanings that can be re-experienced and re-felt emotionally through the heart in the present time as strong as in the past because emotions are the same regardless of the way they arise. It is a dreamlike state when the imagination drifts back into all the remembered spaces, events and feelings, which are in our minds (Jones, 2005). Seremetakis notes that these deeply-rooted sensory experiences can be felt particularly strongly in exile or estrangement, and can evoke memories that allow re-experiencing the former times emotionally, imaginary or even evoke desire to return physically. Thus, memory plays a key, formative role in the construction of our ongoing emotional and imaginative geographies (Jones, 2005) as well as the overall lived experience. To return to examining lived experiences, in the next section, I shall scrutinise embodied experiences of place because understanding the body-mind-environment relationship is key to understanding the lived experience.

2.7 Embodied Tourist Experience of Place

Hein, Evans and Jones (2008: 1269) contend that the idea of embodiment is closely related to place, recognising that “this phenomenon’s position in space and time is an essential determinant of its characteristics”. Given this emphasis, place is vital in the research of the tourist experience, not only as a context of different encounters but also as an element that influences the embodied experience of an individual.

Describing places, Cresswell (2004) and Crang (2001) argue that, due to the multiplicity of changes in space and time in terms of speed, forms and encounters, place is best to define as open, permeable and always in construction. It is always in the process of becoming through reiterative social practices. Similarly, Sheller and Urry (2006) contend that places - cities, coastlines or villages - are characterised by change rather than stability and continuity and depend upon the practices within them. Urry (2007: 253) notes that places are “like ships that move around and are not fixed within one location”. Whilst, Godlewska (2004: 175) points out that “Place is a complex network of subjective experiences, objective projections, embodied limitations, social expectations, opportunities and physical forces”. In line with the aim of this study, in this section, I examine how tourists encounter places, dwell in them and form subjective experiences of them and, by doing so, (co)produce places.

Tourists learn about a place, consume it and build a relationship with it through practice, in other words, through one’s engagement with the surrounding world (Crouch, 2000). This active engagement creates a two-fold relationship between individuals and places: places influence activities and the sensory experiences of tourists, while tourists’ presence and embodied experiences change the place (Rakic and Chambers, 2012). With regards to the former, Edensor (2007b) explains that places possess an agency to impact upon the sensibilities of those who dwell and move within them. Places and spaces have different affordances (Gibson, 1977) and contain various sensory stimuli (Feld, 2005) that enable certain types of practices and embodied experiences. For instance, Edensor, comparing different spaces and places, contends that western cities have become progressively desensitized in comparison to non-western space, such as an Indian bazaar, which permits “a rich stew of smells, sounds, tactilities and sights” (Edensor, 2007b: 221). With reference to the latter, however, Rakic and Chambers (2012) note that social and cultural practices, including tourists’ performances, produce and change places and their meanings. For instance, Everett (2008) illustrates that food tourism not only provides a deeply embodied, multidimensional and sensual experience of place but food tourism also activates and forms the regions and places of local food production into tourist destinations.

Crouch (2003b) maintains that space is not pre-figured, it is constituted and

inscribed with particular meanings through embodied practice. In the words of Haldrup and Larsen (2010:5):

Tourist places are produced places and tourists are co-producers of such places...thus ...tourists not only consume experiences but also co-produce, co-design and co-exhibit them, once they enact them and retell or publish them afterwards.

Similarly, Bærenholdt et al. (2004) claim that touristic places are not pre-given, they need to be imagined, anticipated, (co)produced, and memorised by tourists to 'come alive'. To become a holiday destination, places require human presence, different kinds of corporeal mobilities and collaborative, creative performances that involve humans and non-humans (different objects, technologies) and that produce "a moment of pleasure worth remembering" (Bærenholdt et al., 2004:3). Using the metaphor of 'the sandcastle', Bærenholdt et al. (2004) demonstrates that the beach, the sea and the radiant sun are only set-pieces for staging a particular performance. The beach only becomes a tourist place when families arrive there, equipped with spades, shovels and buckets and together (adults and children) engage in building the sandcastle, and hence producing spaces and places of tourism. Thus, Bærenholdt et al. (2004) argue that most tourism places emerge as tourism places only when they are performed because tourism place, similar to a stage, remains 'dead' until actors take the stage and enact it.

Further, Crouch and Desforges (2003) point out that understanding tourists' sensual relations to the world is not simply a case of 'adding in' other senses: a sensory geography of taste, touch, smell, sound and sight. New metaphors are required to explain and analyse the embodied experience of "being, doing, touching *and* seeing" (Cloke and Perkins, 1998:189). Hence, within tourism studies, three metaphors have been proposed: the performance metaphor (Edensor, 2000b; 2001; 2007a), the metaphor of the encounter (Crouch, Aronsson and Wahlström, 2001), and 'dynamic dwelling' (Ingold, 2000; Obrador-Pons, 2003).

In the past, performance was mainly associated with the theatre and the performing arts whereas now the metaphor of performance is applied to all sorts of ritualised and playful activities of the everyday (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). The social sciences and humanities have adopted the performance approach to argue that

most expressive everyday practices and behaviour – greetings, display of emotions, family reunions or holidays – can be analysed as performances, demonstrating that space is lived, (re)produced and embodied, and emphasising a strong link between culture (meanings and codes) and identity (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010). Edensor (1998) introduces the performance metaphor in tourism studies to demonstrate that tourism is one of the dimensions of social life, which consists of familiar activities and unreflexive habitual performances, as explained in more detail in Section 2.4. It stresses the sensuality of tourism places and the multi-sensuous and active tourist engagement with places.

The metaphor of encounter focuses on the relationship between the body and the environment, emphasising how sensory encounters are linked to mental and identity building processes (Crouch, 1999; 2000). Crouch demonstrates that different places and cultures encountered through practice become part of memory and produce lay geographical knowledge. Crouch (2005) also recognises the importance of the social environment, emphasising that tourism activities usually take place with or at least among ‘others’ – locals, tourists, friends or relatives – whom we may or may not know. Being among others and feeling the ‘closeness’ of shared activities creates intersubjective experiences and renders space as social. Crouch et al. (2001:260) explain, “by our own presence we have an influence on others, on their space and on their practice of that space, and vice versa”.

In addition, tourist encounters generate meanings and make sense of visited places (Crouch, 2005) while Fulglagar (2001) emphasises that encounters with ‘otherness’ enable tourists to learn about their own identity. It is like “a journey of otherness inside ourselves” (Crouch et al., 2001:264) that makes tourists conscious about their own culture (Bordo, 1992), and possibly alters their attitudes and values. Obrador-Pons (2003) suggests that tourists adopt tourist consciousness and become immersed in a state of ‘becoming’ (Crouch and Desforges, 2003). However, Thrift (1997) asserts that there is also another way of being in a place and embodying it. It is through adrenalin-charged activities of adventure, such as bungee jumping, white-water rafting, skydiving or entertainments in amusement parks, that produce bodily experience which “has no meaning outside of a world of sensations, of movement, of the loss and recovery of physical control” (Radley,

1995:4).

Ingold (2000), on the other hand, proposes the metaphor of 'dynamic dwelling' that evaluates how individuals relate to the world through the practical things they do. Ingold (2000) adopts the notion of 'taskscape' – everyday habits and ways of habitation that create domestic space and render it comfortable and homely – to show that everyday life mainly consist of unreflexive modes of dwelling within mundane, familiar spaces. Thus, dwelling emphasises the bodily practices and unreflexive knowledge which are used to 'live in' or inhabit a place, make it 'homey'. Obrador-Pons (2003) adopts the metaphor of dwelling to demonstrate that tourism too is a particular way of living, dwelling, participating in the world, and tourists dwell in the world in a practical, close and non-representational manner. In a similar vein, Edensor (2006) uses the metaphor of 'dwelling' to emphasise that tourists become accustomed to tourist spaces through different tourist routines and practical, and unreflexive knowledge of such spaces.

To highlight the sensuous interrelationship of body-mind-environment and the role of the geographical and cultural environment, Howes (2005) suggests the concept of 'emplacement'. This concept highlights that individuals engage with different environments through a complex interplay of bodily sensations, feelings, performances, practices and mental reflexivity that forms experiences and knowledge of a place. Stressing the expressive nature of embodiment, Howes (1991) demonstrates that each encounter is felt subjectively, creating subjective experiences and inscribing space with subjective meanings and significance. Thus, Howes (2005) points out that through the process of place making and different spatial practices, people generate a sense of place (an emotional engagement with place) and meaning of place, which in total, create the experience of the surrounding world. To understand better the expressive nature of lived experiences and the body-mind-environment relationship, in the next section, I scrutinise the emotional dimension of embodiment.

2.8 Emotional Dimension of Lived Experience

Emotion is an integral part of all human existence and central to an understanding of embodied, lived experiences, for sensory perception of the body is intertwined with functions of emotion, forming the foundation of the lived experience (Lyon and Barbalet, 1994). Oatley, Keltner and Jenkins (2006) ascertain that emotions represent a complex phenomenon studied in many disciplines, such as brain science, philosophy, psychology, geography, sociology and anthropology. Disciplines such as psychology and brain science focus more on the human organism and analyse how and when emotions originate, how they change the human body and stimulate different types of communication and behaviour (Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1995) while sociology, geography and environmental psychology examine and stress the importance of the relationship between the human organism and socio-physical environment. It is not within the scope of this study to review all theories and concepts related to the understanding of human emotions. The aim of this section is, firstly, to review theories that illuminate the relationship between human emotions and surrounding environment because “emotions... are, first and foremost, modes of relating to the environment: states of readiness for engaging, or not engaging, in interaction with that environment” (Frijda and Mesquita, 1994:61). However, before I analyse the person-environment interaction, I evaluate factors that influence the affective appraisal of different settings (see Table 2.2).

2.8.1 Factors Affecting Emotional Experience

One of the most important factors that influence humans' appraisal of stimuli is the adaptation level – a habitual (optimal) level of stimulation encountered in everyday life (Altman and Wohlwill, 1975). Adaptation levels differ from person to person and change over time following exposure to new stimuli because if a stimulus becomes constant, the response to it changes, becoming weaker over time (Russell and Snodgrass, 1987). For instance, Wohlwill (1974) found that people who live in cities have higher tolerance for crowds than most residents of less dense areas like rural villages. Moreover, Russell and Lanius (1984) established that the affective

quality of one place will influence the affective appraisal of the next place encountered. Their experiment shows that an extremely pleasant stimulus (e.g., a beautiful natural scene) shifts the adaptation level towards it and makes other stimuli (e.g., an urban scene) encountered seem less pleasant. As a result, how one evaluates and reacts to a given environment depends on how much that environment deviates from his/her adaptation level on that dimension (Wohlwill, 1974). The more an environment deviates from the adaptation level, the more intense is the reaction and emotional experience of that environment (Bell, Fisher, Baum and Green, 1996). Likewise, Hull and Harvey's (1989) study of emotional reactions in suburban parks demonstrates that residents of urban areas find parks more arousing and pleasing than residents of rural areas.

Russell and Snodgrass (1987) and Mehrabian and Russell (1974) recognise that personality is another variable that influences emotional experiences. For example, people with different preferences (arousal seekers or avoiders, city life lovers or wilderness and natural setting likers) will evaluate the same environment differently (Russell and Snodgrass, 1987). This statement finds confirmation in the studies of Chhetri et al. (2004) and Ohta (2001). Both studies demonstrate that different personality traits, preferences and hobbies greatly influence how environments are appraised and experienced. Chhetri et al. (2004) carried out a study that analysed tourists' hiking experiences in natural settings and concluded that the same socio-physical environment was experienced more positively or negatively depending on personality, values and preferences. Ohta (2001) conducted an experiment that involved showing participants photographs of natural and urban scenes and also concluded that personality and interests impacted attitudes towards and evaluation of landscapes.

Table 2.2: Factors that Influence Affective Appraisal and Emotional Experiences

Psycho graphics:	Prior mood	Adaptation Level or past experience	Expectations	Demo graphics:	Culture	Performance of different social roles	Goals	Memories and Imagination
personality	(Zajonc, 2000)	(Wohlwill, 1974;	(Bigne et al., 2005)	age	Tuan, (1993, 1977)	(Goffman, 1961)	(Ortony et al., 1988)	(Ohta, 2001;
values		Altman, 1975;	Anticipations	social class			Purposes	Goossens, 2000;
attitudes		Russell and Snodgrass, 1987)	(Edensor, 2012)	education			(Hull and Stewart, 1995)	Conradson, 2005)
interests				income				
life style				(Hull and Stewart, 1995)				
preferences (Hull and Stewart, 1995; Chhetri et al., 2004)								

Furthermore, Oatley et al. (2006) ascertain that emotional responses are culturally and socially constructed. They reviewed a range of studies, showing that within each culture there are socially accepted emotional responses to different situations. For instance, some cultures, e.g., American, value or at least permit public expressions of anger while others, for instance Japanese, work hard to suppress these emotional expressions. Westerners strive to maximise positive and minimise negative emotions whereas Asians seek a balanced emotional state. Similarly, with regards to landscape aesthetics, Tuan (1993) asserts that culture and education (and other demographics) determine people's preferences and attitudes to environmental settings. For instance, he maintains that western cultures prefer the view of natural settings to built environments because western societies condition people to admire wilderness and dislike cities.

Finally, expectations (Russell and Snodgrass, 1987), anticipations (Edensor, 2012b), imagination and memories (Goossens, 2000; Ohta, 2001) are found to intensify emotional states. With regards to memories, Conradson (2005) highlights that memories maintain connections across a range of times and spaces. It is a dreamlike state when the imagination drifts back into all the remembered spaces, events and feelings, which are in one's mind. Thus, memory plays a key, formative role in the construction of our ongoing emotional and imaginative geographies

(Jones, 2005). Advocates of the cognitive approach maintain that lived experiences and emotions of one situation may remind one of prior emotional states and vividly reactivate earlier experiences together with their emotional significance (Clore and Ortony, 2000). Moreover, the process of elicitation of past emotions is automatic, thus, individuals can be surprised by their own emotional memories. Having examined the factors that influence the emotional experience, I turn to the final point in this chapter, that is, how humans emotionally react to different environments.

2.8.2 Emotional Experiences of Social Environment and Proxemics

Emotions (feeling / sentiment / affect) form the foundation of sociality because they practically direct human activities and create links between an individual body and the social world (Lyon and Barbalet, 1994). Thus, through the facilitating role of emotions, individuals create social relations and communicate their lived experiences. In environmental psychology, the relationship between humans and their social environment is analysed from privacy, personal space, territoriality, and crowding perspectives (Altman and Wohlwill, 1975) also called proxemics (Russell and Ward, 1982). Although these concepts are mainly analysed with reference to the relationship between environment and behaviour (Mehrabian and Russell, 1974), they also have implications for emotional experiences. In brief, Altman (1975) proposes that the need for privacy (an interpersonal boundary-control process) is the key link among the concepts of crowding, territorial behaviour, and personal space because people use personal space and territorial behaviour techniques as a mechanism to achieve the desired level of privacy and communication. The state of crowding, on the other hand, is a particular kind of breakdown in privacy regulation – when the level of interaction is higher than desired and boundary-control mechanisms are not able to change that.

Personal space or an “invisible bubble” (Altman and Wohlwill, 1975) is the area immediately around the body. Intrusion into this space by others creates tension, discomfort or anxiety (Hall, 1966). The two main functions of personal space are to protect and regulate social interactions (Bell et al., 1996). The protective function serves as a buffer against potential emotional and physical threats such as sensory overload, emotional over-arousal or physical attacks by others. When it is

impossible to achieve a desired personal space, for instance, in the case of crowding, negative effects (e.g., stress, ignorance, overall dislike of people around) and coping will occur (Russell and Ward, 1982).

The second privacy mechanism – territoriality – refers to a place that belongs to specific individuals or groups. Three types of territory can be distinguished: primary territory (a place belonging to an individual or a small group of people, such as, family), secondary territory (a place belonging to a club or work team) and public space that is open to all (Russell and Ward, 1982). It is not within the scope of this study to elaborate on emotional responses within primary and secondary territories. This study is more interested in how the concept of territory affects individuals' feelings within public spaces, in particular, on trains. In public spaces, this notion involves personalisation of a place by some marking devices, such as a coat or a bag on a chair, and controlling the boundaries (Bell et al., 1996), as well as noticing the territorial claims of others (Altman and Wohlwill, 1975). These markers also serve to regulate social interactions and signal to outsiders that the place (e.g. seat on a train) belongs to someone, even if only temporarily. According to Russell and Ward (1982), individuals are less aroused and feel more in control in their own territory.

The feeling of crowding occurs when privacy mechanisms, such as personal space and territoriality, fail to function successfully and a person or a group is exposed to more social interaction than desired (Altman and Wohlwill, 1975). Russell and Ward (1982) stress that crowding is not a reaction to actual density as a physical quality but it is a personal and subjective reaction towards the presence of too many other people and a motivational state involving the need for more space. Conditions such as arrangement of space, noise or lack of light as well as personality and past experiences contribute to the sense of crowding (Altman and Wohlwill, 1975). Bell et al. (1996) reviewed a range of studies on crowding and concluded that high density affects our feelings. Subjects report more anxiety in dense than in non-dense conditions. Crowding, especially in small rooms, creates confined and restricted feelings and causes physical discomfort, nervousness, stress, annoyance. People become upset and are more likely to judge the situation negatively. They adopt an avoidance and 'stress-coping' behaviour, such as less eye contact, they tend to orient themselves away, sit or stand quietly, do nothing

and prefer a location close to windows.

The experience of sociality is approached from a different perspective in the literature on restorative environments - settings that provide opportunities for relaxation (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989; Ulrich, 1983). Although the social aspect is not well researched in the context of restorative experiences (Kler, 2009), Staats, Kieviet and Harting (2003) provide two effects of how other people might positively influence the process of restoration (recovery from stress and mental fatigue). They suggest that the presence of others may provide the element of safety if a particular environment is perceived as dangerous and uncontrolled or simply unknown. Aside from assuring security, the presence of others may enhance restorative experiences by guiding one's attention to different aspects of the immediate experience. This is consistent with Hull and Stewart's (1995) assertion that not all objects that are momentarily within the focus of one's gaze dominate conscious attention. Thus, when other people point out something interesting, this signposting shapes one's environmental preferences and attitudes.

2.8.3 Emotional Experience of Natural and Built Environments

In general, active (e.g. walking or cycling) and passive (e.g. observing natural landscape through a window or viewing photographs) encounters with physical environment, both natural and built, have an impact on individuals' emotional reactions (Conradson, 2005) because places are charged with emotions (Molz, 2005). For instance, Tuan (1977:133), analysing natural landscapes, asserts that a visual contemplation of a scenic landscape elicits a positive affective response in people "because the mind finds repose or excitement in the comeliness of place and setting". Additionally, Molz (2005), examining round-the-world travellers' attitudes towards, and perceptions of, eating in McDonalds, discovers that McDonald's evokes a mix of complex emotions that range from shame and guilt to gratification and desire. The negative emotions expressed by travellers refer to their attitudes (cognitive appraisal) towards globalisation, obesity, western cultural imperialism and their perception that eating at McDonald's is an inauthentic activity. Positive emotions (affective appraisal), on the other hand, reveal that many travellers associate McDonald's with a familiar environment that embodies soothing

and secure homely feelings. Hence, Molz (2005) highlights that for many travellers McDonald's becomes a place to find solace when feeling homesick.

Yet, in line with the restorative settings literature (Kaplan and colleagues and Ulrich and colleagues), natural and built environments not only elicit a wide range of emotions, they also provide restorative effects on fatigue (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989) and on stress (Ulrich, 1983). In environmental psychology, the restoration perspective is dominated by two main theories – attention restoration theory (ART) (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989; Kaplan, 1995) and psychophysiological stress reduction framework (PSR) (Ulrich, 1983; Ulrich, Simons, Losito, Fiorito, Miles Zelson, 1991). Both frameworks are presented next because they point to qualities of person-environment interaction and add to an understanding of how different settings change the emotional state of a person.

With reference to ART, Kaplan (1995) treats perception as a cognitive process and maintains that many daily activities require prolonged mental effort and demand direct attention to ensure effective performance. However, continual demand for direct attention leads to direct attention fatigue, affecting the capacity to solve problems and contributing to irritability and human error in performance. Thus, a period of restoration is required to recover fully from direct attention fatigue. According to Kaplan (1995) and Kaplan and Talbot (1983), the process of restoration occurs when involuntary or effortless attention, which Kaplan calls fascination, is engaged. This type of attention operates in restorative environments (e.g., natural settings) and/or when one is engaged in activities (e.g., gambling, exploring, and gardening) that hold attention without mental effort, out of interest or curiosity. Thus, environments that provide peacefulness and opportunities for reflection and relaxation allow direct attention to rest and recover.

In environmental psychology, a consensus has been reached, that people prefer natural environments over urban settings (Berman, Jonides and Kaplan, 2008; Kler, 2009). According to Kaplan and colleagues (Kaplan, 1995; Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989) and Hartig and colleagues (Hartig, Mang and Evans, 1991; Hartig and Staats, 2005), nature is full of 'soft' fascination (e.g. clouds, sunset, mountains, seaside) that are psychologically beneficial and act as a powerful therapeutic tool in the recovery from direct attention. For instance, Hartig, Evans, Jamner, Davis and Gärling et al. (2003) and Hartig and Staats (2005) compared walking

in a natural setting with walking in an urban surrounding and found that a natural environment reduces stress, increases positive affect and decreases anger while opposite patterns emerge in the urban environment. Similarly, Conradson's (2005) study of a rural care centre demonstrates that visitors are eager to stay there because the engagement with the wild and spacious natural setting contributes to their well-being; it enables relaxation and enjoyment, reflection on life, it affords a sense of freedom and internal respite and provides exploration and emotional expansiveness. Furthermore, the study of Tennessen and Cimprich (1995) shows that not only does active engagement with a natural setting (e.g. exploration) enable attention restoration but also passive activities, such as simply looking at nature through a window or viewing photographs depicting natural scenes, can provide an attention-restoring experience.

Kaplan (1995, 1983) and Kaplan and Talbot (1983) remark that restoration can proceed when four factors characterise the person-environment interaction – fascination, being away, extent and compatibility. As described above, fascination takes place when one's effortless attention is engaged in observing a restorative environment or when one is engaged in activities that do not require mental effort. In addition, restorative settings should promote some sense of being away, meaning that one needs to get away psychologically and possibly geographically from everyday routines, demands and worries. Extent means that the environment should be rich and coherent enough to provide a possibility for immersion and scope for exploration and interpretation. Finally, there has to be compatibility between how one wants to function, both mentally and physically, and the affordances of the environment.

With reference to PSR, the focus of Ulrich and colleagues' research is on how different environments facilitate emotional and physiological recovery from stress. Contrary to Kaplan (1995), Ulrich (1984), analysing the primary emotional response towards an environment (Zajonc, 1980; 2000), contends that restoration derives from reduction of arousal rather than from changing modes of attention. Yet, similarly to Kaplan (1995), the research carried out by Ulrich (1981) also suggests that natural views have more positive influences on psychophysiological states than urban scenes. For instance, if an observer's state prior to a visual encounter is one of stress and excessive arousal, an attractive

natural view might elicit pleasant feelings, hold interest and block or reduce stressful thoughts, calm anxiety and help to cope with stress (Ulrich, 1979; 1983). Moreover, Ulrich (1984) also provides evidence that simply looking at nature through a window improves people's well-being. After comparing the postsurgical recovery rates for hospitalised patients whose rooms overlooked a small stand of trees with those whose rooms overlooked a brown brick wall, Ulrich concluded that those with the more natural view had fewer postsurgical complications, faster recovery times, and required fewer painkillers. However, particularly interesting is one of the more recent studies (Ulrich et al., 1991) that demonstrates the effects of viewing videotapes of natural and urban scenes after watching a stressful video. The experiment proves that nature-dominated videos not only evoke positive feelings but, similar to stressful scenes, they heighten viewers' attention, proving that attention is paired not only with stress but also with calming and restorative psychological effects (Ulrich et al., 1991).

Analysing experiences of mobile environments and mobile vision, in environmental psychology, Parsons, Tassinary, Ulrich, Hebl and Grossman-Alexander (1998) conducted a study on how roadside quality and landscape aesthetics influence motorists during their everyday mundane commutes. Their aim was to establish what effects roadside environments have on commuters. They conducted an experiment during which participants viewed video-taped simulated drives through two types of outdoor environments: nature-dominated (rides along a golf course, parkway road and forest drive-through) and artefact-dominated (urban) drives. In general, their experiments demonstrate that nature-dominated rather than artefact-dominated roadsides stimulate commuting and travel-related stress recovery, immunisation to stress and contribute to the pleasurable aesthetic experience of the ride. However, Parsons et al. (1998) also admit that the magnitude of these effects remains unclear and more complex than initially anticipated.

Hull and Stewart (1995) conducted a study on how hikers experience the natural environment while hiking. To determine the nature of the experience, they assessed how landscapes are perceived and encountered (type and distance of objects viewed). With regards to landscapes, Hull and Stewart identified that novelty and variety attract more attention and guide the sequences in which the objects are viewed. With regards to emotional response, they concluded that some scenes may

be more influential than others in their impact on a person's feelings, proving consistent with other researchers' findings on landscape scenic beauty and emotional effects (Ulrich, 1983, Ohta, 2001). Nevertheless, they also found that the subjective experience is not only determined by encountered landscapes, it is also influenced by hikers' thoughts, expectations, prior mood and experience, activities and social dynamics, as well as accumulative bodily sensations, such as fatigue and hunger. Thus, Hull and Stewart (1995) conclude that the landscape experience is multidimensional and that further research is required.

2.9 Summary

In this chapter, I examine the multifaceted and multi-dimensional nature of the lived experience and the body-mind-environment relationship, which is the key to understanding the lived experience. Firstly, I review three approaches to lived experience, which have been applied extensively in tourism and leisure studies, that are, the concept of flow (Csikzentmihalyi, 1975), the tourists gaze (Urry, 1990) and the metaphor of performance (Edensor, 1998). Secondly, I analyse different theories and concepts, such as the concept of 'being' and the notion of embodiment, which explain how humans experience and make sense of the surrounding environment. The understanding of these concepts forms the 'backbone' of this study. Further, I scrutinise tourists' embodied experiences of place and I highlight that these experiences are formed through one's practical engagement with the surrounding world – different embodied encounters and dwelling in places. Finally, I highlight a reciprocal relationship between individuals and places: places influence tourists' sensory experiences while tourists' presence and embodied experiences (co)produce and change places they visit.

Chapter 3 Transport Experience: Embodied Encounter with Mobile Time-Space and the Experience of Technologised Mobility

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analysed the sensing and perceiving body and the lived and embodied experience of 'being' that emerges from an active engagement with a surrounding environment. I also emphasised the important role of place and, namely, that place not only acts as a context for the lived experience but it is also an element that influences the embodied experience, creating a dynamic and reciprocal relationship between humans and places. In this chapter, I continue examining the interrelationship between people and their surrounding environment. More precisely, I focus on how people inhabit, perceive, experience and, at the same time, (co)produce mobile places while being 'on the move'.

To develop a holistic understanding of the mobile experience, I start this chapter with a brief review of the relationship between time and space. Next, I examine the experience of time and the notion of rhythms because different places have different rhythms – their 'heartbeat' (Shaw, 2001). Further, I analyse different mobile cultures of various transport modes within different geographical locations, historical times and socio-cultural environments, for culture is one of the institutions, which links pace and perception of time to place (Shaw, 2001). What is more, focusing on ground transportation and, in particular, train travel, I scrutinise the four dimensions of embodied experience – behavioural, sensory, emotional and cognitive. This is followed by a section on experiences of mobile sociality and mobile atmospheres within a train carriage. This chapter is concluded with a review of existing conceptual and empirical research on the subject of tourists' transport experiences.

3.2 Mobile Time-Space

The deepest levels of human experience are as spatial as they are temporal and need to be explored as spatiotemporal configurations.

(Mels, 2004: 5)

In the social sciences and humanities more broadly, a certain style of thinking about time and space prevails and, namely, a tendency to draw a strict distinction between them. Within this dualism, time is understood as the domain of dynamism and progress while the spatial is relegated to the realm of stasis. In contrast, May and Thrift (2001:3) insist on inter-dependency of time and space and a multiple, heterogeneous, uneven and dynamic nature of space-times because “time is irrecoverably bound up with the spatial constitution of society (and vice versa)”. Similarly, Lefebvre (1991) explains that, in nature, time is understood within space because space is transformed by time: the hour of the day, the season, the elevation of the sun above the horizon, and so on. Time is inscribed in the physical space, in other words, the nature.

To explain the link between time and space, Cresswell (2006:4) uses movement, for “time and space are both the context for movement and a product of movement, [while] moving people and objects are agents in the production of time and space”. Cresswell demonstrates that movement is involved in social production of social time and social space and, as a result, binds these two spheres together. Hence, time and space are deeply intertwined in the making and performing of place and, thus, place is both spatial and temporal (Bærenholdt and Granas, 2008).

To focus on the experience of mobile time-space, two distinct perspectives must be briefly reviewed. On the one hand, there is the theory of non-place (Augé, 1995; 2005), developed by the social anthropologist Marc Augé (1995) who theorises modern mobile spaces as superficial and controlled ‘non-places’ (e.g. busy motorways and international airport lounges). In Augé’s opinion, these spaces are without history, devoid of meaningful human relations and experiences. In other words, the transit space or non-place represents a text only (signs and images) people merely gaze at and move through without any attachment or emotions.

Alternatively, in opposition to Augé's place and non-place dichotomy, there is a perspective offered by 'mobility turn' advocates (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam, 2008; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007; Vannini, 2010; Watts and Lyons, 2011, to name but a few) and advocates of non-representational theory (Thrift, 1996; Thrift, 2004). These scholars assert that the transit space is always embodied, practised and experienced, accompanied with meanings and representations. For instance, analysing the conception of time-space, May and Thrift (2001) argue against the idea of non-place by explaining that an event, for instance, a journey from A to B, cannot be split into spatial and temporal components because "if a place counts as a non-place, it counts as a non-event". Similarly, Merriman (2004) argues that movement is integral to the construction and performance of landscapes and places, and there should be no division between places and non-places. Adopting a historical stance to England's M1 motorway construction, Merriman (2004) demonstrates that non-places are meaningful to some people like road workers, business travellers, tourists or landscape architects. As a result, he contends that transit space is not blank and homogeneous but similar to 'traditional static places', it is encountered, practiced and experienced in various ways by various groups of people.

In this study, I adopt the mobilities perspective to time-space and I examine mobile time-space as meaningful and constructed through practice. Hence, to gain an in-depth understanding of how transient and mobile time-space is perceived, experienced and inhabited, the next section focuses on time, the networks of time and embodied experiences of time.

3.3 Time: the Networks of Time and the Experience of Temporalities

According to Barbara Adam (2008; 1990), time is implicated in every aspect of people's lives, imbued with a multitude of meanings and meaning a variety of things: it can be a good time at a party or a stressful time at work, free time to do nothing or wasted time in waiting. The time can pass quickly but it can also drag, we can spend time and we can save it. Time is a necessary aspect of change

and stability, bound up with human reflexivity and the capacity of self-consciousness. This short description of time demonstrates that time is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon while the experience of it is very heterogeneous and depends on many factors. Yet time is almost invisible in conventional empirical studies and rarely thought about (Adam, 2008; 1990). Hence, in this section, the focus is on the nature of time, the perception of time in western society and the experience of time. The literature review examines the understanding of human time as presented in the work of Barbara Adam. The emphasis on her work is deliberate for she has been at the forefront of developments in theorizing time and enabling social researchers to see the world through a different lens (Edwards, 2008). Barbara Adam moves beyond the time of clocks and calendars in order to study time as embedded in social interactions, structures, practices and knowledge, in artefacts, in the body, and in the environment. This approach neatly fits in with the aim of this study.

Adam (1990: 104) identifies that “As the tempo of modern life has continued to accelerate, we have come to feel increasingly out of touch with the biological rhythms of the planet”. In western societies, this tendency has taught people to associate living ‘in time’ with clocks, calendars, with the rhythms of day and night, and with the seasons. “The sun rises every morning, Christmas returns every year, schools break up in the summer” (Adam, 1990: 30). We accept that these regular and predictable occurrences form the bases of our ‘in time’ existence and, thus, we plan our lives within the structure of these occurrences, in other words, within the structure of linear and abstract clock time. We estimate and measure time as well as use it as a measure. In the western world, this approach to time is prioritised because it facilitates turning time into a quantitative resource that can be created through, for instance, artificial light, used and allocated. In other words, disembedded clock time enables creation, commodification, compression, colonization and control of time, which, in return, allows economic, political and scientific times to dominate over biological time and the time of nature (Adam, 2004).

However, the fact that the variable, rhythmic times of life are regulated and disciplined to conform to uniform, invariable temporal patterns has its consequences (Adam, 1995). With the ever-increasing pace of living and with the constant pressure of getting things done in time, increasingly people suffer from

different time-based diseases, such as heart diseases and high blood pressure, because an intense sense of urgency speeds up human body rhythms. As Adam (1995: 53) notes, “health is not only identifiable by the harmonious orchestration of the rhythms of our biological and social being but also with reference to how we relate to the times of the world around us, our identity, and the past, present and future”. For these reasons, in contemporary western cultures, speeding-up is often associated with stress, hurry, disease and fear while the slow rhythms of nature are linked to better quality of life and well-being. Certain groups of people deliberately attempt to reject the cultural orthodoxy of speed and the dominance of clock time; they try to slow down and reunite with the rhythmicity of nature and the body (Parkins, 2004).

A prominent example is the slow movement initiative that can be described as a philosophy that promotes changing attitude to time and the use of it, and a slower pace of life to enhance personal and social well-being and anti-consumerism. Pink (2008:177) notes that ‘slow’ involves “the conscious negotiation of the different temporalities that make up our everyday lives, deriving from a commitment to occupy time more attentively and ‘mindfully’”. This philosophy started as the Slow Food movement in early 1990s. Since then, it gradually spreads to Cittaslow (slow cities), slow lifestyles, slow travel and tourism initiatives (Fullagar et al., 2012). By promoting values, such as quality, care, slowness and environmental sustainability in relation to leisure and tourism and in everyday life, the philosophy of slow aims to fulfil two key objectives – environmental and personal. Regarding environmental sustainability, it tries to evoke more environmentally conscious self-identities, achieve ‘behavioural change’ and the adoption of slow living habits that could be transferred from home- to tourism-based environmental practices (Moore, 2012; Lumsdon and McGrath, 2011). Whilst, with reference to personal objectives, the slow movement promotes the richness and the value of the slow travel experience of alternative travel modes, such as train, bus, and bicycle.

Similarly, in social sciences, Adam (Adam, 1990, 1998; 2004; 2008) and other scholars, who support space-time multiplicity and time-scape perspective (e.g., May and Thrift, 2001), argue that the understanding of social time must be changed and it must be recognised that our life-world consists of multiple times – cyclical and linear. This perspective on time includes biographical time (a lifespan from birth to death), generational time (links across generations), historical time

(locating individuals in the wider frames of external events), natural time (rhythms of the cosmos, growth and decay in the environment, biological clock time) and social and cultural times (associated with technology, classical economics, science and objective clock time). May and Thrift (2001: 5) emphasise:

The picture that emerges is less that of a singular or uniform social time stretching over a uniform space, than of various (and uneven) networks of time stretching in different and divergent directions across an uneven social field.

All these times are inextricably interlinked (Adam, 1995). For instance, in the body, the multiple biological rhythms (respiration, the heartbeat, hunger, thirst and sleep, etc.) and the body clock coexist with the social rhythms (the culture, social processes, learned habits, and the time governed by clock). Hence, time must be conceived as dynamic, multiple and heterogeneous. Time is an elastic flow within an intermittent present, moving now fast, now slowly, according to biological rhythms of which we are only half aware; and changeable future and past (Relph, 2004).

Analysing the experience of time as perceived by individuals, Relph (2004) emphasises that temporality is the lived and dynamic experience of time that lies within us and infuses everything we feel and do. It “precedes any notion of quantitative clock time; it is the dense association of memory, present awareness and expectations that, among other things, integrate us into the landscape” (Relph, 2004: 113). Yet, Adam explains that time and complex temporalities are invisible and outside the capacity of our senses (Adam, 1998: 55). Since we have no sense organ for time, we need “the entire complement of our senses working in unison with our imagination before we can experience its working on our bodies and the environment” (Adam, 1998: 55). In addition, as already remarked by Relph (2004), time is experienced at different speeds depending on the process in which one is involved (Adam, 1995). It can pass slowly when waiting while it can fly when we are having fun or when, according to Lefebvre (2004), we are involved in an activity. There never seems to be enough of it when we are busy and too much of it during periods of enforced idleness. However, when one is absorbed in an engaging activity, time is forgotten: it no longer counts and is not counted. Lefebvre calls this time as ‘appropriated’ and it has its own characteristics.

Analysing the 'appropriated' time, Lefebvre (2004: 76-77) explains:

It arrives or emerges when an activity brings plenitude, whether this activity be banal (an occupation, a piece of work), subtle (meditation, contemplation), spontaneous (a child's game, or even one for adults) or sophisticated. This activity is in harmony with itself and with the world. It has several traits of self-creation or of a gift rather than of an obligation or an imposition comes from without. It *is* in time: it *is* a time, but does not reflect on it.

If 'appropriated' time flows fast and unnoticed then during waiting, time gains completely different characteristics. Waiting time entails anticipation or, as Bissell (2007a: 282) puts it, "a sense of anticipatory preparedness" for an event-to-come. According to Ehn and Lofgren (2010), waiting time is boring, it passes much more slowly than normal and it is often perceived as wasted or 'killed' time. Similarly, Bissell notes that "this particular form of embodiment is undesirable, negative, unproductive, and even wasteful, echoing the economic imperatives of the need for speed and greater mobility" (2007a: 283). Ehn and Lofgren continue that, in western modernity, waiting time is described as sticky, empty, dead, or infinite, and it can change pace or direction. According to Ehn and Lofgren, during waiting, one is caught in the friction between hope and impatience. This time is slowed down almost to a standstill when the seconds and minutes bend into a form in which one has to experience them slowly, one by one, each demanding full attention. Analysing the period of waiting, Adam (1990: 121) notes that "All humans wait, and in the fullest sense of the term, only humans wait". Summarising the experience associated with waiting, Schweizer (2005: 777) states that "although waiting is practiced, endured, or suffered in many different ways and contexts, the apparent universal agreement [is] that nobody likes to wait. Similarly, Ehn and Lofgren (2010:76) conclude that waiting has a negative effect on human bodies and their emotional state:

In many cases waiting experiences have come to acquire strong emotional charges, but they also lead to bodily reactions, for example, when limbs start fidgeting, get jittery, or go numb. People develop all kinds of tactics to handle time, from patient endurance to attempts to ignore or speed it up.

Having identified the nature of time, the perception of time in western society and the experience of time in general, in the following two subsections, I move on to

examine the experience of time within specific contexts and, namely, how time is experienced in leisure and how time is experienced while being 'on the move'. The importance of narrowing the focus onto specific situations is also recognised by Adam (2004) who notes that time on its own is of little interest unless embedded in a context and related to rhythms of nature. Since the aim of this study is to analyse mobile experiences of leisure travellers, the next subsection examines the experience of leisure time.

3.3.1 Experience of Leisure Time

As identified by Bærenholdt et al. (2004) and Edensor (2012a), the experiences of time, notions of timings and temporalities have been neglected in tourism studies and, as a result, under-explored. Overall, in tourism literature, holiday time is represented as 'special time' and as 'time out' of mundane routines. Ryan (2002) notes that, during holidays, it is possible to reclaim time and use it for relaxation and family bonding because it is free from everyday constraints, time pressures and hardships. In a similar vein, Curtis and Pajaczkowska (1994) maintain that holiday time allows the delay or interruption of the otherwise irrevocable passage of time:

The 'trip' constitutes a lapse in the regular rhythms of mundane existence, it leads to a place where time 'stands still' or is reversed into Utopian space of freedom, abundance and transparency; like Carnival, this movement implies an inversion of everyday order
(Curtis and Pajaczkowska, 1994: 197).

What is more, on holiday, according to Ryan (2002), time possesses a curious 'elasticity' in human experience. Similarly, Curtis and Pajaczkowska (1994) note that holiday locales are places where time is condensed and diffused. Ryan (2002: 202) maintains:

The sense of 'good time' is that it possesses an experience of the infinite. The contemplation of waves breaking on rocks, the view of majestic scenery – all such experiences can create a sense of 'timelessness'... Yet the date of return can arrive quickly, and it seems like only yesterday that the holiday-maker was starting on his holiday.

The above characteristics of holiday time are based on the assumption that life is organised around clock time and calendars (Elsrud, 1998). Under the circumstances, holiday time means taking 'time out' from clock time and the duties of contemporary western living. 'Time out' becomes a matter of expression when trying to verbalize the feeling of leaving one's structure behind (Elsrud, 1998). This point is emphasized by Ryan who suggests that, on holidays, holiday-makers create a new sense of time – a continuous sense of present - that is free of the clock and, thus, more in harmony with the rhythmicity of nature. In other words, it becomes 'the time of our lives' or "a *special* time within which are fulfilled the motives of learning, relaxation or hedonism" (Ryan, 2002: 207 original emphasis). This time is anticipated, lived and afterwards remembered through different symbols, like post cards, photographs and artefacts, as a positive time.

The approach to holiday time as 'a time out' is criticized by performance turn advocates (e.g., Edensor, 2001, 2007a) who contend that, in Western societies, leisure time has become an integral part of everyday life and temporality. It is filled with many everyday habitual routines, performances and practices and, thus, it cannot be totally separated from regulatory clock time and everyday habits. In a similar vein, Moore (2012) and Adams (1990) argue that even on holiday, people in western societies cannot extricate themselves from the institutional timetables and their habits of organising the day according to the clock time. These aspects form an inescapable ground for modern experience. As a result, leisure time too becomes heavily time-structured and time-regulated. For instance, whether on holiday or during daily life, people have to take into account public transport arrival and departure times, hotel check-in and check-out times, breakfast times, and opening hours of different attractions. Adams (1990: 107) emphasises:

We cannot escape the clock time that structures and times our daily lives. Even on holiday, the timing of our activities can never be purely voluntary since it is too dependent on externally based social timings: the timetables of the hotels, organised leisure activities, public transport, and the opening hours of local amenities. As long as we remain part of a society that is structured to the time of clocks and calendars our activities and interactions with others can only escape its pervasive hold to a very limited extent.

Nevertheless, Shaw (2001) argues that changing place for a shorter or longer period of time, for instance, during a holiday, is linked to gaining subjective time

from clock time and putting it to one's own use. It becomes a battle between the two sorts of times: clock time and subjective time. In a similar vein, analysing different temporalities of long-term female budget travellers, Elsrund (1998) states that changing place and daily routines facilitates changing the pace of life, gaining 'own' time and experiencing 'other' aspects of time. Elsrund's research demonstrates that instead of being structured around clock time, duties or obligations of the home culture, long-term backpacking holidays adopt the backpacking culture that creates and upholds its own structure through routines, common travel routes, specific travelling practices and mythology.

However, Elsrund also argues that rather than conceptualising backpacking holiday as the 'time out', which presupposes lack of structure, it makes more sense to examine it as a 'time frame' that presupposes different aspects of 'lived' time and highlights the experience of 'being in the present'. What is more, 'time frame' perspective, demonstrates that this period is liminal to everyday life. Finally, it highlights that this period holds many time dimensions and possibilities for construction both time and action (Adam, 1995; 1990). In the context of backpacking, Elsrund explains that 'time frame' gives both temporal and spatial room to be filled by the traveller him- or herself. For instance, during long-term backpacking, clock time is being pushed aside and overtaken by other times, such as biological time, 'own time', ecological time or the time of the conscious mind. Long-term backpacking becomes a way of life that enables 'taking time and making space'.

In addition, Urry's (1994) approach to time also reveals that leisure time cannot be characterised as 'free-time' because it is insufficient in itself. He suggests that, in the western world, the dominance of clock time, constant acceleration and technological innovations have contributed to various transformations of time. In his opinion, clock-time is being supplemented by *evolutionary* or glacial time, that is immensely long and imperceptibly changing (e.g., nature), and *instantaneous* time, that is so brief that it cannot be experienced or observed (e.g., time created by new technologies of transportation and communication). Modes of instantaneous time or, as Urry calls it, 'video time', such as mobile phone, TV, fast transport, theme parks, museums, have become part of leisure and everyday infrastructure. Glacial time, on the other hand, is evident in nature and in the lives of traditional societies. Leisure travellers who seek the experience of glacial time

go to the countryside, stroll along the seaside or hike in mountains. Alternatively, people embark on backpacking holidays and travel to less industrial parts of the world to experience 'unspoiled nature' and time that 'stands still' (in relation to clock time) (Curtis and Pajackowska, 1994). Hence, in agreement with Adam (1990, 1995, 1998), Urry (1994) too points out that multiple times are implicated in every place and, in general, new leisure patterns reflect the impact of both, instantaneous and glacial times. Having identified the main characteristics of leisure time, in the next subsection, I turn to analysing the experience and perception of transport time.

3.3.2 Experience of Transport Time

Analysing transport policy, Adam (2001) maintains that the understanding of time in western societies is tied to a time that is globalised, standardised, decontextualized, quantifiable, and measurable. Within this time, individual modes of transport are scheduled; intermodality is planned and organised. This trend of organising social life around clock time started during the nineteenth century when the improvements in the railway network gradually created the need for a Standard Railway Time to ensure public transport was fast and reliable (Lash and Urry, 1994). As a result, in 1884, time became regulated and standardised as unified clock time through Greenwich Mean Time and timetables. This situation significantly changed people's attitude and relationship to time and perceptions of traveling, landscapes, distance and places (Urry, 2000; 2007). It made people gradually pay attention to ever smaller fractions of time (May and Thrift, 2001). Time became very practical, stressing the commercial and institutional meanings and values of time. Time becomes isolated, functionally specialised as working time, leisure time or train departure time, and only recorded on measuring- instruments, such as clocks (Lefebvre, 1991). What is more, the uniform clock time and new speed affordances not only regulated time, they also eroded the uniqueness of place. The uniformity of time symbolically demonstrated "increasing integration and interdependency of distant places and of the ascendancy of clock time" (Stein, 2001:116).

Nowadays, time is a fundamental metric in transport (Whitelegg, 1993) and a defining parameter of people's mobility (Lyons, 2014). Moreover, transport time is inextricably tied to the economic perspective in which time is conceived as an

economic good, that is, a resource with use value and a resource with exchange value that is inseparably bound to money, efficiency and the production of profit (Adam, 2001). Adam continues that this association of time with money and profit links, in turn, to a high value of speed, which becomes a symbol of progress and profit, meaning that, in transport policy, speed justifies developments in each of the transport sectors because faster means better and more cost-effective. The aim of policymakers becomes saving time by developing a transport mode at higher speed (Whitelegg, 1993). A good example that emphasises this approach to travel time and its monetary value is the UK Government's readiness to invest in the high-speed rail estimated to cost approximately £40.4 billion (Butcher, 2014; Department of Transport, 2012). In support of this project, shrinking journey times between cities in the Midlands and north of England are identified as one of the real regeneration benefits (BBC News, 2014).

Lyons (2014) and Lyons and Urry (2005) recognise that scholars and practitioners who evaluate travel time from the narrow economic perspective judge it always as unproductive, wasted and empty time in-between 'real' activities. In general, the economic approach to travel time dictates that time should be always saved in order to be reinvested. Against this background, it is assumed that time spent travelling during the working day is a cost to the employer's business that must be minimised. In a similar vein, with regards to out of work travel time, it is assumed that people will always try to trade time for money to reach the destination sooner (Department of Transport, 2009). To summarise, the traditional economics and engineering approaches treat traveling time, firstly, in isolation from time spent undertaking activities at the destination and, secondly, as a disutility for the individual (Watts and Urry, 2008).

In recent years, the traditional approach to travel time have been criticised by the 'mobilities turn' advocates (Urry and colleagues), scholars in transport economics (Mokhtarian and colleagues) and transport studies (Lyons and colleagues). These academics argue that travel time cannot be assessed only from the transport economics and transport policy perspective that "translates individual lumpy, fragile, embodied, and 'embaggaged' travellers into utility-maximising passengers" (Watts and Urry, 2008: 861). Lyons and Urry (2005) demonstrate that travel time and activity time are increasingly blurred, for many people use travel time to undertake activities. Similarly, Watts and Urry (2008) highlight that travel time can

be used productively because it is constructed through a wide range of mobile practices, such as social interactions, embodied place-making, work and leisure activities as well as mobile gaze. Besides, Urry (2006) emphasizes that different transport modes afford different embodied experiences of travel time - different pleasures and costs, performances and affordances, and different 'taskscape' (Ingold, 2000). According to Lyons (2014) and Cresswell (2006), these mobile experiences are also accompanied with different meanings and representations. As a result, travel time has been increasingly appraised from other perspectives, such as, from the individual's perspective. A review of key studies on travel time is presented next.

3.3.3 Experience of Transport Time as Constructed through Activities

In transport economics, research conducted by Mokhtarian and colleagues suggests that activities conducted while travelling (e.g., making and receiving mobile phone calls, listening to music, 'shifting gears' mentally between the origin and destination activities) and the experience of travelling itself (e.g., psychological and physiological attributes of driving) has a positive utility. Moreover, these scholars propose that a certain amount of travel is undertaken as a pleasurable activity in its own right. This conclusion is reached after examining motives to undertake undirected travel by car (Mokhtarian and Salomon, 2001), reasons for doing excess travel (Salomon and Mokhtarian, 1998) and after scrutinising enjoyable experiences of driving, such as joy of riding, sensations of speed and movement, ability to control the movement, enjoyment of scenic beauty and novelty (Ory and Mokhtarian, 2005). Further, in transport studies and mobilities studies, Lyons and Urry (2005) emphasise that the car offers a private space, a home from home environmental bubble that drives through external environments. New technologies (e.g. mobile phone, TV, radio, record player) contribute to the personalised atmosphere within a car and dwelling in motion, as well as a distinct sociability (e.g. friendship, romance, business) between the driver and passengers (Bull, 2000; 2004). Thus, the use of travel time in the car can range from enjoying the solitude to conducting business when a car becomes a 'mobile office' (Laurier, 2004a).

In sociology, with regards to public transport, and trains in particular, Letherby and Reynolds (2005) argue that the train offers time for intellectual activity and social interaction. They illustrate how people, by surrounding themselves with all sorts of objects: a cup of coffee, mobile phone, a laptop, some magazines or documents, transform a crowded public space of a train carriage into a more homelike private environment or a temporary office. Thus, their study demonstrates that mobile time-space of the train is neither totally public nor totally private. Like a city, the train is a space in which place is constructed by people who get on or off the train (Letherby and Reynolds, 2005).

In addition, Berry and Hamilton (2010) examine how the mobile phone has changed the ways in which people perceive public spaces in Melbourne (Australia). They note that previously trains were relatively quiet places where passengers would have conversations in hushed tones while now trains are relatively noisy because the mobile phone has become a place-making device that facilitates comfort, connections with others and work. It also fills time while waiting and entertains the user. These findings are consonant with Lyons and Urry's (2005) assertion that the 'information age' and the development of new technologies (e.g. iPod, iPad, e-book readers, and new generation mobile phones) provide a myriad of opportunities for more productive travel time use within public transport. It also chimes with Lyons (2014) who notes that the advent of smart phones has also turned transport time into connected time with others that are not co-present while traveling.

Watts and Urry (2008) and Lyons et al. (2007) explore the use of travel time further and maintain that, in public transport (e.g. train, bus, coach), the most popular activities are reading for leisure, gazing through the window and people watching, as well as working or studying. These activities are followed by talking to other passengers, sleeping and listening to music. These studies highlight that travel time is actively produced rather than passively experienced and that the boundary between travel time and activity time seems blurred (Urry, 2007). As a result, Lyons, Jain and Holley (2007) suggest that UK rail passengers regard their travel time as 'useful'. More than a half of surveyed passengers plan their travel time in advance and, thus, are frequently well equipped to make good use of it. Passengers who consider their travel time to be a waste were more likely to have done no advance planning.

Yet, Bissell (2007a) takes a different stance towards the concept of transport time by criticising the widely adopted idea of travel time as the period of linear temporality waiting to be filled with diverse activities. Bissell prompts to go beyond the chronological linearity of clock time and to examine the lived, non-linear nature of duration and qualitative temporality. His research on the corporeal experience of the event of waiting during the process of journeying uncovers “time as *rich duration*” that is perceived, felt and experienced through the body (Bissell, 2007a: 284 original emphasis). Bissell identifies that time on the move is produced through different activities and inactivity. These activities, however, do not happen in some form of linear fashion, meaning that one activity follows from another. Rather a mixture of activity and inactivity, as well as different corporeal experiences fold through one another and, in total, constitute the experience of mobile time. For instance, during a train journey, reverie can be accompanied by gazing through the window, a sense of patient waiting and anticipation, and the experience of different sensibilities of the body. Hence, Bissell summarises that the corporeal experience of mobilities requires rethinking the way in which ‘activity’ is conceptualised and enacted because activities ‘on the move’ are not always obvious and they not always presuppose a sustained engagement with the surrounding environment. Similarly, Ohmori and Harata (2008) note that multitasking and fragmentation of activities constitute commuting by trains in Tokyo.

Finally, it is important to examine Watts and Urry’s (2008) viewpoint on the experience of transport time. Their research on ‘invisible’ travel time suggests that the value of travel time lays in its liminality – a phase of transition between two regulated spheres of social practice, such as work and home environments. Watts and Urry (2008) maintain that travel has a specific temporality, which is perceived by passengers as a pause in between different responsibilities, social structures, departure and arrival. They explain that the liminal nature of travel time means that it is a relatively unstructured period valued for “its rich possibility for experience and practice, both imagined and enacted, possibilities for use that are markedly different to other places” (Watts and Urry, 2008: 866). Watts and Urry’s viewpoint chimes with Veijola and Jokinen (1994:131) who argue that for a woman a journey means peace, “a room of my own, space that is mine, not the children’s or husband’s” and Jiron (2010) who notes that travel time is for contemplation and reflection. In a similar vein, Jain and Lyons (2008) define time spent on a train as ‘time out’ from the different roles assumed in life while Spinney (2007) asserts that mobile time-

space is valued for being in-between separation and reunion. It follows that travel time is a valuable planning time, de-stressing time and chill-out time – a time “to sort things out in your head” (Watts and Urry, 2008: 865), and thus, is often experienced as a gift (Jain and Lyons, 2008).

Overall, Lyons (2014) notes that how we treat travel time as a phenomenon influences the shaping and functioning of society. Lyons maintains that travel time is an area that continues to need more attention from transport studies and mobilities researchers alike if we are to increase our understanding of how travel time is used and experienced. For this reason, one of the aims of this study is to understand the experience of leisure time ‘on the move’ and this aspect is scrutinised in chapter 6. Having reviewed literature on the experience of time and different ways in which time is constructed through activities, in the next subsection I briefly summarise the key factors that influence the perception of travel time and activities ‘on the move’.

3.3.4 Factors Influencing Mobile Experiences

Mokhtarian and Salomon (2001) and Salomon and Mokhtarian (1998) identify three distinct elements of travel that influence the mobile experience, these are, travel purpose or activities conducted at the destination (e.g. mandatory or discretionary travel), travel mode or activities that transport type affords while travelling (e.g. car, train, bicycle) and trip length and route or activity of traveling itself. For instance, Ory and Mokhtarian’s (2005) study on positive utility of travel time suggests that individuals prefer leisure travel because it is influenced by the anticipated pleasure at the destination, often occurs with family or friends and involves less time constraints and stress than mandatory travel.

Further, focusing on travelling by train, Ohmori and Harata (2008) suggest two main factors that influence activities on a train, namely, environment of travel mode (e.g. whether travel space is crowded or not, area of personal space, degree of secure privacy, available equipment or items while travelling) and in-vehicle travel time. They argue that wider personal space, more secure privacy, and more equipment on trains increases the number of possible activities while the participation in these activities depends on in-vehicle travel time. The longer is the

in-vehicle travel time the more activities can be undertaken.

Additionally, Watts and Lyons (2011) acknowledge that the experience of transport time depends on situation. Their research demonstrate that, in the same carriage, time may pass slowly for some passengers who stand in a vestibule, unable to find a seat, while it may pass quickly for commuters who sit comfortably in the carriage, look out at the scenery and relax. Thus, on the one hand, transport time can be experienced as pleasant and worthwhile, for instance, when the carriage is not crowded, passengers have seats and enough personal space (Ohmori and Harata, 2008). On the other hand, however, there are situations when travel time becomes a 'waste of time' or 'dead time' that needs to be endured. Bissell (2007a) notes that the sense of wasted time creates unanticipated and undesired delays. During delays, time passes slowly and one feels bored, irritated or even angry (Bissell, 2008). Moreover, a painful experience of a particularly long and arduous journey that leads to corporeal exhaustion, hunger and apathy, can elicit feelings that travel time is a necessary evil that needs to be endured (Gunn, 1994).

Finally, Ory and Mokhtarian (2005) argue that the experience of transport time varies by personality type (e.g. likes control, independence, physical exercise; is curious), lifestyle (e.g. active, adventure- and variety-seeking or more passive, sedentary), attitudes, values and socio-demographic characteristics. Having examined the key factors that influence how travel time is perceived and constructed, I move on to examine time-space rhythms – a notion that links time, space and movement (Lefebvre, 2004).

3.4 The Notion of Rhythm and the Theory of Rhythmanalysis

In this section, I outline and examine the idea of time-space rhythms. In doing so, I focus on Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis (2004) and Adam's understanding of time as embedded in social interactions, structures, practices and knowledge, in artefacts, in the body, and in the environment. Lefebvre (2004) develops rhythmanalysis – a temporal understanding of place and space –, which he defines as a method and a theory. Rhythm as a mode of analysis (or a tool of

analysis) is explained in chapter 4 while rhythms as a theory (a new field of knowledge) is reviewed in this section. Firstly, Lefebvre points out that rhythms are embedded in time and space and they constitute a basic component that organises more complicated happenings. Lefebvre stresses that there is nothing inert in the world, everything is in a state of movement, of becoming, and “everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm” (Lefebvre, 2004: 15). Hence, space is constituted by a multiplicity of rhythmic combinations that “shape the diurnal, weekly and annual experience of a place and influence the ongoing formation of its materiality” (Edensor, 2010:3).

Secondly, rhythms imply repetition and can be defined as movements. Due to their repetitive nature in time and space, rhythms set a pattern to a movement, rendering movement fluid and dynamic, growing or declining, linear and cyclical (Edensor, 2011). May and Thrift (2001:32) point out, “What is repeated becomes a basic element...rhythm marks time through a simple ordering achieved by a spacing between elements. In doing so it becomes located in a rudimentary space”. However, at the same time, Lefebvre (2004) acknowledges that no repetition lasts indefinitely. Rhythmicity is always interrupted or broken down, creating differences within repetitions. No rhythm is absolutely identical in its nature because “there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive” (Lefebvre, 2004:6). Synchronised, reoccurring and routinized rhythms are always disrupted by counter rhythms, arrhythmia or resistant rhythms (Edensor, 2010).

Thirdly, Lefebvre’s theory of rhythms is founded on the experience and knowledge of the body because rhythms are bound up with place and corporeality. According to Lefebvre (2004), a healthy living body pulses in eurhythmia - a bundle of harmonious rhythms. To understand the rhythms of the body, how they form an integral part of nature (biological rhythms) and the social, and how humans perceive the rhythms using their bodies, it is useful to review the work of Adam (1990; 1995) who contends that all living beings are permeated by rhythmic cycles that form nature’s silent pulse. The focus on the human body reveals that rhythmicity, timing, temporality and tempo are fundamental to our being. Everything we do, like eat, sleep, breathe, think, concentrate, and communicate, and all of our body’s physiological processes, such as heartbeat, respiration and circadian rhythms, are rhythmically organised. Activity and rest alternations, cyclical

exchanges and transformations, seasonal and diurnal sensitivities, all form the silent pulse of our being, which is synchronised with the rhythms of the environment and respond to cosmic time (Adam, 1995). This process, according to Adam, can be associated with the image of a symphony because it emphasises the complexity, the inter-dependence, and the fine-tuning of rhythms. Tuan (1978: 13-14) contends that bodies consist of conscious and unconscious corporeal rhythms: “The rhythms we are conscious of are the longer cycles of bodily needs for food and rest; and in general, life is succession of stresses and strains and their resolution”.

Lefebvre continues that rhythms - slow and lively – are measured in relation to our body, our time or the measure of rhythms and, through attending to the biological rhythms of self, one senses the rhythms of time-space and has the capacity to experience them. Mell (2004: 5) maintains that “Corporality is essential to place and lifeworld, because we experience objects, their place and our place *with* our lived-living body”.

However, people not only experience place by sensing its rhythms but also they (co)produce the place by inhabiting and permeating it with their own rhythms of heartbeat, speech, tempo of movement, routine activities and habits, smells, thoughts and reverie (Edensor, 2010, Jiron, 2010). In a similar vein, Crang (2001:187) advocates that space and time cannot be conceived as simple containers of action but rather must be perceived as fluid and dynamic events produced by action, performance and practice, meaning that time-space is always in “Becoming of difference as well as repetition”. For instance, Edensor (2010; 2011) illustrates how diverse routine practices, such as commuting or retailing, collectively produce rhythms that form and reform a train station and are characterised by

Shifting polyrhythmy composed out of separate strands, with its periodic announcements, flows and surges of passengers, departing and arriving trains according (or not) to the timetables, the presence of newspaper sellers during rush hours, and the ongoing pulse of buying and selling in the retail outlets, as well as interruption, unexpected incidents and breakdowns

(Edensor, 2010:4).

Hence, rhythm analysis of a place reveals that places are best described as a 'process' characterised by change. For instance, characterising a city, Crang (2001) maintains that places are vibrant, forming a rhythmic mosaic that consists of different rhythms with multiple temporalities that collide, synchronise and interweave. In recent years, Lefebvre's rhythm analysis has gained prominence and there are scholars who use it to analyse different mobilities, social and natural processes (e.g., Edensor, 2014; 2012a; 2011; 2010, 2000a, Lin, 2012; Simpson, 2012).

Furthermore, Edensor (2010; 2011) recognises that place is not only characterised by diverse rhythmical intensities, but regular mobile rhythms (e.g. commuting) create a sense of mobile places. For instance, Jiron (2010) demonstrates how the rhythms of routine commuting by train in Santiago de Chile create mobile perception of places. Mobile perception renders fleeting by places into a familiar backdrop that provides a comforting reliability and a feeling of mobile homeliness (Edensor, 2010), which commuters look forward to and enjoy. Moreover, Edensor and Holloway (2008) argue that mobile place making constantly folds together the rhythms of place outside the vehicle (e.g. passing of familiar fixtures, changing rhythms of early morning and late evening, seasonal and climatic rhythms) and mobility (e.g. inhabitation of the vehicle, embodied relations, kinaesthetic sensations). Consequently, mobile practices are not monotonous, meaningless and boring; they enable mobile place making, relations and dwellings in motion.

What is more, referring to different modes of travel, Edensor (2010) argues that the interior of a mobile vehicle is another sort of meaningful place with its own rhythms. Thus, car, train or bus represents a mobile place in itself where different individual, collective, institutional and non-human (e.g. mechanical) rhythms intertwine, habitual and predictable practices take place, as well as occasional, less expected disruptions or out of ordinary happenings occur. For instance, Jiron (2010) analyses daily travel by Metro in Santiago de Chile and concludes that routine travel produces an embodied experience of the Metro that is sensed and valued for different reasons by diverse passengers.

Finally, focusing on how diverse rhythms shape human experiences in time-space, Edensor (2010:14) suggests a metaphor of 'flow' that suggests that everyday experience is

A sequential process through which immanent experience is replete with successive moments of regular attunements to the familiar and the surprising and contingent, and is typified by periods of self-consciousness followed by subsumption into unreflexive states once more.

Thus, the metaphor of 'flow' reveals that mobile experience consists of multiple rhythms, disruptions, paces and velocities that produce both smoothness and disjunctions (Edensor and Holloway, 2008). Namely, the mobile experience is an assemblage of individuals' somatic rhythms, institutionalised rhythms, diurnal rhythms of urban or rural lifestyle, mechanical rhythms of a transport mode and 'natural' rhythms outside the vehicle. Collectively these rhythms constitute space and time and render experiences highly diverse, never predictable and subjective (Edensor, 2011; Edensor and Holloway, 2008). These diverse rhythmic assemblages have their distinct pace that is experienced differently by different people. Hence, the next section examines the experience and perception of speed and slowness.

3.5 Experience of Speed and Slowness

In the context of movement, space and time, it is important to consider a dichotomy of speed and slowness. As modern societies become more time regulated and 'accelerated' due to developments and innovations in transportation and communication technologies, like fast trains, cars, airplanes and the swift Internet, people pay attention to ever smaller fractions of time (May and Thrift, 2001). As Markwell, Fullagar and Wolson (2012) notes, in today's era, speed assumes greater importance than in the whole of human history. This tendency adds a cultural value to speed and acceleration and makes speed central to the cultural experience (Tomlinson, 2007). In daily lives, speed becomes associated with positive values such as success, progress, efficiency and productivity (Fullagar, Wilson and Markwell, 2012), status, freedom, flexibility, control, independence and excitement (Ory and Mokhtarian, 2005 on driving). At the same time, in leisure and tourism spheres, speed is praised for the ability to travel quickly, easily and cheaply, meaning that leisure time is increasingly structured

to facilitate shorter visits to spatially dispersed locations, largely dependent on air or car travel (Dickinson and Lumsdon, 2010). This tendency has resulted in speed being associated with new experiences of adventure, and novel kinaesthetic engagement with different mobile technologies, like roller coaster rides at amusement parks, yachting, white water rafting and racing (Edensor, 2012a).

The modern speed potentials afford the experience of time-space compression (Harvey, 1989) or, in the words of Sheller and Urry (2004), the 'death of distance', first experienced when travelling by steam train in the beginning and mid-nineteenth century. During this time, the 'annihilation of space and time' was a common term used to characterise the experience of railway travel because the mechanical speed of the steam train violently overturned existing notions of time and distance. The new speed potentials of the steam train changed the perception, use and experience of time and space (May and Thrift, 2001). Railway opened up new places and made them much more accessible while at the same time railway seemingly destroyed space and diminished the uniqueness of individual places (Urry, 2007; Schivelbusch, 1986:41). Referring to the new embodied sensations evoked by the mechanical speed of the train, passengers most frequently used the metaphor of 'flight', highlighting both shock and disorientation but at the same time a marvel that surrounded this sensation, meaning that attitude to speed is never straightforward (Tomlinson, 2007). Tomlinson (2007: 3) explains that speed has been criticised and praised, for "speed exhibits different aspects, it offers both pleasures and pains, exhilarations and stresses, emancipation and domination".

Consequently, the desire for an ever-accelerating culture of fast living and work, fast food, fast communications and transport, simultaneously creates the longing for 'simplicity', 'slowness', 'sensing the rural solitude' and unhurried movement of nature (Howard, 2012). As a result, parallel to the culture of speed, the so-called 'slow movement' develops to express dissatisfaction with the pace of life in developed industrial societies (Tomlinson, 2007). Against this background, "slowness works as a metaphor that brings into question the cult of speed and embraces an approach to life that values time in terms of relationships between people and place" (Markwell et al., 2012: 228). The experience of slowing down becomes synonymous with quality and time-enriched experience of life, personal well-being and care for the environment (Parkins, 2004).

According to the slow travel advocates (e.g., Dickinson and Lumsdon, 2010;

Lumsdon and McGrath, 2011; Dickinson, Lumsdon and Robbins, 2011; Fullagar, et al., 2012), 'slow movement' stresses the relation between slow pace, locality and conviviality. In essence, stemming from the Slow Food and Cittaslow (slow cities) movements, the philosophy of slowness promotes a changing attitude to time and the use of it, acceptance of a slower pace of life to enhance personal and social well-being and anti-consumerism. Pink (2008:177) notes that 'slow' involves "the conscious negotiation of the different temporalities that make up our everyday lives, deriving from a commitment to occupy time more attentively and 'mindfully'". Hence, advocates of slow movement resist the normative speeded-up rhythms of everyday life and promote slow living values of deeper, more authentic cultural and social engagement, conviviality, spiritual health, and environmental sustainability.

With reference to leisure- and tourism-based environmental practices, the Slow Travel movement promotes particular kinds of mobilities, such as train, coach, cycle and travel on foot instead of air and car transport, to explore places and cultures more attentively and to gain enhanced aesthetic and sensory experiences (Germann Molz, 2009). What is more, slow movement encourages one to embrace and value the experience of landscape, culture and interaction with other tourists and the host population (Dickinson et al., 2011). In this context, Speakman (2005: 134) highlights:

Contrary to the seductive automobile advertisements, quality of experience is not about speed. The real pleasure of travelling... lies in travelling at a gentle pace through a slowly changing landscape... In transport for tourism terms, therefore, slow is beautiful.

To be able to embrace the concept of slow tourism, Lipman and Murphy (2012: 88) recommend adopting a certain mindset – be flexible, adventurous, embrace uncertainty, and accept the "transport delays or changes that may accompany the often increased connections necessary to reach a destination (e.g. bus-train-bus)". Similarly, to comply with the canons of slow travel, Germann Molz (2009: 277, 280) recommends "to travel locally, to stay in one place rather than packing a lot of destinations into their itineraries" while further encouraging "travellers to establish local routines, indulge in local cuisines, and become connoisseurs of the local culture".

Further analysing the experience of speed versus slowness, Parkins (2004) notes

that experience of speed is a relative concept and speed creates the experience of slowness. For instance, the review of the experiences of different transport modes reveals that the sense of speed of some transport modes renders the experience of other forms of transportation much slower than they had once appeared. Hence, as speed increased from horse cart to steam train followed by a diesel train, a car and an aircraft, the experience and perception of speed changed and the ability to cope and adapt to new speed levels increased. Gradually, people become habituated to the existing speed potentials by developing an acceptance to them. For instance, the diesel train was once experienced as a 'flight', and now, in comparison to high-speed trains or airplanes, is perceived as a slow and contemplative transport mode that offers an alternative to the hectic bustling of air travel and the frustration of driving. Hence, in late modernity, earlier forms of mobility such as steam or diesel trains have gained a renewed cultural significance and evoke nostalgia because they enable slowing down, allowing time to reflect, socialise and experience the surrounding environment more 'meaningfully'.

To continue the analysis of mobile places and technologised mobilities, in the next section, I focus on the formation of mobile cultures. In other words, I examine how people interact with mobile places, temporarily dwell in them and form a mobile sociality, which is guided by a set of rules and a distinct perception of uniform clock time and mobile place.

3.6 Mobile Cultures

Kaufmann (2002), Cresswell and Merriman (2011) highlight that mobile places, like trains, airports or petrol stations, are practiced, performed and co-created through movement by humans and objects, constituting mobile cultures (Vannini, 2010) and mobile identities (Kaufmann, 2002). What is more, Thrift (1996) argues that cultures on the move are hybrid cultures that consist of machines and organisms (material reality and imagination) that become companions to increase the capacity for movement. For instance, Haldrup and Larsen (2006; 2010) and Miller (2001) point out that mobile culture, in particular car culture, has become an integral part of contemporary civil society, popular culture and people's daily

lives, forming an intimate relationship between cars and people. They contend that cars alter natural and built environments (e.g. landscapes of roadways), reconfigure patterns of work, leisure, different mundane tasks, travelling and socialising. However, while the car affords greater autonomy, flexibility, pleasure and freedom of movement and a personal, private enveloped space on the move (Merriman, 2009), it also contributes to the sense of national identity and creates a distinct sense of place (Edensor, 2004). At the same time, it becomes an instrument of higher status, class, oppression, racism and violence (Miller, 2001). Thus, car culture demonstrates that mobilities are not only practiced and experienced but also bound with meanings and representations.

Likewise, with regards to the train, Butcher (2011) examines how the Metro in Delhi (India) is more than just a rapid mass transport system. Diverse meanings and uses are attached to the Metro. For instance, it has become symbolic of a 'modern' Delhi, a 'catalyst of change', a meeting and socialising place for young people and the only place where different social classes find themselves in a very close proximity to each other. In a similar vein, Richardson and Jensen (2008) concur that the Sky Train in Bangkok (Thailand) represents an icon of progress and super-modernity, reiterating the assertion that mobile technologies do not just move people from one place to another (Thrift, 1996). They demonstrate that the Sky Train not only creates new experiences of time-space, new relationships between mobility and consumption and a new image of Bangkok but it also introduced a new sense of order in Bangkok. The seamless, fast, efficient and scheduled movement of the Sky Train above the city's dangerous, congested and polluted streets creates elite subjectivities (modern/westernised Thai middle-class, business-people and tourists) who can afford a different urban life than the 'other' – traditional, poor and immobile people - who inhabit the city streets below the train tracks. Thus, in Bangkok, unlike Delhi, the train culture further exacerbates the existing urban inequalities as well as produces new ones.

Focusing on different modes of transportation, Vannini (2010) remarks that each mobile domain has a distinct cultural order that consists of norms, codes of behaviour (e.g. driving-codes), mobility regulations and legal sanctions. Moreover, various transport modes (e.g. car, train or bus) form a differently felt and experienced relationship between humans, non-humans, time and space and afford different performances, social interactions and expression of self-identity

(Urry, 2007). For instance, Jain narrates the distinct ways that bus passengers (Jain, 2009) and coach commuters (Jain, 2011) experience and practice mobilised time-space during a mundane bus or coach ride. The author emphasises that each bus journey is shaped by the landscape, local populations, time of day and different technologised rhythms of a slowing down, accelerating and stopping bus. Passengers, the bus driver, traffic along the route as well as social rhythms of the morning and evening rush hours constantly re-make the mobile space of the journey, rendering each bus or coach ride slightly different. Jain also points out that efficient commuting requires local knowledge of timetables, bus stops and routes, as well as patience and preparedness for inevitable waiting times at bus stops. Finally, Jain illustrates how different passengers (commuters, tourists and other individuals) produce and perform time on the move. She observes how people create a personal space using different movable objects (e.g. mobile phones, laptops, reading matter, sandwiches, drinks), find and negotiate seats on crowded buses, adopt different ways of gazing outside the window as well as acquire techniques of not looking at and often ignoring the close presence of other passengers, their smells, and their behaviour.

Unlike the bus, Binnie et al. (2007) highlight that, in the UK, train culture is characterised by regular announcements, the provision of a buffet car and toilets, regular ticket inspections and increasingly high-speed travel that, according to Letherby and Reynolds (2005), is accompanied by almost inevitable delays and cancellations. Letherby and Reynolds use the 'leaves on the line' expression to point out a myriad of risks that quite often cause the railway system to go wrong and delay the service. Further, Bissell (2010, 2008) goes on to describe that modern train carriages are divided into first and standard class cars. The firstclass carriages cost premium price and are more used by business- focussed travellers. In first class, the seats are more comfortable with extra legroom and greater personal space, ample workspace, power sockets and free wi-fi. The atmosphere is calm and quiet, facilitating a productive working environment and offering the feeling of being in a position of social dominance (Vaidyanathan, 2010). Standard class, on the other hand, can be very crowded and loud at certain times of the day. Seats are less comfortable with little private space and cramped legroom. Moreover, not all seats are guaranteed a table and not all of them are lined up with a window (Bissell, 2007a).

Further, Binnie et al. (2007) demonstrate that mobile cultures vary not only among different transport modes. Other factors, such as geographical location, the level of development and socio-cultural characteristics, also influence the formation of distinct mobile cultures. For example, Ohmori and Harata (2008) examine a mundane train commute in Tokyo (Japan) where the train system consists of three train types – normal, high-grade and extra-high-grade trains. Unlike the European Union where rail travel has experienced a relative loss of market share to road and air transportation since the 1970s (Page, 2009), in Tokyo, most people commute by trains (70 per cent) and, thus, the congestion rates on normal trains are very high, over 200 per cent in the morning peak period. On these trains, most passengers cannot take a seat, cannot move at all, and the possible activities comprise doing nothing, gazing at people, advertisements and scenery, sleeping or using mobile phone on silent mode. To increase comfort and privacy on normal trains, commuters can pay extra for a seat reservation or they can pay a premium price and commute by a high-grade train, called Shinkansen - a high-speed train where all passengers are guaranteed a comfortable seat, wider personal space and secure privacy. On Shinkansen, passengers mainly choose to sleep, read or use mobile phones on silent mode. What is more, Ohmori and Harata's (2008) research highlights that, unlike in Europe, on Japanese trains, firstly, it is prohibited to talk on mobile phones because trains represent a public space where public gaze is respected and, secondly, passengers are allowed to smoke in smoking cars.

Having examined different mobile cultures and the formation of different mobile identities in this section, and the experience of time, rhythms and various activities 'on the move', in sections 3.3 through 3.5, I turn to examining the non-visual and somewhat ineffable dimension of the mobile experience – the sensory dimension in the next section.

3.7 Sensory Dimension of the Mobile Experience

Fullagar (2001) argues that there are different intensities of embodiment, depending on the extent to which the body is separated from the environment, as well as which dimensions of embodiment are more strongly engaged. For example, activities like cycling or walking afford salient physical and multi-sensual engagement with a place. One not only sees the environment around but also feels the weather, motion, the rhythm of his/her walking or cycling, the road or path, surrounding smells and sounds, and even the taste of the air (Edensor, 2000a; Tuan, 1993 on walking experiences; Spinney, 2007 on cycling experiences).

Meanwhile, technologies like cars, trains or buses change the ways in which places are encountered and perceived. Haldrup and Larsen (2006) argue that 'mobility technologies' alter the physical engagement between people and places, the ways how people grasp, inhabit, sense and make sense of landscapes and places. Namely, drivers encounter and sense the surrounding environment as human-machine hybrids (Thrift, 2004; 1996) that enable one to do things and sense realities that would otherwise be beyond human capability. For instance, referring to the experiences of train travel in the nineteenth century (and equally relevant to the high-speed trains of the twenty-first century), Schivelbusch (1986:54) emphasises that "railway travel resulted in 'annihilation of space and time [because] the train was experienced as a projectile, and travelling on it, as being shot through the landscape – thus losing control of one's senses".

Referring to car driving, Haldrup and Larsen (2006) emphasize that

The embodied and sensuous experience of movement is kinaesthetically sensed through our joints, muscles and tendons and so on as we move in and across the physical world. The 'automobilized person' is simultaneously inhabiting and feeling the car, but he/she is feeling the physical world through the moving car, as it moves.

Thus, Haldrup and Larsen (2006) point out that the driver senses both the immediate environment of the car (e.g., comfort of the seating, speed, movement and sociality) and the places and landscapes the car is passing through, and so the human-machine hybridity extends the sensorium and produces a "feel" for the road (Edensor, 2003). This sentiment is neatly encapsulated within Edensor's

(2007b:221) assertion that “car driving re-sensualises urban experience – sensory contact with urban materiality is undoubtedly reduced, replaced by other, more cocooned sensations”. These ‘cocooned sensations’ are illustrated by Bull (2000; 2004) who focuses on how the audio world facilitates driving and dwelling in the car. He demonstrates that music produces an extraordinary ability to cut oneself off from the world, creating an environmental bubble, while at the same time, for safety reasons, one is aware of what happens on the road. Bull shows how sounds render the car’s mobile space into a homey, personalised environment that enables finding and losing oneself – sensing the pleasure of the ride, thinking, dreaming, feeling freedom from the demands of ‘others’. Bull concludes that sound technologies provide a form of accompanied solitude for car drivers.

Moreover, Edensor (2003) examines different sensibilities of commuting along England’s M6 motorway and argues that the transit space is performed and inhabited in distinct ways, depending on different situations, such as time of the day, weather and traffic conditions, and driver’s mood. He maintains that the process of commuting through familiar and mundane fixtures within the homey and comfortable micro-environment of the car not only excites different sensations, such as kinaesthetic, aural pleasures and sightseeing, but also fosters inward travel through reverie and nostalgia, imagination and anticipation of the destination. Edensor (2003:154) notes:

Familiar fixtures and sensations of the journey are folded together with other places, previous experiences, socialities, sensualities, and stories, becoming woven into the totality of the driving space-time.

Supporting Edensor’s point of view, Merriman (2009) emphasises that different styles of attention, level of competency, sociality in the car, as well as familiarity with a route and the car itself influence the ways in which the car is inhabited and the drive experienced. Moreover, Merriman (2009) argues that attention, spatial and visual awareness differs between the car driver, front-seat and back-seat passengers. The driver is actively engaged with the car, road and the traffic conditions while passengers can pay more attention on the off-road elements and the social environment of the car. In this regard, Carr and Schissler’s (1969) study reveals that drivers who are unfamiliar with the route recall relatively little information from off-road, driving-irrelevant areas of the environment while drivers who are familiar with the route recall different off-road elements and rarely mention

driving-related items. Thus, Merriman (2009:592) concludes, “as drivers gain confidence and practical experience, the embodied actions of driving become habitual and automatic...and appears to be performed in precognitive, unthought ways”. As a result, it could be concluded that, although drivers’ and passengers’ actions are fairly standardised conforming with the rules of the road, they engage with their vehicles, other vehicles, and the spaces of the road in complex, knowledgeable, and embodied ways (Merriman, 2009).

Referring to the nineteenth-century railway experiences, Lofgren (2008) contends that different elements of train travel, such as, the continuous, uniform vibration, speed and rhythms of the train, close proximity to strangers, intimate design of compartments and fleeting landscapes, intensify different sensations of sight, smell, kinaesthetics and sounds. This view is also supported by Bissell’s (2010) research on contemporary train experiences. He examines various dimensions of mundane train travel and demonstrates that visual experience is intertwined with other corporeal sensibilities. For instance, Bissell (2010) examines how the body experiences the vibration of a moving train: its small shakes, ‘jiggles’ and quivers. He asserts that the event of vibration connects the sensing body and the carriage that impresses into the body through the seat and floor. Unavoidable sensations of vibration are palpable, audible and visible. Moreover, they may cause irritation and discomfort, can serve to fatigue and tire the travelling body (Bissell, 2009a), but may also be soothing for the purpose of sleep. Equally, a sequence of unexpected jerks and wincing may intensify attention, evoke worry and fear of potential railway accident or delay. Thus, a mix of different vibrations creates a sense of dwelling on the move.

Further, Bissell (2009a) analyses daydreaming and sleep as particular experiences of quiescence and withdrawal on trains. He argues that different modes of quiescence are experienced differently by various passengers. Bissell highlights that daydreaming is generally considered as a pleasant withdrawal that has restorative effects when a passenger gives him/herself up to the motion of the train, panorama of the window and warmth of the carriage. On the contrary, sleep can make some passengers feel vulnerable, embarrassed and anxious because they are uncomfortable losing control over their body in the presence of unknown others, are concerned about luggage, and fear missing their station. Similarly, a pleasant experience of quiescence can also be threatened by uncomfortable seats,

limited legroom, anger over delays, annoying passengers, or soundscapes. Thus, Bissell argues that train travel requires skills, accumulation of knowledge and experience, practical techniques to relax comfortably, and familiarity with the route to be able to enjoy moments of quiescence on a train.

Further, Bissell (2007a) examines the experience of waiting while being on the move. He asserts that, in train stations or on trains, the seemingly inactive event of waiting can become an intensively corporeal experience that heightens sensual attentiveness of both seeing and hearing, and that is often filled with anticipation, reverie and imagination. Similarly, Seremetakis (1994) and Fullagar (2001) highlight that travelling triggers imagination and sensory memories while De Botton (2002:57) notes:

Journeys are the midwives of thought... there is almost a quaint correlation between what is in front of our eyes and the thoughts we are able to have in our head: large thoughts at times requiring large views, new thoughts new places.

Finally, Bissell (2009b) identifies three different but related visual practices experienced during the course of a railway journey. Firstly, there is the sublime vision or, in the words of Larsen (2001:82), the 'travel glaze' – "a visual cinematic-like experience of moving landscape images". Sublime vision offers experience of vastness (Larsen, 2001) and is capable of overwhelming and mesmerising the senses (Bissell, 2009b). Secondly, there is the mode of attentive vision that is required to find, make changes to the route, manage and organise travel time, look after personal possessions or take decisions on where to sit. Thirdly, Bissell identifies that visual experience is structured and mediated by the materiality and sociality of the carriage as well as natural conditions outside the carriage. For instance, configuration of windows and seats, a crowded or empty carriage, time of day, and weather conditions are some of the factors that influence the way in which the journey is experienced. Having examined the sensory dimension of the mobile experience, I turn to the next ineffable dimension of the mobile experience – the emotional dimension.

3.8 Emotional Dimension of Mobile Experiences

Binnie et al. (2007) highlight that familiar, quotidian, small-scale travel experiences of car, bus, tube, tram and bicycle are not emotionally sterile, tedious and uneventful, devoid of sensations. Binnie et al. (2007) point out that mundane travel - the familiarity with forms of transport, banal sights and urban rhythms - form a comfortable and pleasurable sense of being in and knowing place, a sense of spatial belonging and identity (Edensor, 2004), which are inevitably enhanced by familiar encounters and habitual, unreflexive performances en-route. However, the habitual and unreflexive nature of travel experiences means that the comfort of travel and mundane routes can only become apparent when one is mobile-out-of-place and has to encounter a worrying experience of way-finding in a new environment. As a result, referring to commuting experiences, Lyons and Chatterjee (2008) claim that most commonly people comment on situations or transport modes that elicit clearly felt emotions. Namely, commuters report that lack of control over factors like traffic congestion, the unskilful driving behaviour of other drivers (for car users) and unreliable service and uncertainty (for public transport users) causes stress and worry during their daily commute. Moreover, their study demonstrates that, in general, car users perceive their journey as most stressful whereas public transport users as most boring. In contrast, cyclists refer to their travel time as most exciting and interesting, while walkers as most relaxing.

Further, focusing on diverse emotional experiences of car driving, Sheller (2004) argues that emotions and senses play a key role in the experience of driving because "the 'auto-mobilized person is simultaneously inhabiting and feeling the car" (Haldrup and Larsen, (2006:284). Sheller (2004) demonstrates how motion of the car impresses upon bodies and produces different feelings of happiness, excitement, pleasure and extreme love for speed and danger as well as anxiety or fear. Similarly, Featherstone (2004) maintains that driving evokes various sensations, such as the kinaesthetic pleasures of the rocking, steadily driven car or sensations of dramatic 'thrill' experienced during reckless speeding. Moreover, Sheller emphasises that people feel not only the car but also through the car and with the car. The car transforms the ways individuals sense and interact with the surrounding world, generating distinct emotional geographies. This view finds

support in Michael's (1998) study; he contends that cars and people are intertwined, forming 'co-agency' that firstly enables complex social relations among drivers and, secondly, elicits diverse emotional reactions, like road rage, rivalry and sense of superiority.

In addition, with reference to train travel, Löfgren (2008), De Sapio (2012) and Schivelbusch (1986) and Butcher (2011) argue that new experiences always evoke heightened emotional reactions, such as excitement, fear, caution or unease. For instance, Butcher's (2011) research on the Delhi's Metro (opened in 2002) reveals that the newness of the experience - the seating arrangements, new proximities to different social classes and socialising opportunities - generates different positive (e.g. pride, luxury, joy, excitement) and negative (e.g. fear, sadness, discomfort) affective responses. In a similar vein, with regards to nineteenth century train travel, De Sapio (2012) notes that the enclosed design of the railway compartment contributed to diverse affective reactions, such as anxieties and fear of both internal (strangers, mixing of social classes) and external (speed and pace of technology) threats, whilst also eliciting sensations of excitement and deep fascination (for some). Hence, Löfgren (2008) states that different train passengers (e.g. tourists, commuters, migrants) generate distinct feelings towards the same train journey. These feelings, firstly, are linked to how passengers anticipate their destinations and, secondly, how they sense the train journey itself. Analysing mid-nineteenth century train journeys, Löfgren (2008: 333) asserts that they were accompanied by an ambiguous travel mood – a 'travel fever' that is a nervous mix of "longing with fear and fascination of the unknown, the exhilaration (and dread) of letting go, moving out".

Further, Jensen (2012) examines seemingly emotionless, uneventful and routine daily travel of Danish train commuters. Similarly to Löfgren, Jensen argues that different passengers experience and inhabit daily commutes differently depending on their moods, expectations and thoughts about the point of arrival, and "all the emotions from other spheres of everyday life, which, together with other travel requisites, are packed in the luggage" (Jensen, 2012: 201). Moreover, Jensen highlights how the commute itself (the train with its materiality, sociality, delays and disruptions) shapes commuters' emotions. For instance, there are situations that are out of passengers' control, such as delays, crowding and cancellations. These situations evoke frustration, anger and physical discomfort,

and are individually and inter-subjectively felt and, thus, shape the affective atmosphere of the whole train carriage. During these situations, commuters want travel time to pass as quickly as possible. In contrast, Jensen describes situations and events that do not influence all passengers but only a certain group of people. She notes that commuters form commuting friendships and the train journey offers time and space when different topics (e.g. grief, engagement) are discussed among the members of the 'commuting club'. These discussions become emotionally experienced by the commuting group and create an affective atmosphere that surrounds its members but does not influence other commuters.

Finally, Letherby and Reynolds (2005) suggest that a wide range of emotions – affection and frustration, childhood memories, dreams and feelings of nostalgia – occur during railway journeys. The main research focus of their study is on regular train commuters, railway fans and railway workers who have developed a special affective relationship with the train. In general, Letherby and Reynolds demonstrate that train sociality, landscapes outside the window, and efficiency of train services elicit a mixture of emotional responses. For instance, train journeys can evoke positive emotions of safety, comfort, and aesthetic pleasure, as well as enable experience of romance and joy. Yet, train travel also elicits irritation, annoyance and anger caused by other passengers' behaviour and situations of overcrowding. Letherby and Reynolds (2005) note that noise (e.g. children's electronic toys, talk on mobile phones, intrusive and raucous laughter) is one of the causes of tension on trains. Moreover, bad connections, poor service, delays, cancellations, disruptions and unresponsiveness among train operators is another source of bewilderment, discomfort, anger and frustration, while possibility of accidents, robberies, loss of luggage evoke feelings of fear and anxiety.

In this section, I have examined the emotional dimension of the embodied mobile experience and, in doing so, I have concentrated on the subject and the capacity of mobile places to evoke emotions. I have also examined different emotional responses that people have "as ways of knowing, being and doing" (Anderson and Smith, 2001: 7). However, the fact that emotions are personal and subjective, bound to particular individual bodies (Bissell, 2010), means that they do not explain diverse embodied and emplaced encounters that occur between humans and nonhumans and that constitute 'the social' in different places. Hence, Bissell (2010) argues that to understand the relationship between bodies, objects and technologies, it is

important to explore the notion of affect that can be understood as “an outcome of emplaced encounters” (Conradson and Latham, 2007: 232) and atmospheres - an intermediate phenomena that merges emotions, affects and sensations together (Edensor, 2015). For this reason, in the next section, I examine the theory of affect and the notion of atmosphere in an affective sense. I conclude this section with a focus on train sociality and fluent atmospheres that flow and ebb inside a railway carriage, influencing and modifying the experience of a railway journey.

3.9 Affect and Atmosphere

In recent years, the concept of affect has attracted a lot of attention across social sciences and humanities for it opens up new perspectives on dynamic relations and connections that emerge between bodies (human and non-human), movement (technologies) and feeling (Conradson and Latham, 2007). These relations give rise to affective intensities that define what a body can do (Pile, 2009). McCormack (2008) explains that some affective relations and encounters will enhance the capacity of bodies to act, others will diminish it or alter its speed, intensity or direction. Thus, Vannini (2015: 9) defines the notion of affect as “a pull and a push, an intensity of feeling, a sensation, a passion, an atmosphere, an urge, a mood, a drive – all of the above and none of the above in particular”.

Attending to affect is hugely important because, firstly, it provides a new insight into the interactions between the individual and collective. On the one hand, these relations emphasise human performative and agentive corporeal potentialities (Nash, 2000), in other words, the ways in which humans inhabit and co-produce places. On the other hand, however, thinking through affect, expands the realm of what constitutes the ‘social’ and different sociabilities (Bissell, 2010). For instance, Bissell (2009c; 2010), analysing the transient sociality on trains, argues that diverse sensations emerge among commuters within the mobile space of a carriage. These sensations transcend individual bodies and give rise to shared affects that spread across the carriage, producing atmospheres of conviviality and relaxation or distress and irritation (discussed in more detail in subsection 3.9.1). Yet, Vannini (2015) emphasises that while affect is embodied, it is not coterminous with the human

body, meaning that the capacity to be affected and to affect other people and things is not reducible to human bodies.

This leads to the second point that thinking through affect opens up various relations that exist between technologies, human agency and spaces of practice (Lorimer and Lund, 2003). In this respect, Conradson and Latham (2007: 232) argue that affect is “the energetic outcome of [emplaced and embodied] encounters between bodies [human and non-human] in particular places”. For instance, Wylie’s (2002) essay on ascending Glastonbury Tor opens up different relations between self and landscape, revealing how bodies register the effects and affects of landscapes through distinctive kinds of sensuous encounters with and within shifting fields of materiality. Wylie (2002: 251) emphasises that space is a “concrete and sensuous concatenation of material forces”, which possesses an agency to impact upon those who dwell and move within it (Jensen, Scarles and Cohen, 2015; Bissell, 2010). In a similar vein, Bissell (2008) examines the sensations of comfort and discomfort during a train journey and concludes that corporeal comfort is not solely an attribute of an object, rather it emerges from diverse encounters between the commuter and social environment as well as the commuter’s effort to negotiate the body-chair assemblage. Thus, affect as a field of myriad becomings (Anderson, 2009) is dynamically located in the midst of things and relations.

To put this into the context of research, Bissell (2010: 272) notes that thinking through affect “decentres the individual passenger from analysis, and instead prompts us to think about how different configurations of objects, technologies, and bodies come together to form different experiences of ‘being with’”. Attending to affect enables us to uncover the lived and affective experience in place – how one affects the surrounding environment through different place-making practices and social interactions and, at the same time, is affected by a place – its thick or thin atmospheres that disposition one to particular practices (Duff, 2010), its materialities and diverse rhythms. In this respect, Jensen’s et al. (2015) research on tourist experiences of interrailing in Europe reveals that attending to affect uncovers the affective and subtle engagements with diverse rhythms that constitute train travel and their subjective and intersubjective apprehensions. Hence, McCormick (2003) explains that exploring embodied experiences and performances through affect, rather than more discursive analytical approaches, is a useful approach because it allows understanding of tensions and feelings that

circulate in particular spaces. Hence, attending to affects requires one to be emplaced and to attend to one's own experiences of the sights, sounds, smells, temperatures and movements and the experiences of others (Edensor and Sumortojo, 2015).

While a consensus has been reached on some qualities of affect (as examined above), there are dimensions that are theorised and interpreted differently by different scholars. Firstly, non-representational researchers examine affect as a realm that precedes subjectivity (Pile, 2009). In this respect, affect is a transpersonal, pre-reflexive and prepersonal intensity (McCormack, 2008; Thrift, 2004) that "excites bodily and emotional dispositions at an unconscious and precognitive register" (Adey, 2008: 439) and that "produces an overwhelming feeling of affective disorientation" in people (Edensor, 2012: 1112). This assertion is critiqued by Edensor (2012) who, analysing Blackpool Illuminations, demonstrates that participants' engagement with illuminated space is usually mindful and immersive, conditioned by previous experiences, habits and familiar emotions, preparing visitors for an emotional and affective encounter with place and the social environment. Similarly, Edensor's (2015) research on football match atmospheres and fan cultures reveals that most fans are so familiar with attending the home games that they are already attuned to the place before they arrive; they are aware of the affective potentialities that will arise during the match and their own role in the production of affect. Hence, according to Edensor (2015: 83), "previous encounters with places, people and things... provide a relational context for how affect and emotion is expressed, anticipated and conceptualised", which leads to the next assumption inherent in prevalent notions of affect.

Secondly, stressing the prepersonal nature of affect, non-representational researchers suggest that affect produces 'mute attunement' to a place. This assertion is criticised by Tollia-Kelly (2006) and Edensor (2012, 2015) who argue that non-representational research on affect neglects historic, social and cultural contexts within which affects emerge as well as ignoring peoples' expectations, anticipations, habits and objectives that orient them towards a particular affective engagement with place. In this respect, Edensor's (2012) research on Blackpool Illuminations reveals that the event produces feelings of belongingness, nostalgia and excitement among visitors because most of them are familiar with the event and, thus, they anticipate and expect diverse affective encounters as they walk

along the illuminated seafront (Edensor, 2012). This example also demonstrates that affects are entangled with emotions, critiquing theories that conceptually divide affects from emotions.

This leads to the third point that in non-representational theory, affect is separated from emotions. It is conceived as impersonal and objective while emotions are perceived as personal and subjective (Anderson, 2009). Affect is conceptualised as inexpressible, elusive and unable to be brought into representations (Thrift, 2004) while emotions, like anger, joy or fear are social forms of expression that are communicable and, thus, can be represented. Stressing the difference between the two, McCormack (2003: 496) cautions, “the creative potential of affect is arrested when one attempts to quantify or qualify its position as personal”. Yet, Edensor questions this approach to affect and emotion, emphasising that, in practice, both notions “are entangled, feed of each other and merge” (Edensor, 2015: 84). He maintains that this blending becomes most evident when examined through the notion of atmosphere, which folds together affect, sensations and emotions, further illuminating how people engage, practice and co-produce place (Edensor, 2012). Hence, the key characteristics of atmosphere are introduced briefly below while, in section 3.9.1, affective intensities and atmospheres that flow and ebb within a mobile place of a train carriage are examined in more detail.

Both affect and atmosphere share similar characteristics in the sense that they are something elusive, ephemeral and intangible, taking form in-between people, objects and physical settings (Lofgren, 2014) and yet are perceived and sensed through the human body (Bissell, 2010). However, Edensor (2015) emphasises that affect is not synonymous with atmosphere and it is inappropriate to isolate affect as the key ingredient of atmosphere by referring to all atmospheres as ‘affective’. Edensor and Sumartojo (2015: 252) maintain, “by reducing it [atmosphere] to its affective qualities, it suggests that an atmosphere pre-exists the presence of those who are suddenly subsumed within its affective field”. Instead, atmospheres, similar to affect, can be sedimented in memory and, thus, be familiar and habitual; they are anticipated and expected, purposefully changed and co-produced, managed and stabilised (Edensor and Sumartojo, 2015; Lofgren, 2014).

To define the term ‘atmosphere’ in social sciences, it is important to highlight that it drifts from its original meaning of a sphere of gas surrounding a body to a description of emotional moods and situations (Lofgren, 2014). Bohme (2002: 5)

suggests that atmosphere creates “a certain mental or emotive tone permeating a particular environment”. This emotive tone attunes people’s moods while simultaneously becoming ‘the extendedness’ of their moods (ibid). Emphasising the qualities of atmosphere, McCormack (2008: 413) maintains that the atmosphere is “something distributed yet palpable, a quality of environmental immersion that registers in and through sensing bodies while also remaining diffuse, in the air, ethereal”. Meanwhile, Edensor (2012) summarises that atmosphere folds together affect, sensation, materialities, emotions, social interaction and meanings in place, blurring the boundaries between them (Edensor, 2012).

Finally, it is essential to foreground two key characteristics of atmosphere. Firstly, atmosphere is not a constant and fixed condition but rather “a dynamic process comprising different consecutive phases” (Thibaud, 2011: 207). Analysing the atmospheres of football matches, Edensor (2015) maintains that atmosphere should be conceived as a flow that varies in intensity and nature and that continually emerges depending on the temporality of the game and the event that unfolds. Secondly, atmospheres are always modified and co-created by people, rather than just passively accepted and experienced. In this regard, Edensor (2015) critiques the idea that atmosphere ‘envelopes’ or simply takes over a subject without resistance or participation, as suggested by Anderson (2009). Instead, Edensor emphasises that atmospheres are “co-produced between the practices and dispositions of individuals or groups, and myriad other elements from which and out of which they [atmospheres] form and re-form”. Having examined the key dimensions of affect and the main characteristics of atmosphere, I now turn to reviewing diverse affective intensities and atmospheres that emerge within the mobile space of a railway carriage.

3.9.1 Experience of Train Sociality and Train Community - Affect and Atmosphere on the Move

According to Bissell (2009c), a train journey offers a time and space where people, usually unknown to each other, are temporarily forced to co-exist. Referring to the nineteenth century train travel experiences, De Sapio (2012) explains that the enclosed and intimate design of the railway compartment, the novelty and the random nature of the social arrangement as well as the rapid movement of the train induced an atmosphere of fear, embarrassment and disorientation among

passengers. These circumstances necessitated the need for guides to instruct passengers on how to behave on trains not only towards others but also for passengers' own safety. Passengers were expected to follow a code of conduct, such as speak if spoken to, keep one's feet off the seats, engage in conversation with others only if they are not busy reading, communicate politely, negotiate your personal space with others as well disembark only at train stations when the train stands still. Bissell (2009c) notes that these hints, suggestions and instructions were often highly prescriptive in order to create a particular kind of citizenship within the carriage or, as De Sapio (2012) calls it, a train community that, although fluid and sporadic, started to provide a sense of security among passengers, spatial orientation, information, and conversational benefits. De Sapio (2012:17) emphasises that

For the Victorian railway passenger, the transient community was a useful and often helpful aid to what could be a difficult and stressful journey... [because] in unfamiliar territory the novice passenger requires the assistance of local community.

Referring to contemporary train travel, Bissell (2009c; 2010) contends that being with others and dwelling within the transient community is an integral part of railway journeying. Individuals temporarily become part of a mobile collective that is regulated by common-sense norms and values, developed through repeated performances over time, and the movement of affect that people are less aware of and control less. As a result, the nature of such a collective is elusive and fluent, emergent from encounters between passengers and between passengers and non-human components of the journey, such as the train technology, the materiality inside the carriage and the design of the carriage itself. These complex relations give rise to diverse feelings and shared affects that can range from conviviality, joy and liveliness to frustration, annoyance and passivity (Bissell, 2009c).

Referring to train sociality, Bissell (2009c) points out that fostering convivial and open dispositions towards others, like responsibility, tolerance and care, is what makes the complex space of a train carriage work and what makes a train journey comfortable. Yet, on trains, practices of civility and conviviality usually emerge in very subtle ways and they are rarely vocalised (or entail little discursive modes of communication) but mainly expressed through friendly smiles, place giving gestures or considerate facial expression, in other words, the non-verbal forms of

communication. If, however, conversations occur, they are capable of producing micro atmospheres (Edensor, 2015) of conviviality that evoke in commuters a sense of belonging to a transient train community (Bissell, 2009c).

Nevertheless, these social interactions are fleeting and light-touch, influenced by diverse passenger agencies and other happenings (Bissell, 2009c). Consequently, the sense of conviviality and courtesy is fragile and the unspoken codes of behaviour are often ignored and violated, especially during events such as boarding a crowded train and getting a seat (Bissell, 2010, 2009c; Jensen, 2012). In this respect, Bissell (2009c: 68) contends that

The very transience of this collective might be both the reason for the relative absence of any sustained investment in interpersonal relations for some, and the lack of respect towards fellow passengers for others.

Bissell continues that lack of respect and anti-social behaviour induce sense of irritation and agitation in train users. These affects often stem from the inability to change or control the sociality of a train carriage. In response, passengers develop strategies of enclosure and passivity to cope with these affective intensities. As a result, Letherby and Reynolds (2005) reveal that when railway passengers are asked about what is the most disliked part of train travel, they admit that it is other passengers who do not follow the common-sense rules and 'appropriate' behaviour.

Jensen (2012) and Bissell (2009c) summarise that sociality within a train carriage is strongly influenced by unexpected events (positive and negative) that are able to unsettle the expected and anticipated experience of the journey. These events can range from enduring disruptive passengers or experiencing commuting friendships (Jensen, 2012), which affects a small number of people, to delays or cancellations, which affect everyone who is waiting for, or travelling on, a particular service. These situations change the sociality of a train carriage, generating collectives where common feelings are shared among passengers. For instance, Bissell observes that, on a Friday evening, the railway carriage is characterised by an energetic affect associated with excitement and expectancy that prompts one to feel more uplifted and relaxed. Meanwhile, less positive affective atmosphere emerges when the train unexpectedly stops en-route, and

passengers collectively feel frustration and annoyance. Thus, Bissell (2010:276) demonstrates that

Affects in the railway carriage emerge through the coming together of specific object materialities, technologies, bodies, and practices at particular times and in particular spaces. These affects are infectious... passengers do not consciously choose to feel in a particular way... as affect is transmitted between bodies, the affective atmosphere of the carriage is intensified as it ripples out over space.

Further, the relationship between individuality and collectivity and the atmospheres that emerge as a result of these relationships, determine what passengers feel they can or have to do during their railway journey, how space is individually perceived, and how the mobile experience unfolds over time. For instance, focussing on fatigued and stressed commuters, Bissell (2010) notes that close proximity of other people, their smells and their actions, can often create uncongenial relations between passengers. Commuters develop techniques, which allow them to intentionally ignore or blot out others by looking out of the window, reading or listening to music. Passengers privatise space around them using personal belongings to create a safety bubble and to make space more familiar and comfortable.

In a similar vein, analysing passengers' behaviour during conditions of crowdedness, Hirsch and Thompson (2011) establish that the crowded space of a railway carriage induces a sense of passivity or aggression. These affects force passengers to change their behaviour towards others. They observe that some passengers, in order to create and then maintain a level of privacy, personal comfort and personal space, purposely ignore others and become passive. To ensure disengagement with others, these passengers usually withdraw into themselves, sleep, look out of the window, read or socialise with their friends and, thus, create their own environmental bubble and, by doing so, ignore the crowding. Meanwhile, others might become quite rude and act in a more aggressive manner - jostle to improve their comfort, use too much deodorant or start coughing to ensure people maintain a distance.

Finally, analysing factors that influence the feeling of crowdedness, Hirsch and Thompson (2011) suggest that a myriad of elements like individuals themselves, natural environment outside the carriage, different materialities and the design of

the carriage, as well as quality of the service form and re-form the relationship between the individual and collective within a train carriage. With regards to individual characteristics, Hirsch and Thompson note that passengers' expectations of a service (often based on their prior rail experiences) and their mood prior to embarkation influence their interaction with the surrounding environment of a train carriage. Additionally, how individuals engage with different materialities and fellow passengers, such as making loud phone conversations, odours of some passengers, and general lack of acceptable behaviour, further contribute to the collective affect and the perception of crowdedness in the carriage. Moreover, the natural environment outside the carriage, for example, bad weather conditions, and the built environment inside the carriage, such as seating layout, design of handholds, lighting and air conditioning, also will affect the emerging relationships between passengers and the train materiality.

Yet, Bissell (2009c) suggests that frequent travellers and commuters might have different needs, expectations and interests to those travelling infrequently or those who travel for leisure purposes and, thus, different atmospheres might emerge in the carriage full of leisure travellers. Hence, to understand better the mobile experiences of leisure travellers and tourists, the final section of this review examines conceptual and empirical studies in which tourists' transport experiences are scrutinised.

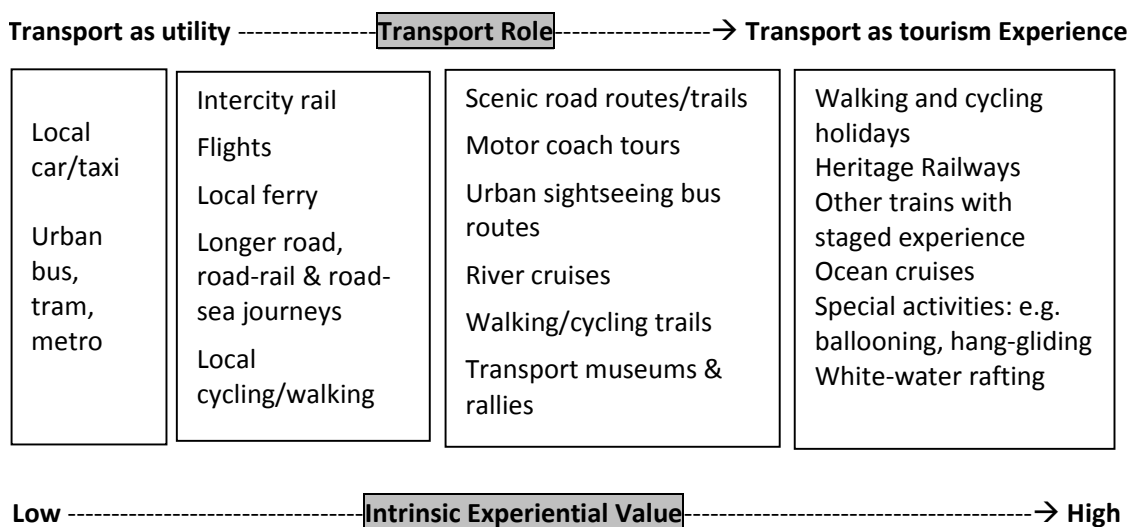
3.10 Tourist-Transport Experience

In tourism studies, firstly, transport experience is examined from a business perspective, in terms of travel behaviour (Dickinson and Robbins, 2008; Dallen, 2007a, Anable, 2005; Lumsdon, Downward and Rhoden, 2006), service quality (Thompson and Schofield, 2007) and consumer perceptions, attitudes and satisfaction levels (Su and Wall, 2009; Dallen, 2007b). Secondly, transport experience is analysed from the sustainability discourse perspective with the aim of understanding what motivates tourists to use more sustainable transport modes (Fullagar et al., 2012) and how to encourage modal shift from less sustainable to more sustainable transportation (Dickinson and colleagues, 2007, 2009; Fullagar

et al., 2012). However, it is not within the scope of this study to review the design and delivery of the transport service from the suppliers' perspective or to analyse the pre-travel and post-travel phases of mobile experience. The focus of this study is on individual's perspective and on travel to / travel from site experience phases (Clawson and Knetsch, 1966). Hence, in this section, I review different ways in which the tourist transport experience has been conceptualised in tourism studies while, in the following subsection, I outline cross-disciplinary studies, which examine different aspects and dimensions of tourist lived experiences of different transport modes.

In the context of tourist-transport experiences, Lumsdon and Page (2004) develop a theoretical continuum of tourism transport. At the one end of the continuum, there are forms of transport, such as taxi, urban bus or metro, which have a low intrinsic value as a tourism experience and their role is more functional (Prideaux, 2000), being transport for tourism. At the other end of the continuum, there are transport modes, such as cycling (Lumsdon, 2000) or heritage railways (Dann, 1994), which have a high intrinsic value and become a desired component of the tourist experience (being transport as tourism) (see Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: The Tourism Transport Experiential Continuum



(Source: Lumsdon and Page, 2004)

This continuum is further developed by Rhoden and Lumsdon (2006) who propose a conceptual classification of the transport-tourist experience. These authors explore the nature of tourist involvement with different transport modes and develop a typology of transport-tourist experience that consists of four transport-tourist experience types: active transport tourist, passive transport tourist, positive transport tourist, reluctant transport tourist (see Table 3.3). The first two types, active transport-tourist and passive transport-tourist, are associated with transport as tourism and are desired and purposefully purchased elements of the total tourist experience. Positive transport-tourists and reluctant transport-tourists, on the other hand, relate to transport for tourism, where the experience of transport can range from an enjoyable to an endured one.

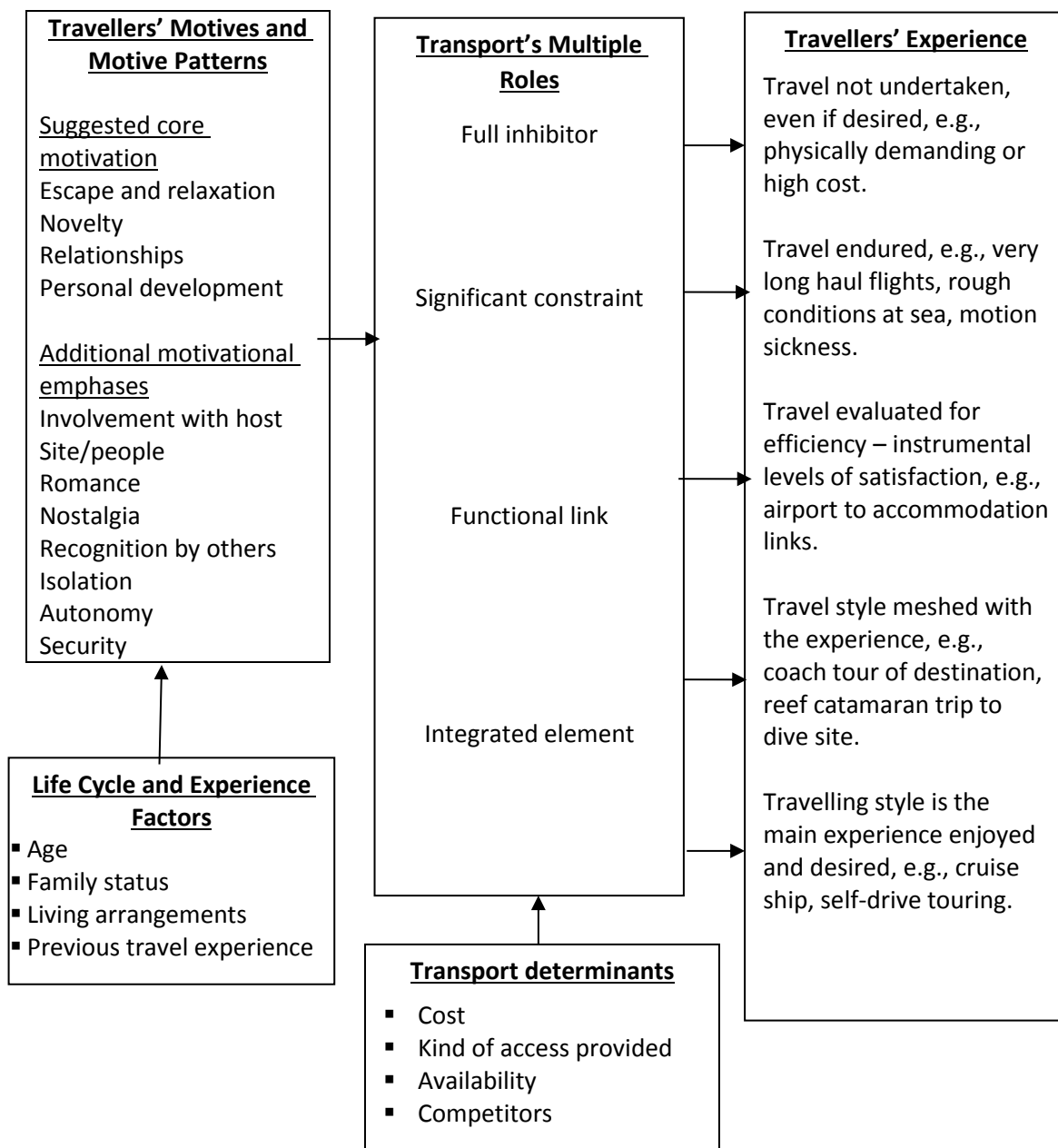
Table 3.3: Characteristics of Involvement of each Transport-Tourist Type

	Transport Commodity	Characteristics of Tourist Involvement	Transport-Tourist Type
T R A N S P O R T A S T O U R I S M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Urban Walking ▪ Hiking/Trekking ▪ Mountain biking ▪ Cycling → ▪ Kayaking ▪ Undirected car travel ▪ sailing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Transport as a desired component of the tourist experience ▪ Transport operated by the tourists ▪ Tourist plans the route independently ▪ Freedom of choice at a maximum ▪ Skills competency required ▪ Independent interpretation of environments and cultures 	Active Transport Tourists
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cruises ▪ Heritage railways ▪ Open top buses ▪ Ballooning → ▪ Couch tours ▪ City walking tours ▪ Car trails/tours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Transport as a desired component of the tourist experience ▪ Transport operated, and route planned, by provider ▪ Transport operated by tourist <u>but</u> following provider-planned routes/tours ▪ Organised ▪ Environments and cultures interpreted by tour leaders 	Passive Transport Tourist
T R A N S P O R T F O R T O U R I S M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Flights ▪ Inter-city rail ▪ Scheduled coach → ▪ Ferry ▪ Tax ▪ Bus ▪ Intra-urban rail ▪ Metro ▪ Car 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Transport to access destination ▪ Limited freedom of choice ▪ Travel is enjoyed 	Positive Transport Tourist
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Transport to access destination ▪ Limited freedom of choice ▪ Travel is endured reluctantly 	Reluctant Transport Tourist

(Source: Rhoden and Lumsdon, 2006)

Further, Moscardo and Pearce (2004) propose a conceptual map that highlights the motivation-transport-experiences interface. In this map, authors suggest that there are two factors: tourists' motivations to travel to a particular destination or embark on a particular holiday and the life-cycle factors (age, family status, income, health etc.), and together these factors define transport's role during a holiday. The transport role, on the other hand, determines travellers' mobile experience (see Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6: A Conceptual Map of the Links between Motivation, Life Cycle, Transport Roles and the Travellers' experience



(Source: Moscardo and Pearce, 2004: 32)

The first section of the Figure 3.6 stresses the importance of motives to travel and a holiday type (e.g. coach tour, cruise holidays, backpacking holiday), for the motives influence both transport experience and the experience at the destination. The central section of the Figure 3.6 identifies five distinct roles of transport that consequently define the tourist transport experience (the last section of the Figure 3.6). Moscardo and Pearce identify that the transport has five roles in the tourist experience and, according to Rhoden and Lumsdon (2006), these roles could be placed along the tourist-transport experience continuum. Namely, transport can dominate the travellers' experience (e.g., cruise tourism, heritage railway tourism) and it can be an integral element of the tourist experience (e.g. the package coach tours), which conforms to transport as tourism (Lumsdon and Page, 2004). At the same time, many travellers assign transport a functional role (e.g., taxi, bus, subway service) or transport can be a significant constraint on the traveller's experience (e.g., long haul air flights, long distance trips by car) and these two roles could be associated with transport for tourism (Lumsdon and Page, 2004). Finally, transport may become a full inhibitor to participation in tourism or leisure if it is considered as too daunting by the traveller; however, this transport role would be placed outside the continuum.

Expanding the knowledge on transport for tourism, Lumsdon (2006) examines the transport experience of day excursionists who travel along scenic bus routes to the near countryside or attractions. He identifies two broadly defined bus user typologies: 'sightseer' and 'activity seeker'. For the 'sightseer' the scenic ride is the prime purpose for the trip and the bus route conveniently allows calling at interesting places en-route. This market segment tends to be 40-plus and consists of solo travellers, couples and younger overseas backpackers. These passengers need to feel secure, they value social contact with others 'on the move' and they like to avoid the worry of driving. 'Activity seekers', on the other hand, are leisure travellers who use the bus to facilitate their recreational activities, such as walking, cycling or surfing. This market segment tends to consist of older generation leisure travellers who are motivated to use the bus because, for instance, it removes the necessity to take two cars.

However, more importantly, Lumsdon recognises that apart from the generic needs of service reliability, there are specific needs, motivations and socio-psychological benefits (e.g., sensitivity to time, being with others, intrinsic value for travel), which

are pertinent to leisure travellers and which are not well researched and understood. Hence, Lumsdon (2006) concludes that to attract more day excursionists to bus travel, firstly, more research is required with an aim to develop a better understanding of the leisure market while, secondly, this knowledge should be used to plan, market and manage public transport with tourists and leisure travellers in mind. In a similar vein, Lumsdon et al. (2006) recognise a need to evaluate the leisure market more in terms of leisure travellers' lifestyles and propensity to enjoy the transport experience as part of a day trip.

However, the traditional business and transport economics approach, which aims mainly to categorise mobile experiences into types or assign roles to different transport modes, is criticised by scholars from other disciplines and advocates of the cross-disciplinary research approach. For instance, Edensor (2012a) claims that the traditional business approach conceptualises transport experience as static and pre-determined, ignoring the highly dynamic, diverse, subjective and expressive nature of dwelling in motion. Similarly, in tourism, Dickinson and Lumsdon (2010: 105) recognise, "there is no clear dividing line between the role of the train as a mover of people over spatial distances and as a provider of a tourist experience for those who perceive it as such". Hence, Lumsdon (2006: 751) acknowledges:

An emerging body of research points to the need to re-appraise the way in which transport for tourism and tourism transport are conceptualised, especially in term of providing transport for the tourist.

Moreover, Dickinson and Dickinson (2006: 193) note that traditional business approaches "while useful for establishing baseline information and trends, do little to further our understanding of the social realities that underpin people's attitudes towards transport and tourism and their decisions about transport behaviour". Similarly, Page (2009) agrees that the traditional disciplinary approach to transport largely ignores or marginalises the influence transport technologies have on tourists' experiences. Hence, Page suggests adopting a multidisciplinary research approach to examine not only economic and instrumental benefits of transport for tourism but also to analyse the social and psychological dimensions of travel and different ways in which travel and transport produces and supports modern social life. As a result, the next subsection outlines cross-disciplinary studies, which examine tourists' lived experiences of different transport modes.

3.10.1 Tourists' Embodied Transport Experiences

After conducting a literature review on tourist transport experience, it becomes apparent that there is a limited number of studies that focus on tourists' lived experiences of different transport modes and examines the embodied and intersubjective dimensions of mobile experience. Firstly, Löfgren (2008), De Sapio (2012) and Schivelbusch (1986) examine leisure travellers' mobile experiences during Victorian rail travel. Schivelbusch (1986) highlights that the first train carriage was designed after the coach chamber, meaning that the compartment was cramped and isolated, accessed only through an external door. The enclosed design of the carriage created a semi-public space – a home-like environment – where it was necessary to follow social codes of behaviour, such as speak if spoken to, keep one's feet off the seats, engage in conversation with others only if they are not busy reading (De Sapio, 2012). As a result, in the confined space of a moving carriage, passengers learned to focus on reading books and newspapers, firstly, to minimise attention to other passengers and to hide the embarrassment of sitting in an enclosed compartment with strangers and, secondly, to reduce the disorientation and shock caused by the rapidly moving scenery. This meant that the culture of the nineteenth-century train travel was associated with silence, solitariness and connections with other times and spaces through texts (e.g. books), screens (the train window) and memory (Merriman, 2004). De Sapio (2012:5, 7) notes that the studious and suspicious silence inside a small and intimate first-class compartment “could transform the trip into an unending and tense affair, accompanied by mystery, intrigue and danger”.

Further, analysing the experiences of train travel in the nineteenth century, Schivelbusch (1986:54) emphasises that the train was perceived as a projectile, and travelling on it, as being shot through the landscape – thus losing control of one's senses”. Based on this association, in Schivelbusch's opinion, the train enhanced the visual sense while it impoverished other senses and ceased the sensuous experience of the world. Describing the visual sensations, Schivelbusch (1986) notes that landscape from the railway carriage appeared as another, unreal world - foreground as a blurred picture and background as a fleeting landscape panorama. Hence, Schivelbusch maintains that the mechanisation of travel and speed resulted in a loss of travel experience because people felt like

human parcels that were sent from one place to another.

In a similar vein, Larsen (2001), analysing tourists' mobile experiences of cars and trains stresses that touristic transportation, unlike coercive everyday mobility, is not just about overcoming distance and reaching the desired destination, it is also a way of being in, and experiencing various landscapes and cityscapes of visual 'otherness'. Larsen (2001) points out:

Trains and especially car are not only machines for transporting tourists to particular destinations, but also technologies for visually experiencing or consuming those very places through mobile sightseeing.

Larsen's analysis of 'mobility of vision' (Schivelbusch, 1986) reveals that increased velocity of train travel can result in declining quality of visual experience while fast driving can bring about immense pleasure, feeling of power, freedom and control. However, more significantly, according to Larsen, trains and cars are 'vision machines' that afford the 'immobile' spectator opportunity to glance upon a fleeting landscape panorama through the window. These 'vision machines' create an environment in which the reach of other senses is reduced "to a framed, horizontal visionscape" (2001:89), meaning that the spectator senses the 'outside' world only through the visual sense. Larsen compares this mobile experience to a cinematic-like sensation of mobile landscape images and he calls it the 'travel glance'. Larsen stresses, "Travel is essentially a way of seeing: it is grounded in the eye, in our visual capacity" (2001: 86).

Yet, Schivelbusch's (1986) and Larsen's (2001) view on tourists' mobile experiences has been questioned by more recent work on trains and other mobilities. For instance, Halsall (2001) is one of the first scholars who scrutinises tourists' lived experiences of transport. He examines a famous tourist attraction – a heritage railway in the Netherlands – and highlights that the heritage railway experience is about 'savouring the sights, sounds and smells of the steam era' (ibid: 156). His case study demonstrates that the tourist gaze is embodied and multi-sensual and that through gazing tourists sense and imagine the place, linger in memories and feel nostalgia. Similarly, referring to railway heritage and tourism, Conlin and Bird (2014: 7) identify that the tourist experience is 'the essence of the journey':

The experience involves physical movement, sightseeing at a leisure pace and allowing one to dwell in the present. Travelling by rail provided the unique opportunity to do nothing but reflect while watching the world go by...[hence] rail travel is a mode of travel celebrating as much the experience of motion, the passengers aboard as well as the passing landscapes and peoples as it is about reaching the destination.

Similarly, the dynamic nature of tourists' transport experiences is identified by Ek, Larsen, Hornskov and Mansfeldt (2008) who defines the mobile experience as "controlled exploring" when experience is in part designed by the tourist but defined in space and time. Space and place become relational, produced by human and material practices and performances. This theoretical conception finds support in Johnson's (2010) research on backpackers' practices, behaviour and norms on trains in Europe. Johnson unpacks the culture of 'interrailing' and different ways in which backpackers 'dwell' in motion on trains. He reveals that backpackers use and organise the space of a train to have a rest, to have moments of privacy and intimacy, to plan further stages of the trip or to establish impersonal communications and weak ties with other travellers. Johnson (2010) also demonstrates that backpackers' bodies are rarely sedentary and the experience is rarely just visual and passive. Johnson (2010) stresses that travelling by train is a sensuously and emotionally embodied experience and the movement of the train is felt through the body, "the backpacker's body connects with the stopping, starting and slowing and feels the bumps, the halts and speed of the train" (Johnson, 2010: 113). What is more, the train journey, similar to a backpackers' enclave, is a space where travellers experience moments of excitement and fear, comfort and discomfort, exhaustion and hangover.

The practice of interrailing in Europe is also examined by Jensen, Caroline and Cohen (2015) who adopt a non-representational approach to the multisensory phenomenology of tourism in order to highlight the role of senses and affects in interrailing experiences. More precisely, they explore how tourists dwell and co-produce the heterogeneous public spaces of regional trains in Europe in which locals intermingle with tourists and mundane practices coexist along touristic time-passing activities. Their research reveals that tourists' interrailing experiences are embodied and emplaced, characterised by affective and subtle engagements with diverse mechanical, material, diurnal, social and cultural rhythms that vary across different trains, times of the day and night as well as countries and regions through which tourists travel. Jensen et al. (2015) demonstrate that interrailing experiences

are rhythmically discontinuous and always accompanied by diverse soundscapes that represent the primary sensuous geography through which affects are produced and collective atmospheres of relaxation, irritation or playfulness are generated inside a railway carriage. Finally, Jensen et al. (2015) introduce the concept of termalscapes, stressing the role of temperature in the tourists' embodied experience. Authors argue that 'adequate' temperature that is mediated by air-conditioning systems and thermostats is fundamental to feeling comfortable inside a railway carriage. Jensen et al. (ibid) stress that the thermal influence on the experience is especially noticed and felt by tourists during summer months, when air-conditioning usually stops functioning and carriages become hot, stuffy and airless. During this time, dynamic and kinetic affects circulate in the carriage, giving rise to collective atmospheres of tiredness and collective performances of trying to make oneself cooler and more comfortable.

Moreover, Roy and Hannam (2013) examine the experiences of Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR). They point out that the actual track of the DHR, the design of the carriage and train sociality as well as the picturesque and diverse landscapes (the plains and the hills) and the speed of the train (15-20 km per hour) compose the main aspects that determine tourists' multi-sensual and affective experiences along this train ride. Analysing the embodied experiences of and the distinct engagement with the train through performance, these authors reveal the relationship between humans and machines, locals and tourists, technologised and corporeal mobility. Roy and Hannam (2013: 8) note that enabled by the slow speed of this train:

Train travel, here then, becomes mingled with that of travelling on foot, walking and running. The boundaries between walking or running and that of travelling on the train itself become blurred. The track itself is not sealed off – people and animals walk on it all the time. And people walk or run alongside the train, jumping on and off.

Overall, Roy and Hannam's study emphasises that DHR experience is dynamic, intersubjective and physically embodied while, at the same time, it is very visual because the slow speed of the train allows a close visual engagement with the landscape, one which is not blurred at all and which "nourishes the traveller's imagination" (Roy and Hannam, 2013: 11).

Finally, Edensor and Holloway (2008) apply rhythm analyses (Lefebvre, 2004) to explore the Ring of Kerry tourist coach tour (Ireland). These authors highlight that

the guided coach tour is more than seamless visual consumption of spectacle within an 'air-conditioned bubble' that limits sensory and experiential diversity (Larsen and Urry, 2011). By contrast, Edensor and Holloway reveal that the tour is marked by different stages of myriad tempos, diverse consistencies and intensities, as well as period of arrhythmia. Various rhythmic assemblages produce a continuous becoming of the tour's (dis)ordering and orchestrate tourist experiences. Edensor and Holloway (2008:496) note that

The tour is assembled through engine capacity, suspension, speed, manoeuvrability, seating and air conditioning, all of which are entangled with the seated bodies of tourists, producing both relaxing mobile rhythms and arrhythmic disruptions.

Hence, rhythmanalysis enables us to realise that mobile experience is like a flow of various passenger performances and natural, mechanical, social and institutional rhythms that produce and reproduce the mobile place of the couch and create the sense of 'dwelling in motion'. What is more, the rhythmanalysis illuminates that experience is never predictable and monotonous, controlled and planned by the tourism industry (e.g. the tour guide or tour operator) and passively consumed by tourists. In contrast, Edensor and Holloway's empirical study demonstrates that tourists' mobile experience of the Ring of Kerry coach tour is highly dynamic, complex and never fully predictable. Although it is organised and regulated by the industry, there is always space for creativity and improvisation because the rhythms of the tour are composed and conditioned by the transport mode, speed and style of motion, stoppages, directions by the tour guide and social rhythms of places the tour passes through. In addition, the rhythms of the tour are also influenced by the somatic rhythms of the travelling bodies. For instance, tourists' attention may shift from attentiveness to imaginary drifting elsewhere, from relaxation and enjoyment to moments of giddiness, distraction, discomfort and boredom. As a result, Edensor and Holloway demonstrate that rhythmanalysis is a useful research tool that facilitates uncovering the tourists' multi-sensual experience of the Ring of Kerry tour as processual and composed through multiple orderings and rhythms that are never finalised.

3.11 The Key Theoretical Pillars that Support the Empirical Analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7

The aim of this section is to provide a summary of the key theoretical pillars, which form the core critique of the literature presented within the two literature review chapters and which support the empirical analysis in chapters 5, 6 and 7. By outlining the theoretical framework, in this section, I clarify my approach to analysing the human experience of time, place and movement. In what follows, I highlight six theoretical pillars that are drawn from wider social sciences and that explain the complex multidimensional and multifaceted nature of the human experience.

Firstly, unlike mainstream tourism research (where scholars take on a supply side perspective, place tourism in opposition to everyday life and scrutinise tourists' experiences of specialised tourism offerings within touristic enclaves), I adopt the performance turn perspective, which opens up tourism analysis to ideas from the wider social sciences and examines tourism as part of modern everyday life. I agree with the performance turn advocates who argue that tourism entails not only exotic 'otherness' and escape from everyday routine, in other words, creative performances but also familiar activities and habitual, unreflexive enactions (Edensor, 2000a; 2001; 2007). Edensor (2006) uses the metaphor of 'dwelling' to explain that different places (e.g., touristic enclaves) and different types of holiday (e.g., backpacking or all-inclusive holidays) have a shared code of acceptable behaviour that ensures a particular form of being in a place. By adopting a particular mode of 'dwelling', tourists develop practical and unreflexive knowledge of such places, which helps them to have a good time and minimise constant reflection on activities undertaken (an aspect pertinent to train travel and examined in analysis chapter 7).

In line with performance turn in tourism, I research the tourist experience as a performative, active and embodied ritual (Bærenholdt et al., 2004) that engages both body and mind. I concur with Tuan (1993) who asserts that the total lived experience is a combination of senses and the active and reflexive mind. This approach is in opposition to the mainstream tourism studies in which distinction is made between mind and body (Cartesian rationalism) and in which the analysis of cognitive and evaluated experiences prevails. Further challenging the mainstream

tourism research approach, Larsen et al. (2007) stress that the importance of sociality and co-presence in tourism has mainly been neglected. They argue that tourism is not only about experiencing places but also about encountering people, meeting friends, establishing weak ties and strengthening strong ties between family members and relatives. This chimes with Crouch (2005) who emphasises the importance of the social environment in tourism and points out that tourism activities usually take place with or at least among 'others' – locals, tourists, friends or relatives. Crouch et al. (2001) maintain that being among others and feeling the 'closeness' of shared activities creates intersubjective experiences and renders space as social. Crouch et al. (ibid: 260) explain that "by our own presence we have an influence on others, on their space and on their practice of that space, and vice versa". These points support my analysis in all three analysis chapters – chapter 5, 6 and 7.

This leads to the second theoretical pillar – the notion of embodiment and the recognition that tourists experience places through sensual and practical engagement with the surrounding environment and different materialities (Edensor, 2006). The concept of embodiment is central to this study because, on the one hand, it emphasises the interrelationship between body and mind and the assertion that the tourist experience is dynamic and multi-sensual (Edensor, 2000b, 2001, 2007b; Perkins and Thorns, 2001), rather than merely passive, detached and predominantly visual as conceptualised by Urry (1990, 1995) in the tourist gaze. Rodaway (1994) explains that sensory perception (information gathering about the surrounding environment) is corporeal, mediated by the whole body and influenced by the efficiency of the sense organs. This statement is in agreement with Merleau-Ponty (1962) who emphasises that during a lived experience, senses complement each other when gathering the information, interact and communicate with each other, adding to and enriching the perceptual accuracy of the environment. This leads to a recognition that is fundamental to this study that vision is always embodied (Larsen and Urry, 2011) – visibility is multimodal and multidimensional (Degen et al., 2007). In other words, the visual experience is always accompanied by and gained through other sensory stimuli while through vision all senses are stimulated (this aspect supports discussion in chapter 7).

On the other hand, however, the notion of embodiment points to the body-mind-environment relationship and the fact that humans inhabit, sensuously perceive, make sense and develop lay geographical knowledge of places through practice (Crouch, 2000), which is the key to understanding the lived experience and the key to this study. Edensor (2007b, 2006) maintains that different cultural contexts offer a wide variety of sensory stimuli and different 'affordances' that enable a multi-sensuous and active bodily engagement and evoke diverse sensual experiences. Rakic and Chambers (2012) further elaborate that the relationship between individuals and places is two-fold: places with their affordances (Gibson, 1966) and various sensory stimuli (Feld, 2005) influence human activities and their sensory experiences while tourists', through their presence and embodied place-making practices, change the place. That is to say tourists co-produce and co-design places and inscribe them with particular meanings (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010). Thus, places are always in the process of becoming (in construction) through reiterative social practices while embodiment is a *process* of developing a relationship (perceptual and practical) between humans and the surrounding environment (Crang, 2001; Cresswell, 2004).

With reference to how humans embody and experience place, two characteristics need to be foregrounded in this section as significant for this study. Firstly, sensory perception is not limited to a particular time and place, for it also comprises the dreamscapes of anticipation and remembrance. Seremetakis (1994) explains that sensory experiences are sedimented deep in the sensory memory of an individual and stimulation of one sense, such as seeing, hearing or smelling, can help to recall vividly other senses, other times and other places in their full vivacity. With reference to vision, this assertion means that the present visual experience is always linked to and will trigger previous experiences, memories and speculations. Secondly, Tuan (1993) points out that many environmental stimuli that are routinely encountered do not pass the sensuous threshold of human attention and, thus, they are not consciously perceived and experienced. As a result, their effect on people goes unnoticed. Schmitt (1999) summarises that only vivid, salient and meaningful stimuli capture people's attention and form permanent experiences, meaning that habitual experiences are hard to notice, remember, vocalise and reflect on. This statement is very important for this study and is taken into account when developing its methodological strategy in chapter 4.

The next theoretical pillar focuses on the phenomenon of time – dimensions of time and embodied experiences of time because human experience is as much spatial as it is temporal and how people experience, produce and embody time is integral to their experience of place. Several aspects of time must be foregrounded in this section as being central to this study. Firstly, challenging the simplicity by which time in social theory is often reduced to a dichotomy of opposites – linear time against cyclical time, progress against rhythmicity, Adam (1990) argues that time must be conceived as dynamic, multiple and heterogeneous. Clock time, while important and prominent dimension in western societies, is not the only time that permeates a place, rather, multiple times (e.g., body time, natural time, historic time, clock time), some cyclical while others linear, constitute our life-world (a characteristic scrutinised in chapter 6).

Secondly, unlike mainstream tourism studies in which holiday time is conceptualised as ‘special time’ or ‘time out’ from clock time and the duties and routines of everyday life, Edensor (2001, 2007) emphasises that leisure time cannot be totally separated from regulatory clock time. He argues that, if tourism is an integral part of everyday western lives then holiday time is filled with many everyday habitual routines, performances and practices. Similarly disagreeing with the ‘time out’ idea, Elsrund (1998) suggests that, on holiday, time is structured around other routines and travelling practices. Accordingly, rather than conceptualising time on holiday as the ‘time out’, which presupposes lack of structure, it makes more sense to examine it as a ‘time frame’ that presupposes different aspects of ‘lived’ time and highlights the experience of ‘being in the present’. Finally, the concept of ‘time frame’ highlights that leisure period holds many time dimensions and time, similar to place, is meaningful, embodied and constructed through practice. The concept of ‘time frame’ supports analysis in chapter 6.

This leads to the fourth theoretical pillar of this study, namely, the notion of rhythm and the theory of rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004), which are fundamental to the understanding of the lived experience and to the analysis of this study. Rhythmanalysis, as a new field of knowledge, provides a temporal understanding of place and space, highlighting their inter-dependency (May and Thrift, 2001). Both time and space are constituted by a multiplicity of rhythmic combinations that “shape the diurnal, weekly and annual experience of a place and influence the ongoing formation of its materiality” (Edensor, 2010:3). This viewpoint is in contrast

to the style of thinking that prevails in social sciences where researchers tend to draw a strict distinction between time and space and examine time as the domain of dynamism and progress while relegating the spatial to the realm of stasis. Focusing on rhythms, on the other hand, reveals that nothing is inert in this world; everything is in a state of movement and becoming (Lefebvre, 2004). Rhythms – slow and lively – permeate time, set a pattern to movement, give a character to a place and create a sense of place (Edensor, 2010).

With reference to lived experience, Lefebvre (2004) notes that humans perceive the rhythms of the surrounding environment using their bodies and experience them in relation their own corporeal rhythmic intensities. This chimes with Mell (2004) who maintains that, through attending to the biological rhythms of self, people sense the rhythms of time-space and have the capacity to experience them. Yet, according to Edensor (2010), people not only experience place by sensing its rhythms but they also (co)produce the place by inhabiting and permeating it with their own rhythms of heartbeat, speech, tempo of movement, routine activities and habits, smells, thoughts and reverie. To demonstrate that multiple rhythms, disruptions, pacings and velocities produce a place and shape the human experience in time-space, Edensor (2010) suggests a metaphor of 'flow'. The 'flow' metaphor stresses the highly diverse, never predictable and subjective nature of the human experience (Edensor and Holloway, 2008) (an aspect examined in chapter 5).

The fifth theoretical pillar is the theory of affect and the notion of atmosphere which both implicitly and explicitly support the empirical analysis in chapter 7. Conradson and Latham (2007) note that the concept of affect opens up new perspectives on dynamic relations and connections that emerge between bodies (human and non-human), movement (technologies) and feeling. These relations give rise to affective intensities that define what a body can do within a given environment (Pile, 2009). Accordingly, attending to affect in this study is hugely important for two reasons. Firstly, affect provides a new insight into the interactions between the individual and collective, emphasising different ways in which humans inhabit and co-produce places and, by doing so, constitute the 'social' (Bissell, 2010). Secondly, thinking through affect opens up various relations that exist between technologies, human agency and spaces of practice (Lorimer and Lund, 2003). In this respect, Conradson and Latham (2007: 232) argue that affect is "the energetic outcome of

[emplaced and embodied] encounters between bodies [human and non-human] in particular places”. Overall, attending to affect enables us to uncover the lived and affective experience in place – how one affects the surrounding environment through different place-making practices and social interactions and, at the same time, is affected by a place – its thick or thin atmospheres that disposition one to particular practices (Duff, 2010).

With reference to the concept of atmosphere in social sciences, it is important to highlight that the term drifts from its original meaning of a sphere of gas surrounding a body to a description of emotional moods and situations (Lofgren, 2014). Bohme (2002: 5) suggests that atmosphere creates “a certain mental or emotive tone permeating a particular environment”. This emotive tone attunes people’s moods while simultaneously becoming ‘the extendedness’ of their moods (ibid), meaning that atmospheres are always modified and co-created by people, rather than just passively accepted and experienced by them (Edensor, 2012b). Both affect and atmosphere share similar characteristics in the sense that they are something elusive, ephemeral and intangible, taking form between people, objects and physical settings (Lofgren, 2014) and, yet, perceived and sensed through the human body (Bissell, 2010). Nevertheless, Edensor (2015) elaborates that the notion of atmosphere cannot be reduced to its affective qualities, rather atmosphere folds together affect, sensations materialities, emotions, social interaction and meanings in place, blurring the boundaries between them and illuminating how people engage, practice and co-produce place.

This leads to the final theoretical pillar, namely that my approach to researching the tourists’ transport experience is guided by the mobilities turn perspective. The mobilities perspective in social sciences advocates that the transit space is always embodied, practiced and experienced, accompanied with meanings and representations (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam, 2008; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007; Vannini, 2010; Watts and Lyons, 2011, to name but a few). This assertion is in stark contrast to the traditional business and transport economics approach, which conceptualises transport experience as static and pre-determined, ignoring the highly dynamic, diverse, subjective and expressive nature of dwelling in motion.

Moreover, in traditional transport geography, transport economics and tourism studies, time spent in different transport modes has always been assumed to be lost and empty, meaningless, ancillary to reaching a desired destination or as a burden that ought to be minimised (Jain and Lyons, 2008 on transport policy). In contrast, I agree with Urry (2006) who emphasizes that different transport modes afford different embodied experiences of travel time - different pleasures and costs, performances and affordances, and different 'taskscape'. Further, Bissell (2007a) elaborates that time is a 'rich duration' that is perceived, felt and experienced through the body. Bissell argues that time on the move is produced through a mixture of activities and inactivity, as well as different corporeal experiences that fold through one another and, in total, constitute the experience of mobile time.

Similarly, with reference to mobile space, unlike Augé (1995) who theorises modern mobile spaces as superficial and controlled 'non-places' that are devoid of history, meaningful human relations and experiences, 'mobilities turn' advocates argue that mobile spaces, like trains, constitute a different type of place – a mobile place. The mobile places, similar to traditional places, are inhabited, practiced and co-created through movement by humans and objects (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011). In a similar vein, mobile practices are not monotonous, meaningless and boring; they enable mobile place making, relations and dwellings in motion (Edensor and Holloway, 2008). Hence, people interact with mobile places, temporarily dwell in them and form a mobile sociality. Building on this body of knowledge, in chapters 5, 6 and 7, I attempted to further develop the understanding of the tourists' transport experience phenomenon – its 'flow' (Edensor and Holloway, 2008), different experiential dimensions that comprise the tourist- transport experience and factors that influence it. However, before proceeding to primary data analysis, the next chapter focuses on explaining and justifying the methodology of this enquiry.

3.12 Summary

In this chapter, I examined the lived experience of different transport modes with a particular focus on trains. I started this chapter by emphasising the interdependency of time and space and I demonstrated that movement binds these two spheres together and that through movement people encounter, experience and construct social time-space. Next, I examined the embodied experience of time, the notion of rhythms and the experience of speed and slowness, which are fundamental to the immediate experience of mobile place, as well as to the many deeply sedimented practices inscribed in them over time. Further, I analysed different mobile cultures across different geographical locations, historical times and socio-cultural environments and I demonstrated that, regardless of differences, technological developments and technologised mobilities hold similar meanings and representations across cultures. They change societies by creating new orders, lifestyles and mobile identities. Moreover, in this chapter, I scrutinised the sensory and emotional dimensions of the mobile experience and I reviewed the experiences of sociality and the formation of mobile atmospheres within the mobile place of a train carriage. I demonstrated that different forms of sociality and collectivity emerge among passengers, ranging from being convivial and polite to uncongenial, ignorant and irritating, and these diverse forms of being-with-others influenced the particular type of atmosphere that might be found in a train carriage (Bissel, 2009c, 2010). I concluded this chapter by a review of existing conceptual and empirical research in tourism studies and in wider social sciences on the subject of tourists' transport experiences.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explain the methodology of this study and justify the research strategy and the data collection methods that I adopt to fulfil my research aims. As reviewed in chapters 2 and 3, tourism is a practice and tourists encounter, dwell, grasp and (co)produce tourism spaces through the body. The recognition that individuals embody the world through practice also means that there are many environmental stimuli, which are encountered habitually, and, as a result, they do not pass the sensuous threshold of human attention and do not form a conscious experience that is easy to remember and vocalise. This insight creates a need to develop a research strategy that enables access to tacit, mundane and situated or, so called, lay knowledge (Crouch, 2000). In the words of Scarles (2010: 906), “New methods are required that engage with research participants in ways that move beyond the realms of representation to access the haptic, non-representational spaces of encounter and experience”. Hence, I break away from traditional research and writing practices to adopt an innovative research strategy, which, firstly, enables me to produce new knowledge and, secondly, provides me with new ways of knowledge expression (e.g., visuals, sounds, rhythmanalysis). In other words, I adopt a research strategy which allows me to collect data in many different ways in order to unpack the multifaceted and multidimensional nature of the tourist experience. The collected data is analysed in depth in chapters 5, 6 and 7, while I continue this chapter with step-by-step justification of my research methodology.

Firstly, I explain my decision to adopt the mobilities paradigm as the overarching philosophical assumption that I make about the nature of reality. Secondly, I review the main principles of non-representational theory (NRT) – a theory that guides my epistemological orientation and informs my methodological strategy and research methods. Thirdly, I outline my research strategy – sensory auto-ethnography – that is developed in line with my ontological and epistemological assumptions. Further, I review a combination of research methods and data recording tools, which I employ to gather primary data. Finally, I present the

context of the research setting and the research sample; I explain the data analysis techniques and ethics that guide this study.

4.2 Ontological Orientation: Mobilities Paradigm

Creswell (1998: 74) contends, “Qualitative researchers approach their studies with a certain paradigm or worldview, a basic set of beliefs or assumptions that guide their inquiries”. These assumptions are related to the nature of reality (the ontology issue). With reference to the nature of reality, this inquiry adopts the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006) as the overarching philosophical stance that steers the ontological comprehension of the world as being in flux and that facilitates imagining “process and mobility, a world where mobility is an ontological absolute” (Adey, 2006: 76). Hence, in this section, I briefly review the ‘new mobilities paradigm’ and outline the core principles that guide this inquiry.

In 1990s, a new theoretical perspective – the ‘mobility turn’ – emerged as a cross-disciplinary research philosophy that recognises and emphasises mobility as the central fact of modern or postmodern life. Cresswell (2006) identifies that mobilities constitute a very broad concept and it is a ubiquitous and elusive object of study because it embraces a very wide range of social practices, spaces, subjects and objects. Yet, Cresswell and Merriman (2011) explain that approaching research of social reality from the mobilities perspective allows recognition of the complex interrelations between various practices, such as travelling and dwelling (Hannam et al., 2006), and identification of links between seemingly different worlds of different subjects, like tourists, migrants, refugees, and vagabonds. The one thing that is common to these diverse aspects of life is movement and “this fact connects forms of movement across scales and within research fields that have often been held apart” (Cresswell, 2006: 12). Hence, the mobilities approach goes beyond disciplinary boundaries and, by doing so, enables the analysis of different forms of movement within a wider social, political and economic context (Hall, 2005; Franklin and Crang, 2001). Hence, Urry (2007: 18) argues that a productive approach to social science is to place mobility issues ‘centre-stage’ because:

“It enables the social world to be theorised as a wide array of economic, social and political practices, infrastructures and ideologies that all involve, entail or curtail various kinds of movement of people, or ideas, or information or objects”.

Focusing on the core principles of the mobilities paradigm, it is important to mention that the concept of mobilities encompasses both the large-scale movement of people, objects, capital and information across the world, as well as the more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space, and the travel of material things (Hannam et al., 2006). What is more, the ‘mobility turn’ also acknowledges that people are not only corporeally active, they are entangled in imaginative (memories, guidebooks, travel writing, photos or films), virtual (internet, creating a ‘network society’) and communicative (person-to-person via messages, letters, computers, mobile phones) movements, creating connections ‘at a distance’ and meetings ‘on the move’ (Urry, 2007; Urry, 2003).

In addition, the mobilities paradigm recognises that it is not only people, information, objects and capital that are mobile; places are not fixed or unchanging either. They consist of complex networks of mobilities, corporeal movement, different practices and processes of becoming. Places are “like ships that move around and are not fixed within one location” (Urry, 2007:253). Adey (2006: 81), using the airport as an example, maintains that:

“Airports may not actually move very much in-terms of their location in space...However, if we imagine airports in the context of a human body, just as the cells of the skin continually reproduce and are replaced; the airport too is continually moving and transforming”.

Hence, Merriman (2009) even asserts that places are best addressed as ‘verbs’, thus, expressing shifting, roaming, moving entities, rather than as ‘nouns’.

In relation to the airport example, the mobilities paradigm emphasises the importance of thinking through mobility as a relation – “an orientation to oneself, to others and to the world” (Adey, 2009: xvii). Adey (2006) flags up the ways in which mobilities and moorings are mutually constituted and he points out that mobility and immobility are profoundly relational and experiential. Hence, Adey (2006: 83) stresses that “while everything might be mobile, mobilities are very different, and they also relate and interact with one another in many different ways. This relatedness impacts upon what mobilities mean and how they work”.

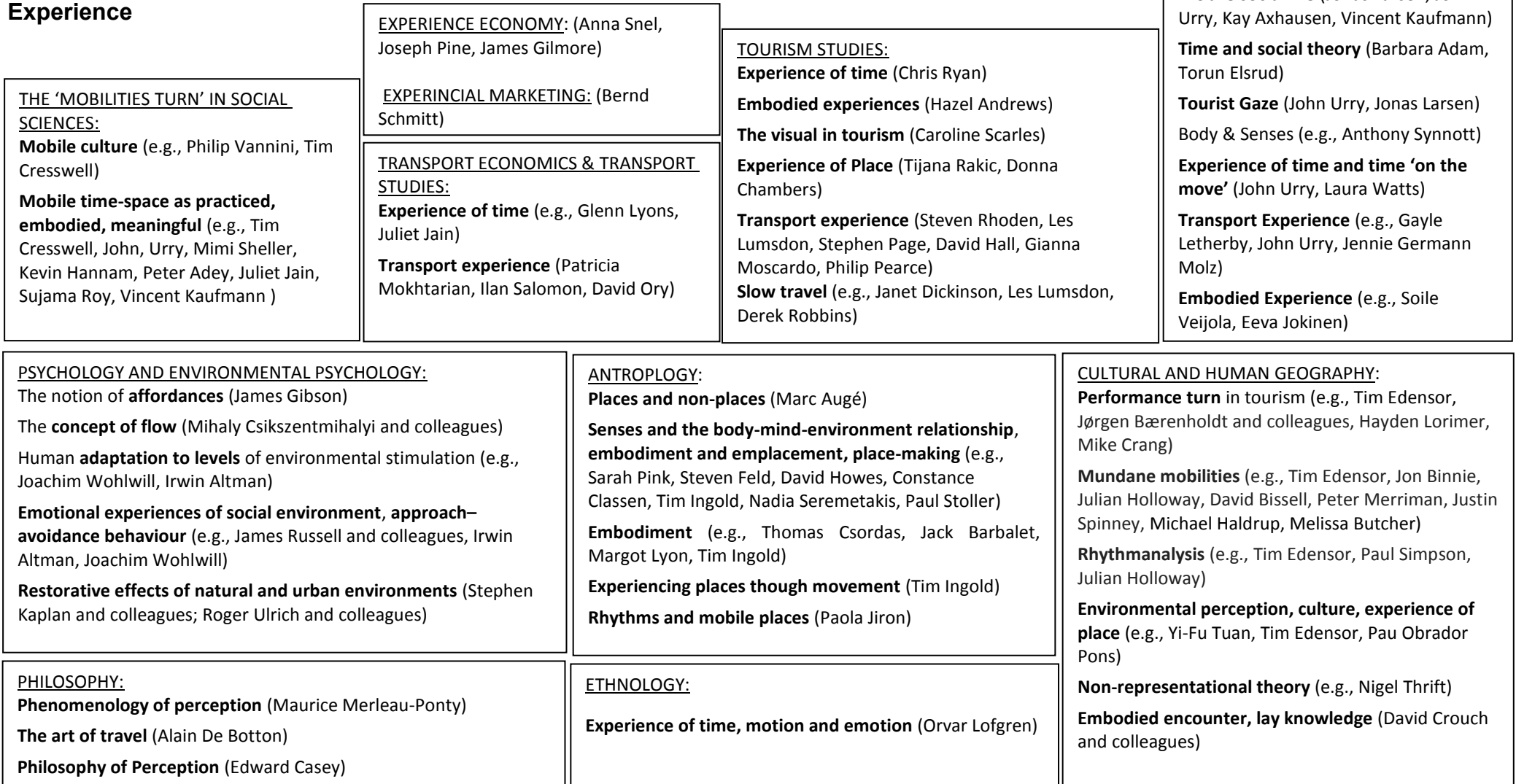
This leads to the final belief summarised by Cresswell (2006) that any movement is not just a physical motion from point 'A' to point 'B'. Firstly, the 'mobilities turn' recognises that mobilities are always practiced, experienced, and embodied, and assigned with significance (Cresswell, 1999; Cresswell, 2006; Urry, 2007; Sheller and Urry, 2006). Advocates of 'mobility turn' examine the embodied nature of different modes of movement and interpret them as forms of material and social dwelling-in-motion where various embodied activities and performances take place (Edensor, 2003; Sheller, 2004). Likewise, Kaufmann (2002) states that any movement is a product and producer of social space and social time and humans experience the world as they move through it.

Secondly, through embodied experiences and practice, different meanings and ideas are attributed to distinct mobilities and conveyed through diverse representations (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011). For example, Cresswell (2006) demonstrates that within the space of an airport, different people practice and experience mobilities in very different ways. He compares the movement of the business-class kinetic elite, budget airline flyers, package tourists, immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, and concludes that the experience of mobility and the meaning attached to it varies dramatically among these mobile subjects. Although both ends of this scale are mobile, they are located in different experiential worlds. The former inhabit the luxurious space of flow, enjoy fast and free immigration lines, and more oxygen and toilets on the airplane whereas the latter are confined or forced to move out of necessity.

To summarise, the 'new mobilities paradigm' spreads into and transforms the social sciences, "transcending the dichotomy between transport research and social research, putting social relations into travel and connecting different forms of transport with complex patterns of social experience conducted through communications at-a-distance" (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 208). In line with the 'new mobilities paradigm', this enquiry is explicitly interdisciplinary, drawing together knowledge from disciplines, such as geography, sociology, anthropology, and environmental psychology as well as tourism studies and mobilities research (see Figure 4.7). In chapters 2 and 3, different perspectives, theories, concepts and practices are critically analysed to gain a cross-disciplinary and holistic overview of existing knowledge on the nature of the embodied experience, the body-mind-environment relationship, the experience of time and place, formation of mobile

cultures and the complex experiences of diverse mobile environments. This knowledge helps me to identify a research gap in the academic literature, define my research focus and formulate my research questions. Moreover, this knowledge informs my methodological choices and, finally, it enables me to achieve Aim 1. Having clarified my ontological orientation, in the next section, I explain my epistemological assumption.

Figure 4.7: An Overview of Secondary Research Conducted on the Embodied Experience, the Transport Experience and the Tourist Transport Experience



4.3 Epistemological Orientation: Non-Representational Theory

Epistemology refers to beliefs about the way in which knowledge is constructed. In other words, it is the theory of knowledge, which encapsulates such issues as “the nature of perception, the relationship between knowledge and beliefs, and alternative theories of truth” (Ayikoru, 2009: 62). Epistemological orientation directs the way in which knowledge about reality is obtained and influences research strategy.

The orientation of this study is non-representational theory (NRT), developed in human geography by Nigel Thrift (Thrift, 1996; 2008) in the mid-1990s. Today, NRT is associated with geographers, such as Ben Anderson, John-David Dewsbury, Paul Harrison, Hayden Lorimer, Derek McComack, Mitch Rose and John Wylie, and it has entered a wide range of disciplines, including performance studies, feminist studies, anthropology, science and technology studies, archaeology and tourism (Waterton, 2012). Carolan (2008: 410 original emphasis) summarises, “In common across this breadth of research is an acknowledgement that our understandings of the world are lived, embodied and tangled up with how we *do* things, our doings and our enactments in the moment”. Hence, a methodology based on NRT permits new formulations of the nature of knowledge, and aims to give a non-intentional view of social reality, that is more oriented on practical rather than cognitive aspects of reality.

However, it is not within the scope of this section to write an in-depth review of NRT, as a few good reviews already exist which excellently summarise the essence of this theory (e.g., Anderson and Harrison, 2010; Lorimer, 2008; Dewsbury, 2009). The intention of this section is to outline the principles of NRT, which inform and guide my approach to this research as ‘more-than- representational’ (Lorimer, 2005). Firstly, as already identified, NRT is a theory of practice, interested more in socially constructed reality of corporeal routines (unreflexive habits, embodied skills) and expressive power, which form a big part of the everyday reality (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). And, although, NRT recognises the role of representations (socially constructed meanings, symbols and codes) and acknowledges their role as being part of presentation, NRT is more concerned with the latter, because analysing practice as it is embodied enables a fuller and deeper understanding

of human interaction with, and experience of, surrounding material, social and natural environments. By doing so, this theory emphasises the transient, immanent qualities of everyday life, which, in their ongoing emergence, constitute not just life as we know it but also life as it could be (Thrift, 2008; Anderson and Harrison, 2010). Lorimer (2005:84) contends:

“At first, the phenomena in question may seem remarkable only by their apparent insignificance. The focus falls on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions. Attention to these kinds of expression, it is contended, offers an escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery...In short, so much ordinary action gives no advance notice of what it will become. Yet, it still makes critical differences to our experiences...”

Secondly, NRT recognises and makes an important contribution to performance theory because it acknowledges that performance is immanent in actions and events (Lorimer, 2007). Thrift (1996) points out that the social space, rather than being passive, is continually (re)produced through performances of bodily practices and embodied actions. Hence, the body and direct, immediate experiences assume a central position in NRT – all the senses, the notions of embodiment, affect and context (Thrift 2008; Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000; Thrift,1996). NRT is interested in how, through the embodied experience and movement, meanings unfold and knowledge is generated about the world and others. As a result, researchers who align themselves with non-representational theories conceive the entire research process as a performance that serves as elicitation of the habitual respondents’ dispositions, going beyond ‘pure’ data acquisition and evaluation (Laurier, 2004; Laurier and Philo, 2006; Latham, 2003). Non-representational ethnographic research thus begins from the researcher’s body as the key instrument of knowing about others and self (Anderson and Harrison, 2010).

Thirdly, NRT emphasises that human performances are never purely ‘social’ or ‘human’, but tied up with tangible non-humans – technologies, objects and other materialities - forming hybrids (Thrift, 1996). Thrift (2008) stresses that objects and technologies facilitate human bodies (augment them) to sense the world

around (e.g. a cane) but also afford sensations that otherwise would be impossible to achieve (e.g. car, train or amusement parks). Hence, NRT perceives the world as hybrid, where human and non-human life fold into each other, erasing the clear-cut distinction between animate and inanimate, metaphysical and material, the agentic and non-agentic (Thrift, 2008).

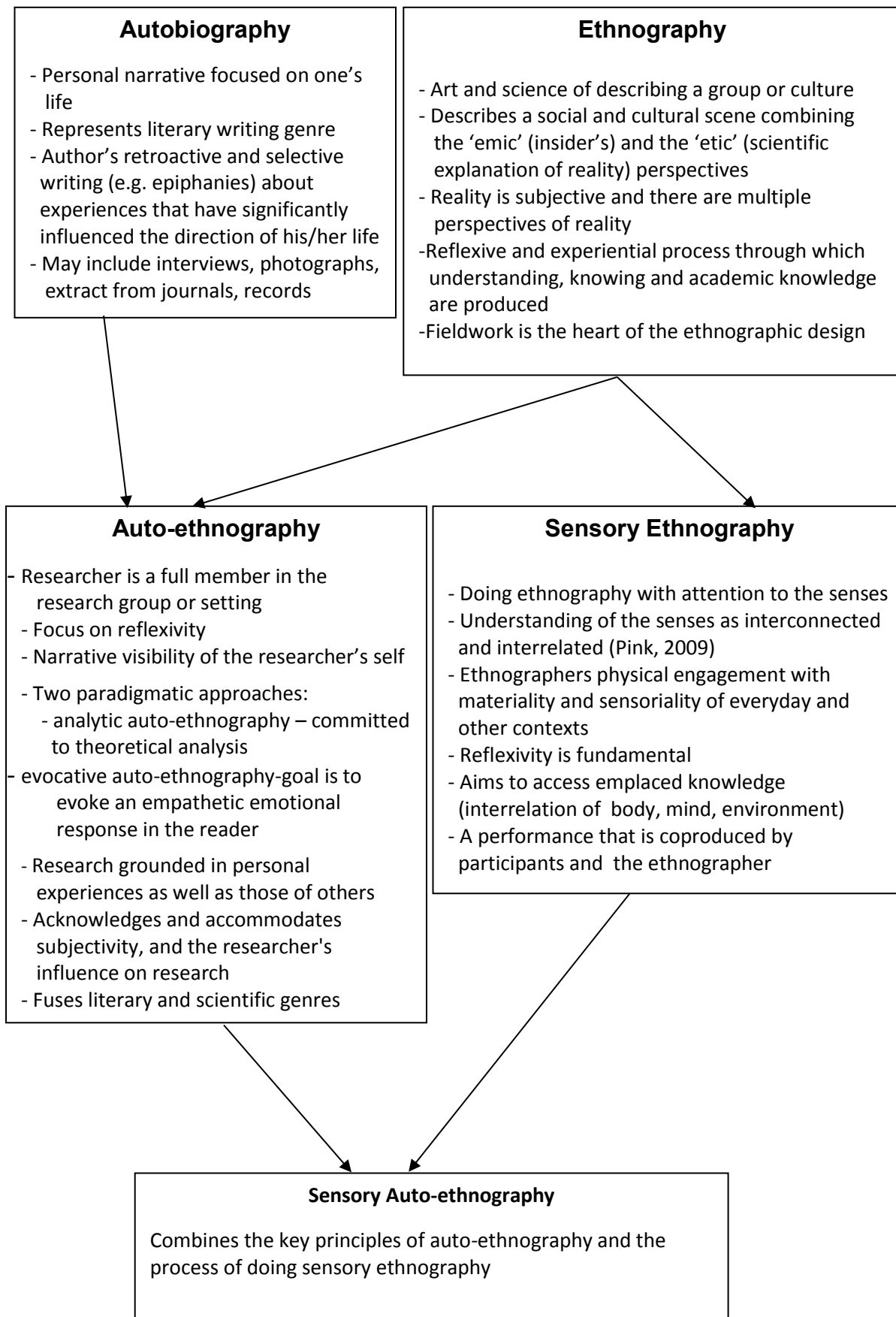
Fourthly, Thrift (1996) acknowledges that being-in-the-world is difficult to formulate or explain because most embodied thinking and doing is non-cognitive, unreflexive, practical and habitual and, thus, to elicit this tacit knowledge NRT reinforces different performative as well as mobile methods of data collection. Moreover, Anderson and Harrison (2010) argue that ethnographic research, whenever appropriate, should be situated 'on the move' and embedded in place to observe and reflect on emplaced and embodied lived experiences.

Finally, NRT acknowledges that no research is value-free and, thus, the knowledge generated by non-representational ethnographers is personal and situated (Wylie, 2002). Non-representational ethnographers position themselves in their own research and are reflexive on how their presence influences their inquiries (Anderson and Harrison, 2010). With reference to the style of analysis, rather than representing reality, a non-representational ethnographer aims to be creative to evoke multiple impressions of it as playful, energetic and vibrant through, for instance, a thick description, diverse media of communication and styles, or the poetic and expressive power of the arts. In ethnographic data analysis, NRT prompts the use of emplaced and embodied present tense, the use of the pronoun 'I' and prompts a subjective tone. Guided by these principles of NRT, I have employed a sensory auto-ethnography as my research strategy, which is reviewed in the following section.

4.4 The Methodological Strategy: Sensory Auto-Ethnography

In line with the mobilities paradigm and NRT, I adopt sensory auto-ethnography (see Figure 4.8) as my methodological strategy. As demonstrated in Figure 4.8, sensory auto-ethnography has its roots in autobiography and ethnography and, very significantly, combines the key principle of auto-ethnography (researchers' personal experiences) and the process of doing sensory ethnography (gaining knowledge through participation, involvement and critical reflexivity). To explain my research strategy in the next two subsections, firstly, I review the notion of auto-ethnography and, secondly, I examine the key characteristics of sensory ethnography. However, it is also important to mention that what I call sensory auto-ethnography is a similar strategy to what Watts (2008) calls mobile ethnography; what Pink (2009; 2008b) refers to as sensory ethnography and visual ethnography (Pink, 2013; 2008a; 2007a; b) and what Scarles (2010, 2009) defines as visual auto-ethnography. The main difference is that each of these research strategies employs a combination of slightly different mobile methods to fit specific circumstances, persons and projects. The combination of mobile methods employed in this study is discussed in section 4.5.

Figure 4.8: Sensory Auto-Ethnography



4.4.1 Auto-ethnography

Using tenets of autobiography and ethnography, auto-ethnography seeks to describe and systematically analyse (*graphy*) a researcher's personal experiences (*auto*) in order to extend sociological understanding of cultural experience (*ethno*) (Ellis, Adams and Bochner, 2011). Ellis and Bochner (2000) identify that there are different forms of auto-ethnography depending on how much emphasis is placed on the study of others, the researcher's self and interaction with others, traditional analyses, and the interview context. Thus, auto-ethnography is best described as a continuum on which different auto-ethnographic studies vary significantly in tone, structure, and intent. On one end of this continuum, an evocative auto-ethnography style (Ellis et al., 2011) could be placed with a sole focus on the researcher and his/her emotions, like Clarke's (1992) artful story of how it feels to live with asthma. While on the opposite end of the continuum, an analytic auto-ethnography (Anderson, 2006) could be placed that is a theory-based approach, which combines researcher's personal experiences and the experiences of others (e.g., Sparkes, 2000 on his life journey from elite athlete to a disabled man).

At the same time, all auto-ethnographic studies have some common characteristics, such as recognition that the researcher is a full member in the research group or setting, a focus on reflexivity, acknowledgment of the researcher's influence on research process and product, and the narrative visibility of the researcher's self (Anderson, 2006). The researcher's knowledge becomes part of the production of academic knowledge, mainly because the researcher attends to his/her senses, experiences and embodied knowing that is gained through embodied practices during the fieldwork. In the field, the researcher acts as a full member of the community and, thus, co-creates the experience by interacting with participants and the surrounding environment. This creates the potential to enrich the understanding of the body-place relationship (Crang, 2003) because, by 'embodying the research', the researcher gains access "to a different kind of knowing, one which is based on a full range of senses rather than just on eyes or ears" (Longhurst, Ho and Johnston, 2008: 215).

Yet, there are important conceptual differences between evocative and analytic auto-ethnographies. The former rejects traditional social science methodological and epistemological boundaries, adopts a highly literary writing style, expresses scepticism towards representations of 'the others', and focuses on emotional experiences that bring 'the reader emotionally into the scene' (Ellis et al., 2011: 2). The latter, on the other hand, is consistent with traditional qualitative inquiry and committed to theoretical and conceptual analysis to formulate and refine theoretical understanding of social processes, and recognises the need to include the experiences of others (Anderson, 2006).

In general, auto-ethnography provides an opportunity to explore some aspects of social life in a deeper and more sustained manner (Anderson and Austin, 2011). For instance, Hayano (1982: 149-150) published an auto-ethnography that was grounded in his personal experience as a semi-professional poker player, arguing that self-reflection was the only way to gain understanding of the experiences of others:

"At no point was it possible for me to consider these gamblers informants in the traditional ethnographic sense, for they were first and foremost fellow players with whom and against whom I competed everyday".

Focusing on tourism and leisure, many good examples of auto-ethnography can be found, particularly in leisure studies and Anderson and Austin (2011) offer an excellent review of these studies. For instance, in leisure studies, Hockey (2006) provides sensuous dimensions of distance running, while in tourism, auto-ethnographical accounts are offered by Edensor (2000) who reflects on his embodied experiences of walking in the British countryside, and Fulgar (2002) who uses her extensive travel diaries to reflect on tourism and desire.

Finally, it is important to note that auto-ethnography is a heavily criticised research approach, mainly for being insufficiently rigorous, theoretical and analytical, too aesthetic, emotional, and therapeutic (Delamont, 2007). Atkinson (2006) adds lack of disciplinary contribution, a self-absorbed nature, and engagement in ego trips, while Gobo (2008:63) maintains that only "few authors manage to fulfil the requirements of an auto-ethnography [while]...most of them instead lapse into some sort of intellectual masturbation". After reviewing the drawbacks and

advantages of the auto-ethnographical continuum, I decide to conduct my study in line with the principles of analytical auto-ethnography and incorporate both my personal experiences and the experiences of others. Having described the key principles of auto-ethnography, in the next section, I turn to explaining the process of doing sensory ethnography.

4.4.2 Sensory Ethnography

Sensory ethnography aims to access and uncover embodied and emplaced knowing (the sensuous interrelationship of body-mind-environment) and to use this knowledge as a basis from which to understand human perception, experiences, feelings, meanings and social interactions (sensory engagements) (Pink, 2009). Paterson (2009) argues that attention to sensory experiences offers new understandings, innovative possibilities of thinking, writing and reflecting on what has previously been neglected. What is more, through the focus on embodied practices, ethnographers not only access participants' emplaced knowledge but also create their own emplaced skills. For instance, Garis' (1999) study on professional wrestlers demonstrates that, in order to understand and illustrate the experiences of pro-wrestling, traditional qualitative methods, such as interviews and participant observation are insufficient. He argues that it is critical to have a sensual engagement and physical contact between the researcher and the study participants to grasp the meaning and experience of the activity, as constructed by participants. He further suggests that sensuous ethnography needs to be perceived as a performance that is co-produced by participants and the ethnographer because "language and sight are limited in ways that tactile sensations are not" (Garis, 1999:71). Similarly, Longhurst et al., (2008) illustrate how they use their bodies as an actual 'instrument of research' to uncover cultural differences through food tasting at a 'shared lunch' attended by migrants from a range of different countries.

Yet, Paterson (2009) reveals that sensory ethnography is a challenging process, for emplaced and embodied knowing is often difficult to express in words due to the mainly unreflexive nature of everyday life (Edensor, 2001) and the fact that language is lacking in the ability to communicate bodily feelings and haptic sensations. Similarly, Tuan (1977) remarks that one may know a place intimately

as well as conceptually but find it difficult to express what he/she knows through the senses of touch, taste, smell, hearing, and even vision. In addition, Taylor (2002) identifies that there is an aesthetic muteness in western cultures - denial of aesthetic experiences or difficulty to approach, remember and talk about experiences from aesthetic perspective. The reason behind this aesthetic muteness is the fact that in western cultures emphasis is placed on vision and cognition and, thus, there is a preference for thinking and rational intellectual experiences over feelings and felt senses. The consequence is that the aesthetic muteness lowers the salience of people's aesthetic experience below their threshold of attention and, thus, many individuals do not pay attention to, and do not remember various sensory stimuli in the environment.

What is more, Taylor (2002) recognises that ethnographers themselves face similar difficulties because aesthetic muteness makes it difficult to ask questions about felt sensations. He notes that to be able to evoke full, rich responses about aesthetic experiences and to be capable of analysing them is a skill that needs to be learned and practised. In short, overcoming aesthetic muteness requires both being 'touchy-feely' (Crang, 2003) and analytic. Paul Stoller (1997: xv) notes:

“...discussions of the sensuous body require sensuous scholarship in which writers tack between the analytical and the sensible, in which embodied form as well as disembodied logic constitute scholarly argument”.

Hence, my ambition for this research project is to learn to overcome the aesthetic muteness that, according to Taylor (2002), is inherently part of my western culture, and to practice attending to various sensory stimuli within the surrounding environment. Moreover, my aim is to develop questions and other techniques (see section 4.6) that would facilitate me in uncovering the emplaced and embodied experience of railway travel.

Consequently, sensory auto-ethnography combines the key principles of auto-ethnography (as outlined in sections 4.4.1) and the process of doing sensory ethnography, as examined in this subsection. Having explained my research strategy, in the next section, I turn to describing my research setting.

4.5 The Research Setting

I selected the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route as my research location. The geographical boundaries of the research setting are clearly set in Figure 4.09. As it can be seen on the map (Figure 4.09), this train route consists of two branch lines – the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle railway line (traveling time: 2 hours 40 minutes) and the Cumbrian Coast Line that stretches from Carlisle via Barrow-in-Furness to Lancaster (traveling time: 3 hours 30 minutes). Both railway lines are operated by Northern Rail and both lines have a particular type of travelling environment that differs from mainline high-density commuter services for a number of reasons. Firstly, along these routes, diesel multiple-unit trains operate, that is, Class 156 Super Sprinter along the Cumbrian Coast Line (built between 1987-89) and Class 158 Express Sprinter along Leeds-Settle-Carlisle branch line (built between 1989-92) (Department of Transport, 2014). As a result, the interior of these train carriages is older while the movement of these trains is louder and rougher in comparison to modern electric trains or tilting trains that operate along main lines. Yet, due to some investment to modernise the rolling stock (Department of Transport, 2014), many trains along this route end up consisting of older and newer or refurbished carriages with varying comfort but no provision of refreshment facilities, except for the Settle–Carlisle railway section on which a trolley service operates at weekends.

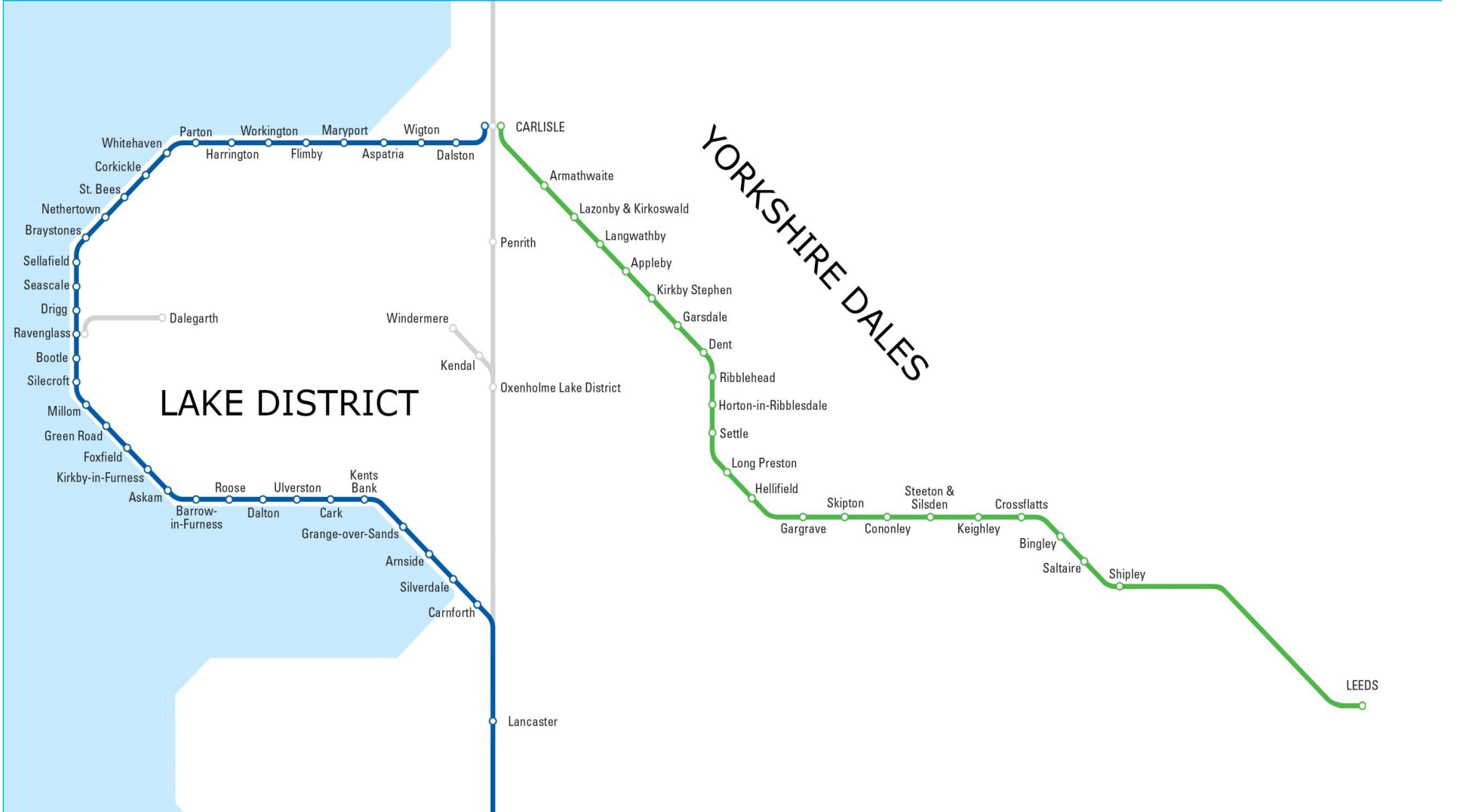
Secondly, this train route is located in a very scenic natural setting – it lies across the Yorkshire Dales and the Lake District National Parks and includes the famous Settle-Carlisle Line. It is advertised as arguably the most scenic railway line in England, a masterpiece of Victorian engineering, constructed almost entirely by hand (www.settle-carlisle.co.uk). As a result, this train route is marketed, maintained and developed as both a tourist attraction in its own right due to its scenic setting and a route that provides access to walking and cycling tourism, countryside, seaside, villages and market towns in the Yorkshire Dales and the Lake District National Parks. Based on this description, it could be argued that the train route is an example of tourism transport (Lumsdon, 2006). Finally, and linked to the fact that the route consist of two secondary railway lines located in beautiful natural surroundings, it conveys a sense of being provincial. It is used mainly by locals for mandatory journeys and commuting during peak hours of the

day/week and domestic tourists for day trips or as part of longer holidays, mainly during weekends and off-peak hours during the week.

The fieldwork took place in Summer-Autumn 2013 (29 May 2013 – 05 October 2013) when I frequently travelled along the route performing, what Crang (2011) calls, a dual role of being a tourist and a researcher. Since my focus is on exploring tourists' mobile experiences, I decided to conduct my fieldwork during off-peak hours on weekdays and early morning hours during weekends when a lot of cyclists and hikers travel to their destinations. My aim was to follow the rhythms of leisure travellers/tourists to be able to encounter and observe them and, as a result, interview more leisure travellers. Yet, with time, I realised that it was impossible to focus purely on the mobile leisurely rhythms because, firstly, they were situated within the heterogeneous space of a train carriage, where touristy rhythms constantly mix with other social rhythms.

While, secondly, leisure travellers themselves often used commuting experiences or experiences of other mandatory trips as a point of reference to describe their experiences, affectual responses, and state of mind during their leisure trips. Finally, since travelling the whole route takes more than 8-9 hours including waiting times at train stations or more than 10 hours including delays and cancellations, which happened often, I observed how, during different times of the day, different rhythms dominate the mobile environment of a train carriage. As a result, in my analysis, to explain the tourist transport experience, I often compare leisure trips with commuting trips and touristy rhythms with other social rhythms because, as my research shows, they are inextricably intertwined. Having identified my geographical research location and briefly described the main characteristics of my fieldsite, I turn to describing and justifying my data collection methods, the process of data collection and my data collection tools.

Figure 4.09: Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster Railway Route on the Map



4.6 Data Collection Methods

In this section, firstly, by briefly highlighting the shortcomings of classic qualitative research methods, I justify my choice to use innovative data collection techniques. Secondly, I identify and describe the mobile methods, the data collection tools that I employ in this study, including the use of visual and audio data, and the overall research process, which enables me to collect primary data and fulfil the research Aims 2, 3 and 4.

According to Gretzel and Fesenmaier (2010), classic interviews and surveys are conducted in line with the sedentary research tradition – during the recollection or anticipation phases of the experience – and, thus, rely solely on people’s memories and their ability to reflect on and explain their thinking and behaviour. As a result, these techniques are able to capture only remembered and easy to articulate experiences, which, in addition, can be distorted to conform to the social representations of shared realities (Dickinson and Dickinson, 2006). The complication is that, many practices and performances, such as travelling by train, are often performed routinely because they have turned into unreflexive habits (Edensor, 2001; 2007). These unreflexive habitual performances are difficult to articulate adequately because most embodied thinking and doing is inscribed in the memory of the body and, thus, is performed non-cognitively (Thrift, 1996). Hence, advocates of the ‘mobilities turn’ and NRT (Büscher and Urry, 2009; Hein et al., 2008) urge scholars to use ‘innovative’ mobile ethnographies to access the haptic, non-representational spaces of encounter and experience” (Scarles, 2010: 906).

Moreover, classic qualitative research places emphasis on vision and cognition and analyses people’s behaviour and rational intellectual experiences over emotions and the senses (Taylor, 2002). Yet, it has been suggested that knowledge and reasoning are not sufficient to explain action and experiences (Gretzel and Fesenmaier, 2010; Lyon and Barbalet, (1994). Emotional reactions and sensory aspects must be considered to gain a more holistic understanding of the multidimensional and dynamic nature of human experience. Moreover, the emphasis on vision also determines that, in traditional scholarly work, the written text dominates, providing a detached and often dry authorial analysis of a culture – people, places, events and periods. Hence, Paul Stoller (1989: 9) calls for

ethnographers to move beyond sight as a privileged position and consider how other senses can be incorporated into fieldwork and ethnographic text to “render our accounts of others more faithful to the realities of the field”.

Finally, and linked with the above points, in traditional qualitative research, researchers aim to place themselves ‘above’ the research subjects to produce objective forms of scholarly writing, which implies that the researcher remains a detached and objective observer throughout the research process and neutrally records an event or an experience. Yet, Makagon and Neumann (2009) argue that objectivity is a fantasy that limits the researcher from obtaining a deeper and more reliable insight into social phenomena because the researcher is confined to detached observations and the analysis of narratives and/or visual data to the exclusion of other senses and situated knowledge that often provides ‘hidden truths’ (Garis, 1999: 345). For this reason, ethnographers like Makagon and Neumann (2009) and anthropologists like Pink (2009) and scholars in tourism studies like Rakic and Chambers (2012) maintain that the construction of ethnographic accounts requires authorial reflexivity, and an inclusive and inventive approach to qualitative fieldwork to uncover haptic knowledge (Crang, 2003), the performative and more-than-representational aspects of experience and cultural practice.

Guided by the aims of this study to uncover the dynamics and complexities of the embodied mobile experience, I employ a combination of experimental and innovative ethnographic methods that enable me to gain knowledge through involvement and critical reflexivity and engage with research participants in ways that move beyond the realms of representation. My attention is on senses, emplaced, embodied knowing and the engagement of the body-mind- environment, for “sight, sound, smell and touch play a significant role in determining how people perceive places and experiences” (Hein et al., 2008:1268).

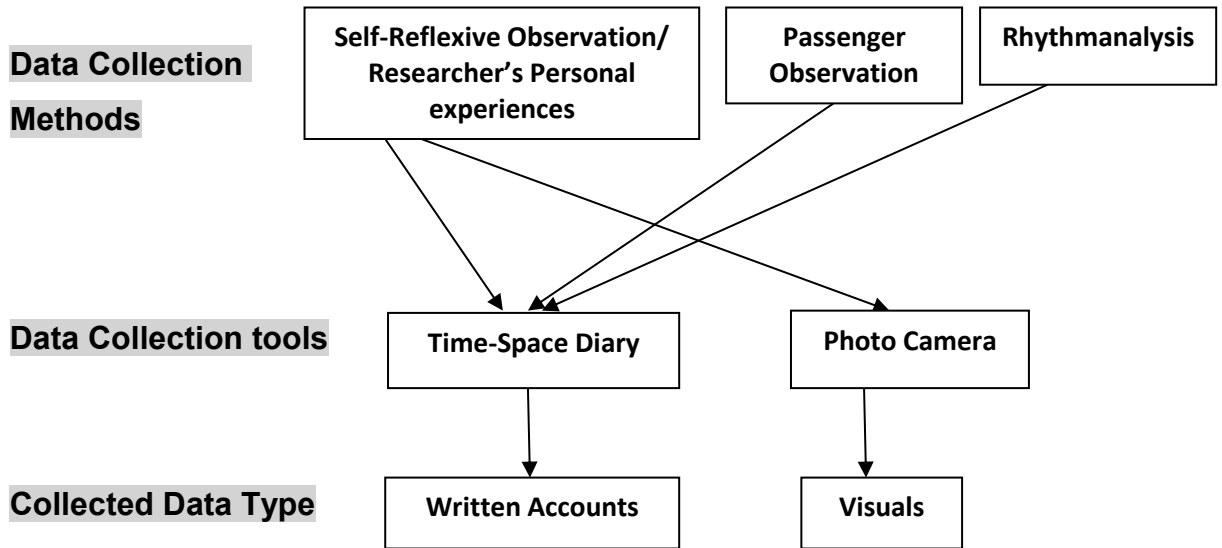
A combination of alternative and creative methods, or mobile methods, is also used by other scholars (e.g., Anderson, 2004; Bissell, 2007b; Kusenbach, 2003; Lee and Ingold, 2006; Scarles, 2010; Spinney 2006, 2007) who are interested in the mobile dynamics of bodies and objects and the experience of being on the move. For instance, Lee and Ingold (2006), Anderson (2004) and Kusenbach (2003) use a ‘go-along’ strategy, which allows them to merge participatory

observation with interviewing and to access atmospheres, emotions, reflections and beliefs as well as intellects and rationales. To investigate the everyday experiences of long-distance rail passengers in Britain, Bissell (2007b) employs a range of tactile, visual and textual data collection techniques, like auto-ethnographic participant observation, visual methodologies, go-along method, semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis. A combination of these methods or, as he calls it, a 'methodological assemblage', allows him to gain a deeper insight into social phenomena, to uncover "multiple realities, knowledges and experiences" and to consider how different forms of knowledge relate to each other (Biddell, 2007b: 49). Similarly, Scarles (2010) and Spinney (2006, 2007) ground themselves in their research fields to conduct personal reflection on the self and to research the experiences of others. Spinney conducts conversations with cyclists 'on the move' recorded using a 'bike-microphone'; he also makes notes of his own experiences as a researcher-cyclist in his research diary and he uses video to film people's fleeting experiences of movement. Meanwhile, Scars (2010) situates herself within research and, using a combination of auto-ethnography and photo-elicitation during interviews, creates an embodied connection and understanding between herself and the respondents in order to uncover the sensual and performative nature of tourist experiences. Guided by the aims of this study, I also decided to develop a combination of research methods that would enable me to unpack and scrutinise how tourists experience mobile time and how they dwell in the mobile place of a train carriage while travelling to/from their destinations.

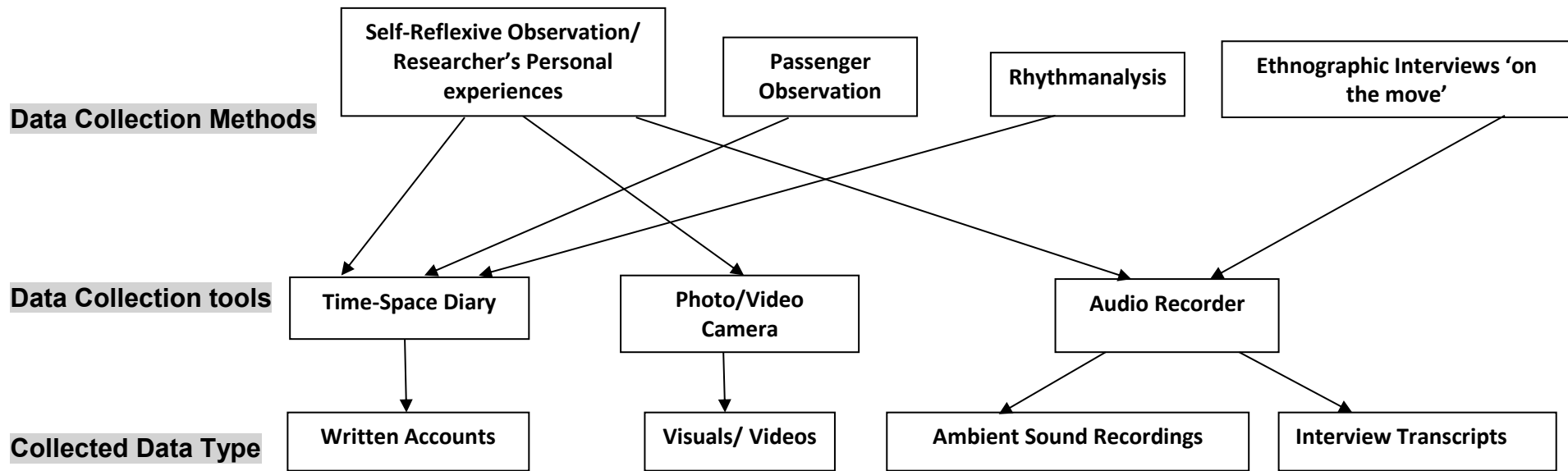
As illustrated in Figure 4.10, my data collection consisted of two phases – the pilot study phase and the main data collection phase. The pilot study took place between October 2011 and May 2012 and consisted of three tourism trips by train during which I recorded my experiences of traveling by train as a tourist- researcher and my observations of the mobile environment inside and outside the carriage (the process described in more detail in subsection 4.8.1). This pilot study was an exploratory phase during which I gained first-hand experience of what is it like to use trains as part of a day-trip and a longer holiday and, secondly, I practiced the skills of being self-reflexive and conducting passenger observations. The main data collection phase took place in Summer-Autumn 2013 on the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route (see Figure 4.09). The analysis of these findings is presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Figure 4.10: Two Phases of the Data Collection Process

First Phase of the Data Collection (the Pilot Study)



Second Phase of the Data Collection (the Main Data Collection Phase)



As can be seen in Figure 4.10, during the first phase, I used three data collection methods: self-reflexive observations of my personal experiences as a tourist-researcher, passenger observations and rhythmanalysis. Data generated through these methods was recorded in the time-space diary and photographs were taken to visually capture my experiences. During the second phase, I added the fourth method, that is, ethnographic interviews 'on the move' to also capture the experiences of other tourists. During this phase, my data collection was facilitated by three data collection tools: a time-space diary, audio recorder, and video/photo camera. All of these tools allowed me to capture different dimensions of the mobile experience and enabled me to produce not only written accounts of qualitative research but also other forms of knowledge, such as visuals, videos and ambient sound recordings. Ambient sound recordings, visuals and videos comprise additional layers of information that enrich the thick ethnographic description of the mobile experience as presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7. In sum, the strength of this complex research process is that it enabled me to uncover the dynamic and complex nature of the mobile experience as it occurs or, as Crang (2001) puts it, 'in becoming'.

To explain better each element of the data collection process as illustrated in Figure 4.10, in the following subsections, firstly, I explain my role as a researcher and the influence it has on each aspect of the data collection and data analysis process. Secondly, I turn to describing my data collection methods and data collection tools. Although, in the following subsections, I scrutinise each method separately within its own subsection for the sake of methodological clarity, during the fieldwork the distinction between methods and the data recording process was less clear-cut. For instance, while I conducted the interviews with leisure travellers on trains and recorded them using an audio recorder, naturally the ambient sounds of the mobile train environment were also recorded. Equally, in the time-space diary, my notes on passenger observations alternate with my personal experiences and the description of different rhythms that I experienced and observed. Hence, during the fieldwork, the four data collection methods and different data recording tools supplemented each other to produce a more complete and comprehensive illustration of the tourist experience 'on the move'.

4.6.1 Reflexivity and Self-Reflexive Observation as a Data Collection

Method

In this study, reflexivity is fundamental to all aspects of the research process. Firstly, I engage with reflexivity “as thoughtful, self-aware analysis of the intersubjective dynamics between researcher and the researched” (Finlay and Gough, 2003: 10). Ateljevic, Harris, Wilson and Collins (2005) explain that reflexivity implies acknowledging that researcher and field or image/text are inevitably ‘entangled’ and mutually constitute each other in the production of ‘knowledge’. Pink (2009) contends that the production of knowledge is a collaborative process between the researcher and the research participants through which shared understandings are produced. In this regard, I acknowledge that my field notes and their reading, my choice of interview participants, our communication and their responses are influenced by my gender, age, ethnicity, personal characteristics, social background and theoretical lenses. To put it simply, I acknowledge that as a researcher I (co)construct my research findings and, through my interview process and my presence, I change the mobile experience of my research participants.

Secondly, I acknowledge the role of the senses and the importance of the researcher’s body in doing fieldwork, analysing findings, and producing situated ethnographic knowledge. Pink (2009: 50) explains that sensory reflexivity in ethnography means, “the ethnographer engages with how her or his own sensory experiences are produced through research encounters and how these might assist her or him in understanding those of others”. I acquire sensory reflexivity that allows me to focus closely on my embodied actions, thoughts, feelings, emotions, interests, preferences and habit. In other words, I attend to my embodied experiences of travelling by train and bodily sensations felt during train journeys in order to understand better the embodied experiences of others. This situated knowledge becomes useful when conducting ethnographic interviews because I can relate to what leisure travellers say. Equally, it is useful when conducting passenger observations because I compare my reactions to different situations with other passengers’ reactions to the same situation, like disruptive passengers, loud ambient sounds, heat, trolley services or a train guide who directs passengers’ gaze and tells them about the history of the route and its scenic beauty. What is

more, I use my assessment of the mobile environment and compare it to participants' descriptions of it and, by doing so, I can analyse the sensory stimuli that leisure travellers notice while travelling by train. Rose (1997: 309) describes this reflexivity as a process of looking 'inward' or 'self-discovery' in order to understand 'outward' and she contends that "our consciousness is always the medium through which the research occurs".

As a data collection method, self-reflexive observation is a reflective practice that enables self-illumination and exploration to become aware of information that one would usually absorb unwittingly (Finley and Gough, 2003). Pink (2009) suggests that the sensory ethnographer should start ethnographic fieldwork with a self-reflexive observation of his/her own sensory culture and of how she/he is situated in it. This process constitutes a good preparation/exploration stage before focusing on others. The first phase of my data collection – the pilot study (see Figure 4.10) – was my exploration stage during which I became aware of how I use embodied sensory knowing and sensory categories to classify and represent multisensory embodied knowing and how I develop sensory strategies in social interaction and self-representation within a public space of a train carriage. In so doing, I followed Pink's (2009) advice to use the preparation stage to become conscious of sensory subjectivity and sensory inter-subjectivity.

During the second phase of my data collection (see Figure 4.10), I travelled repeatedly along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route and used my self-awareness and sensory experiences to understand better the experiences of my research participants (described in subsection 4.6.1 – Ethnographic Interviews). To explain, self-reflexive observation allowed me to explore aspects of their experience, which otherwise would be difficult to uncover, such as different somatic sensations like tiredness, hunger or reactions to certain sensory stimuli like smells – experiential dimensions and sensory knowing that passengers found hard to discuss. For instance, during data collection, I noticed that passengers felt uncomfortable talking about smells. Hence, by experiencing a mobile environment together and encountering the same sensory stimuli, I could express my experience and, by doing so, prompt my research participants to talk about these sensations and other more-than-representational happenings. Other scholars who employed this method and whose studies helped me to understand its application include Watts (2008), Pink (2008 on an urban tour), Scarles (2010),

Jain (2009). Apart from ethnographic interviews, being reflexive enables me to do rhythmanalysis of self and the surrounding environment and its diverse social, natural and mechanical rhythms as well as assists me to conduct passenger observations. These three methods – rhythmanalysis, passenger observation and ethnographic interviews – are described and justified in the following subsections.

4.6.2 Rhythmanalysis

Rhythmanalysis was developed by Henri Lefebvre (2004), who refers to it as a method and theory that provides a temporal understanding of place and space. Rhythms as a theory (a new field of knowledge) was reviewed in section 3.3 while rhythm as a mode of analysis (or a tool of analysis) is explained in this subsection. In brief, Lefebvre (2004) notes that there is nothing inert in the world, everything is in a state of movement, of becoming; everything consists of rhythms, slow or lively. Rhythmanalysis can help to explore this process of becoming that consists of both change and repetition, and is “an important constituent of the experience and organisation of social time” (Edensor, 2010: 1). Edensor (2010) continues that rhythmanalysis is a useful tool with which to develop a fuller, richer analysis of diverse synchronic practices in space while also accounting for spatial qualities, sensations and intersubjective habits. In other words, rhythmanalysis helps to explore “the everyday temporal structures and processes that (re)produce connections between individuals and the social” (Edensor, 2010: 2).

Central to rhythmanalysis is the body. Firstly, this is because the body itself consists of diverse biological (e.g., sleep, hunger, thirst, heartbeat, respiration), social (e.g., familiar gestures and everyday manners) and mental rhythms and functions and, secondly, because the rhythmanalyst must use his/her own body as the measure of other external rhythms:

“Rhythmanalyst listens – and first to his body; he learns rhythm from it, in order consequently to appreciate external rhythms. His body serves him as a metronome. A difficult task and a situation: to perceive distinct rhythms distinctly, without disrupting them, without dislocating time”
(Lefebvre, 2004: 19).

Hence, Lefebvre emphasises that the body becomes the first point of analysis while

the next step is to measure the external rhythms in relation to our body, our time or the measure of rhythms.

In reality, the process of doing rhythmanalysis can be described as “a messy business”, using the words of Rose (1997: 314), who refers to doing qualitative research in general. This process requires both sensory reflexivity and being attentive to experiences of self, along with the ability to observe and document everything that happens around. More importantly, it requires awareness of how the flow of time and changes in the surrounding environment influence the experience of self and others. Put simply, rhythmanalysis requires the researcher to notice and make notes of everything that happens around, as much as he/she can consciously notice. In other words, the rhythmanalyst (me) analyses the flow of the mobile experience of travelling by train and how different rhythms – like social, cultural, lifecycle and lifestyle, institutional, calendrical, mechanical, somatic, diurnal and lunar – constitute the mobile experience.

For instance, during multiple fieldtrips, I listened to different sounds, observed sights, social interactions, different activities and happenings; I noticed smells, and sensed movement, and I made notes of these diverse rhythmic assemblages, which constituted the train journey and its experience. Yet, it is important to highlight that doing rhythmanalysis is tiring work and each time I travelled along the route, I could only concentrate, write and work at the fieldsite for a certain period of time before I became tired and turned from attentive researcher into tired train passenger towards the end of each research day. Other scholars who employed this method and whose studies helped me to understand its application are: Lin (2012), Simpson (2012), Edensor (2000a, 2011), Spinney (2010), Edensor and Holloway (2008), Watts (2008).

4.6.3 Passenger Observation

Ethnography is a methodology based on direct observation, requiring the researcher to be in the field and actively engage in the cognitive modes of observing, watching, seeing, looking at, gazing at and scrutinising (Gobo, 2011). Crang and Cook (1995: 48) maintain that

Historically, ethnographic research has developed out of a concern to understand the world views and ways of life of actual people in the contexts of their everyday... and the method of participant observation is the means by which ethnographers have often done this.

Clifton and Handy (2001) point out that participant observation has not often been used within mobile environments of public transport but it has a rich tradition in studies of behaviour in urban space. Yet, 'mobilities turn' advocates encourage researchers to immerse themselves in the fleeting, multi-sensory social and material realities to "gain an understanding of movement not as governed by rules, but as methodically generated" (Büscher and Urry, 2009: 103). Referring to mobile environments, Russell, Price, Signal, Stanley, Gerring and Cumming (2011) note that as a data collection method, passenger observation has its strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, this method can be used to assess manifest behaviour and it can yield rich information about how passengers behave and spend their time on public transport. Excellent examples of how this method has been used by other scholars are Ohmori and Harata (2008), Timmermans and Van der Waerden (2008) and Watts (2008). Yet, on the other hand, Russell et al. (2011) point out that recording observable behaviour cannot reveal people's intentions, attitudes, or feelings. Equally, this approach would not enable the researcher to find out what passengers are doing when it appears that they are 'doing nothing'. Moreover, the observed behaviour cannot be interpreted. Russell et al. (2011) conclude their research by acknowledging that these questions can only be answered by asking passengers themselves.

In this study, I use passenger observation in combination with other data collection methods (see Figure 4.10) with the aim of gaining rich information on how leisure travellers behave 'on the move' – their place-making techniques and manifest activities – that I can later synthesise with information gained from interviews and self-reflexive observation. I use this method to observe passenger flows in and out of a carriage, the overall atmosphere created by different passengers and how the atmosphere changes as different passengers enter a carriage or when groups enter a carriage. I also use this method to observe particular leisure travellers 'from a distance' for long periods (from about 30 minutes to an hour) using a so-called covert passenger observation method. This method mainly allows me to uncover habitual activities, like place-making 'on the move', tactics to gain more personal space, and unreflexive performances, like taking photographs, looking out of the

window or looking after a bike. This method also enables me to observe how leisure travellers spend time together with their travel companions and how they communicate or avoid communication (verbal and non-verbal) with other passengers.

As this method was used in combination with other methods, there was no specific time when I conducted passenger observations. In general, I started observing passengers (an individual, a couple or a group of people) when they attracted my attention. If it was possible, I observed leisure travellers for a while and then approached them to conduct an interview. During these interviews, I prompted passengers to explain some activities that I observed. For instance, I asked why they took photographs (if they had) and this question sometimes opened up many stories; some travellers ended up showing me photographs and recounting many memories. After observing some couples or groups for a while, I also asked them whether it is important for them to sit together and why. In short, my observations helped me to ask relevant questions and prompted interview participants to talk about the little things that I observed, like the importance of having a coffee, checking maps, gazing out of the window or standing next to a bike. In this way, I could discover the meanings and values they attach to these activities. Having described my passenger observation method and how it is closely linked to my ethnographic interviews, I turn to explaining the process of doing interviews on trains.

4.6.4 Ethnographic Interviews ‘On the Move’

Along with participant observation, interviewing is a primary means through which ethnographic researchers attempt to “understand people’s *lived, situated, practices*” (Rapley, 2004: 29, original emphasis). In line with the mobilities paradigm, I conduct my interviews with leisure travellers on trains along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route while they travel to/from their destinations. Following the strategy of sensory auto-ethnography, I adopt Pink’s (2009) approach to the process of doing ethnographic interviews, which means that I perceive my ethnographic interviews as multisensory events. During these events, the emphasis is on both verbal conversation and the lived experience as grounded in place. To explain, in this study, each interview is not simply a verbal

conversation that is recorded using a voice-recorder. The materiality of the surrounding environment and different sensory stimuli (e.g., sounds) that the interviewer (me) and interviewee(s) encounter together during the interview process, non-verbal interactions (e.g., facial expressions, body language), and the sharing of certain embodied experiences (e.g., having coffee together, some participants shared their food with me) become additional information sources of passengers' embodied and emplaced sensoriality. Hence, the main strength of these ethnographic interviews in place is that they allow me to access deeper insights into "the relationship between humans and places to uncover meanings and understanding of the life world" (Anderson, 2004: 255) and to gain an understanding of emplaced and embodied experiences as they occur.

This leads to the next recognition, namely, that the interview process is a performance or "collaborative and reflexive exploration" (Pink, 2009: 83) during which interviewer (me) and interviewee(s) together create a shared place and situated knowledge. This statement means that, in this study, I adopt a reflexive approach to the interview process. I recognise that my interviews create a place, which allows the interviewer and interviewee(s) to reflect, define and communicate about experiences, or in the words of Pink (2009: 87), the interview is

A creative place where representations and understandings of experience rather than objective truths about what has been experienced are intentionally produced.

In total, I conducted forty-six ethnographic interviews with eighty leisure travellers on trains while they travelled to/from their destinations (see Appendix 1 – Passenger Profile Characteristics). This means that I conducted one-to-one interviews, interviews with couples and interviews with groups ranging from three to eight people. My approach to interviewing couples and groups was that I asked questions to all the people who became part of my 'created interview place' (Pink, 2009) but my interviewees decided who was going to be an active interview participant and who would take a more passive role and just listen. In this way, I ensured that we all adopted preferred roles. In the Appendix 1, I only count the active interview participants while other people are marked as travel companions. I recorded these interviews using voice-recorder and transcribed them soon after the interview took place. On average, each interview lasted approximately an hour. However, there were a few very long interviews, which took about an hour

and a half, but there were also a few short interviews, which lasted only about 20 minutes. The length of an interview was influenced by how much time leisure travellers had on the train and also how interesting and engaging was the conversation. This technique is used by Bærenholdt et al. (2004), Kusenbach (2003), Anderson (2004) and Ingold and Lee (2008).

Describing the process of doing interviews on trains, it is important to mention that these interviews were always unexpected for leisure travellers and it was sometimes hard to establish rapport, “a suitably relaxed and encouraging relationship” (Rapley, 2004: 19), but, as most leisure travellers were in a good mood and not in a hurry, most people agreed to talk. In general, I adopted two ways of selecting interview participants. The first method was described in the participant observation section; I observed some passengers for a while and then approached them for an interview. The second approach was to walk through a carriage and make a quick decision about who would be an appropriate person/couple/group to approach and start a conversation. The main criterion to start a conversation with passenger(s) was to make sure they were tourists/leisure travellers. Different ‘tourism objects’, such as walking boots, hats, rucksacks, walking sticks, maps and bicycles, allowed me to make this distinction quickly while moving through the carriages. Yet, there were a number of other factors that influenced my decision to start a conversation, such as access (if there was an available seat next/opposite a passenger(s)) and people’s facial expressions and body language (if they looked friendly and interesting). After an initial assessment I had to identify whether my selected passenger(s) were staying on the train for at least the next 20 minutes and, after briefly explaining my research, whether they would be interested to have a conversation.

With reference to my interviews, I can describe them as flexible semi-structured interviews that prompted open-ended responses so that participants could go off-topic to talk about different aspects of their mobile experience (David and Sutton, 2011). This interview structure is also used by Bissell (2007) and Spinney (2008). Although I had a list of topics and various questions prepared (Appendix 2), I did not just routinely ask all the questions from the list. I used my observations and I listened to the participants’ answers/stories to produce follow-up questions and to decide what question to ask next. This approach enabled me to unpack further interviewees’ experiences and to uncover how leisure travellers intentionally

and habitually engage (e.g. sense, feel and socially interact) with the surrounding mobile environment and how they construct meanings relationally. What is more, I actively participated in the conversations and, if it felt appropriate, I talked about my personal sensory experiences. In other words, I approached the interviews as a “mundane interaction” (Rapley, 2004: 25). I tried to establish an engaged and collaborative conversation that would yield “rich co-constructed material” (Bissell, 2007: 59).

In general, our conversations were based around three very broad themes: destination, activities at the destination and plans for today; diverse transport experiences based on the past experience; and the experience of today’s journey (see Appendix 2). Realising that people’s responses as well as their encounters with, dwelling in, and experiences of different environments are influenced by their psychographics and demographics and different body rhythms (e.g., being tired or hungry), in the next section 4.7, I briefly explain my sample while, in the subsection 4.7.1, I describe the profile of my interviewees. Having described my research methods, I turn to clarifying my use of time-space diary, images, videos and sound recordings as additional data collection tools (subsections 4.6.5, 4.6.6. and 4.6.7). I finish section 4.6 with outlining the use of audio-visual media in representing research findings in the analysis chapters (subsection 4.6.8).

4.6.5 Time-Space Diary as a Data Collection Tool

In social sciences, the time-space diary as a data collection method is used to collect rich and detailed data on research participants’ routines, daily movement, mundane activities and experiences (Baerenholt et al., 2004; Büscher and Urry, 2009). Usually, research participants are asked to keep a time-space diary in which they (without being interrupted by the researcher) record things they do, their feelings and attitudes, what they notice in places they are in, how and with whom they move. Yet, Büscher and Urry (2009) note that this method can also be used by researchers themselves to document their first-hand experiences and trajectories of movement with an aim to gain a better understanding of others who they are researching. For instance, Watts’ (2006) work on travel time use within different transport modes is a good examples of how ethnographic notes collected by the researcher help to uncover the production, use and experience of travel time

by passengers. The diary can be textual, pictorial or digital or some combination (Hein et al., 2008).

Taking into account the nature of this study, that is, collecting information from tourists I encountered on trains while they travelled to/from their destinations (in other words, strangers), I decided to follow Watts (2006) example and use a time-space diary to reflect on my personal embodied experiences of travelling by train as a tourist-researcher (Cragg, 2011). Similar to Watts (2006), my aim was to produce auto-ethnographical texts that would aid me to understand the experiences of others. In the diary, I described affective encounters with the surrounding mobile environment, my emotional reactions to different situations and people as well as my felt bodily sensations of spending long hours on trains along the route. What is more, I reflected on my place-making techniques, my activities as a researcher and my interests as a tourist; I made notes about brief casual communications with other tourists and locals and I documented the ways in which we together produced and re-produced the mobile place and time of a railway carriage. I also tried to reflect on my thoughts, memories and moments of dreaming. In other words, I tried to 'listen to my body' and I tried to be reflexive and vigilant.

Additionally, in the diary, I conduct the rhythm analysis of my multiple train journeys. I made notes of different mechanical, social and natural rhythms, which I measured in relation to my bodily rhythms, subjectively felt time and movement (Lefebvre, 2004). Further, the diary includes my observations of tourists I interviewed - their activities during the interview, their affective engagement with mobile place and their emotional reactions to different environmental stimuli, such as different noises, heat, wind, design of the carriage, other passengers, etc. These notes were later cross-referenced with their verbal responses to my questions, helping me to conduct a multisensory research analysis of primary data (Pink, 2009), described in more detail in section 4.9.

Overall, in my diary, I tried to describe everything that I noticed but, especially, I tried to concentrate on different mundane happenings, sensory perception, different emotions, the surrounding atmosphere and other 'non-events' that I encountered while travelling by train. The time-space diary entries, similar to interview transcripts, became another source of primary data that I analysed to gain a better understanding of tourists' mobile experiences

and the meanings and values they attach to the mobile place and time 'on the move' (see section 4.9 for detailed explanation of data analysis). In line with the principles of sensory auto-ethnography, the written accounts in my diary are complemented with visuals – videos and photographs – a data collection tool that is explained in the next subsection.

4.6.6 Visual Media as a Data Collection Tool

According to Sarah Pink, on the one hand, visual media and visual methods have the potential to generate new knowledge and new ethnographic understanding of other people's experiences (Pink, 2008a). On the other hand, they provide the opportunity to represent research findings to a wider audience through the use of images, videos, drawings and film, complementing and expanding the explanatory power of the written word (Pink, 2007a). The former aspect is discussed in this section while the use of the latter is scrutinised in section 4.6.8.

According to Rakic and Chambers (2012), visual methods offer a rich source of information and they can be broadly grouped into three types. Firstly, researchers can access and create knowledge about phenomena through analysing previously published [secondary] visual data like post cards, travel photographs, images of destinations and artwork. For instance, Tribe (2008) undertook an analysis of a large quantity of artwork (paintings, post cards, etc.) in order to present a novel reading of, and fresh insights into, the phenomenon of tourism. Secondly, researchers can decide to create visual data (e.g., photographs) themselves, as in the case of Bissell (2009b) who took photographs while travelling by train to represent and explain practices of vision during the course of a railway journey or Jensen et al. (2015) who took photographs to represent how passengers inhabit the mobile place of a railway carriage. Alternatively, research participants can be asked to create primary visual data, such as photographs, videos or drawings, that is later analysed by the researcher – a methodological approach described by Pocock, McIntosh and Zahra (2012) and employed, for example, by Scarles (2009, 2010).

Thirdly, visual media (e.g., photographs) can be used to create data by relying on techniques of elicitation. For instance, Sarles (2010) uses a photo-elicitation technique to understand tourists' embodied experiences of touring Machu Micchu (Peru) via tourists own photographs and other images (e.g., tourists brochures, post cards, etc.). She demonstrates that photographs (images) trigger and sharpen respondents' memories and help them to organise their narratives. Moreover, photographs can facilitate the articulation of diverse performances, felt emotions and affective encounters and, by doing so, build bridges between conscious experiences and previously 'hidden' embodied knowledges (Scarles, 2010).

Scholars who engage with visual media suggest that visual methods are rarely used independently from other methods, such as interviews or observations (Rakic and Chambers, 2012) because, in the words of Pink (2007a: 250), using visual methods in addition to non-visual methods enables us "to learn more or to learn differently about the particular questions". For instance, analysing embodied experiences of places and place-making practices, Pink (2007a) combines a 'walking with others' method with video-recording the walk, arguing that walking with video generates a more involved approach to the research and, thus, develops a better understanding of how places and routes are produced and experienced by people who live there.

Influenced by ethnographic research strategies adopted by Bissell (2007b), Pink (2007a) and Spinney (2006, 2007), I decided to incorporate visual media, such as taking photographs and making videos, as part of my 'methodological assemblage' of data collection methods. Since my fieldwork took place 'on the move', interviewing and observing tourists while they travelled to/from their destinations, I decided to create visual data (e.g., photographs and videos) myself rather than to delegate this task to my research participants. I took this decision mainly because I did not know my research participants and, according to Bissell (2009) and Johnson (2010), social relationships that are established on trains usually do not extend beyond space-time of a railway carriage.

I started taking photographs as a tourist and this activity facilitated my engagement with the fleeting railway route; it intensified my embodied

connectedness with the railway journey and enabled me to capture glimpses of the trip that caught my attention. In other words, taking photographs became another way to record my embodied experiences of travelling by train. With reference to videos, similar to Pink (2007a, 2008b), I recorded some periods / some parts of train travel because I believed that these videos would help me to represent findings on mobile vision and the mobile experience of the fleeting route in the analysis chapters and, by doing so, enliven the written accounts (further discussed in section 4.6.8).

Moreover, visual media, both videos and images, helped me to document and to represent changing rhythms of the route. To explain, over the period of my primary research, I systematically captured different glimpses of the route during different times of the day, different seasons, weather conditions and different farming activities. Reviewing these representations of past events during the data analysis stage helped me to notice and examine diverse rhythms along the route. These images allowed me to analyse particular details of train travel that one can only notice when being out of place and reviewing retrospectively the experience of travelling by train. Here, it is important to mention that I avoided taking photographs or videos of the social rhythms inside a carriage for ethical reasons. Very seldom did it feel possible (or appropriate) to ask all passengers inside a carriage for their consent to photograph or video them for the purpose of my research. So, in my image gallery, there are only a few photographs of the inside of a carriage – these images are either of an empty carriage, or they capture myself and my travel companions, or they represent tourists who gave their written consent to photograph them. Yet, these random images do not clearly represent the changing social rhythms inside a carriage because they were not systematically captured.

Finally, during the data analysis stage, I reviewed my images and videos because they helped me to analyse other tourists' experiences of the fleeting landscape in chapter 7. They triggered my memories of the route and, by doing so, allowed me to analyse interview transcripts as an 'insider' who has lay knowledge and embodied experience of this route. This leads to the final data collection tool employed in this study, that is, ambient sound recordings explained in the next subsection.

4.6.7 Recording Sounds as a Data Collection Tool

During fieldwork, I recorded and analysed ambient sounds and noises that permeate the mobile place of a railway carriage. This ethnographic practice, in combination with passenger observations, interviews and auto-ethnographic observations, provided a rich source of information of how tourists inhabit, co-produce and experience the mobile place of a railway carriage. In what follows, I briefly outline the importance of attending to ambient sounds and the key characteristics of this data collection method. I finish this subsection with an explanation of the use of ambient sound recordings as a data collection tool in this study.

According to Makagon and Neumann (2009), soundscapes are capable of conveying the dynamics of a place – its vibrancy, sense of movement, its affective intensities and atmosphere because “the air that surrounds and permeates us finds its life in sound, and even the ‘silent realms’ which we cannot register are in fact realms of sound and noise” (Simpson, 2009: 2568). Regardless of their temporality, sounds preserve a sense of presence and immediacy and they have the power to place the listener in a scene (ibid). Based on these qualities of sound, Makagon and Neumann (2009) assert that recording soundscapes can become an innovative approach to ethnography and qualitative fieldwork that enhances the understanding of the cultural experience and opens new avenues to writing and reading cultural lives.

In other words, Makagon and Neumann (2009) stress that recording sounds is a useful research method and an inventive tool to represent new knowledge. As a research method, sound recordings allow researchers to listen to the ‘taken-for-granted’ world and to notice details of acoustic environments that would otherwise be lost as ‘background’ noise. As a tool to represent new knowledge, sound recordings offer researchers an alternative and powerful way to represent the overall vibrancy of a place – its ambiance, diverse sounds, background noises and voices of different loudness and intonation. These representations allow audiences to hear, see and feel the environment that is being studied and to grasp the sensory experience of a present. The way in which sound recording as a data collection method is utilised in this study is explained below while the use of sound recordings as a tool to represent research findings is outlined in subsection 4.6.8.

Initially, I did not plan to record the soundscapes of a train journey; I only planned recording interviews with tourists as part of my methodology. Yet, since I conducted my interviews on trains while tourists travelled to/from their destinations, apart from our conversations, I also unwittingly recorded ambient sounds and noises that permeated the mobile space of a railway carriage at the time of interviews. When I transcribed the first six interviews, the ambient sounds and noises in the background (although sometimes so dominant that they were in the foreground) made it hard (and sometimes extremely hard) to hear and to understand what my research participants were saying. For instance, when I heard windows in older carriages open, the diesel engine roaring, breaks squeaking and a carriage vibrating, I had to listen repeatedly to the same section of a conversation to try to decipher the words among other noises.

Although it took a long time to transcribe the interviews, I realised that ambient sounds and noises are not a nuisance that makes it hard to analyse data but rather another source of information, which I did not notice while being on a train and speaking to tourists. Because I was familiar with train travel and the technologised sounds and noises of diesel trains, I inhabited the place of a railway carriage unreflexively and, thus, I did not consciously register dynamic soundscapes of different carriages and the way in which we (passengers) affectively engaged with this mobile place. Listening to, and transcribing, interviews 'out of place' made me pay attention to these ambient sounds and allowed me to analyse and cross-reference them with data gained from other research methods.

What is more, while transcribing interviews, I noticed that listening to ambient sounds, noises and voices emotionally takes me back to the time when each interview took place. I could vividly remember how busy or empty the carriage was, its configuration and where we were sitting, the appearance of my research participants, how I approached them and how I emotionally felt during the interview. As a result, transcribing interviews enabled me not only to analyse what my research participants were saying, but also I could better understand their affective relations with the surrounding mobile environment and other passengers, something that was often experienced unreflexively and not always articulated during interviews. For instance, it was interesting to notice that most passengers would describe a journey along the branch line route as comfortable, relaxing and pleasant despite the loud ambient noises, strong vibration and changing

temperature inside older carriages, which pointed out to their affective relations with the train technology.

To summarise, in this study, ambient sounds and noises provided an additional layer of information that, in combination with other methods described above, provided a more holistic understanding of the tourists' emplaced and embodied experiences of travelling by train. Firstly, the recorded soundscapes provided me with a rich source of information about the mobile environment of a railway carriage. Secondly, recording and analysing soundscapes enabled me to investigate how passengers affectively engage with the surrounding mobile environment - how they inhabit, co-create and experience the mobile place of a railway carriage, as well as their affective responses to different noises and sounds. However, sound recordings, videos and images were not only collected to gain knowledge, they were also utilised to develop an inventive and inclusive representation of research findings in chapters 5, 6 and 7, as explained in the subsection below.

4.6.8 Representation of Audio-Visual Data in Analysis Chapters

In line with adopting non-representational epistemology, I integrate images, videos and sound recordings in my empirical analysis chapters (chapters 5, 6 and 7) to create a rich and inclusive multimedia account of tourists' transport experiences. In doing so, I respond to Tribe's (2008: 924) critique of "narrowness in our understanding and representation of tourism". Tribe invites researchers to challenge the status quo and, by utilising technological innovations, represent new knowledge in not just text format but also using other forms of media, "to provide a reading that goes beyond the restrictions of text...and the limited explanatory power of word" (Tribe, 2008: 941). In what follows, I explain how my audio-visual materials are represented in the analysis chapters. I also clarify the role audio-visual data plays in the empirical chapters together with the ways in which, I hope, this data provides a fresh insight into the understanding of the tourist transport experience – an understanding that words alone would fail to provide.

Firstly, with reference to presenting audio-visual materials, in social sciences, scholars who engage with multimedia analysis either integrate audio-visual data via hyperlinks in publications (e.g., Jensen et al., 2015; Tribe, 2008; Vannini and

Taggart, 2013) or they reproduce photographs in the main body of a manuscript (e.g., Bissell, 2009b; Simpson, 2012). With reference to the latter, the quality and presentation of these reproductions is usually poorer than if an image is represented in a JPG file format and, thus, it is harder to grasp its sensory characteristics and affective qualities. With reference to the former, while using hyperlinks provides an innovative way to represent new knowledge (Tribe, 2008), accessing these multimedia accounts can be problematic in two distinct ways. Firstly, readers need to access the electronic version of a manuscript online, meaning that an internet connection is required. Secondly, as Tribe (2008) and Vannini and Taggard (2013) admit themselves, with time, some of the web links may no longer be available or they may simply malfunction. Unfortunately, this is the case with Tribe's (2008), Vannini and Taggard's (2013) articles – I was no longer able to access some of the links in July 2016.

After assessing the strengths and weaknesses of integrating hyperlinks or reproducing photographs in the main body of a manuscript, in this thesis, I have decided to store most of my audio-visual data in separate electronic files (referred to as electronic appendices). Each of these electronic appendices contains either a video, a sound recording or a photographic exhibition and each of them is clearly titled and numbered (see the content page). However, there is an exception, namely, there are two images (Picture 7.1 and 7.2) that are reproduced in the main body of chapter 7. This is done with the aim of showing that image and vision alone are unable to reveal diverse sensory stimuli that permeate a mobile space of a train carriage and, thus, it was important that the image follows straight after the ethnographic description of a carriage. In the description, I explain that while the images of both older and younger carriages visually appear the same, the sensory stimuli within these carriages are different, creating a different embodied experience.

Since the thesis is available in two versions – electronic and hard copy, it is important to mention that the printed version has a USB hard drive attached to its back cover in which sixteen electronic appendices can be found, meaning that no internet connection is required to view/listen to the audio-visual material. With reference to the electronic version, the thesis is organised in a folder that contains a .pdf file with text and additional sixteen files with electronic appendices. Finally, it is useful to mention that, when the thesis becomes available online, audio-visual

data will be integrated in the main body of the thesis via hyperlinks, in addition to the electronic appendices. Hence, if / when web links malfunction, copies of audio-visual material will be still available in electronic appendices.

With reference to my use of audio-visual data in the analysis chapters, I refer to electronic appendices and I guide the reader to view and/or listen to a particular electronic appendix, depending on the points discussed. In doing so, I present a rich and inclusive multimedia account of the tourist transport experience that is more powerful than written text alone in three interconnected ways that reinforce each other. Firstly, audio-visual materials, similar to direct quotes in interview-based qualitative research, support and reiterate the points made in text, rendering them somewhat more compelling. For instance, in Chapter 5, the description of diverse natural rhythms along the train route is supplemented by electronic appendix 22 in which photographs represent seasonal rhythms of spring, summer and autumn (image 1A, 1B, 2A and 2B), changing weather conditions from cloudy to bright (images 3A, 3B, 4A and 4B) and changing rhythms from daylight to dusk (images 5A, 5B and 5C). Similarly, readers are guided to listen to electronic appendices to gain an embodied knowledge of what I and interview participants mean when we say that older carriages (Appendices 9, 10, 11, 12) can be very noisy in contrast to newer carriages (Appendix 13), which offer a smooth and quiet ride. Electronic Appendices 14-17 reveal the ambient sounds and noises of being in the midst of a party on a train, complementing my ethnographic descriptions of very loud and hectic party atmospheres that sometimes take place along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route (see section 7.4).

This leads to the second point that audio-visual media not only reinforces my written analysis of findings, it also enlivens and animates textual representations, allowing the listener “to grasp a sensory experience of a present” (Makagon and Neumann, 2009:12). For instance, electronic Appendices 20 and 21 (videos) and ambient sound recordings (Appendix 9 – 19) convey a sense of place, movement and vibrancy inside a train carriage and, by doing so, as already mentioned above, provide a route to multisensorial knowing (Pink, 2009) of what it is like to travel along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route as a tourist. In this regard, Makagon and Neumann (2009:14) explain that sound recordings and videos “offer a way of knowing through a witnessing of an event”. Hence, images, videos and sound recordings are glimpses of the lived experience *in situ* that

awaken readers/spectators' senses (not just vision), conjure emotions and trigger reflections, sensory memory and imagination.

This leads to the final point I want to make here and that is, audio-visual material opens up findings to more than the author's interpretations. In other words, inspecting images, carefully listening to the sound recordings and watching videos enables the reader to have his/her own sense of what it is like to travel along the train route. For instance, the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route is valued among tourists for its scenic and historic qualities and, in chapter 5, I provide a thick ethnographic description of the route and its natural, historic and material rhythms. This description is complemented by visual representations of the route (electronic Appendices 7 and 8). The exhibition of photographs is organised to show how the route unfolds from Carlisle to Leeds (electronic Appendix 7) and Carlisle to Lancaster (electronic Appendix 8). It shows each station along the route as well as sights that attracted my attention in between the train stations. These visuals provide the reader with an additional source of sensory data, enabling his/her own judgement of the route's scenic beauty and historic qualities and allowing him/her to add own meanings and values to it. To summarise, written, visual and sonic information in analysis chapters 5, 6 and 7 gives the reader an opportunity to reflect and to gain an embodied understanding of how tourists experience this train route and its dynamic mobile environment. Having examined my research methods and data collection tools as well as different ways in which I represent my findings, I turn to briefly explaining my sample in section 4.7 and the profile of my interviewees in the subsection 4.7.1.

4.7 Sample

My sampling strategy is criterion sampling, which is a non-probability purposive sampling technique. In general, non-probability purposive sampling techniques are “associated with small, in-depth studies with research designs that are based on the gathering of qualitative data and focused on the exploration and interpretation of experiences and perceptions” (Matthews and Ross, 2010: 167). The logic of criterion sampling is to study cases or individuals who meet a certain, predetermined criterion of importance (Patton, 1990). Based on my inquiry, the main criterion to start a conversation with a single traveller, a couple or a group was to make sure that the purpose of their train journey was tourism/leisure. The point of criterion sample is to identify cases that are likely to be information-rich. This became a realistic sampling technique within the mobile setting of a train carriage where diverse passengers temporarily dwell.

4.7.1 The Profile of Interviewees

During interviews, I asked participants to complete a short questionnaire on their socio-demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, education, employment, income, travel companions, and the purpose of their trip (Appendix 3). I decided to collect this data because, as identified in the literature review, factors such as socio-demographics influence tourists' disposition, perception and experience of the mobile environment. As can be seen in Appendix 1, in total, I interviewed 43 female and 37 male leisure travellers. Thirty-nine participants were employed, 35 were retired and 6 were students. Regarding social composition, some tourists travelled alone (14 passengers), some in groups of friends (10 groups) while some travelled as a couple (24 couples). It is also important to mention that among my interview participants there were some single travellers, a few small groups and some couples who were part of some organised hiking or cycling tours and, for them, the train became a meeting place with other members of cycling or rambling clubs.

Concerning the nature of the holiday or a daytrip, many tourists pursued an active day out of cycling, hiking or sightseeing while some went shopping or for an event

to Carlisle or Leeds. These leisure travellers assigned the train a secondary role to facilitate access to their destinations/planned activities for the day (50 passengers) while, for some, the train ride actually constituted the main purpose and interest of the day (30 passengers). Thus, from a psychographic perspective, the sample includes various personalities, lifestyles, preferences, interests and motivations to travel along this train route. Similarly, from the socio-economic/demographic perspective, the sample consists of a range of age groups, different levels of education, employment and income. What is more, it was unavoidable that for some leisure travellers it was their outward journey to a destination while for others it was a return ride home. Most holidaymakers were on their day trips while some used the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route as part of a longer holiday (5 passengers). The diversity of encounters and situations allowed me to collect a wide range of data (e.g., experiences, perceptions, embodied sensory knowing and different perspectives) and enabled me to analyse very diverse touristy rhythms. Having described the process of conducting ethnographic interviews on trains, I turn to the last subsection – my data collection tools.

4.8 Pilot Studies

4.8.1 The Process

Following the recommendations of Pink (2009), Lefebvre (2004) and Taylor (2002) who stress the need to learn through practicing the skills of being self-reflexive and the process of doing ethnographic interviews, I designed two pilot stages that prepared me to conduct self-reflexive and passenger observations and allowed me to develop techniques to conduct ethnographic interviews on trains. The first pilot study becomes the first phase of my data collection (see Figure 4.10) during which my aim was to gain a practical insight and experience of doing self-reflexive observations, recording my experiences in the time-space diary, observing passengers and, thus, becoming, what Crang (2011) calls, a tourist-researcher. The pilot study took place between October 2011 and May 2012 and consisted of three tourism trips by train.

In October, 2011, I joined a group of 40 young and active people and we toured around Western Europe. As part of our tour, we spent two days in the Swiss Alps where there was an opportunity to ride the historic Jungfraubahn railway to the highest station in Europe (called the 'Roof of Europe'), and visit the summit of the Jungfrau Mountain at over 12000ft (3,454 metres) high. The train trip to the summit became my first tourism trip during which I kept a field diary, reflecting on my mobile experiences and making observations of the experiences of my travel companions. In the beginning of April 2012, I undertook my next train journey together with my two good friends. It was a day trip by train to the Yorkshire Dales National Park to hike in the Three Peaks area. We set off at six o'clock in the morning to catch an early train from Manchester via Leeds to Horton-in-Ribblesdale (the historic Settle – Carlisle railway route) and then, after a daylong hike, travelled back home in the late afternoon. My third trip took place in the beginning of May 2012 when I travelled to Cornwall together with my partner. In contrast to my two previous day trips, this time I planned to go away for five full days and travel exclusively by trains. We commenced our journey from Manchester, travelled to London, and then by sleeper train to St Austell (Cornwall), which became our first destination. From St Austell we explored Cornwall for four days, travelling by train to Newquay, Par, Truro, Falmouth, Penzance, St Erth, St Ives and Liskeard. Liskeard became our final destination and from there we travelled back home using a sleeper train and a train from London to Manchester.

4.8.2 Reflections on Pilot Studies

During these trips, I gained a general awareness of how it feels to travel by train as a tourist-researcher. I learned and practised how to observe, document and analyse my self-reflexive experiences, the experiences of my travel companions and other passengers. As part of this process, I became aware of how I use embodied sensory knowing and how I develop sensory strategies in social interactions and self-representation within the public space of a train carriage. As a result, I produced thick descriptions about different aspects of my mobile experience and the surrounding mobile environment. In general, I consider this data collection phase as an exploration and preparation stage and, for this reason, the findings of this pilot stage are not included in the analysis chapters.

The second pilot study was conducted to test the process of doing ethnographic interviews on trains and to test my interview skills and my interviewing techniques. I conducted six interviews with passengers on trains, which generated little 'useful' data. Overall, during the interviews, it was hard to build rapport and it was hard to ask the questions. Many passengers were surprised by my questions, many admitted they have never thought about the sensory and emotional aspects of train travel before and, thus, found the questions hard to answer. Often, respondents did not know what to say or how to formulate their experiences in words, which resulted in very brief responses to all questions, such as 'It's nice; I like travelling by train; the landscape is beautiful'.

Reflecting on the interview process during these six pilot interviews and after listening to the recorded interviews, firstly, I realised that I was focusing too much on asking my questions from my question list. During the interviews, I tried to ask as many questions as possible in the order as I wrote them down (because at that stage I did not know them by heart). In this way, I hoped to get maximum information in the limited time that I had. Secondly, I realised that I was talking too much and I was almost giving possible answer options when my interview participants did not know what to say. Thus, when I was transcribing the first six interviews, I heard my voice more than the voices of my participants, which was a serious problem. I realised that to achieve insightful and rich data I needed to change my interview style and the way in which I approached my interviews. To do so, I adopted Pink's (2009) approach to doing sensory ethnography – my interviews became collaborative and reflexive explorations during which I learned to listen, observe, and focus on the person, his/her story and experiences and what she or he has to say.

The second difficulty that I faced during the first six interviews was that most domestic tourists travelled by train habitually and experienced the travel phase unreflexively. As a result, it was difficult for the leisure travellers to reflect on their practices and performances and express them in words. From this, I discovered that it was impossible to uncover tourists' mobile experiences without linking them to the anticipated experiences of the whole trip and even previous trips, motivations to undertake the trip, planned activities at the destination, the travellers' interests, hobbies and lifestyles. Hence, after including these conversation topics and changing my interview style, I was able to achieve rich and very insightful

data that is analysed in chapters 5, 6 and 7. Nevertheless, the first six interviews still revealed some characteristics of the mobile experience and, thus, this data is also included in the analysis.

4.9 Data Analysis

Since the focus of this research is on the practical, performative, sensate and affective dimensions of the travelling experience, my approach to analysis is influenced by Pink's (2009) multisensory research analysis techniques that account for and attend to the senses. More precisely, this means that, during this research project, I situate my analysis within the knowledge production process (Pink, 2009), which began during learning and knowing about my embodied experiences of travelling by train as a tourist-researcher and learning about other people's experiences during the fieldwork. It is a process of going back and forth between fieldwork, learning and analysing. It is an experimental, imaginative, sensorial and emotional process that can sometimes be messy and intuitive. Geertz (1973: 20), referring to analysis of cultural experience, reminds us that analysis should be a process of "guessing at meanings, assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses."

I adopt intuitive forms of thinking through the meanings of ethnographic materials and experiences – which include interview transcripts, my diary notes, pictures, videos and sound recordings – to discern themes and to "bring together a series of things in ways that make them mutually meaningful" (Pink, 2009:120). In line with my methodological strategy, I acknowledge that my knowledge becomes part of the production of academic knowledge because my data collection methods require accounting for and attending to my senses, experiences and embodied knowing. As a result, in the written end-product, both, the researcher's 'voice' and the 'voices' of participants are 'heard'. Moreover, following Wall (2006) and Scarles' (2010) examples, findings are expressed in the first-person when I refer to my self-reflexive experiences, enabling the researcher to "connect the personal to the cultural, placing the self within a social context" (Scarles, 2010:912).

Turning to the details of my analysis of research materials (interviews, time-space diary notes, photographs, videos and ambient sound recordings), it is important to highlight that analysis is a continuous, long-term and incremental process that involves the analytical process, reflexivity, corporeal experiences and the embodied and sensory memories of fieldwork. Hence, it involves sensory engagements in different ways and on different levels. To be more precise, firstly, I transcribed all my interviews (see Appendix 4 – An example of an Interview transcript and my self-reflexive diary notes) and I typed my time-space diary handwritten notes into Microsoft Word organising the documents by date and clock time. In this way, my diary notes could be easily linked to interview transcripts that were also organised by date and clock time. I had already started developing and refining my analytic hunches during fieldwork and while transcribing and typing my notes. The next step was to upload all my Word documents in the NVivo data management program and to start a sustained period of analysis that entailed reading each transcript, discerning themes, creating sub-themes, making notes, comments, ideas; rereading themes and merging some themes while also developing new sub-themes/themes (see Appendix 5 – my themes and sub-themes in NVivo). Put simply, I analysed the written text and synthesised ideas to 'produce knowledge'. I organised my analysis chapters under three very broad themes: rhythm analysis of train travel (chapter 5); embodied experience of leisure time and leisure rhythms (chapter 6); embodied experience of mobile space of a train carriage (chapter 7).

My data analysis also entailed engagement with photographs, videos and ambient sound recordings. I listened to my interviews that contained both conversations with leisure travellers and ambient sounds. I also listened to numerous sound recordings of the surrounding mobile environment and I watched videos that I filmed. Firstly, this material helped me to 'bring back to life'/remind me of my research encounters in situ while, secondly, sound recordings and recorded interviews helped me to hear sounds and background noises, which I did not notice while being on the train and speaking to people. Soundscapes and video recordings evoked my sensory memory and the embodied and emplaced ways of knowing, which, in return, helped me to analyse the written data, generate ideas, and 'produce knowledge'. Hence, listening to recorded sounds and videos was crucial to my data analysis.

In a similar vein, I engaged with photographs (mainly of the train route), which I took during my fieldwork. When I analysed the natural rhythms of the route or the experience of moving landscape along the route, I referred to these photographs for two reasons. Firstly, it was another source of information that enabled me to notice the changing natural rhythms of the route while, secondly, photographs reminded me of how I felt emotionally when I gazed at the scenery from the moving train, which helped me to analyse the experiences of my research participants. Taking photographs, filming and interviewing passengers leads me to the final point that needs to be addressed in this chapter – research ethics.

4.10 Research Ethics

Since the conduct of my research involved human participants, I adopted the following ethical principles during the data collection process (also see Appendix 6 – MMU Ethics Check Form):

- I used my emotional intelligence when I approached passengers to ask them to participate in my interview.
- I asked interview participants' permission to audio-record our conversation and I asked them to sign an informed consent form giving me permission to record the interview and use their voices for data analysis and presentation of findings (Appendix 3).
- To obtain an informed consent, I always briefly explained the nature of my research. I also informed my interview participants that they could withdraw from the interview at any time and that their identity would never be revealed.
- I took a collaborative and participatory approach to research, which respects research participants.
- During my passenger observations on trains, I respected the privacy of other passengers and I used common sense to make sure I was not disturbing them or making them feel uncomfortable.
- During the interviews, I remained attentive to what was important to my research participants (e.g., not to miss their station, I stopped or finished the interview when my participants wanted to observe something important to them

outside or when I felt that they wanted to be left alone).

- I never photographed passengers inside a carriage, unless I obtained their consent.
- Although I covertly recorded a mix of ambient sounds inside a carriage, I never recorded passengers' conversations to ensure all verbal data were obtained with informed consent.
- I followed the common code of practice in the public space of a train carriage.

4.11 Summary

In this chapter, I explain my research methodology and justify the research strategy and data collection methods that I adopt to fulfil my research aims. I outline my ontological and epistemological orientations that guide this study and influence my methodological strategy and research methods. I present my research strategy – sensory auto-ethnography – and outline the four data collection methods that I employ to collect data: self-reflexive observations, passenger observation, rhythmanalysisism and ethnographic interviews. I explain the context of my research setting, the research sample and the profile of my interviewees. Finally, I explain the importance of ambient sound recordings, photographs and videos to my study, describe two pilot stages and the data analysis techniques that I employ to analyse primary data.

Chapter 5 Analysis – Rhythmanalysis of Train Travel

5.1 Introduction

Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is *rhythm*

(Lefebvre, 2004:15).

In this chapter, I will explore train travel through the analytical lens of rhythms. In doing so, I engage with the debate introduced in chapter 3 regarding rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre, 2004) – a method and a theory that attends to the ways in which time and space are folded into rhythms through the lived. As a method, it is a particularly useful mode of analysis because it enables the investigation of a state of movement and an aspect of becoming (Lefebvre, 1996; 2004). As a theory (a new field of knowledge), rhythms imply the relation of a time to a space, “a localised time, or, if one prefers, a temporalized space” (Lefebvre, 2004: 89). In the words of Lefebvre, everything consists of rhythms, slow or lively, and “rhythms is always linked to a place while also being a time [and they are] measured in relation to our body, our time or the measure of rhythms” (Lefebvre, 2004: 89). Describing the rhythmicity of the lifeworld, Adam (1995: 94-5) contends:

Time in the natural environment is characterised by rhythmic variations, synchronisation and an all-embracing, complex web of interconnections. Linear sequences take place but these are part of a wider network of cycles as well as finely tuned and synchronized temporal relations where ultimately everything connects to everything else: the structure of an ecological system is temporal and its parts resonate with the whole and vice-versa. Rhythmicity, therefore, forms nature’s silent pulse.

Influenced by Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis and also Edensor’s application of this theory (Edensor and Hollaway, 2008; Edensor, 2012a; 2014; 2000a), I analyse the multiple rhythmic assemblages of the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train journey and I demonstrate that a multitude of rhythms produces and reproduces time-space of a train carriage as fluid, dynamic and practiced. I use rhythmanalysis to gain a deeper temporal understanding of mobile place and

space of a train carriage as well as to illustrate the dynamic, sometimes unpredictable, embedded and embodied nature of travel time. Moreover, in this chapter, I demonstrate that these rhythmic elements are sensed through the passengers' bodies and, thus, play an important role in how time-space is experienced 'on the move'. I start this chapter by scrutinising the diverse rhythms of the route. This is followed by the analysis of mechanical, natural and social rhythms that constitute the background of the journey and become an integral part of leisure travellers' experience.

5.2 The Rhythms of the Route

I start the rhythm analysis of Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route with an examination of the rhythmic assemblages of the route - its history, geography of changing relief, landscapes and materialities (e.g., train stations). Moreover, by focusing on the route, I will demonstrate that these rhythmic intensities intersect with other tempos, such as the mechanical rhythms of the train, materiality and sociality of the train carriage, and the rhythms of places the route passes through, together forming a train journey experience. In doing so, I support Lorimer and Lund's (2003:142) assertion that the paths "reflect the interplay between technologies, human agency and spaces of practice".

As identified by Lee and Ingold (2006:78), "places are created by routes and mobility". People become familiar with a place and learn about it through different routes that, according to Edensor (2014: 165), "produce a stretched-out, linear apprehension of place shaped by the form of a road, railway or footpath". Moreover, Edensor (2010:70) continues that "places are being formed by movement...People not only move between places, but also form them by movement itself. By the interweaving of routes over time or concurrently, a place is made". Hence, the railway route from Leeds via Settle to Carlisle and then via Barrow to Lancaster (refer to Figure 4.09) offers one way to learn and discover the region of Cumbria and North Yorkshire in the North West of England. More specifically, the route offers the chance to tour by train and discover two popular holiday destinations: the Lake District and the Yorkshire Dales National Parks. It unfolds a specific geography of the region, marked with diverse points of interest. For instance, several accounts reveal that travelling along this train route opens up a different

and a very distinct view on the region:

This is the first time we see Yorkshire Dales from this point of view, travelling by train along this route. We think it's beautiful, something that we have never seen before. So, although we live in Yorkshire Dales and we have been in this region before by car, travelling along this route by train and seeing all the beauty is very novel to us.

(A couple, sightseeing along Settle-Carlisle route, Interview 16).

This experience by train is new to us because, although we been to this region by car, this train enables us to see completely different things like the estuaries and the seashore. Also, there is a little pub that we go to occasionally near Lancaster. We wouldn't see it in the car going because it is off a country road. However, as we were coming from Lancaster, we actually saw it from the train

(Couple, hiking, working & retired, via Barrow, Interview 43)!

However, as it can be seen on the railway route map (Figure 4.09), the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster branch line is not the only train route enabling access to this region. The express mainline (operated by Virgin) lies across the Lake District linking Glasgow with Carlisle, Oxenholme (Lake District), Lancaster and London. Moreover, there is the Kendal and Windermere Railway's branch line that provides access to the largest natural lake in England – Windermere – a place popular for holidays and summer homes since the arrival of the railway to the Lake District in 1847. Finally, along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow- Lancaster route, there is also an opportunity to make connections with two short heritage railway routes: one from Keighley to Oxenhope, called Keighley & Worth Valley Railway, and another one from Ravenglass to Delagarth, called Ravenglass & Eskdale Railway. Each of these train lines reveals a different geography of the region and offers diverse points of interest. Moreover, each train route has its own distinct rhythms that are sensed, experienced and (co)produced by 'travelling bodies' and that enable a particular engagement of the body-mind- environment, creating a distinct embodied experience (Pink, 2008a).

For instance, according to my embodied experiences and the experiences of many respondents, the rhythms of a modern Virgin train (Pendolino electric tilting train) along the mainline are much faster, quieter and smoother than the loud, vibrating and relatively slow tempos of a Northern Rail diesel train along the branch lines. What is more, the movement of Virgin trains is usually felt as more

detached from the surrounding environment and experienced as seamless and neutral. On a Northern Rail train, on the other hand, one can almost feel, hear and sometimes smell the natural terrain through which the train travels: the ascents, turns of the track, slowing down and speeding up, bridges, tunnels, passing farmland and its smells and the wind along the seashore blowing in through the open windows (auto-ethnography, 13.07.2013). Similarly a person on his fishing holiday remarks:

The trains on the main line feel different than the trains on the branch lines. I mean this train feels more like a bus: it's a lot smaller, it's a bit more rickety, it's obviously more parochial. I can feel that it's slower and it stops more... While the fast trains do feel like a different kettle of fish - much smoother, faster and quieter. It's almost like getting on a plane. The experience is more like flying - you're hermetically sealed and you can't open the windows

(A single traveller, fishing holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 16).

Thus, the old diesel trains that operate along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster branch line not only enable a visual contemplation of the fleeting landscapes but also afford passengers the chance to bodily sense the mechanical movement of the train, its vibrations, as well as the surrounding noises, smells, and feel of the wind. Furthermore, the close proximity of the natural environment, the movement and the geography of the route is sensed because diesel trains change their pace when going up a steep section of the route or when going into a turn. During these times, its engine also sounds different. Similarly, the acoustics of the carriage change when the train goes through a tunnel. These observations are in line with Bissell (2010:482) who, analysing train vibrations, notes that "The event of vibration brings the carriage and body into close proximity. This is a connection between a body that is capable of feeling vibration, and the carriage that impresses into the body through the seat and floor".

Consequently, the branch line diesel train's rhythmic intensities allow passengers to notice and distinctly experience not only the place of a train carriage but also the realm of rural places through which the train travels, folding interior and exterior spaces experientially into each other and producing, according to Edensor (2010:69), "a particular temporal mixity of events of varying regularity". Many travellers comment that they enjoy sensing the slow-pace of natural landscape along the route because it is very different to complex, bustling and impersonal city rhythm, echoing Shaw (2001) who argues that in different kinds of places life

proceeds at different speeds. Each place has its particular pace – its ‘heartbeat’ – that emerges from the relationship between people and their surrounding environment. According to Shaw, one of the explanations why people travel is to change pace and immerse in a place with a different ‘heartbeat’, either for a shorter period, like when going on holiday, or on a more permanent basis, when retiring or starting family life. Shaw argues that distinct rhythms of a place are best noticed by outsiders who are “forced to march at an unfamiliar pace” (Shaw, 2001: 124). Thus, a respondent tells me, “We just wanted to see the route, how does the route feel by train” (2 sisters, train, working, via Settle, Interview 26).

In a similar vein, each route has its dominant social rhythms. For instance, the rhythms of the mainline are described by passengers as hectic, impersonal, full of hassle and stress because this line is mainly used by commuters and business people and is often experienced as crowded. Remembering a journey to Scotland, a hiker remarks, “It felt like a cattle being herded in” (Father and son, hiking, retired & working, via Settle, Interview 2). Similarly, describing train journeys from Carnforth via Lancaster to Manchester Airport, an interviewee remembers:

If you’re going to the airport, you know, it will be a nightmare because that route is always full. The 9:30am train is the worst but even late at night, it is still busy. They [First *TransPennine Express*] don’t have enough carriages for this service and everybody complains on the train. There are usually no seats available and no space for the luggage. When I go to the airport, I prepare myself for the worst: possible delays, cancellations, literally full carriages

(A group of 6, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 31).

My auto-ethnographical observations support the claim that social rhythms along a mainline differ from the social environment along a branch line:

Travelling back from Carlisle to Lancaster along the mainline, I can sense that the atmosphere of the carriage is completely different. Since this is a mid-afternoon (around 3pm) Virgin train that terminates in London, the sociality of the carriage is dominated by returning business passengers and people who are doing some maintenance trips. I do not see any leisure travellers – more relaxed passengers with an exploratory look, wearing walking boots, holding some maps, rucksack, walking stick or a camera. Thus, the atmosphere of this carriage is more business-like, bringing me back to mundane, everyday reality: people have conversations on phones about their business arrangements, problems, deals... Smartly dressed business passengers travel in groups from some business meetings or business related events. I can hear them still discussing some business related affairs and I can observe their business-like behaving

(Auto-ethnography, 26.06.2013).

In a similar vein, comparing the atmosphere on a mainline and a branch line trains, two cyclists recount:

Traveller 1: Definitely, there is a different atmosphere on a mainline and on a branch line coz you get different types of people travel along these lines. Traveller 2: like drunken football fans on the train when they're going crazy [laughs]. Person 1: If I compare this train line [Leeds-Settle-Carlisle] and Leeds to London trains, the London train would be dominated by more business travellers who read some newspapers or work on their computers

(2 friends, cyclists, retired, via Settle, Interview 15).

The social pulses on a branch line, in contrast, are usually characterised as more leisurely and relaxed because many passengers along this route are on their holiday. They want to enjoy the route and, thus, feel and behave more hassle-free. They are more willing to make conversations and enjoy the surrounding environment. An interview with a retired couple reveals:

The researcher: I saw that you started chatting with a woman who sat opposite to you. Is it natural to start a conversation with a person sitting at the same table? **Man:** sometimes you do, sometimes you don't. I mean, it is a nice ride and the scenery is nice... It makes people more relax and more chatty. **The researcher:** Does a route like this make you more prone to share experiences? **Man:** yes, I would say I tend to talk a little bit more...

(Couple, sightseeing, employed, via Settle, Interview 42).

Consequently, although my focus in this Section is on the rhythms of Leeds- Settle- Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route, participants' narratives demonstrate that the rhythms of this route cannot be analysed in isolation from the rhythms and experiences of other routes. To explain this phenomenon, two reasons should be highlighted. Firstly, interview participants, when asked to narrate their experiences of the current journey, often described their feelings, sensations and perception of the present journey by comparing it to different journeys in past, which echoes Pink's (2008a) assertion that people's pathways are thoroughly entangled with memories and experiences.

Moreover, by comparing holidays, journeys and experiences, participants were able to define the meaning they attached to the current journey. For instance, along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle route section, I met a photographer who showed me many pictures on his camera, captured along different train lines. He tried to explain his experience of this train journey by showing me images of other journeys. These images help him to tell me rich stories about the travelled routes, trains and places: where they were taken and under what weather conditions, how he waited for the perfect view, and what memories and meanings are linked to that place and moment in time (Photographer, via Settle, Interview 34). Similarly, another day-tripper, asked about the experience of this journey, showed me a video on which he recorded his train ride to Devon - how the train travels along the sea.

Interviews with these leisure travellers support the debate I introduced in chapter2 (subsection 2.6.7) on sensory memory. The experience of this route cannot be analysed in isolation from other journeys because the embodied experience of this trip is compared with "...our emplaced past experience" (Feld,2005:181) that is already sedimented in the sensory memory of the body and that is already assigned a value. Feld (2005:181) maintains, "There is no perception which is not full of memories". This contention echoes with Halsall's (2001) research on heritage railway experiences and Lee and Ingold's (2006) analysis of walked routes. Halsall points out that people feel, experience, value and assign meanings to heritage railway trips in comparison to everyday experiences of modern trains and other past experiences of other trips. In his study, British tourists highlight that the ride on the heritage railway in the Netherlands reminds them of British light railways and evokes memories from childhood of travelling by train across the South Lancashire mosslands. Similarly, Lee and Ingold (2006:72) explain that walked routes are felt in the body and inscribed in the bodily memory because "the eyes seem

rather secondary to the feet, ears and skin in terms of how the environment is perceived". Through the bodily engagement with the environment, meanings are created and routes are made rich in the memories and experiences.

However, there is another reason why participants talk about other routes and transport modes while describing their experiences along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route. Day-trippers like combining different routes, rhythms and modes of movement during their leisure trips. For instance, a train journey is very often complemented by walking or cycling rhythms; a ride on a contemporary train can be supplemented by unhurried tempos of a heritage steam train and a walk; or a day out can be a combination of a car drive, a train journey and a walk. Similarly, holidaymakers can decide to travel along one train route to Carlisle and then take a different train route on the way back home. For instance, it is quite common to go along the Cumbrian Coast Line (from Lancaster via Barrow) to Carlisle (about 3:50 hours) and then take the direct main line train from Carlisle back to Lancaster (about 0:50 hours). As participants explain, there are several reasons that underlay these different choices of routes and mobility modes. Reasons cited most frequently are convenience, flexibility, interests and hobbies, ticket or fuel prices, desire to experience something different, desire to decrease travel time or to use it more efficiently, desire to access certain attractions or walks, willingness to avoid traffic and make the day less stressful and easier. For instance, quotes below highlight different experiential aspects that are in favour of car or train on a leisure journey:

Wife: By train, you have to be going to what I say central points. You can't go somewhere, like small, remote villages. In general, with the car it is easier to get anywhere and you can take as much luggage as you want. **Husband:** Also, with train you need to plan in advance whereas with car you can be more spontaneous.

(Couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 28).

It's more relaxing to travel by train in comparison to driving when you need to concentrate all the time. On a train, I can just sit back, relax and look at the view... on some trains you can buy food and drinks. If it is a long journey, I always buy a coffee and sandwich. You can't do that in a car...

(Couple, hiking & train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 21).

If I can go somewhere on a train, I always pick a train over driving because I don't have to have any responsibility: I can read a book, I can have a drink, I can stare out of a window... I can just let my thoughts wander whereas when I'm driving I have to be watching where I'm going, it can be stressful, you've got other road users... Besides, I just like getting on a train, I always have...

(Group of 3, running, working, via Settle, Interview 39).

Finalising the analysis of the route, I would like to highlight changing natural rhythms – distinct landscapes and weather conditions – and the rich and remarkable historical rhythms of built structures. These rhythms are significant because they highlight the dynamic nature of movement – tempos of varying consistencies, repetitions and differences – and contribute to lived experiences 'on the move'. To examine the natural and historical rhythms of the route, I split it into two sections – the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle section and the Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster section – because each section has its distinct history and natural environment.

With regards to the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle railway section (see Electronic Appendix7 – a visual representation of the section), it is essential to note that the line was opened in 1876, then attempts to close it in the 1960s and 1980s initiated campaigns to save the line and attracted financial and volunteer support to make the line viable again. Nowadays, this part of the route is advertised as arguably the most scenic railway line in England, a masterpiece of Victorian engineering, constructed almost entirely by hand (www.settle-carlisle.co.uk). The railway route offers dramatic landscape, access to the countryside: many cycling and walking routes, little villages and market towns, as well as heritage value for its unique and impressive engineering. The line was engineered to follow the natural pathways through the hills of the Pennines and, thus, has 14 tunnels and over 20 viaducts and bridges, the building of which cost the life of many men who worked in harsh and challenging weather conditions (www.yorkshiredales.org.uk). As commented by many respondents, historical rhythms of how the line was constructed and what its purpose was still play an important role in the experience of the line because many tourists and locals still sense the drama of its construction. As a retired local couple remarks:

Wife: It is just the history of this route that I like, how it was built. This is what makes it special, that fascinates me because the history is always there whenever you travel along the line. Every time when I go over the viaducts and through the tunnels, I always remember the men who worked here...well, every time. To me it is still fantastic, even now! **Husband:** yes, that's true...This is a very special line historically. I feel admiration for the people who built it. It was very dramatic to work there

(Couple, shopping, working, via Settle, Interview 36).

What is more, the historical feature that typifies the character of the Settle-Carlisle line is the architecture of the stations, in particular the station buildings (www.settle-carlisle.co.uk). According to my auto-ethnographical observations and comments of many participants, the refurbished and beautifully maintained Victorian style railway stations stand out in the natural beauty of the region. They convey an 'affective atmosphere' of history delivered by objects, technologies and bodies (Bissell, 2010) and embody a distinct sign of 'Britishness' (Edensor and Holloway, 2008). One of the participants notes:

This line is unique and special! The train line with the stations gives the feeling of going back in time to the 50s and the 60s in a way, apart from the lack of the steam train....

(Single traveller, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 40).

With reference to the dramatic landscape, the route starts in Leeds – a vibrant northern city – from a modern (rebuilt and extended), large and busy railway station. At the start of the trip, it goes through some built up areas but later (from Bingley) unfolds into a pleasant and quixotic rolling countryside: green pastures, remote houses, small rural bridges, sheep and dairy cattle in the distance. From Settle, the scenery transforms and the journey ascends steeply past the Pennine hills and mountains – Pen Y Ghent, Ingleborough and Whernside – to the stunning Ribbleshead Viaduct and views of the famous, wild and breath-taking Yorkshire Dales. Onward to Dent, which has the highest mainline station in England, the route clings to the sides of a beautifully peaceful and lonely upland panorama with enfolding high grasslands, remote hilltops, woodland scenery and several miles of small fields, separated by dry stonewalls. From Ais Gill, the highest point of the journey, the descent winds around the Dales eventually giving views of the Lake District and Cross Fell. Finally, the train journey follows the River Eden from Appleby to Carlisle – a historic border town between England and Scotland.

In contrast, the Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster railway section (The Cumbrian Coast Line and The Furness Railway) (see Electronic Appendix 8 – a visual representation of the section) is an amalgamation of series of earlier routes, first of which was opened in 1844, providing access to Victorian seaside resorts and industrial sites. This section is not as famous among tourists as the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle line and its history is not marketed for tourists in the same way as the Settle to Carlisle historic railway section. Nevertheless, it is a spectacularly attractive journey of contrast for much of its length because the line runs very close to the Cumbrian coast, Morecambe Bay with its tides and Duddon Estuary, hosting some of the largest concentrations of wildlife in the UK (www.cumbriancoastline.co.uk). Leaving Carlisle, the route unfolds into pleasant rolling countryside interchangeably with some industrial sites near Workington and Harrington, on the one side of the railways. On the other side, however, starting from Maryport, the countryside views are replaced by a breath-taking seascape of Cumbria's scenic coastline with sandy bays, seaside towns and several Victorian seaside resorts, like Seascale and St Bees. Finally, onwards from Sellafield, on the other side of the railways, the route offers magnificent views of the famous fells and the rolling pastures of the Solway Plain and Furness Peninsula (mountains and hills of The Lake District National Park). The route terminates in Lancaster – a vibrant university city with a wealth of history (www.visitlancashire.com). Describing this section of the route, a hiker notes:

It is a lovely route along the Cumbrian coast because the landscape is so interesting and varied. There are not so many places where the train comes right by the water either. So, that's part of the attraction as well, I think

(Group of 4, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 31).

Thus, the rhythms of the route encompass diverse social, mechanical, natural, historical and material rhythmic intensities and give a distinct and dynamic character to the journey that is experienced by tourists as they travel along the route.

5.3 Mechanical Rhythms

By focusing on rhythms during a train ride, it becomes apparent that diverse human and non-human rhythmic assemblages and intensities co-exist in the space and time of a train carriage. Technologised movement of the train - a series of different-paced and orchestrated mechanical tempos and beats - comprises one of the dominating rhythms that “give a temporal shape to the mobile place of a train carriage” (Edensor, 2014: 164). These technologised rhythmical intensities, according to Edensor (2012a: 60), “can produce a eurhythmic consistency, a comfortable mobile environment from which the passing scenes are apprehended, a homely and relaxing setting within which the body is enfolded and lulled into a state of kinaesthetic and tactile relaxation”. This statement is supported by many accounts who agree that the mechanic pulse of the engine offers pleasing and harmoniously ordered rhythms that rock them into relaxation, sleep or ephemeral rhythms of reverie, memories or anticipation:

Sometimes I get to sleep travelling from Fort Williams in the highlands down to London... and that's lovely and I always sleep very well on this train because I find it really soothing and cosy. The train movement and train noise create a feeling of security and I quite like it

(A couple, hiking, employed&retired, via Barrow, Interview 6)

[On the train], I think about the stories that I'm gonna tell and I think of ways describing things and I just unwind all the things that gone through my head... I love the motion of the train. I hate it when it stops... Once it starts again, it's like a drug! It just rocks you...it is just like literally being rocked, like you're a baby. It must be something atavistic about the feeling of the motion of travel... You see, that's what you got on the train

(Single traveller, fishing, working, via Settle, Interview 13).

Hence, these quotes suggest that reoccurring and routinized rhythms of a train are felt bodily, evoking pleasant sensations of safety, comforting rhythmic reliability, relaxation and mobile homeliness, lending support to Edensor and Holloway's (2008) earlier claim that the rhythmic multiplicity of different transport modes involves entanglements of embodiment, affective registers and technologies. The embodied and emotional reaction to the rhythmical movement of a train is neatly summarised in the following quote:

It can just make you so relaxed ... It's restful, it's good, it's lovely! It is a marvellous feeling...hahaha, I feel very comfortable about it!

(Couple, birthday, retired, via Barrow, Interview 44).

However, not all passengers pay attention, have an emotional response or assign any importance or meaning to the mechanical rhythms of a train because many passengers have a high adaptation level to train travel (Altman and Wohlwill, 1975) and experience it in a habitual, ordinary and routinized manner. Thus, when asked about their feelings towards the movement of a train, many day-trippers looked puzzled because it was hard for them to evaluate their habitual experiences. They did not know what to say and, after thinking for a while, replied:

My farther worked on railways and for 20 years I worked on railways, it's in me blood. I've done it that many times... Actually, I have always travelled on railways with my whole family. We had a railway life. I'm just used to it. I just accept it

(Retired cyclist, via Settle, Interview 15).

The motion of the train... it's nothing. I don't pay attention to all of that. To me, it is just a vehicle that takes me to where I wanna go

(Couple, train, working, via Settle, Interview 16).

These accounts demonstrate that, firstly, a train's rhythmic intensities are not always consciously registered and experienced, as happens with other habitual, everyday enactions and rhythmic systems that are rarely apparent (Edensor, 2010). Secondly, even if train travellers notice and enjoy the rocking movement of a train, they are not always able to articulate and analyse their feelings and emotional attachment to trains. Thus, some passengers are very short and uncertain in their responses, just saying that they are fine with it, that they like it or that it is just different to, for instance, car driving:

Mmmmm [thinking]... I don't really know, I have never thought about it. It is obviously a different experience to driving...

(Couple, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 21).

Nevertheless, movement or lack of it is always noticed when synchronised and habitual rhythms break down or are violated by counter rhythms, arrhythmia or resistant rhythms. Lefebvre (2004:77) notes, "We are only conscious of most of our rhythms when we begin to suffer from some irregularity". For instance, on trains, mobile eurhythmia is threatened by delays and cancellations, caused by bad

weather, broken down trains, faults along the railway lines or sometimes accidents. Although these disruptions are perceived differently by diverse leisure travellers, the main point I want to emphasise here is that holidaymakers' disposition to delays and cancellations is in sharp contrast to commuters' reactions to these situations, as these respondents note:

When I was commuting, if the train was 10 minutes late I used to get really angry. Even though it didn't make a lot of difference... it was late two or three times a week, and it felt very annoying. Whereas if I'm on holiday and the train is 10 minutes late, I'm not worried because I'm here for leisure and I'm not rushing anywhere

(Group of 3, cycling, students, via Barrow, Interview 9)

What is more, these accounts show that adaptation to arrhythmia and unfamiliar rhythms is integral to leisure journeys by train if one desires a positive leisure experience:

If the waiting time would be too long, what we would do, because we thought about that, we wouldn't go any further, we would change our plans and utilise Lancaster as our destination. We would just still made the most of this day

(Couple, hiking, retired & working, via Barrow, Interview 43).

Husband: If this train from Leeds had been full by the time it came to Skipton with no available seats, we would have made other plans for the day. We would not get on it.

(Couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 37).

As these quotes suggest, tourists are prepared for arrhythmic potentialities. By accumulating experience and knowledge, they learn to deal with them and adapt to arrhythmia because it is a fundamental art of any consideration of rhythms (Edensor, 2014). Nevertheless, it does not mean that all respondents of this study were unconcerned about the disruptions:

It depends a bit on whether it is important for me to be somewhere on time. I mean sometimes, even on a leisure journey, it can be that you need to meet somebody or you just like to be organised, to go according to your plans

(Couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 41).

Although, on holiday I usually have a bit more time, delays and cancellations are still totally irritating because the train companies are trying to get away with a lot of bad customer service and they should have far more reliable trains than they do. I expect a good customer service whether I am on business or on holiday

(2 friends, hiking, working, via Settle, Interview 18).

Delays and cancellations are not the only source of arrhythmia during a train journey. A day-tripper to Barrow points out that different arrhythmic mechanical beats are also noticed bodily, making the traveller feel alarmed and uncomfortable:

Another thing that I notice is the shakiness of the train. I think, it also has an influence on how my body feels because every now and then the train shakes a little bit harder than expected and that gives me like a small panic attack. Every time it shakes like this, I kind of feel that it's uncontrollable and I feel a little bit insecure and dizzy. I think it is because of the train tracks, they are shifting a little bit. I have to focus on something so I don't get dizzy and obviously I don't really like these feelings

(Couple, sightseeing, students, via Settle, Interview 46).

Similarly, the high speed of the train and style of the motion made me feel uncomfortable and unsafe during one of my train journeys. An excerpt from my diary demonstrates that:

The train is unusually fast because it makes fewer stops. It hardly allows me to write straight. My hand with a pencil jumps up and down as the train swings, sways and rocks from one side to another. Thus, it feels less stable. People, who are standing, even slightly fall to one side when the train goes into a turn. Besides, writing and train swinging make me feel dizzy. I realise I don't like when the train is so fast because it makes me feel unsafe and anxious

(Auto-ethnography, via Settle, 17.07.2013).

Hence, the series of different-paced mechanical rhythms constitutes an integral part of train travel and forms an important component of leisure travellers' mobile experiences. Nevertheless, further analysing the rhythms of a train journey, it becomes apparent that mechanical tempos of the train (its accelerations, slower and faster movement, going into turns and stoppings), are entangled with various social rhythms, such as habitual rhythms of commuters, varied tempos of holidaymakers, retirees, families and other occasional travellers that are discussed in the next section.

5.4 Social Rhythms

Focusing on the social rhythms along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route, it becomes apparent that the time-space of a train carriage is dominated by certain types of passengers at certain times of the day and week, giving a temporal sense to the mobile place of a train. However, before I scrutinise the repetitive rhythmic intensities that constitute the social environment of a train carriage, I would like to highlight that, similar to technologised tempos, mundane and reoccurring social beats are always interrupted by some arrhythmic manifestations or accompanied by new and unforeseen rhythms. For instance, trains can be crowded and overcrowded, dramatically changing the expected pulses of a familiar ride, as a note in my auto-ethnographic diary demonstrates:

16:19 train from Millom to Barrow is cancelled and I have to wait for an hour and a half for the next train. After an hour, I feel tired of waiting, besides my legs hurt from a daylong walking. I just want to get on a train sooner, sit back and relax... However, when the train arrives, it is unexpectedly crowded! It is the first time I experience this train at this time being so full and there are two reasons for that: firstly, the previous train was cancelled and, secondly, this one has only one carriage. On one hand, I feel happy to be able to get on it. On the other hand, however, it is overcrowded and uncomfortable inside! I squeeze by few passengers and lean on the luggage rack near the entrance. Two women with prams and little children stand next to me. On the next stop, two guys with a dog squeeze into the train...I can see that the dog is scared of so many people and so little space... Standing in the corridor, squeezed between passengers, a dog, prams and kids, I can't see anything of the great scenery along the route. Besides, it is a hot summer afternoon and I can feel that people around me are sweating, I also smell the dog's odour and some breath reeking of alcohol from somewhere near. The train journey has changed from being pleasant and relaxing into one that is endured because it is ridiculously crowded, I have no seat and I'm tired...

(Auto-ethnography, via Barrow, 08.06.2013).

Thus, as this passage highlights different disruptive rhythms during unexpected times, such as busy social rhythms at weekends in conjunction with arrhythmic technologised rhythms and tired rhythms of a body can significantly change the travel experience and the overall impression of the train ride, as well as negatively affect passengers' moods. In a similar vein, as noted by many respondents of this

study, there might be disruptive passengers who do not adhere to the train's code of behaviour, such as drunks, passengers travelling home from sporting events, passengers who are asleep and snore very loudly, talk loudly on mobile phones or listen to music very loudly. Arrhythmic performances of this nature stand out from normative, synchronised tempos of the majority of train users and most passengers experience them as annoying, irritating and distracting, especially if these situations are quite rare. During these instances and periods, the non-human material rhythms and sounds also come to the forefront of attention, such as sounds of ringing mobile phones and music devices, noises that accompany different children's games, sounds and rhythms of nail filing or playing with a coin on a table. Describing these occasions and their effects, interview respondents point out the following details:

Man: On this route, it is not too bad but sometimes, when there is a lot of noise, trouble and that sort of thing, it is hard to relax. For example, kids out of control, crying and screaming, or headphones, iPods and noise that comes out of them ...that make me a bit annoyed. Sometimes I just cannot relax; I get this constant buzzing of people's music or loud phone calls. [Meanwhile, in the background, the engine again starts working very loudly.] **Man:** [referring to these mechanical train sounds], this noise doesn't matter but when you get the noise of people talking and laughing very loud...to me, that is disturbing and I start feeling tense. I think people sometimes don't realise how loud they talk. You can have a quiet conversation and no one has to hear it but people seem to want to talk over the mechanical noise of the train...

(Person with disabled mother, day out, working, via Barrow, Interview 20).

I remember one time when a drunk person got on the train... that person was just randomly talking to people and stuff... I don't really mind talking to people, I mind talking to drunk people because the atmosphere is different. I could see that some other passengers were also annoyed because that drunk person was so loud

(Couple, sightseeing, students, via Settle, Interview 46).

Thus, these quotes demonstrate that the social environment is capable of producing uneven and varied rhythms, echoing Edensor and Holloway's (2008:485) assertion that "rhythms continually change, intersecting and flowing in diverse ways, and apparently repetitive and regular rhythmic patterns are apt to be punctured, disrupted or curtailed by moments and periods of arrhythmia". What is

more, these disruptive social rhythms are differently perceived and experienced by diverse leisure travellers, further discussed in chapter 7.

Now, focusing on more predictable and routinized social tempos, it becomes apparent that, on workdays, during the rush hours of early mornings and vibrant early evenings, the space of a train is constructed by hectic and habitual routes of commuters, rendering the train very busy, often crowded to the extent that passengers cannot get on. During this time, the trains to Leeds or Lancaster become commuter trains, filled with commuting and business rhythms:

Commuter trains are so busy, they are not quite pleasant ...When I worked in hospital, I used to get a train in and even the very first train in the morning was busy. I used to go 7 o'clock in the morning, the train was always full, and I used to stand. I think the train space was used well over its capacity ...

(2 sisters, train, working, via Settle, Interview 26).

This quote demonstrates that the rhythms of a region, city or a rural place, and institutionalised working rhythms, including hours of commerce, are closely intertwined with train rhythms, mutually influencing one another. On the one hand, due to set working rhythms, trains are overcrowded with commuters during certain periods of the day and week, creating a busy and hectic atmosphere in them. Agreeing with this statement, day-trippers who have encountered early morning or afternoon rush hours commented that the commuting rhythms change the train environment and their experiences of the ride:

Later on today, we probably won't get a seat with my mum because when the shift finishes at Sellafield this train will be full. It is from 4pm to 5.30pm. So, if you get on anywhere coming back, it'll be full every seat. We just have to hope for the best that we will get seats

(Person with disabled mother, day out, working, via Barrow, Interview 20).

On the other hand, however, delayed, cancelled and overcrowded trains impact on institutionalised working rhythms, as explained by one of the respondents:

I used to travel by train to work and then it was really annoying if the train was late because it impacted my working day and I had to work these hours in some other time.

(Group of 4, cycling, working, via Settle, Interview 24).

What is more, analysis of busy commuting periods highlights that travellers themselves adopt different rhythms depending on their destination and the purpose of the journey, companions, and state of mind, an aspect that is further scrutinised in chapter 7. A day-tripper explains:

[On commuter trains,] passengers are more focused on themselves, getting to work, starting the day on time. They are not up to chatting. They look busy, thinking and grumpy...but sometimes I like that because when I travel for work I don't want to talk to anybody. I just want to sit and do what I have planned to do...Or, on the way home, I like to go on a train and just sit and watch the world go by... I don't have to talk, I can just relax... Otherwise, if I'm with someone else than I have a little chat but it is just nice to sit and wind down after a long day.

(Group of 4, cycling, working, via Settle, Interview 24).

In comparison, a cyclist describes the social environment and the atmosphere of an off-peak train that feels completely different to what he experiences as a commuter:

On off-peak trains, the atmosphere feels a lot more relaxed. Generally, people look calmer...They don't scramble to get to the door or anything...everything seems slower, hassle-free...

(Single traveller, cycling, student, via Settle, Interview 29).

Similarly, Lee and Ingold's (2006) study on walking routes in Aberdeen shows that people's walking rhythms vary depending on whether they automatically and unreflexively walk to work along tried-and-tested routes, have a brisk walk during a lunchtime break along the beach or taking an exploratory stroll along less familiar routes at the weekend. Describing the rhythms of commuters', Edensor's (2014: 166) notes that commuters "are on 'auto-pilot', free and absorbed in the moment". Recognising the importance of these factors, in the next chapter 7, I further analyse how the rhythms and experiences of leisure travellers are influenced by the destination, purpose of travel and the state of mind, rendering these trips different to other train journeys, such as commuting or maintenance trips.

Returning to the routinised social beats along the route, the hectic early morning pace is replaced by much slower late morning, off-peak leisurely tempos of a few cyclists and sightseers. Similarly, according to my observations, during this time, the route is popular with the rhythms of retired day-trippers and hikers who usually

set off early to get the whole day at a destination. Later, morning rhythms change into quiescent mid-afternoons that are characterised by quite empty carriages of a few drifting locals and some returning tourists from longer holidays. Describing the change from busy commuting to off-peak social rhythms, a retired hiker notes:

Seven or eight o'clock in the morning, it is a busy commuter route because a lot of people work in Leeds and commute by train. However, it is 11 o'clock now and around this time, this route becomes more a leisure line filled with tourists

(Father and son, hiking, retired & working, via Settle, Interview 2).

Furthermore, the everyday rhythm of peak and off-peak hours change into 'special' Friday evening tempos or, according to Lefebvre (2004), 'Saturday Night Fever' because, as Edensor (2014) puts it, late Friday evenings stand out with hedonistic crowds of evening clubbers and drinkers. A note in my auto-ethnographic diary illustrates this:

17:35 from Drigg to Ravensglass – I notice that a Friday evening atmosphere starts taking place in some carriages. In my car, there is a group of people drinking alcoholic drinks, talking and laughing loudly, telling jokes to each other, and moving around. I can see that the company feels very relaxed... What is more, the car is full of local, dressed up, buzzing girls who get off at Foxfield. A local man explains to me that there is a nice pub in Foxfield, so, probably, the girls are going for a drink there... [Later, from Barrow to Lancaster, I observe two more girls who are getting ready for a night out.] They are excitedly chatting, putting make up on and pouring loads of perfume on. After a moment, the strong scent reaches me and my head starts aching a bit from the concentration of aromatic compounds in the air around me

(Auto-ethnography, via Barrow, 31.05.13).

These rhythms are often experienced as disruptive because they may involve anti-social behaviour that makes some passengers, especially families with children, feel uncomfortable and unsafe, as one of the accounts points out:

On a Friday night, we used to go by a night train from Leeds to Devon, the whole family. We used to go from Wakefield at 12 o'clock at night and travel overnight. That station used to be like a madhouse with drunks coming through the train. I never liked traveling by that train when people come home from partying in Leeds

(2 friends, cycling, retired&working, via Settle, Interview 15).

Nevertheless, the last train atmosphere on a Friday night is perceived differently by younger generations travelling without children because they often physically engage with it and co-create it, attach different meanings to it and, thus, experience it in a sharp contrast to the previous account. A young day-tripper comments:

On a Friday evening, on the last train home, it is almost like a party on the train because everywhere people are having a good night out and that's quite nice! Yeh... it creates a joyful atmosphere

(Group of 4, cycling, working, via Settle, Interview 24).

As the week progresses, the working day routine changes into distinct weekend tempos with fewer scheduled train journeys, trains with fewer carriages, three at most but usually two or even one, and more relaxed passengers, going in a more leisurely mode to leisure destinations:

You can tell that this train is on weekend, it's not a weekday train, just hearing the noises and looking at people's faces...if people were on the way to office they would be very serious

(Group of 3, running, working, via Settle, Interview 39).

The train to Carlisle is very full with hikers and day-trippers. These passengers look differently than commuters because I can see that they are in leisurely mood, have an exploratory look and inquisitive but relaxed facial expressions. Besides, nearly all of them are getting off in the same famous for walking or cycling train stations, such Horton, Garsdale, Applebe

(Auto-ethnography, via Settle, 20.07.2013).

Further analysing the tourist rhythms along this route, it becomes apparent that they are characterised by multiplicity and diversity, and, thus, they “vary in pace, duration, degree of synchronisation and regulation, predictability and familiarity” (Edensor, 2012: 56). Some holidaymakers undertake independently organised trips by train during which they enjoy being on their own, while others prefer travelling in couples or as part of a small groups of friends. During these trips, travellers follow their own plans and go to a place of choice. Equally, there are day-trippers who enjoy being part of organised tourist events, such as guided walks, because these institutionalised tourism rhythms offer organised, knowledgeable and planned ways to learn about and explore the region in an enjoyable and guided manner.

Edensor (2014) contends that organised tourism offers rhythmic touristy regularity to the walkers while reducing the potential for arrhythmic experience. Besides, and very importantly, organised walks create a pleasurable social atmosphere and enable desirable communications among like-minded walkers. This view echoes with Lee and Ingold (2006:79) who argue that walking is “an excellent way of being with other people, a very rich way of socialising, to the extent that there seems to be something distinctive about the sociability of walking together”. Thus, hikers along this route are often members of charity organisations, ramblers or cyclists groups, such as Friends of the Settle-Carlisle Line, Friends of DalesBus or The Lancaster – Skipton Rail User Group. These organisations arrange diverse activities for their members and tourists, like free guided walks in the Yorkshire Dales and Lake District or bird watching tours. What is more, these groups promote use of public transport by building partnerships between public transport providers (e.g. buses and trains) and different tourist events in the region. For instance, many guided walks start from various train stations along the Settle-Carlisle train line or along the Cumbrian Coast Line and the walks’ start times are co-ordinated with train arrival times, as one of the interviewees points out:

I normally travel to Seascale [a train station along the Cumbrian Coast Line]. This is where I meet my friend and then we go walking. We both are members of a charity organisation, called Cumbria Volunteers, and with them we do walks from all these stations as well [on the map, he points out other stations along the Cumbrian Coast Line]

(Person with disabled mother, day out, working, via Barrow, Interview 20).

Moreover, Northern Rail and DalesBus have developed discounted fares with favourable conditions, such as Rail Rover tickets, Settle-Carlisle Day Ranger or DaleBus pass, that enable flexible exploration of the region at holidaymakers’ own pace. These arrangements, in return, encourage hikers to join the groups, use public transport (e.g. train) for their leisure trips and stimulate some relationship among train users because they share common interests, purpose of the trip and sometimes destinations, creating a sense of a mobile community.

For instance, a strong sense of community is felt on the 07:50 Saturday train from Leeds via Settle to Carlisle or the 08:58 Wednesday direct train from Lancaster to Carlisle via Barrow because these trains are dominated by touristy rhythms of retired ramblers and small groups of cyclists. These trains become a meeting and

socialising point for many walkers and their tour guides who collectively fill the space of the train with touristy rhythms of anticipation, curiosity, excitement, and the tourist gaze. A quote from my auto-ethnography illustrates this point:

On this early Saturday morning train, the atmosphere is very touristy and active. The car is full of walkers, mostly of older generation. They greet each other, walk along the aisle to each other, catch up with some news, laugh, share their experiences of previous walks during which they weren't together. Moreover, the touristy atmosphere is enhanced by some tour guides who walk up and down this train, looking for day-trippers who signed up for guided walks online. These activities and social environment render all passengers as part of something organised, something bigger than just a train ride from A to B...

(Auto-ethnography, via Settle, 13.07.2013).

Similarly, one of the guides along the Cumbrian Coast Line remarks:

On this train, there must be about 4 or 5 walking groups, some representing the same club while some from different walking clubs. We are all doing different walks and we will get off at different stations but we often meet on the train and have a chat. It is part of the hiking experience. I enjoy meeting familiar and new people on the train because we have similar interests

(A guide, via Barrow, Interview 31).

A hiker on the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle train describes the atmosphere on the early morning Saturday train as friendly and sociable also due to the walking groups:

I travel on the train regularly, most Saturdays, and I think the atmosphere on this train is more sociable and friendly because many people who are on this train belong to different social clubs. So many people know each other from walking together, people get off at various stations along the line but during the train ride they can be together and socialise, share experiences. So, it is very friendly

(Single traveller, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 42).

Besides, on Saturdays, an on-train guide operates along the Leeds–Settle– Carlisle route, creating an atmosphere of an institutionalised mode of touring. This activity is part of a bigger project that aims to save the historic Leeds–Settle– Carlisle train route, nearly closed twice, in the early 1960s and later in the 1980's. The initiative to save the line from closure began a successful partnership between

Friends of the Settle-Carlisle Line, Settle-Carlisle Railway Trust and Development Company (volunteer, tourism and transport enterprises) that jointly started to promote the route as the most scenic railway journey in England and a journey that provides access to many tourist activities and events in the region. This partnership recognises that the train route is integral to the region and to increase the use and popularity of it, it is important to improve both public transport and tourism, because improved transport increases tourist flows to the region (Prideaux, 2000) while exciting tourist activities accessible from the train stations enhance the use of the train line (as commented by many respondents). This approach to develop both tourism and transport solidifies Edensor's (2012a) claim that the mobile experience must be considered as part of the tourist experience, not a merely functional event that allows engagement in other places. As a result, these organisations continuously work on improving the tourists' transport experience and the experience at the destinations along this route. For instance, on Saturdays, the on-train guide tells passengers about the route: its history, natural beauty and possible tourist activities along the line. Moreover, Friends of the Settle-Carlisle Line organise a trolley service along the Settle- Carlisle section of the route that, according to my observations and interviews with holidaymakers, makes a significant difference to the tourist transport experience (discussed in more details in chapter 6, Section 6.4 on body rhythms).

The Saturday train experience can be paralleled with Edensor and Holloway's (2008) narrative of the Ring of Kerry guided coach tour during which the guide promotes Irish rurality, nature and traditions as sites and sights that consolidate Irishness. Similarly, my auto-ethnographical observations and interviews with leisure travellers demonstrate that the guide aims to organise and guide the tourist gaze along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle train route and promote different natural characteristics of the region. An excerpt of my auto-ethnography demonstrates this point:

An elderly and knowledgeable on-train guide makes the journey very touristy. He comes up and down the train carriages, sells brochures and gives people information about the route and the region – its history, natural and physical environment and possible touristy activities available along the line. He guides leisure travellers' attention and explains what can be seen on the one and on the other sides of the carriage. For instance, somewhere in the middle of the route, he tells passengers that he will show them a waterfall and I can see that many are interested and intrigued, including me. At some point, the guide commands us to be ready and then he says, "Now, look back!" and points into a direction we need to look at to see a tiny, hidden waterfall that otherwise would not be noticed due to its small size and the fast movement of the train. A while later, the guide points at a river and explains that this is the only major river in this region that flows north. People like the guide and they pay attention to what he says because he is very enthusiastic and amusing at times. He adds the importance to the route. His stories make the route more interesting and meaningful, especially for the first time travellers. In such a way, the guide unites people for a moment and engages them with the route, creating a very special touristy atmosphere on this train

(Auto-ethnography, via Settle, 13.07.2013).

To continue the analysis of social rhythms along the route, it is important to mention that diurnal and weekly pulses are not the only tempos that influence the social composition of a carriage. Other temporalities, such as school holidays, Christmas and Easter breaks, also produce and reproduce the train journey. As Edensor (2014) highlights, diverse social tempos are also organised by various social and calendrical rhythms, such as holidays, special family occasions and lifecycle rituals (e.g. birthday celebrations, stag or hen parties), religious occasions (e.g. Christmas), national festivals (e.g. Halloween night), and different habits developed in childhood and adulthood. These 'other' rhythms alter the diurnal and weekly tempos of a train and, for a while, introduce a different and less habitual pacing. As one of the accounts points out referring to his observations during his daily commuting:

There are periods when the route isn't busy because of holidays or some other things...then it can get a bit quitter on a train and I can sort of slow down a little bit but I always know that that's a temporary blip and it's going to be back to...sort of normal, to being crowded...

(Group of 3, running, working, via Settle, Interview 39).

As part of holiday rhythms, it is interesting to observe that unexpected and new rhythms emerge in the carriage full of children. For instance, an excerpt from my auto-ethnography demonstrates that school holidays introduce different rhythmic intensities that prevail during certain periods of the day and season:

This week, there are considerably more families with kids travelling because school holidays start. There are no families yet in very early hours, like 6 to 8 o'clock, but around 12 o'clock many parents with younger or elder school-age children, equipped with rucksacks packed with food and games, set off from Leeds towards Carlisle. I observe how school holidays change the atmosphere in the train carriage, rendering it louder, more chaotic and hectic because it is difficult for children to stay still for long

(Auto-ethnography, via Settle, 20.07.2013).

Likewise, 'other' rhythmical intensities develop in a carriage created by festivity rhythms of a big and loud company that is on its way to celebrate an event. A group of women, going on a weekend away to Leeds for a hen party, describe how they collectively changed the atmosphere of the car on their way to Leeds (during the interview they were coming back):

Nan: Yesterday, when we came down, we had the whole train with us. We were walking down the train and then back again, interacting with people, having great fun. We created a great party atmosphere. There were lots of men...it was really intriguing. It was very different to mundane experience of commuting! **Bride:** We planned our time and exactly what we were going to do on this train. **Nan:** we had a full shopping bag with all the special glasses, wine and strawberries, cupcakes, muffins and biscuits. You know, it's a special occasion for us! We don't do it all the time on trains [the whole group is laughing]! It is because my granddaughter is getting married in 3 weeks. **Bride:** We are a big group [12 women] and when you travel in a group like this, it is more social, relaxing and interactive. It's been like a party on the train: we eat, drank, talked and laughed from the moment we got on the train until the moment we got off. We interacted with people around as well, shared our food with them because in a group like this you tend to interact more with people around

(Group of 6, hen party, retired&working, via Settle, Interview 17)!

Finally, my ethnographic observations show that different social flows and rhythms are regulated by timetables, ticket prices (e.g. peak and off-peak rates), a code of behaviour, and regular loudspeaker messages of various sorts (discussed in more details in chapters 6 and 7). For instance, there was a time when the train

was approaching the Ribbleshead viaduct and it was announced through the loudspeaker that we were about to see the famous viaduct (it does not happen on every ride). This message prompted all passengers in the carriage to stand up in an attempt to see and experience better the view of the viaduct while some even tried to capture a glimpse of it on their cameras. Hence, these observations highlight that, along the route, embodied tourist rhythms are influenced by organised ways of gazing, aided and assisted by the growth of guidebooks, travel magazines and websites that promote touristy ways of exploring and visually consuming the route. This observation echoes with Urry's concept of the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990, 1995) that "is constructed through signs with tourism involving the collecting of signs (Larsen and Urry, 2011:1111). It also supports Larsen and Urry's (2011:1111) contention that the paradigms of gaze and of performance "should 'dance together' rather than stare at each other at a distance" because, as I will demonstrate in more detail in the next two chapters, visual consumption of the route is intertwined with embodied and emplaced experiences of it. Thus, the analysis of social rhythms reveals that the social environment of a train carriage consists of rhythms that are multiple, complex, polyrhythmic and arrhythmic at times, giving a temporal and vibrant sense to time-space of the train carriage and contributing to diverse experiences of a train journey. To continue the rhythm analysis of the route, I would like to point out that social, material and mechanical rhythms of the journey are complemented by diverse natural rhythms: the diurnal and lunar rhythms of the sun and moon, the hours of daylight and the flow of tides (Edensor, 2012a).

5.5 Natural Rhythms

According to my observations and interviews with leisure travellers, natural rhythms along this route include long-running seasonal rhythms of summer, winter, autumn and spring and short-term rhythms of different weather conditions, hours of daylight and night-time (see Electronic Appendix 22 – examples of the route's natural rhythms). Firstly, the geography and climate of this region - mountains and green upland pastures, from one side, and the mainly flat and sandy coastline

(except notable cliffs at St Bees Head) and estuaries, from the other side, together with changing climate near the Scottish border - contribute to unpredictable weather conditions, like rain, snow, strong winds, and periods of sunshine. For instance, an elderly couple comment on how a downpour or harsh winds force them sometimes to change their plans:

Background: We can see and almost sense that wind becomes stronger and rain clouds start appearing. **Passenger:** Weather here can be very bad. Sometimes we get here, and it's pouring with rain [he smiles], and we cannot see a thing... But we are used to the rain and changing weather and then we travel to Appleby and go to a pub and spend the whole day there [they both laugh]

(Group of 3, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 12).

Secondly, passengers' embodied experiences of a train journey change as the day progresses from the sunrise to the sunset and as the nature moves from one season to another. Discussing the whole train ride from Lancaster via Barrow to Carlisle and then via Settle to Leeds (approximately 10 hour journey), a group of retired hikers remembered that the experience of the whole route would have been different if they went on it during a summer period when the hours of daylight are longer. They did the journey in April and it was a very enjoyable and scenic trip until it became dark towards the end of the ride and they could not see out anymore. It felt disappointing because they did the ride for the scenery to experience the changing vistas of the route (Interview 31). Likewise, my auto-ethnographic observations demonstrate that travelling along the route in October feels different from doing the ride during the summer months from late May through August because during autumn, the days become shorter and colder:

Sitting on the train, I can feel that seasonal and daylight rhythms are changing from summer to autumn. It is 7.15am and yet quite dark outside and the lights are still on in the carriage. Nevertheless, the weather is still warm and dry and, thus, there is a pleasant temperature inside the car, making me feel warm and cosy in my jacket

(Auto-ethnography, via Settle, 28.09.2013).

Interestingly, these comments not only support the assertion that sunlight or lack of light influences and changes travellers' experiences (www.lightresearch.mmu.ac.uk), but also they highlight that rural areas in the dark are perceived and experienced differently than cityscapes at dusk due to city

illuminations during darkness (Edensor, 2013).

Thirdly, since the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route is rural, natural rhythms also embrace the agricultural cycle - the annual cycle of activities related to the growth and harvest of a crop, cattle and sheep farming - that also contributes to the landscape transformation and changing environmental tempos. A retired hiker points out:

During different times of the year, the route is always different. That's why we also love walking and we love countryside. Besides, I think you notice things when you do a journey more regularly. For instance, they just cut all that hay. Comparing to a few days before, there was nice, tall grass, it's always changing, it's always spectacular...

(Father and son, hiking, retired&working, via Settle, Interview 2).

Further analysing the short-term and long-term natural rhythms, it becomes apparent that the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route is in constant flux of becoming, never the same from one moment to the next. This assertion is in line with Lund's (2013) and Edensor's (2012a) statement that the nature and landscapes are dynamic and always changing rather than static, like a picture scenes, as often represented in tourist guidebooks. Likewise, Adam (1998: 12) argues that:

As a living entity nature is active and changing and its processes are contingent upon context: birds are nesting and migrating at specific times and places; a localised countryside is changing colour with the seasons; specific mountains are showing signs of erosion.

Natural rhythms add to the rhythmic irregularities of the journey and take part in the formation of holidaymakers' experiences, echoing Lee and Ingold's (2006) and Edensor and Holloway's (2008) assertion that the experience is the co-production between a person and natural environment, both of which are in flux. Referring to walking experiences, Lee and Ingold (2006:73) remark:

The emotionality of weather relates strongly to the body-environment interaction...the walker attunes to the weather [and] the weather compliments and becomes part of the emotion, and each reinforces the other in the production of the walk.

Respondents of this study also remark that natural rhythms comprise an integral part of the travelling experience and are bodily felt while on the move. Passengers feel and visually observe the changes in the landscape through the solid construction of the carriage and the mechanical pacing of the train, experientially folding together the rhythms of nature and the seasons with the rhythms of mobility and bodily sensations. For instance, heat or cold temperature conditions of the outside environment are bodily felt inside a train carriage, as pointed out by a middle-aged cyclist:

The comment that I would make is that there is no air conditioning on this train either. So, if this was actually a warm day or a warm months, it would be really hot and airless inside but, obviously, it doesn't really bother me in this kind of weather [it was a fresh and early summer morning]

(2 friends, cycling, working & retired, via Settle, Interview 15).

Moreover, my observations and interviews with leisure travellers show that changing weather conditions and farming rhythms not only create experiences but also influence travellers' moods, perception of the carriage and the journey, as these excerpts demonstrate:

Cyclist 1: It is interesting to look out of the window along this route because the nature is changing. **Cyclist 2:** Yes, it's always changing because of the farming and also the massive tides. It's just amazing... [saying in delight]. **Cyclist 3:** and then it is like the nature reflects on me... it fulfils me with a perfect mood... if I see that it's quite nice outside it makes me feel nicer inside

(Group of 3, cycling, students & working, via Barrow, Interview 9).

These quotations parallel Sumartojo's (2014) assertion that light can change space and create an atmosphere, shape people's perception of a place, put them into a certain mood and elicit feelings and emotions. These excerpts also echo with Adam (1990) who maintains that sunlight influences human experience of the surrounding environment. Emphasising the rhythmicity of nature, Adam notes that all living beings regulate their cycles of activity and sleep with reference to the sun. The sun is the provider of energy, the source of life and rhythmicity; it influences the cyclical nature of life. Supporting this assertion, another account maintains, "I think everybody feels better if it's sunny. It is just natural. The weather is a good feel factor" (Single traveller, sightseeing, working, via Settle, Interview 4).

Further, analysing the natural rhythms of the route and their impact on tourist experiences, it becomes apparent that travellers not only sense them while sitting on a train but also natural rhythms influence and guide tourists' travelling patterns and leisure activities. As Adam (1995:17) explains, our rhythms and our collective activity and rest patterns are superbly timed and orchestrated into a symphony of other natural rhythms:

The multitude of coordinated environmental and internal rhythms give a dynamic structure to our lives that permeates every level of our existence. They constitute temporal frameworks within which activities are not only organised and planned but also timed and synchronised at varying speeds and intensity, and orchestrated to intricate scores of beginnings and ends, sequences, durations and pauses. All aspects interpenetrate and have a bearing on each other.

For instance, my fieldwork shows that summer and early autumn months are characterised with more leisure travellers than cold, windy and wet winter months because the days are longer during summer months and the weather is generally warmer, sunnier and drier, thus, more pleasant and appropriate for hiking, cycling or sightseeing. An interview with a tour guide supports my observations. The guide points out different environmental and social rhythms that influence hikers' participation in organised walks:

The guide: Weather also indicates how many people will join the walk. **Me:** has it happened that nobody turned up? **The guide:** Not on a day like this but when it rains... but the heat plays a part here as well because we know it's going to be warm today. Good weather would indicate that more people would come but not necessarily a hot weather because for many people it is hard to walk in this heat [it is an unusually hot day today]. Also, It's July and it is the start of school holidays. Some parent or grandparents need to look after children now and they can't come

(Group of 6, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 31).

Finally, the attention to the multiplicity of natural rhythms explains why so many leisure travellers frequently travel along this route, combining the enjoyment of the scenic train journey with other leisure activities, such as shopping in Carlisle, hiking and cycling in the Yorkshire Dales or Lake District, or sightseeing in the little market towns and villages along the route. Many respondents note that this route is popular with country lovers and hikers because the nature always changes, offering visual and emotional delight and excitement, echoing Lee and Ingold's

(2006: 72) comment on walking the same trails that “The ever-changing weather, and closeness to nature, make even very familiar walks unique every time”. Thus, although many travellers are familiar with the train route and the region, they still return because it always evokes different aesthetically pleasant experiences and emotional reactions. Retired hikers share their experiences:

Well, I regularly go down the Settle – Carlisle route to just see it in all the weathers. It was magnificent when we had the snow in March and April. With the snow, it’s really brilliant but every time you go down you see different views. There is so much to see, you can’t do it in one journey

(Single traveller, train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 5).

It is beautiful at any weather, anytime: evening, morning, rainy, windy, sunny... always different. Also, it is interesting to travel along this route during different seasons and observe fields of different colours and the sunlight on the hills. During Spring, we get to gaze upon bright yellow fields and patches of daffodils whilst during Summer, there are lovely red poppy fields and in the Autumn, we can observe how leaves turn colour...it all adds to the beauty!

(Group of 8, train&company, retired, via Barrow, Interview 7).

As these passages highlight, the changing rhythms of nature provide an important constituent of the train travel experience that is further analysed in chapter 7 where I examine how nature and landscapes are experienced and perceived by leisure travellers while ‘on the move’.

Finally, I would like to highlight that the experiences of landscape and natural rhythms are intertwined with diverse beats and tempos of the train route itself. Remembering a journey along this route in early spring when the upland panorama near Dent (England’s highest mainline railway station) and the rising mountain peaks were still covered in snow, a hiker recounts:

It was like a four season journey – from sunny summer near Settle to rainy autumn somewhere along the route, to snowy mountain summits approaching the boarder of Scotland and then again milder and drier weather conditions

(Single traveller, hiker, retired, via Settle, Interview 5).

In a similar vein, an elderly couple tell me about their experiences of the route in February:

Last time when we came in February, there was snow everywhere, just outside Carlisle. However, as we travelled towards Settle, the landscape dramatically changed, transforming from wintery pale and snowy highlands into sunny countryside with green grass near Settle. It was astonishing to observe this change and the difference! [She tells it with amazement in her face]

(Couple, shopping, working, via Settle, Interview 36).

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have scrutinised the diverse rhythms of the Leeds-Settle- Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train ride – its mechanical, natural, social rhythms and the rhythms of the route. As I demonstrate in this chapter, these rhythmic intensities and diverse pulses constitute a train journey and play an important role in the flow of the mobile experience. Diverse rhythmic elements form the context of a train journey and, by doing so, these rhythms influence the embodied mobile experience of an individual, for they are sensed through the passengers' bodies. Focusing on the different rhythmic assemblages, this chapter illustrates that the journey is ever-changing, and in a flow of becoming (Crang, 2001), replete with planned and unplanned happenings and informed by the dynamic characteristics and processes of space-time within which the train journey occurs and unfolds.

By scrutinising diverse rhythms that constitute a train journey, this chapter 'sets the scene' and becomes a useful starting point for further investigations into how a train journey is experienced during a daytrip or a longer holiday. In the next two chapters, I analyse the mobile experience from the individual's perspective, namely, in chapter 6, I scrutinise the subjective experience of mobile time while, in chapter 7, I explore the experience of mobile place.

Chapter 6 Analysis – Embodied Experience of Leisure Time and Leisure Rhythms

6.1 Introduction

Time, we appreciate, is not a thing but a process and, as a process, it is not accessible to the senses: we can't see, touch, taste, hear or smell it. At the same time, however, we are able to experience it... At the wider social level, time is our prime organising tool: with time we create, order, shape, and regulate the world we live in. And this has been the role of time since the dawn of humanity

(Adam, 2009:2).

The aim of this chapter is to analyse how leisure travellers experience “tempo, timing, duration, sequence, and rhythms as the mutually implicating structures of time” (Adam, 1998: 202) that are produced and reproduced during the train journey along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route. In doing so, I engage with the debates introduced in chapter 3 (section 3.2; 3.3 and 3.4) regarding the embodied experiences of different temporalities and rhythms. Although the focus of this chapter is on time, I acknowledge the inter-dependency of time and space and the fact that the flow of time and various rhythms and activities that create time also structure the experience of place. Moreover, I emphasise that the affordances of place influence the sense of time. These assertions echo with May and Thrift (2001: 3) who insist that “time is irrecoverably bound up with the spatial constitution of society (and vice versa)”. Nevertheless, for the flow of the argument and reasons of clarity, in chapter 6, I examine the experience of different temporalities during the train journey while, in chapter 7, I focus on the experience of space – the place of the carriage and distant space of fleeting landscape.

6.2 Experience of Leisure Time

I would like to start this section by stressing that a train journey, which is part of a daytrip or a longer holiday, is also an integral part of leisure time, concurring with May and Thrift (2001) who contend that leisure space is linked to leisure time. Therefore, in this section, firstly, I argue that tourists perceive and experience transport time differently than commuters or business travellers. This claim is supported by all leisure travellers that I interviewed and observed along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route. Many participants state that leisure train journeys feel different to commuting trips because the purpose of the trip and the destination are linked to leisure (examined further in chapter 7) and these circumstances allow them to create and spend mobile time differently. Moreover, many tourists highlight that during leisure trips they do not feel 'pressured by time' because they do not have to rush to work, meetings, etc. They feel more relaxed and, thus, time on the train to a leisure destination acquires different meanings. The transport time becomes part of relaxation time, leisure time or time for enjoyment. What is more, leisure trips usually take place during off-peak times and, thus, the social environment within a carriage is different from peak times sociality – less crowded and less hectic. A hiker comment:

On business, I'm always short of time because I have got things to do and often there is tension of making sure I am on time. Besides, it's often a hassle on a train because often I don't know where is the WiFi or there is no seat available, or no table available and so it's far more stressful. Besides, on business, I travel on peak times and often the trains are crowded. Whereas on holiday it's a pleasant thing to do [travel by train]

(2 friends, hiking, working, via Settle, Interview 18).

This quote echoes Adam (1990; 1995) who emphasises that living 'in time' with clocks and calendars, constantly being oriented towards progress in life and constantly speeding-up, inevitably leads to stress and fear of being late and failure. Alternatively, going on a longer or shorter holiday during which one can experience 'other' times and live more in harmony with the rhythmicity of nature and the body, improves the quality of life and emotional state of mind as well as contributes to the general well-being. For these restorative effects of leisure and leisure time, many leisure travellers comment that they enjoy the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow- Lancaster route as part of their 'time out' from work, the

daily duties and pressures of clock time. A businessperson comments:

This is a different sort of journey. We both left our company yesterday. So, this is what I call the head clearing exercise. We both needed it. Normally, my last day at work is on Friday but I didn't want to be at my office in London on a Friday. I wanted to be out in hills. I love the mountains and hills.

(2 friends, hiking, working, via Settle, Interview 11).

Furthermore, interestingly, few participants of this study point out that leisure journeys in comparison to mundane commuting trips not only make them feel differently but also these journeys prompt them to adopt different roles and different state of mind in order to manage the trip and the day successfully. To illustrate, a tourist on a fishing holiday and a group of hikers explain that the hasty pace of everyday life requires the adoption of different behaviour and facial expressions than the slower and more relaxed tempos of a leisurely daytrip:

When I'm on a way to work, I mean like everybody else, I am a different person, really. You thinking of work, you're in work. So, you less sociable, you less friendly. You're more stressed, basically. And you're aware that your company is probably paying for your train fare, for instance, and you're on your company's time, so, you should be working on the train instead of gazing out of the window dreamingly, which is what I like doing (laughs with delight)

(Single traveller, fishing holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 13).

Traveller 1: We are leisure travellers. We are not like those people who commute by train to work at 8 o'clock in the morning and they all shoving them up with those umbrellas and their newspapers...

Traveller 2: and, I dare to say, no way I would do this interview during the week. It's only because it's Saturday and there is no rush, and we are totally relaxed... **Traveller 3:** but also there is this sort of laid back state of mind...oh who cares...we're not going to work, we are enjoying ourselves on this journey...

(3 friends, hikers, retired, via Settle, Interview 25).

It becomes clear from these accounts that on different train journeys passengers assume different roles that help them either to engage or distance from the surrounding mobile environment and the train sociality. For instance, as described by the accounts above, on a mundane train journey one adopts a role of serious commuter while during a day out one may become a carefree tourist. These comments echo with Goffman's (1959) idea of social life as a set of dramaturgical

performances during which people adopt and play roles according to the social context in which they find themselves. These performances or, as Edensor (2000b) terms them, culturally coded patterns of behaviour, “produce distinctive gaits, ways of speaking, dress and demeanour which articulate shared forms of understanding” and demonstrate the relationship between performer and place (Edensor, 2000b: 122). With time, these performances become unreflexive, habitual and are performed routinely. Edensor (2000b) remarks that these unreflexive and embodied forms of practical knowledge engender patterns of communal association and a sense of dwelling. Drawing on Goffman’s dramaturgical approach, Edensor (2007a; 2001) demonstrates that, similar to everyday life, tourists too rather than representing different typologies, intentionally adopt different roles to provide others with ‘impressions’ that are consonant with the rules of the leisure space and the social context. Hence, by being relaxed and friendly during a leisurely train ride, one becomes part of the fluid leisurely train community, adds to the leisurely atmosphere within a carriage, and gains a positive mobile experience.

However, not everyone experiences leisure time as a ‘time out’. There are leisure travellers, especially retired seniors, who experience leisure train journeys and days out hiking as part of their daily lives because they are retired and no longer follow a strict daily working routine or raise children (an aspect that is analysed in more detail later in this chapter). For instance, a retired rail enthusiast reflecting on his frequent train journeys, remarks:

Don’t forget that people of my generation, particularly, would be retired and we just simply play out all the time. There is no work to do; there is no money to earn. We just play out all the time and so our whole life is that leisure pursuit.

(Single traveller, train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 44).

Based on these different views on leisure time, and drawing on Adam’s (1995; 1990) perspective on social time, I want to suggest that rather than defining leisure time as ‘time out’, it is more useful to refer to leisure time as a ‘time frame’ that consists of many time dimensions and possibilities for constituting both time and action. This approach presupposes different aspects of ‘lived’ time and highlights the experience of ‘being in the present’ that is pregnant with different time dimensions, none of which appears to be the opposite of any other. The ‘time frame’ of a train journey becomes filled with different activities, routines, embodied

sensations, rhythmicity of the body, reflections, and anticipations.

To illustrate this point, my observations and interviews with leisure travellers demonstrate that the time period spent on the train holds many time dimensions and clock time, although important during leisure, is not the only temporal dimension found in travelling. This assertion also echoes with Bissell's (2009a, c) study on mundane long-distance railway travel in the UK. Bissell alludes that rigid linear temporalities of railway travel are bound-up and inseparable from more complex and fluid temporalities of embodied experiences. To explain, on the one hand, daytrips and longer holidays by train are structured around clock time and train timetables, for train journeys require one to consider train arrival and departure times, connections, delays and cancellations, duration of journey and the distance from station to destination or different activities. Thus, travelling by train sets a temporal order to a holiday because the holiday is inevitably structured around timetables. As a holidaymaker explains:

We planned our day out in terms of train arrival and departure times because we will connect to the steam train. Therefore, travelling and connecting by train involved certain amount of planning whereas by car you don't need to plan as much...

(Couple, hiking&steam train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 21).

Similarly, a leisure traveller who has a Rover ticket, which allows him to do four train routes in eight days, comments:

I plan my time very carefully from the point of view, what is the best combination of trains to do the route and also the breaks that I have. I have all the train timetables and I have already checked what time the train arrives in Carlisle to get connection

(Single traveller, train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 33).

Likewise, during the train journey, passengers are constantly reminded of clock time. For instance, the loudspeaker messages announce the approaching train station, giving an indication of how much time is left until getting off. Similarly, the rhythms of arrival and departure and markers in the landscape signal of clock time and how much time is left. Overall, this information helps leisure travellers to organise the time 'on the move' and engage in some activities, and interactions. For instance, reflecting on my experiences as a researcher, I decided whether to do an interview or not depending on how many train stations were left before a

passenger alighted and, depending which train station we were approaching, I made the decision about how many questions I could still ask and when to conclude our conversation. Accordingly, time and checking time becomes an integral part of train travel, as this auto-ethnographic note demonstrates:

...I interrupted a tourist on a fishing holiday because we were approaching a station and I wanted to make sure that he still has time to talk to me. We both started listening to the loudspeaker, and looking outside to see the signs and checking my Northern Network map. Ribbleshead - we both acknowledged. How many more stops, asked the tourist? I replied that it is 2 stops to Garsdale, so approximately 20 minutes

(Single traveller, fishing holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 13).

Reflecting on the experience of clock time, tourists who regularly use trains for leisure, comment that they are used to organising their day around the objective clock while tourists who are unfamiliar with the regulated and standardised machine time, say that, at times, they find it challenging. As a result, they experience some tension and uncertainty about integrating train travel in their day trips. The fact that clock time is an integral part of holiday time is also in line with Adam (1990: 106-107) who maintains that

Even on holiday, the timing of our activities can never be purely voluntary since it is too dependent on externally based social timings: the timetables of the hotels, organised leisure activities, public transport, and the opening hours of local amenities.

On the other hand, however, the lived experience during a train journey also consists of 'other' times, and the 'time frame' concept enables scrutiny of these time dimensions and how 'being in the present' is constructed and dwelled in. Scrutinising different temporalities that constitute the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route, I can identify activity time, liminal time, waiting time and appropriated time, dreaming and memory time, circadian body rhythms and natural rhythms outside the carriage. All these times surface in my auto-ethnographic notes and participants' narratives. According to leisure travellers' stories, these times intentionally or unintentionally constitute the duration of the train ride and strongly influence the mobile train experience. To understand these time dimensions and how they are experienced, in the following section, I analyse how time is constructed through different activities and inactivity and, as a consequence, how the passage of time is felt.

6.3 The Construction of Time and Dwelling in Time

Crang (2001) notes that through practice, time is created and inscribed on to the place. In a similar vein, Ingold (1995) asserts that travel time is not simply the counting of minutes but it is embedded in tasks. This perspective on temporalities ceases “time and space to be simply containers of action and turn into a spacetime as Becoming, a sense of temporality as action, as performance and practice, of difference as well as repetition” (Crang, 2001: 187). The analysis of the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train journey reveals that different happenings, such as loudspeaker announcements, flows of passengers in and out of the carriage, train stoppings and accelerations, the conductor going from carriage to carriage, different activities and inactivity among day-trippers and locals, as well as the passing landscape, create the time-space of a train carriage as very dynamic and heterogeneous.

With reference to the value of transport time, Lyons (2014), Lyons et al. (2007), Lyons and Urry (2005), Watts and Urry (2008) point out that time on the move is filled with different practices and activities and, thus, no distinction can be made between travel time and activity time. For instance, Lyons and Urry (2005) demonstrate that commuters and business travellers often utilise the space and time of the train journey productively by using different technological and communication devices while Letherby and Reynolds (2005) illustrate that trains offer time for intellectual activity and social interaction.

In contrast, Bissell (2007a) urges going beyond the assessment of travel time’s productivity and usefulness in economic terms and there are two reasons for this. Firstly, Bissell (2009a, 2007a) contends that activities ‘on the move’ do not happen in some form of linear fashion. Rather a mixture of activity and inactivity, as well as different corporeal experiences fold through one another and, in total, constitute the experience of mobile time, which should be considered through a more non-linear sense of temporality. Secondly, Bissell identifies that ‘on the move’ activities are elusive. His research on the lived, non-linear nature of duration and qualitative temporality demonstrates that within spaces of travel

The dominant mode of being in the world may not necessarily be one of *sustained engaged activity*... [as a result] a fundamental shift is required in the way that 'activity' is conceptualised and enacted when talking about the corporeal experience of mobilities... it may be more fruitful to consider relative embodied *activity* or *action*

(Bissell, 2007a: 281).

Bissell's approach to how travel time is constructed 'on the move' echoes with my observations and participants' descriptions of their use of travel time and their embodied corporeal experiences. For instance, an elderly couple (a couple, a train journey & longer holiday, retired, via Settle, Interview 37) highlights that they perceive a train carriage as a very dynamic environment that consists of fleeting landscape and emergent sociality. In this environment, their focus is fragmented and they engage in several activities at the same time. This echoes with Ohmori and Harata (2008) who state that multitasking and fragmentation of activities constitute commuting by train in Tokyo. What is more, the elderly couple continue that the engagement with the train journey, the route and activities on the move change over time. In general, during different stages of the journey, they are interested in different activities, happenings and sights. They might read a paper or a book on the way to Leeds while the landscape is not as scenic - monotonous and industrial. However, as the landscape outside changes to a beautiful countryside, their attention shifts to looking through the window. What is more, the passing scenery often triggers memories of some past events or train journeys to different places and, thus, looking outside becomes the source of pleasure and talk. At the same time, these activities can be interrupted by loudspeaker announcements, the conductor checking tickets or other passengers' behaviour. During these moments, their attention shifts again and, as a result, they might change the topic of discussion.

Similarly, my auto-ethnographic observations of leisure passengers and self-reflexive observations confirm that leisure time 'on the move' should be analysed as non-linear, filled with a wide range of practices and inaction that flow one into another. For instance, in a short period, a tourist can gaze outside a window, chat to travel companions, take photographs, and follow the route on the map. These activities can interchange with intermittent dreaming, wandering in memories, observing other passengers and sensuously enjoying the movement of the train. These observations and reflections of my own mobile experience are consonant with Bissell (2009a: 430) who maintains that "the space of a railway carriage is not

prescriptive in that it demands that passengers undertake a *specific* activity... the choice that the railway carriage offers results in a heterogeneous environment of different passengers undertaking different practices.”

The assertion that leisure travellers construct their time ‘on the move’ in a dynamic fashion, also means that their attention and the involvement with the immediate surrounding and distant environments is fluid and changing over time. To illustrate this point further, a person who accompanies his disabled mother (2 travellers, train & steam train, working, via Barrow, Interview 20) tells me about his shifting involvement with the surrounding mobile environment. He explains that it may range from being an active and positive one, when, for instance, he sees other tourists stand up and eagerly wait to see the Ribbleshead viaduct or when he actively looks out of the window for owls and buzzards. It can become a passive one on the way back home, when travelling with his friends he feels less interested about the surroundings because he is tired and he needs some rest after a long day hiking. Whilst, at times, it can also turn into a negative and even deliberately disengaging experience if, for instance, the train becomes crowded with commuters towards the late afternoon and he cannot get a seat for his disabled mother. In this situation, the surrounding sensory experience becomes unwanted - uncomfortable, uneasy and unpleasant.

This example demonstrates that, firstly, an active or inactive involvement is a relative term. In other words, any involvement with the environment is active or inactive only in comparison to some other bodily state or type of involvement. This finding is in line with the mobilities turn perspective on movement and fixity and the assumption that different types of mobilities and moorings need to be understood in relation to each other (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011; Cresswell, 2006). While, secondly, this example shows that the involvement is influenced by both the surrounding environment (built, natural, and social) and the perceiving body and how one bodily feels (further scrutinised in the rhythms of the body subsection). Hence, tourists’ engagement with mobile time-space should be perceived as dynamic, fluid, and often unpredictable. This statement is consonant with May and Thrift (2001) who introduce a being-relation to the world, which means that people’s engagement with, and making sense of different environments should be understood and analysed as lived and expressive rather than predetermined. On the contrary, this assertion challenges the transport-tourist involvement

typology developed by Rhoden and Lumsdon (2006) who categorise the involvement into four fixed types – active (e.g., cycling), passive (e.g., heritage railways), positive and reluctant (e.g., taxi, urban bus). These authors suggest that the transport mode, tourists' motivations to choose that particular transport and the role tourists assign to it determine the nature of tourists' engagement, which, according to the findings of this study, does not take into account the lived experience.

Further, reflecting on leisure travellers' most common activities along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route, it becomes apparent that three time-passing practices dominate leisure travellers' narratives – relaxation, communication with travel companions and other passengers, and gazing at the scenery. In addition, my observations demonstrate that travel time is constructed through unreflexive travel routines, reflecting the embodied nature of the travel experience. What is interesting, however, is that according to my observations and leisure travellers' remarks, there are few phone conversations and noises created by electronic games or music players on off-peak trains, reinforcing the claim made earlier that leisure travellers perceive, enact and experience transport time differently than commuters or business travellers. Hence, my study shows that along this route, leisure travellers mainly focus on relaxation, surrounding social environment, travel companions and scenery rather than on technology (e.g. mobile phones) or being on the phone with someone. To understand better how time on the move is crafted, the following subsection scrutinises the above-mentioned practices.

6.3.1 Common Mobile Leisure Activities

Analysing the prevalent time spending mode – relaxation and rest – it becomes apparent that it accompanies all other activities or inaction tourists undertake while being 'on the move'. Many day-trippers emphasise that the train carriage affords desirable quiescent experiences that become integral to their leisure trip and leisure time. Two sisters highlight:

We don't have a plan to do something on a train. Besides, on a day out, there is no need to do anything. We are just relaxing really
(Two sisters, train journey, working, via Settle, Interview 24).

In a similar vein, a single traveller reflects on her time spent on the train:

Getting on the train is wonderful. I can just sit and relax. Then trolley service comes past and I can have a cup of tea...I can also just read my travel book, the Coast to Coast Guide [to prepare for the week's long cycling holiday] and enjoy the scenery.

(Single traveller, cycling, working, via Barrow, Interview 22).

With reference to looking outside, many notes in my auto-ethnographic diary as well as passengers' narratives point out that gazing at the passing landscape is the most enjoyable activity along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route. This statement resonates with the results of a large-scale rail passenger survey, which also recognises the important role of the scenery and reports that the second most popular activity among commuters is window gazing (Lyons et al., 2007). Equally, studies of Watts and Urry (2008) and Urry (2006) identify that the surrounding landscape forms a crucial part of the journey. According to my observations, many tourists are very actively gazing at the scenery outside the carriage, engaging the whole body in this activity. To illustrate this point, from Kirkbey Stephen to Settle, I observe a backpacker who is very focused on the outside environment and who follows the scenery and different landmarks very actively with her whole body. She changes positions frequently to follow the most exciting views – she stands up for a while then leans forwards, turns her head back and forward or sits on the side of the chair to gain a better view. She looks so busy and impressed by the fleeting landscape that I decide not to disturb her for a while until we pass the most scenic part of the route (2 friends, hiking, working, via Settle, Interview 18). Another example in my auto-ethnographical diary vividly reiterates the importance of the passing scenery:

Along the Cumbrian Coast Line from Carlisle to Barrow, most people are 'nailed' to the window, gazing at the sea and the scenic coastline. Some passengers, who accidentally or not knowingly sat on the other side of the carriage (not the seaside), are even standing up to see the views of the coastal scenery

(Auto-ethnography, via Barrow, 10JUL2013).

Since many leisure travellers are repeat visitors to the Yorkshire Dales, Lake District or the west coast of Cumbria, the places along the line become meaningful and valuable for different leisure travellers in different ways depending on their past experiences and also knowledge of the region. With time, different landmarks, train stations and places along the route become part of some stories,

which can be remembered among travel companions while 'on the move'. Thus, gazing at the passing landscape becomes an aesthetically pleasant time-creating and time-passing activity that many leisure travellers anticipate in its own right and purposefully include in their day out. For instance, a retired couple explain that, along this train route, gazing outside the window is a valuable time-crafting activity. It makes the journey interesting and pleasant:

We use the train because we like to sit and look out of the window at the view and that's the travel experience that we have, we enjoy the view! This is our entertainment on travel, we want to see where we going

(Couple, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 19).

Gazing at and embodying the landscape through vision becomes particularly important for people who are not keen on physical activities, such as hiking, or who are not able to enjoy these activities, either because they do not feel well temporarily (e.g. the weather is too hot) or because they are disabled. A disabled lady explains her experience of travelling by train:

I can't do long walks anymore. So, to me this is like returning to places where I used to come and walk. Being on the train and being able to look out is everything to me now. It's like the air for me being able to observe places where I used to walk. So, the train gives me again an opportunity to move around and observe things while on the move because I can't do that myself anymore. It gives me the feeling that I'm moving forward without anybody's help. It gives me sense of freedom, ability to observe on my own, see and spot things on the move that I can't anymore on my own. I can submerge into myself and my reveries.

(Person with disabled mother, day out, working, via Barrow, Interview 20).

These observations and narratives in a way support the concept developed by Urry - the tourist gaze (1990; 2002; Urry and Larsen, 2010) and his claim that people tour places to visually consume the objects that stand for these places (Urry, 1995; 2002). Urry (2005: 78) explains that the tourist gaze is the combination of "collective travel, the desire for travel, the techniques of visual reproduction and the emotion of landscape". He argues that the pleasures of much tourism are grounded in the enjoyment of gazing or visually consuming places, often at a distance. Similarly, the narratives run parallel with the notion of the travel glance (Larsen, 2001), which highlights that trains and cars offer a visual cinematic-like

experience of moving landscape images. The mobile glance turns wild nature into socially constructed 'wallpaper' consumed (controlled and possessed) by a 'mobile eye' (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006). Yet, my findings go a step further and claim that, although the technologised movement of a train enables leisure travellers to adopt a particular way of seeing, the visual experience cannot be reduced to merely passive observation because the gaze is always embodied and is part of the performative practice. Tuan (2004) notes, that visual experience is capable of stimulating all senses because the visual is synesthetically connected with the other senses through imagination, memories, dreams and fantasies. For this reason, the visual experience as embodied and expressive is examined in more details in the final subsection (Experience of Landscape) of chapter 7.

Returning to the most common activities during leisure trips, I want to turn to the importance of travel companions and the social environment of the train. According to leisure travellers' comments and my observations, time spent on the train becomes part of valuable leisure time that is enjoyed together with significant other(s). A company of three friends tells me that a train journey offers a brilliant opportunity to spend some time together with friends - enjoy each others' company, share the experience of travelling, exchange news and discuss different things (3 friends, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 12). Train also provides time to check maps together, share the excitement and enthusiasm about the day, discuss preferences, make some last minute changes, review plans - hiking routes, places to visit, activities to undertake. All these activities heighten anticipations of the day and create the inter-subjective travel mood. Hence, the majority of leisure travellers along this route travel either in couples or in small groups (3 – 6 people). A single traveller emphasises the difference between touring alone and with travel companions:

Yes, the experience change if I'm alone. With others, I'm not only looking out of the window but I'm also having a conversation. My companions become part of the experience. We chat, we have a bit of a laugh...It becomes a shared experience rather than a solo experience

(Solo traveller, long distance hiker, working, via Settle, Interview 27).

What is more, according to my observations, time is constructed differently when travelling with children. I wanted to interview a family who was travelling with a little boy (about 2 years old) but they apologised, replying that they are really busy

today. I started observing them and, indeed, the child took all their attention and all their time, and their only task was to make him happy. He was climbing over the table from one parent to another, they were telling him stories, drawing his attention to different objects, and making up interesting tales like that bees live in St Bees train station (Auto-ethnography, via Barrow, 10.07.2013). In a similar vein, reflecting on a trip to Carlisle with grandchildren, an elderly couple summarises:

It is hectic; you got to keep them occupied. There is no really time to look outside in silence. We are really concentrated on what they are doing

(Couple, sightseeing & shopping, retired, via Settle, Interview 36).

These quotes and observations are in line with Bærenholdt et al. (2004) and other performance turn advocates who point out that most tourism performances are performed collectively, and this sociality is in part what makes them pleasurable. Haldrup and Larsen (2010) add that tourism is not only a way of experiencing new places and events, but also entails emotional geographies of sociability; of being together with close friends and family members. Larsen et al. (2006: 45) remark that “families are most at home when away from home. Tourists consume places and thereby perform a special kind of togetherness”.

Nevertheless, my observations and interviews reveal that, during leisure trips, people communicate not only with their travel companions, but they are also more prone to interact with other passengers. Leisure travellers explain that it happens naturally. People discreetly observe each other, inevitably start listening to conversations and thinking about the passengers sitting opposite to them and sometimes start talking to them – discussing different places along the route, sharing experiences of past trips, recommending places to see and walks to do, and helping first-time visitors with directions and travel advice. According to my observations, on off-peak trains, these social interactions create a temporary affective atmosphere (Bissell, 2010) - relaxed, friendly and charged with positive emotions - that almost invite travellers to feel part of a temporary train community. Explaining this phenomenon, Bissell (2010) emphasises that affects are infectious and passengers do not consciously choose to feel in a particular way. Further, with reference to affective atmospheres, Bissell (2010: 272) notes that different

Communications and the formation of different sociabilities in technologies of transit take place in part on an affective level through the formation and dissipation of different affective atmospheres...these atmospheres facilitate and restrict particular practices and, in doing so, precipitate particular structures of feelings.

The feeling of train community is particularly pronounced on days and times when organised walks take place along the route, for instance, on Saturdays, during the 07:55 service from Leeds to Carlisle when an on-train guide operates, leaders of the walks meet their groups and a trolley service provides refreshments. The train's departure time and the carriage become the meeting point for many hikers with similar interests and, thus, the hiking experience becomes structured by the train's timetable and rambling programmes. Reflecting on their Saturday hiking experiences, a group of hikers (a group of 3, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 25) tell me that, on the Saturday morning service, many hikers know each other.

They are delighted to meet and catch up on some news before they get off the train and go on different hiking tours. My auto-ethnographic observations also demonstrate that, on this train, everyone around seems cheerful, friendly and chatty. Many hikers stand up in the carriage and talk, joke and laugh. The train becomes an integral part of their day out because it gives the opportunity to socialise, share their experiences and the day's plans and, as a result, some hikers change their plans and a walk with some friends they met on the train.

However, it is important to recognise that not all passengers feel the same. Many leisure travellers do not recognise that there is any train community and they do not want to be associated with other passengers. This shows the ephemeral, transient and almost elusive nature of a train community that depends on one's interests, emotional dispositions, travel plans and situations like service failures or when passengers feel anxious and unsure about something. During these periods or situations, the travel community become more pronounced. This assertion echoes Bissell (2010) who, analysing different affective atmospheres within a train carriage, highlights how particular, less positive, types of affective atmosphere (e.g. when a train stops unexpectedly) have the capacity to bring people closer together. Leisure travellers' disposition to mobile sociality, which contributes to the subjective experience of travelling by train, is discussed in more details in chapter 7.

Finally, I would like to identify different embodied travelling routines, which passengers develop over time, and which almost invisibly help them to craft time 'on the move'. Referring to experience of time, Ryan (2002) points out that it is enactment of such rituals that signifies the passing of time – time is measured by absence and/or presence of things and thoughts external and internal to the tourist. For instance, a couple, reflecting on their leisurely travel routine and the flow of their experience, explains:

It's been pretty quick, we've been on now for... two hours. We read a paper for a while, scenery, had a coffee since, chatting away... [Both laughing]

(Couple, day out, retired, via Settle, Interview 37).

Likewise, my auto-ethnographic observations demonstrate that leisure journeys are filled with different unreflexive routines:

Some passengers eat their breakfast when they get on a train, then read the morning newspaper. However, as soon as industrial landscape changes into some open natural scenery of swiftly fleeting green fields, small looking houses in the distance, tiny rural bridges, spruce forests, hills in the background, and blue sky with clouds looking like long chains of white feathery mountains, they stop reading and start looking outside, gazing at the scenery...

(Auto-ethnographic note, via Settle, 31.05.2013).

Overall, the existence of unreflexive routines while travelling by train echoes with Edensor's performance turn in tourism studies (2007a; 2001; 2000b). Edensor recognises that in western societies, tourism endeavours have become integral to everyday life and, thus, many leisure activities have turned into habitual, unreflexive enactions, which help leisure travellers to plan and experience trips. These practices create an unreflexive sense of being in place, as well as a sense of having a good time. What is more, these routines often intersect with those of others, producing moments of synchronicity (Edensor and Holloway, 2008). My research demonstrates that morning rides are often filled with many passengers who drink coffee on the train, or are still half-asleep, or afternoon rides are marked with passengers having some sandwiches on a train.

To summarise, on the train, time is always constructed through different activities and inactivity and, as is demonstrated in this subsection, these activities mark the passage of time. Yet, relating to the mobile space of a train carriage, although

travel time is filled with some form of activity-inactivity, my research shows that time 'on the move' can still be perceived and experienced as waiting time or as appropriated time (Lefebvre, 2004). The former can be desired, enjoyed and pass unnoticed or it can be unwanted, unpleasant and pass slowly. The latter, on the other hand, means that clock time stops being important and other dimensions of time gain prominence. According to my auto-ethnography and leisure traveller's comments, both time dimensions can be experienced by the same passengers during the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train journey and, thus, are examined in the next subsection.

6.3.2 Waiting Time versus Appropriated Time

Based on how leisure travellers perceive and experience time 'on the move', they attach different meanings to the mobile time-space of a train carriage. In this subsection, I analyse travel time as waiting time and as appropriated time. With regards to waiting time, Ehn and Lofgren (2010: 21) note that "waiting is anticipatory mode of being, during which the very act of waiting draws attention to the passing of time". According to leisure travellers' narratives, although constructed through different activities, travel time can be still perceived as waiting time that either passes quickly because it is enjoyed and desired or is unwanted and then it drags. When perceived as a waiting time, the train journey involves "the necessity to wait until one temporal process has run its course in order for another to begin" (Adam, 1990: 121).

Many interview participants note that, although the train journey affords relaxation, spending time together with travel companions, gazing at beautiful scenery and a convenient social meeting space, this journey is still just "a relaxing way of getting from A to B that hopefully allows to see nice views" (a couple, steam train & a day out, retired, via Barrow, Interview 21). In other words, although this is "a fabulous journey, a treat to enjoy" (two friends, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 32), the train is still perceived as a convenient facilitator that provides an easy access to different walking trails and the desired destination (discussed in more detail in chapter 7). This statement illustrates the overall feeling that is expressed by many passengers. For these leisure travellers the waiting time on the train is not wasted time that they endure. On the contrary, it becomes a pleasant activity and time

often passes unnoticed. For instance, a tour guide, who meets her group on the train, explains that, although the train facilitates them to get to their destination, it is simultaneously a visitor attraction because it is very enjoyable to travel along this route:

Guide: I would not go this far to lead a walk if the route wasn't pleasant on its own right. **A group member:** This train journey complements our walk and becomes a part of a greater enjoyment. It's not like a commuter train that only takes from A to B

(Group of 6, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 31).

However, the feeling of waiting takes a different quality, when unexpected delays and cancellations take place because then the length of delay is unknown and the situation feels out of control unless passengers are notified about the reasons and time when the service will resume. Delays and cancellations create uncertainty and waiting feels different and is accompanied by mixed feelings, most of them negative. There are many notes in my auto-ethnographic diary that illustrate my dissatisfaction and frustration with train cancellations and long delays and the uncertainty about when the service will reassume. During this waiting, time passes very slowly because I am preoccupied with the clock. Similarly, a day-tripper notes that trains are often delayed and sometimes cancelled and as a result:

I am always a bit tense until I get on a train because the train might not turn up. It might be late or there might be some other changes...[smiling]

(Couple, day out, working, via Settle, Interview 42).

The mood and emotional response among passengers with reference to waiting time due to service failures echoes with Ehn and Lofgren (2010) who summarise that, one can get bored, irritated, frustrated, nervous, hopeful and finally anxious. This is a sticky, or gluey time that is "caught in the friction between hope and impatience" (Ehn and Lofgren, 2010: 23). They continue that this time can be slowed down almost to a standstill when the seconds and minutes bend into a form in which one has to experience them slowly, one by one, each demanding full attention. In this emotionally vulnerable and powerless state, it is impossible to forget that one is waiting. To further explain the different experiences of waiting 'on the move', Adam (1995) emphasises that the timing and temporality of processes advance at various speeds and are involved in our experience of the

speed of time passing. Time flies when we are having fun and it drags when we are waiting.

However, there are people who, in general, dislike using public transport – its public space, the built environment of the carriage and the technologised movement organised around timetables. If they can choose, these individuals prefer travelling by car, being in control, independent and travelling ‘in style’. These leisure travellers experience waiting time on a train as unwanted and unpleasant and, thus, for them it often passes slowly. A hiker on a longer holiday who has a low expectations of Northern Trains, tells me that he knew it was going to be like this – noisy and blowing (it was a hot summer day and nearly all windows were open in the carriage creating draughts). This hiker dislikes the old, scruffy and rickety carriage, jerky movement of the train, squeaking breaks when the train goes into turns, rattling sounds of the wheels, passengers who try to talk over the mechanical noises, loud vibration of the carriage and the roaring of the engine (listen to audio Appendices 9, 10, 11 - Background noises inside an old carriage). In his opinion, this is a terrible and unpleasant train journey, a means to an end. The hiker goes on to compare this journey to the London Tube and explains that on the tube, he is always frowning. Although unpleasant, the London Tube is convenient and rapid and, thus, he puts up with it and uses it. According to my observations, this hiker tries to absent himself from the train environment by creating a personal space using his belongings (discussed in chapter 7) and listening to music. He confirms my observations by saying that:

I kind of close off my personal space, I become immune to the surroundings coz, you know, it's a means to an end. [He checks his watch and says] it's only 10 minunes and we will be off. And hadn't I talked to you, I would have put my ipod on

(2 friends, hiking on a longer holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 11).

On reflection, remembering the mobile environment of the carriage during this interview, I have to admit that, inside the carriage, it was really loud and windy and, thus, hard to communicate with each other (listen to audio Appendix 12 - Background noises during Interview 11). This passage and his experience supports Ehn and Lofgren's (2010) claim that the experience of waiting is affected by the physical context of the place and the cultural expectations of the individual. In this particular case, the mobile environment was sensuously unpleasant and, in addition, the passenger had a truly negative disposition towards trains.

In a similar vein, a student explains that he never looks forward to train rides because on a train nothing excites or interests him. He tells me, “hadn’t I spoken to you, I would just decide to sleep to kill this time, make it pass unconsciously” (Couple, day out, students, via Settle, Interview 46). Finally, a long distance hiker, whose ambition is to walk the Land’s End to John o’Groats route, explains that he is on a long distance walking holiday and train is not part of his holiday. He just uses the train to get back on track and he consciously absents himself from this train ride, which means nothing to him (explained further in more details in chapter 7):

This train is different from what I’m doing. It’s separate. It is just the easiest way for me to get back to my track. I suppose I am still a tourist [laughs] but I’m using this train to get from A to B rather than for pleasure

(Single traveller, hiking, self-employed, via Settle, Interview 27).

On the other hand, appropriated time (Lefebvre, 2004) is experienced in stark contrast to waiting time. During this time, the clock time loses importance and other more qualitative dimensions of time dominate the experience. The transport time becomes appropriated time when the train journey is the focal point of the interest and the main activity of the day or when train travel is perceived as the destination as happens with train enthusiasts who can spend days travelling by trains from one place to another. In these situations, time and duration are perceived and experienced differently because a person is immersed in the flow of activity of travelling and he or she loses a sense of time or is simply not interested in the clock time. This assertion is supported by Sack (2004: 87) who notes that “when the place and one’s personality mesh, a person might then lose himself in the project supported by the place, and lose a sense of time”. For instance, a leisure traveller explains that their plan for today is to enjoy the famous Settle-Carlisle train section and, thus, the duration of the trip does not matter, what matters is the journey, good weather to be able to see outside, and getting seats together with his travel companion:

Whatever it takes, it takes. You don’t get on this train and think about time. Will it be an hour or more? We are on holiday. It actually would be nice to break down somewhere like this, in the middle of nowhere [surrounded by the beauty of the Yorkshire Dales landscape]. It would be enjoyable.

(Couple, train & long weekend, working, via Settle, Interview 16).

However, on the train, waiting time and appropriated time are not the only time dimensions experienced by leisure travellers. Many tourists note that train journeys offers liminal time-space, in other words, time in-between a home environment that is associated with daily routines and a leisure destination and a routine adopted during leisure trips. For this reason, the next subsection scrutinises the experience of liminality as experienced by tourists 'on the move'.

6.3.3 Experience of Liminality

In the context of small-scale traditional, tribal cultures, Victor Turner (1982) uses the concept of liminality to describe the mid-phase of sacred rituals, such as rites-of-passage from one social status to another or to refer to pilgrimages in the quest for spiritual centres (Turner, 1973). According to Turner (1982: 26), the liminal phase is inversion of normal reality during which novices become temporarily undefined, equal and anonymous and often physically separated from the rest of society. The ritual subjects acquire a special kind of freedom because they are temporarily beyond normative social structures and obligations. Thus, according to Turner (1969: 95), a person who experiences liminality is both mentally and physically in an unstructured state in-between two structured states, being "neither here nor there [but] betwixt and between".

Although Turner's 'liminality' refers to tribal rituals, other scholars, such as Elsrud (1998), Lett (1983), Rowe (2008), Shields (1990) and Watts and Urry (2008) have applied the term to secular rituals and routines of everyday life within modern western societies, moving away from Turner's structural account of the liminal as a ritualised location. For instance, Shields (1990) and Lett (1983) compare tourism to a liminal zone as it offers a relatively unstructured, anonymous and playful zone – an escape from the strict social conventions of everyday life. Shields (1990) maintains that, on holiday, the codes of normal social experience are temporarily reversed and tourists return to familiar places of work and home revitalised. In a similar vein, as reviewed in Section 3.3.3, Watts and Urry (2008) use the concept of liminality to argue that different transport modes offer a specific sociomateriality and temporality that is between structural obligations and social practices. Passengers on the move become equal and undefined; they are neither parents

nor managers (Watts and Urry, 2008). Thus, transport modes liberate people by offering them a relative 'time out' (Jain and Lyons, 2008).

In agreement with Jain and Urry (2008) and Watts and Urry (2008), I use the concept of liminality in the context of a modern western society to define the expressive nature of *modern* liminality. I argue that, similar to sacred rituals of passage (Turner, 1982), the phase of liminality is not mere mental or emotional experience, rather it is accompanied (or even triggered and enabled) by a parallel passage in space, a geographical movement from one place to another. My research reveals that, on holiday, the mobile time-space of a train carriage becomes a transition phase between two separate and regulated spheres of social practice – home and work, mundane routine and holiday routine. This phase offers a shift from one state of mind (daily obligations and mundane routines) into another, more leisurely mindset. It chimes with Howard (2012:19) who maintains that liminal phase "involves separation from normal 'instrumental life and the business of making a living and offers entry into alternative states in which mental, expressive and cultural needs come to the fore". For instance, a hiker tells me that the train journey from London to Leeds and then to Gargrave (his destination) offers a gradual emotional start for the holiday. He explains that as the train physically moves him away from home, work and everyday daunting routines and takes him closer to his destination, he notices a change inside himself – he adopts a more relaxed state of mind and enters a holiday mood:

So, it's started a bit when I got on the train at Kings Cross. And as we kind of get closer on this train [Leeds-Settle], the holiday emotionally feels a bit more real and I feel more relaxed

(2 friends, hiking holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 11).

This idea is reinforced by another traveller who is on his fishing holiday. He explains that for him the holiday organisation and preparation stage is always stressful because it is linked to pressures at work and different anxieties, for instance, that he might forget something important at home. However, the travelling to the destination stage gradually frees him from everyday worries and stresses and he gradually gets into the holiday mood:

There is this stress about things...what if I forget something...?! And I still got the residual anxiety of work... but sitting on the train, I can feel it drifting away. I just think, well, I just want to get there and, oh God, how beautiful it is out there and it doesn't matter that you may have forgotten a couple of things... So, away from London on the train surrounded by this beautiful landscape outside, work and different worries stop influencing me (talking in delight)

(Single traveller, fishing holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 13).

Moreover, a group of four cyclists with bikes feel that train travel embodies the 'almost there feeling', a sense of relief and excitement. The reason being that, according to the Northern Rail rules, only two bikes are allowed per train along this line and it is up to the mercy of the train conductor to permit more bikes boarding a train. So, when four cyclists managed to get on, they experience a sense of achievement, the holiday together becomes real, evoking feelings of satisfaction and happiness (A group of four cyclists, cycling holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 24).

In addition, referring to my auto-ethnographic notes time 'on the move' is a constant melding of past, present and future, a 'mode of stretching' (Grosz, 1999: 25 in May and Thrift, 2001). The rocking movement of the train and the swiftly passing landscape prompt people to immerse in different thoughts, memories, anticipations and dreams. As Mels (2004: 5) notes, "our consciousness has a profoundly temporal gear with accumulated memories reaching backwards in time and imagination reaching into the future". In line with my auto-ethnographic observations and reflections, many leisure travellers narrate that the present journey becomes enmeshed with experiences of past times and past trips and anticipations of the approaching leisure trip. Leisure travellers also note that the route with its scenery acts as an introduction to the destination and, by doing so, allows the tourist to daydream about the leisure time they will experience. For instance, a group of cyclists reveal that looking at the passing landscape makes them almost sense how it will feel to cycle there:

Cyclist 1: We appreciate the beauty of this route and the fact that this route takes us to somewhere nice and you are getting to see what's coming...**Cyclist 2:** yes, seeing the beautiful countryside, fills me up with an excitement to get out. **Cyclist 3:** but it looks really hot... [All girls: laughing] I can see that it might be really hot today...

(Group of 4, cycling, working, via Settle, Interview 24).

Similarly, an elderly hiker notes that she loves travelling by train, gazing out of the window and thinking that soon she will be out there hiking (Group of 3, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 25). Additionally, there are travellers who comment that the time spent on the train provides them information for future trips. To illustrate this point, a day-tripper remarks that:

On the train, I like looking outside and thinking...ohh, I've not been there, I've not been over there, walked up there. So, I can plan the next trip quite well by just looking out of the window because I see places that I've never thought of. I might look in a map and it hasn't occurred to me to walk up one of these little areas.

(2 travellers, train & heritage train, working, via Barrow, Interview 20).

However, the landscape not only triggers thoughts and anticipation about the future but it also evokes memories of past events. A couple tells me that they have already experienced the viaduct and Yorkshire Dales by car and now these experiences add a special meaning to the route and evoke memories:

Woman: Travelling by train, you can't really see the viaducts, although it's one of the main landmarks of this route. **Man:** That's right, to see them you have to go there by car. Two years ago we toured this region by car and we saw the Ribbleshead viaduct and a few others from down below and now going over the viaduct by train, we can relate to that time. It triggers memories

(Couple, train & weekend break, working, via Settle, Interview 16).

What is more, a retired couple in their late seventies linger in memories of how train travel and going on a holiday by train was perceived about seventy years ago. They remember with delight and a sense of nostalgia that although the rhythms of the train were slower, the train journey itself was conceived as an adventurous event for it was out of ordinary:

Train travel was an event. When I was little and we travelled from Penrith down to Bedfordshire, my mother would dress up nicely: put on her hat and gloves to get on a train. The train company would take the luggage in advance or we could take it to the train station ourselves where it was put into a luggage van and wheeled to a luggage compartment. I mean, it was an adventure for us because we didn't travel so often those days...whereas now it is accepted as a norm and now we are all dressed just to be comfortable...

(Couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 28).

Hence, this section demonstrates that transport time can be experienced as liminal for it offers a transition between the origin and destination. Leisure travellers use this time to unwind, get into the holiday mood and unreflexively use this time to linger in memories, dreams and anticipation. Returning to the different time dimensions experienced by leisure travellers, in the next section, I scrutinise the rhythms of the body or, so called, circadian rhythms, which is another very important time aspect evident in my auto-ethnographic observations of self and others and is also implicitly mentioned by leisure travellers.

6.4 Rhythms of the Body or the Experience of Self

Elsruad (1998) notes that both biological and natural rhythms influence the way one inhabits and experiences the surrounding environment. In addition, Mell (2004: 5, original emphasis) maintains, “Corporality is essential to place and lifeworld, because we experience objects, their place and our place *with* our lived- living body”. In this section, I analyse how temporality is experienced qualitatively through corporeal existence. I demonstrate that the rhythmicity of the human body renders the mobile experience varied, changing over time, creative, rhythmic and ‘in becoming’ (Crang, 2001). According to Sack (2004) and Adam (1998: 13), nature, including our own selves, is constituted by a multitude of circa rhythms that make humans “pulse in synchrony with the rhythms of the cosmos” (the nature).

Similarly, Lefebvre (2004) notes that polirhythmia characterises one’s body and influences the lived experience of the surrounding lifeworld. This echoes with Adam (1995) who contends that the times of life, nature and our body are the times of becoming, rhythmicity and repetition with variation. Describing the body rhythms, Adam (1998:13) notes that these rhythms range from “the very fast firing of neurons to the heart-beat, from digestive to activity-and-rest cycles, and from the menstrual cycle to the larger regenerative processes of growth and decay, birth and death”. To analyse the embodied experience of self, I attend to notes in my auto-ethnographic diary where I describe my experiences as a researcher and as a tourist and I attend to leisure travellers’ comments on how their body rhythms influence the experience of the journey.

According to my auto-ethnographical observations, leisure travellers perceive, feel and experience the train journey and the train environment through attending to the rhythms of their own body and mundane habits. In other words, different times of the day are marked with certain voluntary rhythms (e.g. reading, eating) and involuntary rhythms (e.g. hunger, stiffness, pain, or travel-sickness) and these bodily needs and habits influence the mobile experience. For instance, leisure passengers perceive the mobile environment differently depending on whether they are fully awake and energetic or tired and sleepy. During a very early morning ride (07:00am), the body is still half-asleep and, thus, more sensitive towards the surrounding environmental stimuli. During this time, I feel more perceptive to the cool temperature of the carriage and the technologised sounds of the train appear louder than when I am fully awake (Auto-ethnography, via Settle, 28.09.2013).

In addition, the morning train rides are marked with unreflexive morning habits, such as having a coffee or breakfast on the train. What is more, on the outbound journey, according to my observations, tourists are more energetic and enthusiastic. They actively look around and appreciate the fleeting landscape (as discussed in the previous section). They appear full of anticipation and excitement while, on their way back home, after a day-long cycling or hiking many of them rest and recover on the train, eat some late lunch or even fall asleep. In general, on the way back, tourists appear much calmer, tired, satisfied with the day and, thus, their engagement with and attention to the surrounding mobile environment and the perception of travel time change. For instance, referring to a visceral sensation of fatigue, a tired cyclist on his return journey home explains that the way back feels different to the journey to the Yorkshire Dales in the morning because “I’m tired and I’m recovering here [on the train] and the scenery is not important at the minute. I just want to sit back and rest my legs” (A single traveller, cycling, student, Interview 18). Similarly, a young cyclist recounts that after a long day cycling, he only has one interest – how to get home sooner because he is tired (a group of 4, cycling, student, via Settle, Interview 24). This assertion parallels with Edensor and Holloway (2008) and Edensor (2014) who state that various bodily rhythms and arrhythmia render the travel experience into a flow from one state into another. The embodied experience changes over time and attentiveness to surroundings are interspersed by one’s own bodily effects, needs and desires that emerge as the time flows.

What is more, my auto-ethnographic observations reveal that not only the diurnal rhythms influence the embodied mobile experience; the mobile place itself and the built environment of the train carriage inscribe on human bodies and change the way leisure travellers bodily feel. Reviewing my auto-ethnographical notes, I can observe a difference between how my travelling body feels in the morning, at the start of my train journey and in the afternoon, after I travelled for about six hours. At the beginning of the day (8am), I feel fresh, energetic and enthusiastic to interview passengers and eager to do my research. However, as the time passes and after about five interviews, my mind feels exhausted, I feel hungry and tired, my back and neck feel tense and stiff from sitting in one position. Moreover, I feel tired from all the people around me. I grow impatient, 'wriggle' in my seat, trying to find a different sitting position and, finally, I can't wait to get off. An excerpt from my auto-ethnography demonstrates that the jolts and jerkiness of the carriage, the seat and the train sociality engender a sense of exhaustion:

14:49 – it is still a really pleasant journey, warm and sunny day but I'm just tired from sitting and my back and neck feel stiff and aching from spending more than 6 hours in this sitting position...my legs require some exercise... I'm hungry and I'm getting dizzy because of that. Besides, it is very hot inside... and, thus, I can't concentrate on my research anymore.

(Auto-ethnographic note, via Barrow, 31.05.2013).

In a similar vein, a retired day-tripper remarks that he prefers travelling by train because the train affords him chance to walk and stretch his legs when his body becomes tired from travelling:

When I travel long distances, I become tired and stiff from sitting and then I just get up and walk a bit, stretch my legs whereas in the car I have to sit in the same position all the time...

(Couple, steam train & day out, retired, via Barrow, Interview 21).

These quotes parallel with Bissell (2007a, 2009a) who states that motion can unsettle and agitate the body. Bissell (2009a: 439) explains, "Even under the most ideal conditions, it seems that physical travel is often experienced as an intrinsically tiring event [and, thus,] for many, fatigue is one of the central hallmarks of the experience of mobility".

Interestingly, my observations and passengers' comments reveal that the desired

degree of comfort depends on how long one has to spend 'on the move'. For instance, few passengers measure the comfort of the train seat in relation to how long they have to be in that seat. In this regard, a leisure traveller remarks, "Mostly, Northern Rail trains operate not very long journeys. So, you don't need a seat to sink in to, you just want a seat to support you" (2 friends, train & birthday, retired, via Barrow, Interview 44). Whilst, a train enthusiast elaborates:

I'm thinking where to sit, where would it be comfortable for me because I'm not here for 2 stops, I'm going to travel for 8 hours. So, I'm thinking to have a decent leg room, that's why I'm choosing a seat round a table

(Single traveller, train, working, via Settle, Interview 4).

Similarly, linked to human circa rhythms, during longer train journeys, certain facilities gain higher importance, such as – toilets, restaurant car or a trolley service. A group of leisure travellers note:

On longer journeys, we would pay more attention at whether there is a restaurant car or toilets because you definitely need those, don't you! Whereas on this trip, it doesn't matter really because it's a short trip

(Group of 4, steam train & walk, retired, via Barrow, Interview 23).

With reference to additional facilities and services, the role of food and drinks is specifically stressed by a majority of leisure travellers. Many interview participants remark that the provision of food constitutes a very important part of the train service. Moreover, many travellers recognise that refreshments often improve the travel experience significantly, especially if the journey is long. A retired leisure traveller shares her view:

I mean a trolley service improves dramatically the quality of my journey. Today, there is no trolley service on this train. I always notice it, especially during longer train journeys. Once, I came back from Swansea across to Manchester and there was no trolley service and I complained because it is not acceptable to have no hot drinks for nearly 5 hours

(2 friends, train & birthday, retired, via Barrow, Interview 44).

Emphasising the importance of the trolley service along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle- Barrow-Lancaster route, all interview participants notice and mention during the interview that there is no restaurant car on Northern Rail

trains and many know that, only on certain days (usually weekends), a trolley service operates along the Settle-Carlisle section.

According to my observations, along the Settle-Carlisle section, the trolley service contributes to a pleasurable and relaxing passage of time on the train. Most passengers comment on the good quality of the service and wide range of drinks and snacks available. When the trolley service rolls by, most passengers buy a cup of coffee, tea, some sweets, sandwiches, crisps, cakes or ice cream, which feels especially refreshing on a hot summer day. Many comment that

Catering is one of the major things. During the train journey, if somebody is coming around with coffee and sandwiches, crisps and all the rest of it, that would make a world of a difference, even on short journeys! It makes the journey part of the day's experience!

(2 friends, train & birthday, retired, via Barrow, Interview 44).

In addition, many leisure travellers take food and drinks (sometimes alcoholic drinks) with them on the train and, using the affordances of the train carriage – tables and comfortable seat arrangements around the tables, consume them together with their travel companions while travelling to their destinations.

According to the remarks of many travellers, having some refreshments maximises the joy and pleasure of travelling together and creates a special convivial atmosphere. Food consumption becomes another way of sharing time, space and experience together. Two friends explain that having some food together enhances the feeling of having a good time and the state of togetherness, especially on this train because it affords sitting together around a table, talking, looking outside on beautiful landscape and seascape, and eating. Food sharing becomes symbolic:

She: today is his birthday. So, this trip is his treat for his birthday [he laughs]. **He:** yes, this journey is the birthday present. **She:** at some point, I've brought things with me (she shows me a food bag full of nice food and champagne and wine) So, we will celebrate around a nicely set table with food and drinks. Also, on the train to Barrow, we had a breakfast and a cup of tea. It was very pleasurable

(2 friends, train & birthday, retired, via Barrow, Interview 44).

This comment is in line with Quan and Wang's (2004: 299) assertion that "Tourism can be seen as an unusual context in which food consumption gains special meaning and pleasure" because food is capable of providing extra opportunities for tourists to be in a more memorable and enjoyable holiday atmosphere. However, not only different times, such as body time or activity time, influence the mobile experience but also the speed at which the train takes leisure travellers to their destinations. In this regard, many tourists narrate that the speed strongly influences the sensory experience afforded by the transport mode. Hence, the final section of this chapter focuses on the embodied experience of technologised speed and time-compression, as this component appears to be an integral part of travelling by train.

6.5 Embodied Experience of Mobile Rhythms: Slowness vs. Speed

In this section, I engage with the debate introduced in Chapter 3, Section 3.4 regarding the experience of speed and slowness and I examine how the slow rhythms of the diesel train along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster branch line are experienced and valued by leisure travellers, as well as what meanings leisure travellers attach to these rhythms. In addition, I also examine what the slower rhythms bring to the experience and how the experience varies between different generations.

John Ruskin famously complained that 'all travelling becomes dull in exact proportion to its rapidity' (Adey, Bissell, McCormack and Merriman, 2012). This sentiment is neatly encapsulated within Schivelbush's (1967) and Larsen's (2001) works who also state that the experience of a journey declines in its quality as the pace of a movement increases because the sensing of the surrounding environment is strongly influenced by the mode and style of movement. Hence, the Slow Travel movement advocates stress that slow pace affords a more meaningful tourist experience because it gives time to appreciate the passing landscapes, allows time to think, interact with people and engage with places en-route (Roy and Hannam, 2012). Supporting the slow travel philosophy, an elderly hiker remarks that to experience a place and to gain knowledge about a region or

a national park requires time:

Hiker 1: I think we are lucky that we've travelled this [train] route for such a long time and walked the route for such a long time... and then we can still go on walks led by somebody else and be taken on a footpath that we have never walked on before! So, it's something new all the time... **Hiker 2:** I think when there are so many footpaths [along the train route], there is always something new. **Hiker 3:** So, it's not like you come once along this train route, have a walk and think that you've been here and know the region!

(Group of 3, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 25).

On the contrary, Germann Molz (2009) stresses that western (post)modernity values constant acceleration in which speed is the natural and welcome by-product of technological progress. Yet, as explained by Tomlinson (2007), the attitude to speed is never straightforward – it has been criticised and praised. My findings demonstrate that the disposition to speed varies among people and depends on different situations. With regards to situations, many leisure travellers comment that for leisure trips they deliberately choose slower train services to experience the route and the landscape outside. For instance, a train enthusiast on his day out remarks:

There are two routes [to go to Carlisle]: a fast and a slow. It takes a long time to go from Lancaster to Carlisle along the coast, which is the slow branch line. You would normally take the fast route, which I did last week. That line enabled me to get faster to Carlisle whereas today I'm doing the scenic route

(Single traveller, train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 33).

Moreover, I meet tourists who state that they use trains exclusively for leisure trips and the car for commuting because the slow rhythms of the train complement the leisurely rhythms of their day trip, affording to sense and visual contemplation of the rural idyll. This statement is supported by Parkins (2004: 365) who maintains that "The diversity of modes of transport increasingly enabled people to compare and contrast different forms of mobility and to choose slowness to gain a heightened aesthetic or sensory experience". Supporting this viewpoint, many tourists recognise that they prefer trains for leisure because, according to their observations, speed changes the visual experience of the place. The slower movement of the diesel train enables a more qualitative experience that allows more time for a more meaningful engagement with people and nature. Hence,

day-trippers note:

Husband: This route is for scenic experience whereas the mainline is to get from A to B. The reason for the journey is different. **Wife:** On the main line, trains are so fast you can't see anything anyway...

(Group of 3, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 12).

I enjoy the branch lines more because they are slower. You get more time to see what's going on. Besides, they are more scenic. Whereas the main line offers you a good way to get you from A to B very quickly but you tend not to be able to see as much because the train passes by everything so fast. You don't get as much time to appreciate the scenery really

(Single traveller, day out & steam train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 30).

What is more, tourists note that the experience afforded by the slower branch line trains is not just an act of vision. The moving train engages the whole body: senses and emotions. Many passengers comment that faster rhythm of main line trains make them feel queasy at times (because the main line trains tilt to go faster), which is uncomfortable and unpleasant, while slower and rocking rhythms of Northern Rail diesel trains are experienced nostalgic and evoke relaxation. An elderly person recounts:

Some of the main line trains go very fast, like the trains from Milton Keynes to Manchester go very fast. I don't travel very well and I can feel ill, I can't read going on these trains and they are too fast to enjoy the landscape whereas I know that these trains aren't gonna be going as fast and I won't have these feelings

(Couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 41).

Yet, the fact that many tourist choose the train for leisure for its slow and relaxing rhythms also echoes with Edensor (2012a: 64) who points out that tourism is not only about

Movement to a different space but also to a different rhythm – to a realm in which one can slow down and chill out, or where difference is marked by different temporal ways of being. This quest for rhythmic alterity appears to constitute a break from everyday routine and immersion in another temporal state.

Hence, according to Edensor (2012a), in tourism, slower pace is valued because it affords distinctive kinds of tourism rhythms and enables tourists to sense the rural setting of the region. The slower movement of the branch line train becomes part

of the slower-paced rural experience, which allows “to ‘wind down’ away from the ‘rat race’, away from the faster pace of ‘modern’ urban living ...a nostalgic desire to revert to a romantic, imaginary rural idyll” (Edensor, 2012a:60).

Nevertheless, the slow rhythms of the train are not always associated with positive, desired and relaxing tempos. Train travel also includes rhythms of waiting for a train, the times and the frequency at which the trains run, connecting times, delays and cancellation, the rhythms of overcrowded trains and fare increases. Most leisure travellers identify these aspects as the negatives of slow travel. For instance, a conversation with two elderly travellers reveals that slow means more complicated because it involves a lot of planning and more connections. Whilst, more connections mean uncertainty due to possible delays and cancellations, missed connections or bad connections:

Lady 1: We talked about it just today in the morning that we ought to use public transport more. **Lady 2:** Yehh, especially, now when I’m over 60 I get cheap travel and in Scotland you get all the busses free and I really should have come down by bus and not drive [from Scotland to Cumbria]. But it’s easier by car because when I get home I have to catch a ferry and if I’m doing that by public transport and the weather is bad and the ferry doesn’t go then I’m stuck...So, I feel I need my car. If the worst comes worst, I can sleep at the back of it
(2 friends, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 6).

In addition, slow means organising your day according to train arrival and departure times, which might sometimes be inconvenient, or, as mentioned earlier, putting up with delays and cancellations, which is at best just unpleasant or, at worst, very irritating; plans can be messed up for the whole day. Many accounts stress that

She: There is a disadvantage and that is you are restricted to the times of the trains. **He:** This one set off from Wigan at 9: 25 and we got to Lancaster 2 min to 10. This train was supposed to leave 1 min past 10. So, there were only 3 min in between. If this train were a bit late, we would have missed the connection and would have waited for another hour. That’s the problem, getting the connections right. So you are not as free and flexible as with a car. You got time within train arrivals and departures...
(Couple, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 43).

These excerpts clearly highlight that time-keeping is a crucial aspect of western social structure (Shaw, 2001). The timekeeping, planning time and efficient use of

time are concepts that are strongly embedded in western culture and, thus, in western individuals' everyday lives, habits and values. Adam (1998) calls it the habits of mind that permeate every aspect of life.

Referring to leisure time and holidays, Edensor (2012a) points out that extensive mobility, as one of the main characteristics of tourism with its stop-start rhythm along the routes, and periods of relative stasis, explains the broader temporal shape of tourist ventures. Due to these extensive mobilities and the fact that tourist activities too are time-bound, tourists have to be time conscious. Hence, a train journey is part of the dynamic tourist spending time in motion when rushing from home or hotel to train station to be in time for a pre-booked train. For this reason, delays or cancellations of trains are perceived as failures and are upsetting because they offset tourists' plans.

However, train times, connections and delays are not the only disadvantages encountered by leisure travellers. Many tourists mention that journeys by train can also imply inconveniences, such as carrying a lot of luggage or not enough luggage. A retired couple explain:

The disadvantage is that you have to carry everything with you. So, you have to decide when you set off : are you going for a walk in a sunny day or are you going out in a day that might be cold or wet. Whereas, in the car, you can have things for any situation... But today, we came out like this (lightly dressed) and that's it. It might turn out that it is a really nasty day, I mean, weather-wise and then...He: or it might get too hot, hotter than we anticipated and then we have all those pullovers...

(Couple, day out hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 43).

Some tourists point out the inconvenience and stress of crowded trains and no available seats as the downside of train travel:

If you're going to seaside, the trains can get very full and the last thing you want to do is to get on a train and, in fact, you are going to stand there for an hour and a half to go to the seaside. You do that once and then you never do it again

(Couple, day out in Carlisle, working, via Settle, Interview 42).

While some stress that it is expensive to travel by train:

I mean, the only thing that worries me about the train is that it seems to get more and more expensive. They don't hang around putting up fares. At the time when I was seeing this girl in Scotland, the fares went up from £95 up to £120 in the 6 month I was going out with her. It's probably why we split up... [he laughs]

(Single traveller, fishing holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 13).

As mentioned earlier, the disposition to faster and slower rhythms also varies between generations. Markwell et al. (2012) suggest that it is difficult and complicated to embrace slowness for younger generations that are enmeshed in the fast rhythms of the modern world because, similar to work time, the periods of leisure become heavily time regulated and 'accelerated'. Hence, many leisure travellers that represent the younger generation (e.g., students) comment that they would prefer to travel by car if they had an option because it is quicker and easier:

If I can get a lift, I get a lift and go by car because it's just easy and quicker. You can get there [to your destination] straight from your house. So, if my dad is willing for cycling then we go together by car

(3 friends, cycling, studying, via Barrow, Interview 9).

This cyclist suggests that the slow rhythms of the train are not necessarily desirable. According to the comments of younger participants, they are somewhat indifferent to the slow rhythms of the train. They enjoy fast transport modes, instantaneous access to information and adventurous and novel kinaesthetic engagements with different mobile technologies, making speed central to the cultural experience. As a result, a few participants from the younger generation state that the experience of travelling by train can be boring, they do not find gazing at fleeting by landscape interesting and, thus, they use different techniques to pass the time more quickly, such as listening to music on headphones or sleeping. A student highlights:

Student: Normally, on a train, the first thing I do, is I try to find a comfortable seating position and just go to sleep because the thing is, I don't want to deal with all what's coming! It is just that for me it is more like a phase I need to go through in order to get to my destination and I want to get it over with as fast as possible. And the fastest way, in my feeling, is when I'm just asleep then I wake up and if I'm there I'm there, if not then I probably went too far.

(Couple, sightseeing, students, via Settle, Interview 46).

This claim suggests that lifestyle, interests and life stage influence the mobile experience and the meaning that leisure travellers attach to train travel (further

scrutinised in chapter 7). Moreover, this excerpt highlights that meanings and associations ascribed to pace are not natural or inevitable, but rather they are constructed in public discourses and popular media representations of pace (Gernann Molz, 2009).

It is different for older people. Firstly, they represent a different generation – all senior participants of this study remembered the times of the steam trains, for these times were linked to their childhood and family trips to the seaside. As a result, there were some seniors who mentioned that travelling by train evokes childhood memories and feels a bit like going back to childhood. These feelings are especially apparent among seniors who have not been on trains for a very long time. However, seniors also remark that not only childhood memories but also nostalgia for the era of steam adds a different meaning to travelling by train. Senior leisure travellers remember times past and the adventure of travelling on a steam train. Thus, an elderly hiker tells me that, in a sense, the route, the train journey and the beautifully preserved Victorian-style train stations allow her to travel back in time to places that do not exist anymore:

This line is unique and special! The train line with the stations gives the feeling of going back in time to the 50s and the 60s in a way, apart from the lack of the steam train....

(2 friends, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 40).

This feeling echoes with Shaw's (2001: 123) research, she finds that people often choose to holiday in places which seem to them like stepping back in time to a slower pace of life. These places symbolise a certain sort of stability and calm of a different epoch. Similarly, Urry (1994) points out that some places feel heavy with time and these places in particular invite people to stroll, which feels like walking 'out of time'.

Further discussions with older generation leisure travellers reveal that, in their opinion, an important dimension of the lived experience has been lost with the increased speed and the advancements in train technology. For instance, a retired senior remembers:

When I was little and we travelled from Penrith down to Bedfordshire, it would take about 7 hours but you got coffee, you got lunch...you moved to a dining car and you got lunch served to you. And if you travelled longer, you got an afternoon tea as well. In comparison if you go now, because the trains are so much quicker ...they may be quicker but the actual experience isn't there anymore. But that's not the fault of the trains that's the fault of all of us because we all want to get faster from A to B. I think we need to take time to experience and enjoy the moment rather than rush all the time to be somewhere else ...

(Couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 28).

Secondly, in comparison to younger generations, seniors perceive and experience the slow rhythms of a branch line train differently because, according to Parkins (2004), through retirement, seniors gain the opportunity to be outside of 'fast time' and they can differentiate themselves from the dominant culture of speed. Mansvelt (1997) elaborates, as elderly people retire from paid employment and the active lifestyle associated with raising children and work, their daily routines and rhythms of living change with leisure time becoming part of their lifestyle. This lifestyle, although influenced by clock time and social structures, is more relaxed, laid-back and constructed around interests. Seniors attach other meanings to leisure time, different to just being a time off work. Leisure time becomes valued for qualities such as the social interaction associated with participation, aesthetic and sensory experience of travel, nostalgia or walking and cycling opportunities. In line with this point of view, participants of this study agree that they choose slower rhythms of travel because they are in harmony with their retired lifestyle and perception of time. A retired couple on their day out explain:

When you are retired, you don't need to rush. When you are working for living then everything must be quickly but when you retired you can afford to do things slowly. I haven't really thought why, it is just more relaxing. So, we tend to travel outside the rush hours and the main trains that we travel with are not the main line trains but the ones like this [branch line] train

(Couple, day out & steam train, via Barrow, Interview 21).

This point is further reinforced by other accounts who generally experience slower living as a positive and life-enhancing quality that gives opportunity to make personal choices:

Many years ago, when I used to work in London and commute by train, then it was no pleasure at all. It was crowded, it was just a means to get into work but since retired, whenever we have gone on a train, it's always been a pleasurable, relaxing experience because we travel off-peak and usually trains are not busy during these hours. And, very importantly, this is our choice to go on these leisurely trips and not because we have to, travelling is not any more a necessity. Besides, travelling off-peak is cheaper because we have senior railcards and that's a good incentive [laughs].

(Couple, hiking & heritage train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 21).

According to these excerpts, on leisure and in everyday life seniors inhabit 'slower lines' of urban life, such as travelling off-peak and mid-week, booking in advance, travelling for longer and more often. They do not rush to their destination but enjoy and value every phase of the day: from the travel mode and the route to activities at the destination and the social, cultural and natural qualities of the destination itself. As the following account claims:

We are retired and time doesn't really matter because we don't feel the pressure of time. We don't rush from one place to another and, generally, we are not in a hurry. So, whether we go shopping or for a day out, we don't need to rush and if we miss a train we go and have a cup of coffee and get the next one [laughs]

(2 friends, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 32).

To conclude, as this section demonstrates, train travel is imbued with different meanings and the attitude towards slowness and the slow travel rhythms is ambiguous. Speed and slowness are experienced and sensed differently by different people in different situations and, thus, different meanings are attached to these realms. Slow rhythms can be very welcomed in some situations and for some people while very annoying for others under different circumstances.

6.6 Summary

This section has challenged the simplicity by which time in social theory is often reduced to a dichotomy of opposites – linear time against cyclical time, progress against rhythmicity. Although clock time holds an important position during train travel, there are other aspects of time, such as leisure time, waiting time,

appropriated time, liminal time and body time, which constitute the train journey along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route. These times overlap and can be experienced by the same traveller at different stages of the journey. What is more, I demonstrate that the rhythmicity of the human body influences how time is felt on the move, rendering the mobile experience varied, changing over time, creative, rhythmic and 'in becoming'. Additionally, I demonstrate that different happening, common mobile leisure activities (e.g., taking photographs, examining maps, enjoying the company of travel companions, gazing at the fleeting landscape) as well as routine habits (e.g. having a cup of coffee, a sandwich, reading) create time and constitute 'dwelling in time'. Hence, this section reveals that the travelling phase to a destination is not just about saving time and getting to a destination faster, as highlighted by transport studies. On the contrary, my findings illustrate that the majority of leisure travellers perceive the train journey as an integral, enjoyable and relaxing part of the leisure trip and many travellers deliberately choose the slower scenic branch line train rather than the car or a much faster main line train to get to their destination. Yet, as acknowledged in the introduction of this chapter, time and space are interdependent, and various rhythms and activities that create time also structure the experience of place while the affordances of place influence the sense of time. Thus, in the next section, I focus on the experience of space – the place of the carriage and distant space of fleeting landscape.

Chapter 7 Analysis – Embodied Experience of Mobile Space of a Train

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine how leisure travellers experience the place of a train carriage, social environment and the atmosphere inside the carriage, as well as the natural environment outside the carriage. In doing so, I engage with the debate introduced in Chapter 2 on the lived and embodied experience and Chapter 3 on embodied dwelling in motion, factors that influence mobile experience and social relations on trains. These debates highlight that tourists actively engage with mobile place and (co)produce it through different place-making practices and performances. What is more, being in place evokes a distinct sense of place that is accompanied by diverse meanings attached to the mobile environment. All these aspects together create the lived and embodied experience of place. However, before I start analysing the lived and embodied experience of train travel as perceived by leisure travellers, in the first Section, I focus on different factors that influence leisure travellers' choice to travel by train.

7.2 The Tourist and the Motives to Choose Train

Although the original aim of this study was to concentrate purely on the lived and embodied experiences of travelling by train, the primary data collection and analysis stages revealed two important aspects that influence the lived experience. Firstly, the experience of traveling to or from a destination cannot be separated from other 'tourist experience' phases: anticipation, experiences at the destination, and recollection (Page, 2009; Clawson and Knetsch, 1966). This is in line with the Clawson and Knetsch's (1966) 'recreational experience' theory, which states that both travel to and from the destination phases are integral to the total tourist experience and which implies that tourists may plan, anticipate and recollect not only the on-site experience but also the travel to and from the destination phases.

Secondly, the findings demonstrate that the perception and experiences of the mobile train environment are impacted by traveller's personality, prior experience, interest and hobbies, life stage and lifestyles, as well as the motives to embark on the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route. This assertion echoes with Ory and Mokhtarian (2005) who argue that the perception of the travelling phase varies by personality type (e.g. whether a person likes independence or prefers being part a guided tour), lifestyle (e.g. whether a person is adventure-seeking or enjoys familiarity; is active or prefers more passive, sedentary experiences), attitudes, values and socio-demographic characteristics. These findings also supports Ram et al. (2013), Quinlan Cutler and Carmichael (2010) and Ryan (2002) who claim that motivations to travel are an important element in the tourist experience. They contribute to the choices made, the overall assessment of travel and the experiences people gain from different trips, vacations and locations.

7.2.1 Destination and Activities at the Destination

As identified by all interview participants, the purpose of the trip, the destination and activities planned at the destination influence their overall state of mind, the mood and activities 'on the move'. These findings are in stark contrast to transport policy and economic appraisal of transport in Great Britain, which treat travel time and activity time at the destination as separate and irrelevant (Lyons, 2014; Mokhtarian and Solomon, 2001). Yet, these findings are in line with Mokhtarian and Salomon (2001) and Salomon and Mokhtarian (1998) who identify that experience of travelling varies by travel purpose. Hence, the aim of this Section is to demonstrate in what ways motives to undertake a holiday and planned activities at the destination influence the leisure travellers mood and activities on the move.

Interview participants state that motives, such as to have fun, enjoy the countryside, relax, meet friends and spend some quality time with family, as well as pursue interests and hobbies, make them feel happy, relaxed, and excited about the day and, very importantly, not pressured by time. Additionally, my ethnographic observations show that many leisure travellers on the Leeds-Settle- Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route appear in a very good mood and in leisurely state of mind open to conversations and curious about the surrounding outside environment with a positive attitude to surrounding passengers. They laugh and

joke in the small companies of their loved once or friends. Yet, interestingly, when asked to describe their state of mind and their feelings during this leisure journey, interview participants compare their present experiences to the commuting experience. This parallels with Ryan (2002) who maintains that holidays do not make sense without reference to non-holiday time. The tourist provides his/her meaning by comparison with not being a tourist. Hence, the meaning of new space is informed by old space, and “the meanings so derived become hybridizations of meaning that, in turn, inform perceptions of the yet to be experienced” (Ryan, 2002: 207). Leisure travellers highlight:

It's more enjoyable going by train on a day trip than to work. I am more relaxed for a start, I'm not pressured by time, I don't have to get to work, worry about being on time ... Besides, when I commute I go the same route, do the same thing, see the same people every day. I feel stuck in the routine while going on a day trip is a totally different experience, is something new...you see new places

(Single traveller, cycling, student, via Settle, Interview 3).

In overall, many leisure travellers, who participate in this study, claim that they lead an active lifestyle. They enjoy hiking and cycling and they are members of some rambling or cycling groups that often support more sustainable travel modes. Hence, these leisure travellers often use the rail transport to undertake frequent domestic leisure trips to countryside. With reference to the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route, many day-trippers comment that it is convenient, comfortable and relaxing to take this branch line train because the train stops provide base for walks. A retired couple informs me about their plans for today:

We are meeting friends at Kents Bank, we are going for a walk with them around that area - the Grange Sands, and then we will get the train back in the late afternoon

(Couple, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 19).

It becomes clear from these accounts that the destination and activities planned at the destination strongly influence the mobile experience. A retired rail enthusiast adds that this route is for any taste and interests – hiking, cycling, bird watching, history and steam railway (Single traveller, train, via Barrow, Interview 5). Besides, by train, it is convenient to join guided walks in Yorkshire Dales or along the coastline because most guided walks start from train stations and walkers

usually meet and socialise on trains. What is more, train can be the only option if the purpose of a holiday is to start a walk or a cycling tour from one place and finish it at a different place. It can be a short walk that, for instance, starts at Millom train station and finishes at Silecroft or Green Road station (just a few hours walk along the seaside) or it can be a week's hiking or cycling holiday, for example walking the Pennine Way or cycling from coast to coast along Hadrian's Wall. Many cyclists and hikers mention that these trips would be impossible to do by car because they are not circular. Two hikers explain that it is very convenient to go by train from London to Leeds, take the Leeds-Carlisle train, then get off in Gargrave, a first major place where the train line crosses the Pennine Way, and join the walk from there. Their plan is to walk for a week and, at the end of their hiking holiday, they will take a train from Newcastle via Leeds back to London (2 friends, hikers, working, via Settle, Interview 11).

What is more, many leisure travellers reveal that they are tired at the end of the day after a long day walking, cycling or running and they need a rest. A group of long distance runners explain that after doing an eight hour run it is easier to recover when sitting on the train than it is while driving. Consequently, they do not want anyone in the group to have to drive back while others rest. In this situation, the train offers a pleasant, relaxing and sociable environment - a convenient alternative to a car - that affords rest and relaxation for all members of the group (Group of 3, running, working, via Settle, Interview 39). In a similar vein, a group of retired walkers comment:

Walker1: I don't want to drive a long, long way because I have to drive back after a long, long walk...hahahah! I get tired and I find it hard to drive back when I'm already tired. **Walker 2:** Besides, if you drive you can't have an alcoholic drink with your meal at the end of the walk! [says smiling]"

(3 friends, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 14).

Nevertheless, the purpose of a holiday and planned activities can also make a person immune and oblivious to the surrounding mobile environment of the train. For instance, in a carriage, I notice a passenger who sits at the end of the car in an airline style seat. Although, he sits at the window, he reads a newspaper and his sitting positing demonstrates that he is unaware of the outside environment and inside happenings. His bag is placed on the seat next to him to make sure nobody sits there. He shields himself from others, creating his own small world. I

decide to approach the person to find out about his mobile experience. He happens to be a long-distance walker, who does the walk from Land's End to John o'Groats (a challenging walk across the whole length of Great Britain between two extremities). He tells me that the only reason he takes this train is to return back on the track. A week ago, he walked off the route to visit his friends in Kirkby Stephen. He had a week's holiday there and now he needs to return to Haltwhistle to continue the walk. Hence, the hiker deliberately separates himself from the surrounding train environment because the technologised movement of the train is not part of his planned holiday experience; it is just convenient transport to take him back to his track. He tries to convince me that:

What I'm doing and how I'm perceiving this train ride today is different. It is just the easiest way for me to get back. It really is for me just a facility, a link to get back where I want to be. This part of the journey is dead to me, is not really important. I know that this train journey can be a pleasurable and relaxing way to travel but today I feel fairly neutral to this all. For me, my day really begins when I start walking again

(Single traveller, long distance walk, working, via Settle, Interview 27)!

Another interesting disposition towards the whole holiday is voiced by another hiker who goes to Gargrave to start a weeklong walk from there. He tells me that this hiking holiday was planned for four months but unexpectedly one of his parents was admitted to hospital early that morning meaning that this was not a good time for him to travel. This situation heavily influenced his state of mind and ability to emotionally enjoy and anticipate his week in the mountains. He admits that he considered cancelling the whole trip:

Emmm... I'm kind of feel OK [his tone of voice is thoughtful]... as it happens I've got lots of other things going on at home actually... So, I've got elderly parents, one of whom was transported to hospital today, so actually I'm kind of here...but ... so... [he is saying that and I can see that a lot of deep, sad thoughts are going on in his mind] so, I've kind of got mixed emotions. So, I almost didn't come today. Actually [talking in a calm, quiet and said voice timbre], my mother went to hospital today, this morning, couple of hours ago....so, I thought this trip may not work out

(2 friends, hiking holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 11).

This extract supports De Botton's (2002) assumption that the pleasure we derive from journeys is perhaps dependent more on the holiday mind-set, in other words, the emotional receptivity with which we travel than on the actual destination to which we travel. Nevertheless, while different dispositions to train travel exist, overall my findings demonstrate that people choose the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route because they want a specific holiday and the train journey, on the one hand, facilitates this holiday while, on the other hand, it becomes an integral part of it. For instance, a female solo traveller tells me that a week ago she travelled by train from Oban (Scotland) to Whitehaven (a seaside town on the Cumbrian Coast Line) to cycle the Coast-to-Coast route. Now she is on the train back home and, after reflecting on the whole trip: the experience of travelling by train, cycling and camping, she recognises, "Although train might not be adventurous, it definitely became part of my adventure!" (Single traveller, cycling, working, via Barrow, Interview 22).

Analysing further the reasons why people choose the train and embark on the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route, I discover that many leisure travellers – young and old - travel along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle route because they are interested in the route itself. They want to experience its scenic beauty, sense the incredible history of its construction, viaducts and Victorian-style railway stations, as commented by many leisure travellers. For these people, the train journey itself becomes the main activity of the day while the actual destination becomes a transfer point, a waiting place for the train back. For instance, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon, I interview a couple who are already travelling home because the purpose of their day trip was to experience the Settle-Carlisle railway section and Skipton – their actual destination – was just a transit place to have some lunch and wait for the next train back. The couple explains:

This is our return journey. We came from Carlisle to Skipton this morning and now we going back to Carlisle. It was just a sightseeing tour by train. We just wanted to come through the Dales on the train over the viaducts, just to see the train journey really

(Couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 14).

Also two sisters comment on their plans for their day out:

We wanted to see this rail line. We've seen it a lot on television so we decided that we would like to do the train journey ourselves. So, this journey is mainly to enjoy this route. In Settle, we plan to have some coffee or something

(2 sister, train, working, via Settle, Interview 28).

In a similar vein, train travel is experienced by train enthusiasts who utterly enjoy it as a hobby, as a way of spending their free time. Many of these people say that 'railway is in their blood' meaning that the excitement and love for railway is something special, something that can be inherited, learned in childhood. For instance, a rail fan tells me about his love and passion for trains:

I think there is certainly something in the blood why I do it because my father worked for railway and, in fact, as far as I know, in every generation there was a man that worked for railway in my family

(Single traveller, train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 30).

These people are genuinely interested in trains, different train engines, sounds, smells, movement, sociality and routes. I met few travellers who buy special explorer tickets that allow them to travel along specific railway routes within a given period of time, like four routes in eight days Rover Ticket (Interviews 30 and 33). These people perceive trains as their destination and places along the route are just transfer points to have something to eat and drink or stay overnight. A train enthusiast, who celebrates his birthday on the train and the train journey is his present, explains:

But for me, it is the actual train journey, which is the holiday or the reason for the day out, source of my pleasure ... For me, the point for a holiday is not to go to Edinburgh or to go to Penzance or Cardiff, it is to be on the train that goes to Penzance or be on the train that goes to Edinburgh, and as soon as I get to Edinburgh, I get another train that goes somewhere else [laughing]

(2 friends, train ride, retired, via Barrow, Interview 17).

However, my study also reveals that reasons to choose train and a specific type of holiday is influenced not only by lifestyles, interests and hobbies but also tourists' demographic and psychographic characteristics and life stage, familiarity with train travel and the region, different representations, past experiences and expectations. Hence, the following subsections briefly examines these factors.

7.2.2 Demographic and Psychographic Characteristics

Demographic and psychographic characteristics reveal that families with children and individuals, who are entangled in the 'accelerating' pace of the modern western life (e.g. institutionalised structures of work and schools), consider factors, such as how many people travel, travel distance, time, cost, convenient and easy access to varied walks, wildlife, cycling routes, small villages, and seaside resorts when choosing the train. The younger generation (e.g. students), on the other hand, choose the train because, in their opinion, they have no choice, as they have no car. Additional incentives for younger people are the discounted student fares, ability to travel with a bike and the fact that this train facilitates access to various cycling and walking routes.

On the other hand, retired seniors have different values, needs and interests, mainly because they have adopted a slower rhythm of life in comparison to younger generations and, thus, feel less pressured by clock time and the time-structuring of the contemporary daily and weekly social life. As a result, seniors prioritise relaxation, convenience, social relations and the scenic beauty of the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route. Elderly travellers enjoy the unhurried 'clickety-clack' rhythms of a branch line train and highly value the opportunity to just sit and "without caring the world, looking out of the window and taking in the scenery" (3 friends, hikers, retired, via Settle, Interview 25). A group of retired hikers explain:

Traveller 1: Now, when most of us are retired we have more time to use trains. **Traveller 2:** Well, and we are more relaxed when going by train. **Traveller 3:** Yes, let someone else do the driving [laughs] because if you get here by car, it is not an easy road. It is hard work, driving up to here. It would probably take about three hours from Leeds up to here... **Traveller 1:** But on a train, we can rest, chat to each and look out of the window ...

(3 friends; train travel & company, retired, Interview 6).

What is more, for retired seniors train travel is often perceived as a pleasant change to the everyday routine and stressful and tiring car driving. It is an opportunity to see and do something different (Group of four, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 23). Nevertheless, similar to other age groups, ticket prices are an important factor that influence transport use. For instance, many seniors mention that they are

motivated to use the train because they get discounted railway tickets while seniors who worked for British Railways love travelling by train because they travel for free. A retired cyclist explains:

When I was made redundant on the railway, I was able to keep the travel card for life, which I got for working on the railway for 20 years. So, it costs me and my family nothing to travel by train. That's why I love it because I can travel for free

(2 friends, cycling, retired, via Settle, Interview 15)!

7.2.3 Unfamiliarity vs. Familiarity

A Few train travellers and my auto-ethnographic observations show that lack of knowledge and unfamiliarity with train travel can create uncertainty and become either a barrier to choosing the train or a stressful experience. This assertion chimes with Bissell (2009c) who maintains that a successful undertaking of a train journey requires passengers to be familiar with departure and arrival times, knowledge of which platform to move to, knowledge of when specific tickets can and cannot be used to travel, together with timing knowledge associated with transit to and from stations. On the way from Leeds to Carlisle, I meet a domestic tourist from London who is on his fishing holiday to the Yorkshire Dales. He tells me that for him this journey is stressful and complicated because it is long, he does not know the region, he had to change trains in Leeds and he feels uncertain and anxious about the bus connection from Garsdale railway station to his fishing destination. This person is concerned that he will have to take a taxi if the bus does not turn up. A taxi will cost him four times more than public transport and, thus, considerably increase the total cost of transportation. This uncertainty makes this traveller tense and unhappy. This person knows that he will only relax when he safely arrives at the hotel; only then can he switch off his phone and start his relaxing and long awaited fishing holiday (Single traveller, fishing holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 13). In a similar vein, an elderly couple tells me that, according to their observations, lack of knowledge and experience makes people feel intimidated, insecure and uncertain about using trains:

Man: A lot of our friends don't travel by train, they don't quite enjoy it.

Woman: I think you need to be used to travelling by train. **Man:** maybe you have noticed that yourself, people would wait on the platform fairly confident, thinking, "Well this is my train" but before they get on, they will ask somebody and when they get on the train they will check again because it requires a confidence. So, to enjoy train travel you need to be familiar with it.

(Couple, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 19).

Similarly, from my auto-ethnographic diary, I have a note of an amusing situation when two international tourists from Japan did not know when to get off and this situation created tension and uncertainty until they asked for help. An excerpt states:

I observe how two Japanese tourists nearly miss their stop: shouting emotionally, they run out of the train...The next moment, they jump back into the train because, apparently, they've mixed up the stations. Their stop is the next one! So, fake alarm! Foreign tourists... they lack knowledge of the region and the train route. Still being in doubt, they ask for help to two locals who reconfirm that Lancaster is next

(Auto-ethnography via Barrow, 29 May2014).

Moreover, an excerpt in my auto-ethnographic diary documents a time when I took the wrong train and went in the wrong direction:

I slowly realise that I don't know where I am. I start paying more attention to the outside environment to find some confirmation that I'm on the right route. I know it must be the right direction but something tells me it isn't... AND YES, it's not the right direction... I can finally see that I'm going back to BOLTON! All the running to the train station to be in time for the train to Lancaster is wasted now...I forgot to check the end destination on the train and I got on a wrong one that departed from the same platform. Mine was the next! I am furious and can't wait to get off

(Auto-ethnography, via Barrow, 06.06.2014)!

If unfamiliarity with train travel and the region creates uncertainty and tension then familiarity produces confidence and turns train travel into a safe, pleasant and relaxing leisure routine that enables predictable and pleasurable sensations. This state allows for the end of doubt and evokes a feeling of having a good time. For instance, I meet a couple who tell me that over the years they have developed

practical skills, knowledge and experience of travelling by train and thus they enjoy the journey and the train transport efficiently facilitates their days out (couple, day out, working, via Settle, Interview 36).

Additionally, I meet many cyclists who point out that experience, practical skills and knowledge are essential if one travels with a bike because they add confidence and peace of mind. For instance, a cyclist, comparing his experience of travelling by train when he did not have knowledge and now when he feels skilled and confident, admits:

When I first started catching trains about 2 or 3 years ago, I was always very anxious about what would happen if I don't get on [because, according to rules, only two cycles can be carried per train]. It was an intimidating experience because you don't quite know what you're supposed to do and you don't know if you're breaking any rules and so on. However, now I feel much more relaxed because I know that different train operators have different rules and they might vary along different routes. For instance, I know that Virgin is quite strict and you need to book a bike space in advance. Therefore, sometimes we let the Virgin train go and we get on the Northern Train or Transpennine Express because it's easier; there is less hassle, complications, less planning in advance needed. For instance, along this route, the Northern Trains don't really care... as long as you don't obstruct the door, get on as many as you like. They are really relaxed about it [bikes]

(3 friends, cycling, students, via Barrow, Interview 9).

This quote supports Crouch (2000) who claims that tourists learn about a place and build a relationship with it through practice. Different activities and modes of movement result in different embodied experiences and produce lay geographical knowledge of a place. In other words, through practical engagement with the surrounding environment, cyclists and hikers acquire practical knowledge about different affordances (Gibson, 1966) of train travel and a train carriage. Based on this practical knowledge, one of the cyclists reveals his technique for getting on trains:

Most of the time, I just wait until the last moment and then just walk straight on. I mean, there isn't a bike space but I just walk straight into the door way and just stand there with my bike

(3 friends, cycling, students, via Barrow, Interview 9).

Hence, familiarity with train travel is required to plan the day successfully according to trains' arrival and departure times, plan activities while waiting, deal with delays and cancellations, find better connections, know which trains are less busy, which train operators are not strict about bikes, and which destinations are accessible by trains. Two elderly cyclists – one familiar with train travel while the other one not – reflect on their experiences:

Familiar cyclist: I have worked for 40 years on the railway and I know my way around. It's part of me life, the way I live. **Unfamiliar cyclist:** without Roy [the familiar cyclist] being here today, I would have been like 'WOW'...where is what, stressing out...coz you not used to it. This is the first time I been on the train for 25 years. I probably couldn't even read the timetables, Roy is doing all that, you know. I've never seen one of them guys [the conductor] with these machines! It used to be different...yehh 30 years ago! The last time I travelled by train I went home on Christmas to Scotland... **Familiar cyclist:** I'm used to it all and it's not a big deal for me [the train environment]

(2 friends, cycling, retired & employed, via Settle, Interview 9).

The analysis of this train route reveals that many people are regular visitors to the region by train, meaning that they have developed necessary habits and knowledge to enjoy these day trips. Many leisure travellers state that they enjoy the familiarity with the region, habitual practices, sociality of friends and walking companions, walking or cycling in the Yorkshire Dales and Lake District, and the familiar rhythms of the train. In their opinion, familiarity enhances the experience because they know what to expect, what sort of enjoyment the day will bring. Besides, these trips are easy to organise, they require little planning and preparation, and there is little uncertainty.

At the same time, many leisure travellers note that familiarity as a way of enjoyment and relaxation enables attention to details or as Edensor (2014: 165) puts it, "Rhythmic familiarity allows a nuanced sense of place that emerges through mobility and fosters an awareness of change". For instance, frequent trips to the Yorkshire Dales by train enable leisure travellers to notice seasonal changes, experience different weather conditions along the route, changing light and times of the day, different train sociality as well as enjoy the route with different travel companions. Besides, repeat visits mean that these routes are entangled with memories that often trigger conversations between travel companions.

Hence, what I want to make explicit in this subsection is that tourism activities are constitutive of everyday social life rather than being simply an escape from it (Hannam, 2008). In doing so, I support the debate that I introduced in chapter 2 regarding the performance turn and the embodied experiences of tourism. My findings emphasise that tourism is not always about novel and spectacular sites and extraordinary experiences (Urry and Larsen, 2011). On the contrary, tourism is embedded in the context of the everyday (Bærenholdt et al., 2004; Edensor, 2001) and, thus, the train environment, similar to other tourism spaces, consists of unreflexive ways of being: learned and enacted practices, normative performances and habitual routines. As a result, people who are not familiar with these practices and the train culture feel out of their 'habitus' – learned behaviour and practices that from the social order within a social space (Casey, 2001). In other words, they feel 'out of place' and 'out of their comfort zone'.

Nevertheless, not all tourists that I meet along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route are frequent visitors to the region. Many of them embark on their leisure journeys influenced by different representations encountered in media or guided by different past experiences. For instance, on the Settle-Carlisle Partnership website, the Settle-Carlisle train section is marketed as arguably the most scenic railway line in England, a masterpiece of Victorian engineering, constructed almost entirely by hand (www.settle-carlisle.co.uk). This description and similar ones create different expectations that also influence the mobile experience, and are analysed in the next subsection.

7.2.4 Representations, past experience and expectations

Interviews with tourists reveal that prior experiences and different representations of the train route influence their expectations of both - the train ride and the day trip overall. With regards to past experiences, a cyclist tells me about his most memorable and, in his opinion, most scenic train journey – the Fort William to Mallaig train in Scotland. He explains that he has done a lot of train travel but that route stands out. In comparison to that route, other journeys feel less special. This statement echoes Altman and Wohlwill's (1975) theory on adaptation level, that the affective quality of one place influences the affective appraisal of the next place encountered. Thus, the stories of my participants reveal that past travel

experiences not only leave memories but also become a source for expectations and anticipation, both good and bad, for forthcoming journeys. A different tourist tells me that for him this train journey (from Leeds to Gargrave) is a means to an end because he knows from his experience that Northern trains are not comfortable. An extract from our conversation supplemented by my auto-ethnographical observations highlight his point and disposition towards Northern Rail trains:

Hiker: I come from Preston. So, I have travelled from Preston to Leeds on Northern trains before and I know these trains well. I knew it was going to be like this - unpleasant, noisy and windy. To me this journey is a means to an end... I'd like to go and close that window there because the wind comes down here to us, so they [people sitting by that open window] probably don't feel it. **The researcher:** I agree, as soon as the train started moving it became so noisy, windy and cold. I wanted to close that window but I couldn't and a local lady told me that only a conductor can open and close the windows. **The hiker:** I know, I know... it's noisy and it's blowing as well. [He checks his watch and says]: it's only 10 min and we will be off

(2 friends, hiking, working, via Settle, Interview 11).

In contrast, there are leisure travellers who plan and anticipate the train ride. Two sisters, whose interest for the day was to travel along the scenic and famous Settle-Carlisle train section, explain that a few weeks ago they came to the Yorkshire Dales by car to walk the Three Peaks. They saw the Ribbleshead viaduct from afar and felt a desire to experience the train ride, to see the region through a moving train window and to know how it feels in comparison to hiking in the Yorkshire Dales (2 sisters, the train ride, via Settle, Interview 26). However, the two girls also point out that, from childhood, they are familiar with the region through watching a children's television programme, called "Sailing the Dales", and this is how they developed a special emotional relationship and interest about these places. Moreover, the sisters tell me that the Ribbleshead viaduct was used on Harry Potter, which adds an additional value and interest about the built environment of the route and generates excitement while going over the famous viaduct. In addition, an elderly female traveller tells me that the knowledge of the line's history adds a strong meaning to the natural beauty, enriching the experience and making the ride more interesting. The elderly female traveller explains:

We just come for a day out but I have to say that there is a book called “The Mountain” written by Edy Rhods and it’s all about the shantytowns around here. Well, that book was very interesting. Mostly through reading the stories, I found out about the region, this line and the life in the shantytowns. So, when I pass by these places, I’m thinking about and remembering the stories

(Couple, day out, working, via Settle, Interview 36).

Thus, it becomes apparent that apart from personal experiences, expectations are formed by different representations, such as texts, images or narratives. Representations are capable of creating expectations, enriching the actual experience and motivating leisure travellers to embark on this train trip. This assertion echoes with Urry (2002) who uses the notion of the tourist gaze to conceptualise how a tourist – influenced by media, preconceived images and ideas, and past experiences has particular assumptions about what he or she will experience. It also agrees with Cresswell (2006: 4) who argues that “often, how we experience mobility and the ways we move are intimately connected to meanings given to mobility through representations. Similarly, representations of mobility are based on ways in which mobility is practiced and embodied”. The person who is on his fishing holiday recalls:

It’s really funny, thinking about the process how I got there today. It started with a photograph. I get this fishing magazine, which shows you places to go, I saw there a picture of the river Hodder, which is a river in Yorkshire, and I thought, “Aha that looks lovely”. That’s how it all starts.

(Single traveller, fishing holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 13).

As pointed out by this leisure traveller, representations and knowledge create a desire and add an additional value, a special meaning to a place. This meaning makes the route special and different to other routes, which might look visually similar. To reiterate this point, an extract from my auto-ethnography illustrates my reasons and expectations when I travelled along this route for the first time as a tourist-researcher:

The planning of my first trip along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle train route, en-route stops and activities are strongly influenced by marketing and promotional materials found online. As a tourist, I feel influenced and guided by these representations in planning my day. I want to experience the scenic route myself, gaze at the breath-taking views, sense the incredible history of its construction and have a walk in the Three Peaks area

(Auto-ethnography, via Settle, 07.04.2012).

This extract parallels with Urry's (1990) assertion on the development of the organised 'tourist gaze' that is aided and assisted by the growth of guidebooks and promotional materials, which promote new and organised ways of seeing.

Summarising tourists' motivations to choose the train and the role tourists assign to train travel, it is important to highlight that these factors only partially define the actual mobile experience and, as it will be examined in the following sections, the flow of the lived experience must be considered to form a holistic understanding of dwelling-in-motion. In support of this statement, a group of retired hikers, reflecting on their embodied experiences, acknowledges that the train ride unexpectedly added a different meaning to the whole day trip. Initially, the hikers were motivated to choose the train because they received the discounted senior fare but as the journey unfolded, they felt that the train trip adds novelty, makes the day more relaxing and slightly nostalgic, and evokes a holiday mood (3 friends; train travel & company, retired, Interview 6).

These findings advance the conceptual map developed by Moscardo and Pearce (2004), which shows the motivation-transport-experiences interface and suggests that tourists' motivations to travel define transport's role, which, in return, determines travellers' experiences of the transport. Referring to the findings analysed in this chapter, I argue that the conceptual map developed by Moscardo and Pearce (2004) is incomplete because it fails to consider the lived and embodied experiences of transport and how these experiences shape the overall transport role. Hence, the aim of the following sections is to scrutinise how tourists inhabit and (co)create time-space of a train journey.

7.3 Lived and Embodied Experience of the Train Carriage – Dwelling in Motion

The aim of this section is to examine how leisure passengers encounter the mobile place of a train carriage. In doing so, I engage with debates introduced in chapter 2 on ‘performance turn’ in tourism studies, the notion of embodiment and the embodied experiences of place. Through an exploration of leisure travellers’ comments, my auto-ethnographic notes, my observations, analysis of sound recordings, videos and photographs, I demonstrate that the lived experience of a train journey is subjective and, thus, very diverse. I highlight that the same train journey can be perceived, practiced and experienced differently by diverse passengers. To start this section, I highlight two different perspectives on the lived experience of different transport modes.

On the one hand, the advocates of ‘performance turn’ and ‘mobilities turn’ argue that different transport modes are another type of place – a mobile place (Edensor, 2010; Jiron, 2010; Crouch, 2000) – that affords a distinct embodied, material and sociable ‘dwelling-in-motion’ (Sheller and Urry, 2006). In agreement with this assertion, in this study, many leisure travellers comment that a pleasant transport experience consists of a nice cup of coffee, exquisite views, friendly and relaxed train sociality, clean and comfortable seat preferably around a table, travel companions, familiar sounds and soothing rhythms of the moving train. The overall mood towards train travel expressed by many leisure travellers echoes with Paul Theroux (2013: online) who maintains that a train journey never lacks an excitement:

My London routine was always relieved by a trip on a train, no matter how short. The train was a break from the monotony, I looked forward to any jaunt on it, for the peace, the chuckle of the wheels over the points, the rattle of the carriage, the height of the tracks, elevated over the city so that I could peer down at the houses and the people and the traffic.

On the other hand, however, Larsen (2001) and Schivelbusch (1986) hold a different perspective on the train travel experience, claiming that the train technology affords a purely visual and detached experience. Schivelbusch (1986: 62) explains that a train journey “eliminates all resistance, difference, and

adventure... [and] the intensive experience of the sensuous world”, reducing the passenger-environment engagement to a visual and passive experience of objects at a distance. In addition, Edensor (2007b) referring to western public spaces, points out that, in the western world, urban spaces have become progressively desensualised – smooth surfaces prevail, visual and functional forms are reduced to a few key images, while other sensory effects, such as auditory and aromatic qualities of materiality, are regulated and also reduced to a minimum. These regulatory measures generate, what Drobnick (2002: 34) calls, ‘blandscapes’, or “aseptic places, created by the modernist drive towards deodorization, that are so empty that they lead to an alienating sense of placenesses”.

The point of view, which mainly stresses the visual qualities of the train ride and which emphasizes the progressively desensualised nature of western public space, finds support among some participants of this study who suggest that they only value the visual dimension of this train ride. For instance, an account explains how he feels about modern trains and what value he assigns to them in comparison to heritage trains:

Modern train doesn't mean anything. There is no value in travelling in them, just a means to an end or a means to see what I want to see [the scenic route]. I'm not going back home and telling people that the train is fantastic because it is just a train [laughing]. Although, I would have loved to go on one of them old steam trains, just for the experience of them. I've been on one before. It had the old fashion carriages and the old steam engine. It's quite nostalgic sitting there and thinking that this is how people used to travel

(A couple, sightseeing along Settle-Carlisle route, Interview 16).

To understand these different views, in the following subsections, I analyse various aspects of the mobile environment, such as the train's materiality, sociality, sounds, smells, temperature and sights, and I illustrate how these aspects are encountered by different leisure travellers. Moreover, I highlight different ways in which leisure travellers dwell in, and make place, within the public space of a train carriage.

7.3.1 Materiality of the Train Carriage and Technologised Sounds

In line with the tendency to create sterile and 'insulated' environments in the western world, modern transport, such as fast trains, is organised to afford a restricted range of sensory stimuli and to provide a rapid transit during which the body remains undisturbed (Edensor, 2007b). During interviews, many leisure travellers mention the trend of trains becoming faster, smoother and more neutral, which also changes the mobile experience. A train enthusiast admits that, in his opinion, technological innovations and improvements not necessarily make the experience better because he feels nostalgic for something that was rough, loud and smelly but comforting and familiar:

Well, the sounds are different, and obviously the speed of the train and the feel of the track. Nowadays, it's mostly long welded rails, so you don't get the feel of the joints on the tracks. Say, 20 or 30 years ago, most of the track was joint-rail, probably about every 20 yards. So, now, we get a much smoother ride but we don't get the impression of travelling in the same way as it used to be with those sort of noises and sounds, and the feeling of the train rocking.

(Single traveller, day out & steam train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 30).

And yet, it must be noted that not many train passengers long for more pronounced and less controlled sensory environment on trains; many passengers enjoy the comfort created by 'aseptic and modern places' and this underpins the cultural and social preferences and values of the western society, in general, and the interviewed leisure passengers in particular. Many train travellers note that they prefer newer carriages, which are less noisy, more neutral, and feel more detached and, in their opinion, are more comfortable and relaxing. A leisure traveller sitting in a newer diesel train carriage notes:

Well, I have to say it is a fairly neutral environment, really...You don't sense any particular smells, it's reasonable... there is nothing that I would particularly notice. It is clean, the air-conditioning works, lights work, the seats are clean ...emmmm...and this is what I would expect.

(Couple, sightseeing, working, via Settle, Interview 42).

This point is reinforced by a group of cyclists, who I approach in an old, loud and tatty diesel train carriage. They stress that they prefer newer trains because they are smoother, quieter, and, thus, more sociable and relaxing while the older ones can be a bit smelly, dirty and very loud. Referring to our interview and the carriage we are sitting in, one of the cyclists comments, “It is like now, we can’t talk sociably because of the noise. If it was nice and quiet, we would be able to talk easier” (Group of 4, cycling, working, via Settle, Interview 24). Listening to our conversation and analysing the recorded sonic environment, it is apparent that the Interview 24 takes place in an old and very noisy carriage in which many windows are open because there is no air-conditioning in this carriage but the day is very hot and sunny. As a result, the mobile environment within this carriage is filled (‘contaminated’) with very loud and pervasive noises and sounds that come from outside and inside the carriage and are generated by the diesel engine, the rattling noise of train wheels and brakes (listen to Appendix 9 – Background noises inside an old carriage). The soundscape changes - becomes more pronounced or downplayed - depending on the geographical terrain the train travels through (inclines, bends, tunnels, bridges, viaducts), whether windows are open or closed and whether the train accelerates, stops or stands idle. For instance, the rattling noise of the engine is very pronounced and pervasive when the train is idle at the station or during certain periods of the ride (listen also to Appendix 10 – Background noises inside an old carriage).

Listening to the recorded interviews, I notice that often I and the interview participants increasingly speak up to hear each other (listen to Appendix 11 – Interview 28 with an elderly couple in a very old, loud and windy carriage). However, this is not the only way in which pervasive technologised sounds influence the mobile experience. During Interview 28 with an elderly couple, I noticed that they were even closing their ears because, as the lady explained, they had a sound amplifying device, which made the sounds even more pronounced. During this interview, I suggested closing some of the windows in order to block some of the outside noises and, as a result, it did slightly tone down the ambient surrounding soundscape. And yet, even if the windows were closed, it was still very loud when travelling through tunnels, which created a hollow sound in the carriage, or when going around bends, which created a very loud and squeaking metallic noise, or when the train whistles. During these times, my interview participants always started speaking louder to make sure I heard them

(listen also to Appendix 12 – background noises of an old train during Interview 11).

The newer diesel train carriages, on the other hand, are perceived differently by leisure travellers because they generate a different affective and embodied experience of mobility. Most leisure travellers demonstrate a positive disposition towards the ambient mechanical sounds and movement of the newer trains - hushed mechanical hums, mild vibrations of the diesel engine and the rhythmic clackety-clack noises and jiggles of steel wheels over jointed track (listen to Appendix 13 - A smooth and soundless movement of a newer train). These noises and sounds do not dominate the mobile space of the train carriage and, thus, these rhythmic jiggles do not disturb, irritate or annoy leisure travellers; they do not “demand to be noticed” (Bissell, 2010: 483). According to my observations and passengers’ remarks, these mechanical noises and small, unrelenting shakes, quivers and vibrations create an often-desired and gentle background milieu of train travel that facilitates relaxing and soothing sensations of rest and relaxation, reverie, thinking and dreaming or, as Bissell (2010: 483) notes, “these vibrations might be in harmony with the desire to withdrawal”. Moreover, these constant ambient mechanical sounds constitute the cultural and social background of train travel and a sense of dwelling in motion. This revelation is reminiscent of Bissell (2010: 485) who maintains:

Smaller vibrations that remain one of the most significant aspects of the experience of dwelling in technologies of transit and that perhaps hold the key to thinking about the material relations that constitute both passenger and railway carriage whilst on the move.

Consequently, the two very diverse embodied experiences reveal the peculiarity of Northern Rail trains along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route and, namely, that trains consist of older and newer carriages with distinct materiality, which impress differently on the travelling bodies and create diverse mobile experiences. To explain, along this branch line, i.e., Class 156 Super Sprinter along the Cumbrian Coast Line, built between 1987-89, and Class 158 Express Sprinter along Leeds-Settle-Carlisle, built between 1989-92 (Department of Transport, 2014) (see Picture 7.1 and 7.2). Overall, these trains feel older and rougher and convey a sense of being provincial in comparison to modern electric trains or tilting trains that operate along main lines. Yet, due to some investment to

modernise the rolling stock (Department of Transport, 2014), many trains end up consisting of older and newer or refurbished carriages with varying comfort.

Visually the older and newer carriages appear quite similar (see Pictures 7.1 and 7.2), that is, all carriages are fully carpeted, with 'panoramic' windows. Seats in all carriages are arranged both airline-style and in bays of four around a table and there are toilets in each carriage. Yet, older and newer cars contain different sensory stimuli, in terms of temperature, sounds, smells and kinaesthetic sensations, as well as different 'affordances' (e.g. in older carriages one can open windows) that, in its composition, result in diverse multi-sensory experiences and afford different dwelling-in motion. For instance, the newer carriages feature air conditioning, power-operated interior doors, better quality windows that are more soundproofed and offer a notably smoother and quieter ride, which, in total, creates a more sealed away, more socially friendly environment. The older carriages, on contrary, are more rickety, the roaring engine is very pronounced and they are very noisy when going around bends and through tunnels, especially during summer time when windows are open (as demonstrated in Appendix 9 and 10). To illustrate the point, a conductor jokes that he advises passengers to sit in the first car if they want a first-class service and to move to second or third cars if they want to experience a second-class service (Auto-ethnography, 13.07.2013).

Picture 7.1: The Class 156 Super Spinner



Picture 7.2: The Class 158 newer carriages



This statement parallels with Seremtakis (1994:6) who argues that “the sensory is not only encapsulated within the body as an internal capacity or power but is also dispersed out there on the surface of things as the latter’s autonomous characteristics, which can then invade the body as perceptual experience”. However, it is important to highlight that passengers only notice and appraise those sensory stimuli that pass their sensuous threshold (Rodaway, 1994) or, according to Altman and Wohlwill (1975), the adaptation level – a habitual level of sensory stimulations encountered in everyday life. As a result, people who often use branch line trains are less perceptive and, in overall, ignorant to the trains’ built environment because their sensory threshold is high, making them oblivious to these stimulations. To demonstrate this point, a train enthusiast, sitting in an older carriage, remarks:

I mean, these are old carriages, they are all shabby but it doesn’t really bother me or influence how I feel. I have decided to go along this line and, as far as travelling is concerned, it is fine

(Single traveller, train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 33).

In a similar vein, many passengers note that their main attention is on outside natural environment and, as long as they get a seat and they can relax, and the atmosphere inside is calm, friendly and not crowded, they do not pay attention to happenings inside the carriage. Similarly, a note in my diary states, “I only notice things if they start disturbing me, like when it is blowing so strong from the open windows that I start getting cold or when the train engine makes the carriage to vibrate so strongly that I can’t properly write” (Auto-ethnography, 10.07.2013).

To continue the sensory analysis of a train journey, in the next subsections, I examine other stimuli, apart from sound, that also attract leisure travellers’ and my personal attention and that evoke diverse but mainly negative emotional responses.

7.3.2 Temperature and Wind

The fieldwork took place during summer 2013, which was the warmest summer in the UK since 2006. July was marked with a prolonged heat wave from 3rd to 22nd July, when high pressure was established across the UK, bringing hot and sunny

weather with temperatures exceeding 28 °C in the Yorkshire Dales and Lake District (Met Office, 2013). These weather conditions meant that older cars without air-conditioning were very windy due to many open windows whilst newer cars felt sometimes too cold because of the air-conditioning producing too much cold air. Another peculiarity was that, in some older cars, the heating was still on despite high temperatures outside, which only increased the amount of open windows, noise and wind. An elderly lady comments:

All the windows are open coz the heating is on! Well, it's not as bad as it was when we got on... then people started to open the windows to get some fresh air and wind in. Well, it's only the hottest day of the summer (we all laugh). We asked the conductor about the heating and he said that they can't switch it off because it is linked to the engine and if the heating is turned off than the engine would go off

(Couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview, 28).

As a result, wind and extreme noise inside the car rendered the mobile environment uncomfortable and it was very hard to communicate in it (as demonstrated in Appendix 11).

Analogous remarks are made by other leisure travellers who note that comfortable temperature within a train carriage is an important component for an enjoyable and relaxing mobile experience. For instance, a group of leisure travellers note that the temperature on Northern Rail trains is not always pleasant and comfortable. They explain that sometimes, in winter, some carriages are cold because heaters do not work while, in summer, when it is hot outside, these carriages are also hot (Group of 3, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 42). Hence, the sensations of hot and cold as well as strong breezes of wind are always registered by the travelling bodies and these environmental stimuli influence passengers' perception of comfort, relaxation and enjoyment. These findings chime with Jensen et al. (2015) who, analysing the experience of inter-railing in Europe, also recognise the importance of 'adequate' temperature inside a railway carriage. The authors stress that hot, stuffy and airless carriages give rise to negative affective intensities that slow down, speed up and alter human behaviour, moods and travel sensations.

The importance of a comfortable temperature inside trains is also acknowledged by Northern Rail and, on their website, the promise is to keep the temperature between 19-21 degree Celsius (www.Northernrail.org). However, it is also

recognised that sometimes the temperature control system fails and then conductors regulate the temperature by opening windows or by switching off the heating system. However, it is important to recognise that temperature, wind and mechanical soundscapes are not the only pronounced sensory stimuli that are felt during a leisurely train ride. Hence, in the next subsection, I examine different transient aromatic qualities, manifold social environment and distinct affective atmospheres that constitute the mobile environment and influence the lived experience.

7.3.3 Smellscapes

Perception of smellscapes - nebulous and ephemeral experiences (Drobnick, 2005) - is episodic in time and fragmentary and liminal in space (Dann and Jacobsen, 2003). Besides, it is an often overlooked dimension of human sensorium (Drobnick, 2002), partially, because in the western tradition, there is an odour-denying attitude towards strong sensations that are regulated and kept at bay (Edensor, 2007b) but, partially, it is because olfactory is often subliminal and familiar or low intensity scents escape people's attention (Tuan, 1993). Despite these tendencies, Tuan (1993) emphasises the important role of olfactory and explains that smells provide a rich, unconscious background for any social interaction. Moreover, in combination with vision and tactility, smell provides considerable enrichment to the sense of place (Henshaw et al., 2010). For instance, a distinct sense of mobile place of a train is evoked by different mechanical smells, such as the smell of engine oils, diesel gasses and the smell of the rail track. The olfactory of diesel exhaust is felt when a diesel train arrives at the train station as well as during the train journey as these smells brush past with the whoosh of air through the open windows. Moreover, sometimes, as a leisure traveller tells me, smells of the diesel engine can be felt inside the carriage, which, if too strong, become unpleasant (Single traveller, hiking, retired, via Barrow, Interview 8).

Apart from mechanical olfactory, some characteristic smells of the region - the farmland and marine - gush inside the carriage through the open window as the train passes through the rural terrain of the Yorkshire Dales and travels along the Cumbrian coastline. These scents provide additional information about the passing natural environment and add another experiential dimension to the visual gaze.

What is more, this natural olfactory of the region enables a more intimate and multi-sensuous engagement with the outside environment that evokes a range of emotional reactions and renders the passing landscape more real. For instance, it is aesthetically pleasant to sense the aromatic qualities of freshly cut grass or hay or the smoke of burning firewood that stays for a while in the carriage even after the train has passed the place where it originated. Similarly, viewing the passing farmland and sensing the smell of manure through the open window feels natural and both sources of information, visual and olfactory, complement each other, providing a more rounded experience of the passing landscape. These experiences echo with Tuan (1993) who suggests that scents capture the aesthetic-emotional quality of place and make them feel more authentic in a way that visual images alone cannot accomplish. A note in my diary reveals:

Approaching Millom and the whole carriage is filled with smells from farmland, like dung. I think that it really adds to the wonderful sight I can observe, the stunning countryside and cattle in the fields. In this context, the farm smells are not disgusting. The spellscapes form the total experience of the view

(Auto-ethnography, 06. 06.2013).

This excerpt parallels with Henshaw et al., (2010) who argues that depending on the places where odours were detected, odour enjoyment or acceptance could vary dramatically. Hence, in the context of rural landscape and passing farmland, the stench of the dung feels natural and acceptable.

Finally, at times, the inside of a carriage can also be perceived through the sense of smell. For instance, according to remarks of leisure travellers and my observations, toilets, food and other passengers are the most prominent examples. In terms of other passengers, strong perfume, sweat mixed with sun cream, cigarettes and alcohol constitute the aromatic qualities that are perceived on trains during summer months, especially when the trains are crowded. In addition, stench of unclean toilets, which evoke very negative affective responses among leisure travellers, and transient scents of food, which evoke mixed emotions, also accompany many train journeys. In general, the findings demonstrate that any strong smells are undesired in the public space of a train carriage, be it toilets, pungent food or strong perfume. However, these findings also reveal that not only can the built and natural environments impress on the travelling bodies but also the social environment can influence the mobile

experiences. This assertion echoes with Edensor and Holloway (2008) who point out that social environment together with physical environment of fixtures and fittings provide a backdrop to a mobile place and together contribute to the sense of place as familiar or novel. Hence, in the next section, I examine the sonic environment created by the train sociality and the affective atmospheres that passengers generate around them.

7.4 Experience of Train Sociality and Atmospheres ‘on the Move’

As highlighted in chapter 5, leisure travellers usually choose off-peak trains or weekend trains to travel to their destinations and, as a result, on these trains, diverse leisurely and convivial atmospheres occur. Leisure travellers highlight that they are not in hurry and they want to enjoy the day and the train ride. Also according to my observations, most leisure travellers look happy and content on the train and this emotional state of individual passengers transcends to the overall feeling inside the carriage, especially if the carriage is filled with hikers on organised walks and if the weather outside is warm and sunny. These affective atmospheres (Bissell, 2010) – the affective relations that emerge between passengers and the surrounding built and natural environment – vary from carriage to carriage and are accompanied by specific auditory orderings that contribute to the sonic environment of the carriage. Hence, according to my observations, on a train that, for instance, consists of two carriages, one car may offer a calm, relaxing, sunny and warm travel atmosphere with some elderly hikers sitting and contemplating the scenery in relative silence while the other one can have a very vivid atmosphere - polluted with different train noises and loud sociality. During my field research, two distinct examples are documented in my diary. In both instances, the train becomes part of a special occasion in which a group of 8 to 15 people is involved.

In the first situation, the train became a meeting and socialising point for eight elderly Rotary members (a humanitarian service around the world) (Interview 7). They were sitting in the middle of the carriage, taking two tables on both sides of the aisle. These seats and tables together afforded them to create a big private

space within the public space of a train carriage and enabled them to have a great time. They were laughing and talking loudly, sharing food and alcoholic drinks and, at some point during our conversation, they even started singing because my name reminded them about a movie called 'Casablanca' where Ingrid Bergman starred as Ilsa Lund. So they started singing a song out of this film (listen to Appendix 14 – an excerpt from Interview 7). They were ignoring other passengers and, by doing so, they created a busy, loud, but friendly atmosphere in the whole carriage. Most passengers tried to pay no attention to the group, some observed and smiled while the conductor was slightly surprised by their behaviour but said nothing (Auto-ethnography, via Barrow, 6.06.2013).

In the second case, a group of more than 10 people, representing older and younger generations, boarded the train in Whitehaven (along the Lancaster-Barrow-Carlisle route) and they were going to Carlisle for a hen party. They were already in a jolly mood, wearing fancy clothes and Mickey Mouse ears. They totally ignored the fact that they were in a public space and with their place-making tactics and behaviour created a very loud and hectic party atmosphere in the carriage (listen to Appendix 15). The bride's grandmother with her friends took a table on the other side of the aisle from me while the younger generation flocked around two tables a bit further from us. The group was excited and loud; they were moving around to each other, consuming alcohol and some snacks, taking photos of each other, talking, shouting, making jokes and laughing loudly (listen to Appendix 16). Some girls were still getting ready for the party - painting toenails, putting make up on. Besides, the windows were open and that added to the overall volume in the carriage. At some point, I realised that there were two parties in our carriage. The other one was a birthday party and, towards the end of the journey, both groups joined in the 'Happy Birthday' song (Appendix 17 – Loud social environment, singing 'Happy Birthday'). Overall, both occasions totally transformed the place of the carriage. The mobile place became an event that echoes Massey (2007) who refers to places as events because, as events, places cannot be predetermined or anticipated; they occur as they happen in time and space.

Analysing the social soundscapes, it becomes apparent that they provide particular information about social activities and shared cultural practices (Edensor, 2010). In other words, listening to the sounds helps to understand whether the carriage is crowded with hiking groups, who generate an exciting

babbling in the carriage (listen to Appendix 18), or the car is dominated by families with children (listen to Appendix 19) or people who are loud and inconsiderate of others (listen to Appendix 15 – Very loud hen party). This assertion resonates with Ingold (2000:166) who stresses that sensory perception is an active and exploratory process of information picking. It facilitates obtaining practical knowledge of the 'affordances' of different environments in relation to the activity one is engaged in. According to my findings, a combination of sounds and noises helps to identify these affordances and the atmosphere within a carriage.

However, soundscape created by train sociality not only provides information - it also triggers different affective responses in passengers, which echoes with Sheller (2004: 227) who states that "Motion and emotion are kinaesthetically intertwined and produced together through a conjunction of bodies, technologies and cultural practices that are always historically and geographically located". With reference to emotions evoked, all interview participants demonstrate quite a similar disposition towards different social sounds and behaviour within a train carriage that ranges from being tolerant to neutral to being mildly irritated to being annoyed. In general, however, according to my observations and leisure travellers' remarks, social sounds, be it loudspeaker messages, passengers talking loudly on phones, playing music or computer games loudly, or behaving loudly in the carriage, are hard to ignore. Loud sounds invade one's personal space, distract others and, thus, are perceived as disturbing and intrusive. An elderly hiker remarks, "I don't like how many people behave on trains and that makes me to dislike fellow passengers and abstract from them" (3 friends, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 25). These findings parallel with Letherby and Reynolds (2005) who state that the most disliked thing on trains is other passengers who do not conform with the common-sense rules and 'appropriate' behaviour.

However, many leisure travellers agree that the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster branch line tends to be quieter in terms of intrusive social sounds in comparison to, for example, main line trains. Comparing rural trains to main line trains, a train enthusiast points out:

On the main lines, there is more noise, like people talking, more phones going on; there are even nonstop announcements about this and that. It is mildly irritating, I have to admit. Whereas on these trains, the amount and frequency of announcements is limited. This environment is quite neutral in terms of sounds. I agree, trains are a bit noisier but they feel better because these are a different sort of sounds

(Single traveller, train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 30).

As this section infers, within the multi-sensory public space of a train carriage, leisure travellers consciously and subconsciously create a personal space to feel comfort and privacy while being 'on the move'. As highlighted by many interview participants, this is a very important aspect of the mobile experience. Therefore, in the next section, I examine how leisure travellers, through diverse place-making practices, make private place within the public space of a train carriage.

7.5 Mobile Dwelling and Place-Making

Crouch (2003a, 2000) maintains that space is not pre-figured, it is constituted and inscribed with particular meanings through embodied practice and, thus, tourists learn about place, practice it and build a relationship with it through inhabitation and dwelling in it (Anderson, 2004, Ingold, 2000). The relationship between individuals and places is two-fold: places influence activities and sensory experiences of tourists because places and their "particular physical phenomena impact upon people and influence their spatial practices" (Edensor, 2007b: 225) while tourists' presence, different activities and place-making practices change the place (Rakic and Chambers, 2012). As a result, places become not only a medium but also an outcome of action, producing and being produced through human practice (Anderson, 2004).

This means that places are not experienced in the same way by everyone, for different people might use different place-making techniques and attach different meanings to the mobile place of the train carriage. Hence, the aim of this section is to examine how leisure travellers engage in distinct, often unreflexive and habitual place-making practices (Jonston, 2010; Jane, 2011; Bissell, 2008, Jiron,

2010) to ensure an enjoyable train ride. I will illustrate that diverse modes of 'dwelling' take place within the space of a train carriage and these modes vary depending on how many passengers travel together, their interest and whether they travel with a bike. Moreover, I will highlight distinct techniques and strategies people adopt to preserve personal space, maintain privacy and create comfortable dwelling in motion.

According to Jiron (2010), mobile place-making implies giving meaning and significance to the practice of moving from one place to another and suggests the possibility of places being appropriated and transformed during this practice. Meanwhile, Sack (2004) adds that the process of place-making reveals the dynamic relationship between time and place and creates the experience of time, reinforcing the assertion that the experience of time-space is inextricably linked (May and Thrift, 2001). Analysing the place-making along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route, it becomes apparent that the place-making practices during recreational trips differ from the place-making practices during commuting trips. Many leisure travellers, comparing this trip to commuting, say that on holiday, they have different needs and interests, which agrees with Lumsdon (2006) who states that more research is required to understand better the specific needs of the leisure market. For instance, a hiker explains that holidays are felt as more 'sensitive time' spent with significant others and, thus, comfortable personal space matters more during this time:

If I travel for work, I don't mind people sitting next to me as long as I have table space where I can put my computer. On a leisure trip, however, I rather be next to Linda (a travel companion)
(2 friends, hiking, working, via Settle, Interview 18).

Overall, many hikers explain that place-making starts while standing on the platform when a train arrives, when they look through the windows to assess how crowded or empty are the carriages. They try to get on a carriage which has more free space while inside the carriage, the first thought is about finding seats together to feel comfortable. This information indicates that 'available space' that can be turned into personal space for the duration of the trip is a sensitive and important matter on holidays. All passengers agree that having a seat and some personal space around, or so called 'invisible bubble' (Altman and Wohlwill, 1975), is one of the main preconditions for a relaxing and enjoyable journey. An elderly couple even

tells me that if the carriage were, in their opinion, crowded (Russell and Ward, 1982) they would not board this train to go to Carlisle because it would be not an enjoyable trip:

Husband: If this train from Leeds had been full by the time it came to Skipton with no available seats, we would have made other plans for the day. We would not get on it. **Wife:** Yes, because we wouldn't like to stand up for a long time, or we might decide to get on but just go up to Settle and spend some time there, so just use the train for few stops, because we are flexible

(Couple, day out, retired, via Settle, Interview 37).

To secure more space, leisure travellers use different techniques, such as, single passengers take the aisle seats and keep the window seats free or they put their rucksack and other belongings on a seat next to them, and cover the whole table with some personal things. By adopting these place-making techniques, passengers lock others out of sitting next to them. My auto-ethnographic observations illustrate how two tourists use their belongings, their bodies and the affordances of seats around a table to create their personal territory that nobody else feels comfortable to invade:

Two gentlemen got on in Leeds. They entered the carriage and straight away aimed for an empty table next to the exit. They settled in the seats opposite each other in a way that nobody else would be able to sit next to them - both taking 2 seats from each side. One of them tried to sit on both seats, somewhere in the middle, while the other one took the aisle seat, with the window seat leaving empty. They placed all their stuff on the table: coffees, some maps, phones, some newspapers, iPod. One of them started talking while the other one was about to put his iPod on when I approached him for an interview

(Auto-ethnography, 07.07.2013).

However, available space is not the only requirement that helps leisure travellers to feel comfortable and that affords place-making practices. In general, day-trippers note that a clean carriage and toilets, clean and comfortable seats and clean windows (Interview 20) for sightseeing make a big difference. What is more, most leisure travellers prefer seats around a table because these seats afford small groups to stay together, communicate with each other comfortably, enjoy each other's company, have some snacks, coffee and look through maps (Interviews 17, 23, 41). Moreover, table seats afford even single travellers or couples to mark the

territory of a table as private, provided the carriage is quite empty. Finally, there are some specific place-making tactics, such as some passengers choosing certain seats that give them more leg room because they are tall (Interviews 25, 37), some prefer forward-facing seats because otherwise they feel sick (Interview 25) or some choose airline seats at the end of the carriage to gain more privacy (Interview 34).

Cyclists face a different situation. They have to learn different place-making techniques and pay attention to different affordances of the carriage, such as bike space and high steps. Besides, cyclists have to negotiate the space of the carriage with other passengers and other cyclists and, thus, they always pay attention to people around, people getting on and off the train. I observe three cyclists who stand next to the door and they are constantly manoeuvring from one side to another, letting passengers in and out.

The three cyclists explain that, even from the platform, they notice how many people and bikers will be getting on the train. When the door opens, they think, “where can I put my bike? Do I have to stand up next to it? Is the bike space available? Are there any other cyclists at all? Make sure I’m not scratching anything” (Group of 3, cyclists, students, via Barrow, Interview 9). Cyclists continue that travelling with a bike is more work because cyclists face more difficulties than other passengers do and it is especially felt when one is tired or the service is infrequent. Finally, with a bike the perception of crowding is different. If there are already two bikes, the carriage is considered as crowded because bikes take a lot of space and officially, only two bikes are allowed along this branch line.

Finally, it is important to mention that place-making always imply some place-making rules. These rules - explicit and implicit, verbal or non-verbal - encourage some social relations while discouraging others. These rules not only help to contain and deflect spatial flows or interactions, but also they are responses to them. Edensor (2001, 2007a) notes that codes of action initiate tourists to travel in a certain style and ensure a particular form of ‘dwelling’ and relationship with other and the place. Tourists learn the material qualities of space, familiarise themselves with them and develop an unreflexive, sensual knowledge that enables the body to reproduce unreflexive, habitual practices. Referring to the mobile environment of a train, this theory becomes apparent when one does not comply with codes of action. During an interview, three elderly hikers attract my

attention to a young couple who, in their opinion, are not complying with the code of actions on trains. They clearly express their dislike and annoyance with these young people because they have occupied the whole table in the carriage that is quite crowded:

Traveller 1: These people keep all their luggage on that seat to make sure they get that table...! I don't like people like that... [there is a lot of bitterness in his voice, he keeps paying his attention to what the young couple is doing and keeps talking about them in a hushed tone.] We are not like that, we don't want to be associated with them. **Traveller 2:** Yes, we have to share this space with others, there is no escape until you get off...

(3 Friends, hiking, retired, via Settle, Interview 25).

However, as mentioned earlier, the inside environment of the carriage is not the main object of leisure travellers' attention during this scenic train ride. Most domestic tourists comment that gazing outside is the main attraction of this train route. Hence, the final section of this chapter analysis the experience of the fleeting landscape.

7.6 Experience of Landscape

Mobility is responsible for altering how people experience the modern world, changing both their forms of subjectivity and sociability and their aesthetic appreciation of nature, landscapes, townscapes and other societies

(Urry, 1995: 144).

In this section, I analyse how leisure travellers experience the landscape along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster route and, in doing so, I engage with the debate introduced in section 2.8.3 on embodied and affective experiences of natural environments. With reference to 'moving landscapes', Aitchison, MacLeod and Saw (2000) recognise that, in tourism studies, less consideration has been given to the appreciation of scenes observed *en route* to the destination and, thus, the aim of this section is to advance the understanding of how leisure travellers experience the fleeting landscape and seascape while traveling by train.

In counterpoint to Schivelbush's (1986) historical account of early train travel and Larsen's (2001) theoretical analysis of a mobile glance, interview participants of this study state that train travel does not eliminate the sensory engagement with the landscape or reduce it to just visual impressions. Many leisure travellers note that the rocking movement of the train, the available time in transit together with the fleeting landscapes stimulate the process of thought and memory. For instance, a retired train enthusiast confirms this assertion by saying:

If you are a sort of person who like to get lost in thoughts... a train, especially travelling through a lovely countryside like this, allows you to do that. This view just lets your mind wander! You can think of things in the past, think of things in the future, think of what you are about to do... I find that it's very therapeutic, it's good for your own psychological well-being... It helps to keep your feet on the ground and to know who you are.

(2 friends, train ride, retired, Interview 17).

Similarly, referring to embodied memories that are triggered by the fleeting landscapes, an elderly couple narrates:

Husband: Some of these hills are actually walked on... So, it's nice to be able to see them now... stirs up memories and this is why we wanted to come along this route. **Wife:** memories as young adult when we were first married and would come out here, at the weekend, just for a day trip to the countryside.

(A couple, train ride, retired and working, Interview 26).

Likewise, a photographer recounts looking through the window:

I remember what happened there and over there. I see different landscapes, bridges and I remember different situations that occurred during my previous travel. I know where to get what sort of picture and I can anticipate what will be the total composition and how it might be different from the once I took before

(Single traveller, photography, retired, via Settle, Interview 34).

In a similar vein, a middle-aged hiker recounts that she has not used trains for a very long time because she usually drives. However, when she was little, her family used to go on holidays by train and, now, being on a train feels nostalgic because the rhythmical movement of the train takes her back to her childhood memories (2 friends, hiking, working & retired, via Barrow, Interview 6). These accounts echo

with Relph (2004: 113) who states, “Landscapes and townscapes are simultaneously the context of temporal experience and subject to temporality. They are the setting for diurnal, weekly and seasonal patterns of human activity, the backdrop and reference points for recollections and expectations. They are an essential component of the geography of memory”.

What is more, the route and the mobile landscape provide information about the destination and the day trip, which evokes different emotional responses, anticipation and curiosity (see Appendix 21 – An example of landscape occurring as people travel along). Hence, leisure travellers experience the route and the landscape as integrated in their journey. A cyclist anticipating the day notes, “I know that the route is taking me to somewhere nice and I am getting to see what’s coming... seeing the beautiful countryside, fills me up with an excitement to get out” (6 friends, cycling, working, via Settle, Interview 13) (see Appendix 20 – An example of a mobile vision along the route).

Analysing further leisure travellers’ experiences of the changing landscape along the train route - limestone hills, gorges, the changing altitude, the farmland, the wildlife, the seashore and estuaries (see the visual presentations of the route in Appendix 7 and 8) - it becomes apparent that the scenery triggers a lot of positive affective responses in holidaymakers. This echoes with Gibson (1966) who, examining perception of a mobile observer, concludes that senses not only help us to perceive but they also enable us to feel, for sensory perception and emotional responses are closely connected, happening at the same time. Reflecting on the experience of the fleeting landscape, a couple tells me, “It’s peaceful, it’s calm...it’s a place where we probably loved to live when we get to the retirement” (A couple, train & weekend break, working, via Settle, Interview 16). Similarly, other interview participants note that the route and the landscape are nice, relaxing and pleasurable to observe. While a cyclist, who lives in a city, acknowledges:

This route is really exciting to travel along. I do not see often countryside and, thus, looking outside my mind goes, “WOW, I wanna go there, cycle there or go walking there”. When it’s really beautiful I wanna capture the moment, the feel of it

(Single traveller, student, via Settle, Interview 3).

What is more, many domestic tourists, who often travel along this route, note that they feel an emotional attachment to this region and the route. The route and the fleeting landscape reinforce their identity and, together with sensing the mobile rhythms, creates a sense of mobile place. This statement parallels with Lee and Ingold (2006) who state that people develop an emotional relationship or belonging to the places they routinely travel through. A group of elderly travellers (a group of 6, party, some working, some retired, via Settle, Interview 17) tells me that they feel an emotional attachment to this region and this train route because they are Cumbrians and they often use the route for both leisure and mandatory travel. This train journey and the scenic landscape along the route have become part of their identity and, travelling along this route evokes feelings of belonging and pride. Similarly, referring to their identity, a couple maintains:

We live in Harrogate. Yorkshire Dales is massive, and we travel because we want to see the rest of Yorkshire Dales, places like this. We think it's more pretty. However, it's still part of our identity, place where we come from. We both have a farming background, so when we go down here and see all the farms dotted around, we relate to that as well.

(Couple, train & weekend break, working, via Settle, Interview 16).

In a similar vein, an elderly traveller tells me that she feels emotionally connected to this landscape and the train route. Firstly, she was born in Carlisle and lived in the Lake District in a very small village until she was 10. Later her family moved to Liverpool but, whenever she comes back to this area, she always feels like she is coming back home because many memories are linked to these places. Secondly, her father worked on the railway in Carlisle and, thus, she feels emotionally attached to the history of this train line and the railway history, in general (a couple, train, retired, via Settle, Interview 28).

Moved by the scenic beauty that evokes memories and triggers other emotional responses, some leisure travellers take photographs on a train. What is interesting with reference to photo taking, my observations and auto-ethnographic experience shows that photographing appears an interesting way to engage with the outside environment and experience it emotionally through the process of photo taking. This process enables one to pay attention more carefully to the scenery outside in order to capture nice views and create his/her own visual story of the route (See Appendix 7 and 8 – a reflection of my (the researcher's) visual story of the route).

In addition, in analysing leisure travellers' narratives it becomes apparent that interests and hobbies, knowledge of the region and the history of this train line influence the way the mobile landscape is perceived and experienced. These elements significantly enhance the hedonistic mobile experience, add a special meaning to this train journey and trigger diverse feelings that can only be felt if one is a frequent visitor to this region by train. This view is consonant with Meinig (1979) who outlines that individuals with different interests will interpret the same landscape in many different ways because "any landscape is composed not only of what lies before our eyes but what lies within our heads" (1979: 34). Similarly, Tuan states that "Landscape is not to be defined by itemizing its parts. Landscape is such an image, a construct of the mind and of feelings" (1979: 89). Hence, a train enthusiast, who has an interest in history, gives me a lot of historical facts about each train station and the Cumbrian Coast Line in general because he values the history of this route and he likes to notice and talk about different historical landmarks along the line:

These places hold a special meaning to me. Since school, I'm interested in history and I was very good at it. Now it is my hobby. The history of this country, history of different places and history of railway appeals to me. So, travelling along this route, I like to notice the Victorian train stations and the little hotels built around them, which were set up originally as little holiday resorts

(Single traveller, train, retired, via Barrow, Interview 33).

This statement resonates with De Botton (2002) who recognises that many places strike us as beautiful not on the basis of aesthetic criteria – because the colours match or there is symmetry and proportion – but on the basis of psychological criteria, because they embody a value or mood of importance to us. Accordingly, my findings reveal that people approach and appreciate nature in various different ways, which also influences how they travel through it. For instance, a tourist explains:

I like to gaze out of the window because I'm very easily occupied by that, I'm very visual. I paint, I love taking photographs and I also write. For me, it is just like watching TV bits but it's better coz it's real. So, all I've done today is, I look out of the window and think and listen to music.

(Single traveller, fishing holiday, working, via Settle, Interview 13).

Similarly, a photographer explains his interest in trains and the landscape along

this route:

I like taking photographs of trains in a scenic environment. I'm a photographer for about 30 years and I photograph all sorts of routes and trains in the UK and abroad. Along this line, I record how different trains, passenger and freight trains, travel along the route under different weather conditions, times of the day and season, and through different landscapes and different angles of the sun. I do also videos that include a moving train, accompanied by sounds and other movement and changes in the landscape, like wind and farm animals.

(Single traveller, photography & cycling, retired, via Settle, Interview 34).

Finally, my research demonstrates that many travellers enjoy and value the natural environment along this route because it has a calming effect on them. For instance, a leisure traveller along the Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster stretch remarks that travelling along this natural scenery "is almost like a therapy" (Son with disabled mother, train & heritage train, working, via Barrow, Interview 20). Equally, two sisters note, "Yorkshire Dales is almost like a comforting landscape. It's really pretty and picturesque" (2 sisters, train, working, via Settle, Interview 26). While a cyclist tells me that travelling through this wild and beautiful Yorkshire Dales evokes "a feeling of freedom, letting go all the thoughts, worries about what I'm doing, what needs to be done. Sort of forgetting about it all for a few hours" (a single traveller, cycling, student, via Settle, Interview 29).

In general, these comments support Shaw's (2001) assertion that people go on shorter or longer holidays in the belief and hope that they will be restorative. However, these experiences also accord with research conducted in environmental psychology on how natural environments have restorative effects on fatigue (Kaplan and colleagues, 1989, 1995) and stress (Ulrich and colleagues, 1983; 1991) and how looking at nature through a window is capable of changing the emotional state of a person and improving personal well-being. Kaplan and colleagues and Hartig and colleagues argue that nature is full of 'soft' fascination (e.g. clouds, sunset, mountains, seaside) – a type of attention that provides peacefulness, opportunities for reflection and relaxation. This is psychologically beneficial for people and acts as a powerful therapeutic tool in the recovery from direct attention (Hartig et al., 1991; Hartig and Staats, 2005; Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989). Similarly, Ulrich argues that an attractive natural view elicits pleasant feelings, holds interest and blocks or reduces stressful thoughts, calms anxiety and helps to cope with stress (Ulrich, 1979; 1983).

7.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the lived experience of the mobile place of a train carriage. Firstly, I scrutinised different factors that influence the mobile dwelling 'on the move', such as motives to travel, destination and activities at the destination, socio-demographics of leisure travellers, their familiarity with train travel and their past experiences. Secondly, I analysed the materiality of the train carriage – its design, variations in temperature, technologised sounds and smellscape – which affords a particular style of mobile dwelling. What is more, I examined the mobile train sociality and different affective atmospheres that emerge on trains. This discussion was followed by an examination of varied place-making practices, which leisure travellers adopt to feel comfortable and relaxed. I demonstrated that different passengers such as bikers, hikers and sightseers, pay attention to the distinct affordances of a train carriage and, as a result, adopt different place-making practices. I concluded this chapter by evaluating the visual experience of the changing mobile landscape outside the carriage and different ways in which mobile vision enables a distinct engagement with the route and the landscape.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study set out to explore the tourists' embodied transport experiences of travelling by train – a transport mode which since its advent has played a significant role in tourism development. To enrich our understanding of the tourists' transport experience, firstly, I reviewed concepts and theories in tourism studies and wider social sciences on the lived and expressive nature of the human experience and the being-relation to the world (chapter 2) and, secondly, I examined literature related to embodied experiences of different transport modes (chapter 3). The analysis of existing literature revealed a gap in research and, namely, in the context of tourism, relatively little was known on how social life unfolds in different mobile environments and how tourists inhabit, perceive and experience mobile time-space while traveling to/from and within their destinations, which became the subject of this thesis.

In chapter 4, I explained and justified the study's methodology. This is explicitly interdisciplinary research that is guided by the mobilities paradigm and the main principles of non-representational theory. In line with ontological and epistemological assumptions, the primary research was conducted using a combination of qualitative research methods (self-reflexive observation, passenger observation, rhythmanalysis and ethnographic interviews on the move) and three data collection tools (time-space diary, photo/video camera and audio recorder). Primary research produced rich ethnographic data – written accounts, photographs, videos, ambient sound recordings and forty-six interview transcripts – that were analysed using multisensory research analysis techniques. Empirical research findings were organised into three chapters: rhythmanalysis of train travel (chapter 5); embodied experience of leisure time and leisure rhythms (chapter 6); embodied experience of mobile space of a train carriage (chapter 7). The analysis of the primary research findings in association with the literature enabled me to enrich understanding of the tourist transport experience and, by doing so, this study has made an original contribution to knowledge in tourism and mobilities studies.

The present chapter provides a conclusion to this study that is based on the theories and concepts discussed in the literature review in chapters 2 and 3 and the themes that emerged from the primary research examined in chapters 5 to 7. Four broad themes run across the empirical research chapters, uncovering the complex nature of the tourist mobile experience. Themes relate to: destination, the tourist, and motivations to travel; experience of time, rhythms and activities on the move; social dimension of train travel, travel companions and affective atmospheres; transport mode, its built form and the railway route. In the section that follows, I summarise the findings and place this knowledge in the context of wider literature. Additionally, I articulate the study's contribution to knowledge and I outline possible directions for future research. I conclude this chapter with some final reflections on the research process.

However, before I present the key findings of this study, I want to summarise this section by re-presenting the five research aims that were introduced initially in chapter 1:

1. To critically analyse the embodied realm of human experience and human encounter with mobile environments of different transport modes.
2. To analyse the rhythms experienced by tourists whilst traveling by train.
3. To critically examine tourists' experiences of time during train travel.
4. To critically scrutinise tourists' embodied experiences of trains as mobile places.
5. To develop a holistic understanding of the tourist transport experience through attention to practice, embodied and emplaced dwelling over the duration of a train journey.

In brief, the first aim was achieved through secondary research, which provided me with solid foundation of existing knowledge on the subject of embodied experiences of different environments. This knowledge became a good starting point for conducting primary research and for achieving remaining aims. Hence, aims two to five were achieved through primary research and the key four themes that emerged are summarised in the following section and its subsections.

8.2 Conclusions of Research Findings and Contribution to Knowledge

The findings derived from secondary research revealed that the nature of the lived experience is complex, expressive and embodied, and that the lived experience emerges from one's active engagement with the surrounding environment (Bærenholdt et al., 2004; Crang, 2000; Csordas, 1994; Edensor, 2006; Ingold, 2000; Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Tuan, 1993; Veijola and Jokinen, 1994) (chapter 2). These encounters with place – sensory perceiving, different practices, dwelling in place and different styles of movement (Ingold, 2000), create a dynamic and expressive relationship between people and place that can be characterised as reciprocal and embodied (Rakic and Chambers, 2012). In other words, place, its sensory stimuli and affordances (Gibson, 1966) influence the embodied experience of an individual while, at the same time, the individual changes and (co)produces place through practice and dwelling in it.

Yet, it was also established that most everyday practices are performed routinely and familiar environments are perceived and experienced unreflexively and habitually, which means that they do not form a conscious experience that is easy to remember and vocalise (Crang, 2003; Garis, 1999; Paterson, 2009; Taylor, 2002; Thrift, 1999). What is more, it was identified that, in western societies, practices of transportation, such as train travel, constitute a mundane activity that is performed predominantly unreflexively and routinely (Bissell, 2007; Shaw et al., 2008). This recognition became one of the key secondary research findings, which influenced the focus and the empirical research.

The appraisal of the theories related to the tourist transport experience revealed that, in the field of tourism, transport is mainly examined from the transport economics perspective and centred upon transport's facilitative role (Lumsdon and Page, 2004) and instrumental and economic value (Sheller and Urry, 2006). In line with this conventional economics approach, transport is divided into two types - purely functional, access enabling service (transport for tourism) and tourism transport or transport as tourism (Lumsdon and Page, 2004; Lumsdon, 2006). The demand for the former is conceived as derived, and largely ancillary to reaching a desired destination (Salomon and Mokhtarian, 1998). What is more, transport for tourism is considered to have a low intrinsic value as a tourist

experience while travel time is assessed as wasted and empty time in-between 'real' activities. Nevertheless, improved typology by Rhoden and Lumsdon (2006) clarify that transport for tourism is not always experienced as an inconvenience and the mobile experience can range from being enjoyed to being endured.

On the contrary, the latter (transport as tourism or tourism transport) is defined as the desired component of the tourist experience (Lumsdon and Page, 2004). It has high intrinsic value as a tourist experience and being 'on the move' is treated equivalent to an experience at a destination. Further, Moscardo and Pearce (2004) analyse the tourist transport experience and propose a conceptual map that links the transport experience with motivations to travel, destination and the tourist's life cycle. Moscardo and Pearce contend that motivations to travel define transport's role, which, in return, determines the tourists' mobile experience. Finally, Rhoden and Lumsdon (2006) propose a conceptual classification of the transport-tourist experience, in which the authors stress the importance of the transport mode and tourists' motivations to choose that particular transport. Rhoden and Lumsdon suggest that the role tourists assign to the chosen transport determines the nature of tourists' engagement with the transport and their subsequent mobile experience.

Overall, what emerged from the literature review in tourism studies is that the traditional transport economics approach aims to categorise tourist mobile experiences into types, and by doing so, conceptualise the mobile experience as static, framed and predetermined. Although this approach enables scholars to define, classify and categorise mobile experiences, it fails to provide a detailed insight into the dynamic, complex and multifaceted nature of the tourist transport experience. As a result, it does not assist the aim of this study to enrich our understanding of how time is experienced and mobile space encountered by tourists 'on the move'.

The findings derived from existing research in wider social sciences revealed that, in sociology, geography and mobilities studies scholars mainly focus on mundane, habitual, everyday practices of commuting and mandatory travel (e.g., Binnie, Edensor, Holloway, Millington and Young, 2007; Bissell, 2008; 2010; Edensor, 2003; Hirsch and Thompson, 2011; Letherby and Reynolds, 2005) (chapter 3). Hence, the analysis of tourists'/leisure travellers' mobile experiences is largely absent from the academic literature, although a few notable exceptions must be

highlighted. Firstly, Schivelbusch (1978), analysing the culture of nineteenth-century train travel, concludes that the train enhances the visual sense while impoverishing other senses and preventing sensuous experience of the world. A similar conclusion is reached by Larsen (2001) who, emphasising the visual dimension of the mobile experience, compares trains to 'vision machines' that afford the 'immobile' spectator to glance upon fleeting landscape panorama through the window. Yet, Schivelbusch's (1986) and Larsen's (2001) view on the tourists' mobile experience has been questioned by mobilities turn and performance turn advocates, for instance Cresswell, 2006; Edensor, 2010; Edensor and Hollaway, 2008.

Edensor (2010) and Edensor and Hollaway (2008) argue that the interior of a mobile vehicle is another type of meaningful place – a mobile place – with its own rhythms, temporarily inhabited, experienced and practiced by tourists. These authors propose a metaphor of 'flow', revealing that mobile experience changes over time because it is influenced by a multitude of rhythms, disruptions, paces and velocities that produce both smoothness and disjunctions (Edensor and Hollaway, 2008). Namely, Edensor and Hollaway (2008) emphasise that the mobile experience is an assemblage of individuals' somatic rhythms, institutionalised rhythms, diurnal rhythms of urban or rural lifestyle, mechanical rhythms of a transport mode and 'natural' rhythms outside the vehicle. Collectively these rhythms constitute space and time and render experiences highly diverse, never predictable and subjective (Edensor, 2011).

Additionally, Roy and Hannam (2013) stress the multi-sensual, affective and intersubjective nature of the tourist transport experience. These authors scrutinise the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR) experience and reveal that the actual railway track, the design of the carriage and train sociality in combination with the landscape and the speed of the train compose the main aspects of the tourist transport experience. Finally, Johnson's (2010) research on the backpackers' 'inter-railing' culture and 'dwelling' in motion on trains in Europe highlights the sensuously and emotionally embodied and practiced nature of the mobile experience, supporting Edensor's (2010) claim that mobile time-space constitutes another type of meaningful place. Johnson (2010) reveals that backpackers use and organise the space of a train to have rest, to have moments of privacy and intimacy, to plan further stages of the trip and to establish impersonal

communications and weak ties with other travellers. Johnson also demonstrates that backpackers' bodies are rarely sedentary and the experience is rarely just visual and passive.

Building on this body of knowledge, I examined the tourists' transport experience phenomenon – its rhythmical 'flow' and different experiential dimensions that comprise the tourism/leisure experience of travelling by train (chapters 5, 6 and 7). The four themes that emerged from my empirical findings are presented next.

8.2.1 Destination, the Tourist and Motivations to Travel

This study demonstrates that *the tourist transport experience is influenced by travel purpose and activities at the destination*, meaning that the mobile experience is not self-contained but dynamically linked with experiences at the destination. Chapter 7 demonstrates that a traveling phase to/from a leisure destination is experienced and perceived as an integral part of the whole leisure trip during which people adopt the holiday mindset, they enact different roles, feel more relaxed and less pressured by clock time, are more enthusiastic, curious about the surrounding outside environment and open to social interactions. As a result, for most leisure travellers transport experience acquires meanings of being enjoyable, relaxing and adventurous while a train carriage becomes a convenient time-space for socialising, meeting likeminded people (if on organised hiking trips) or, at least, the train becomes a transport mode that takes them to somewhere nice. In other words, a train journey during a day-trip or a longer holiday is associated and closely linked with the pleasures at the destination.

Yet, this thesis has sought to further complicate the relationship between the experience at the destination and the mobile experience by emphasising that *a train journey is experienced, and mobile time practiced, differently on the way to a leisure destination and on the way back home* (chapter 7). On the way to a destination, the mobile experience is intertwined with anticipations and excitement about the approaching destination and planned activities during a daytrip or a longer holiday. For instance, on the outbound journey, a group of friends might be sitting around a table and energetically discussing some preferences, plans for the trip, examining maps and making some last minute changes while also enjoying

each other's company.

However, what is important here is that the experience of an inbound railway journey is experienced differently. To illustrate this point, on the way back home, the mobile experience becomes influenced by different happenings during the day and diverse body rhythms, such as being tired or hungry, and different emotional states, like longing, or being impatient to return home. Hence, during the journey home, affordances of a train carriage (comfortable seats around a table) are used to rest and recover after a day hiking or cycling or to eat some late lunch or even fall asleep. The return journey can equally be influenced by diurnal rhythms, for instance, it could be dark outside by the time a day-tripper returns home and, thus, the engagement with, and attention to, the surrounding mobile environment, the route and landscape changes. Additionally, the experience could be affected by institutionalised rhythms, clock time and timetables, meaning that a leisure traveller could be anxious not to miss the last train connection on the way home.

What is more, the findings of the present study suggest that the relationship between experiences at a destination and the tourist transport experience is reciprocal. Namely, not only do the destination and planned activities at the destination influence the tourist mobile experience but the mobile experience also has an effect on experiences at the destination and the holiday design. In other words, daytrips and longer holidays by train become structured around clock time and the train timetables, for train journeys require one to consider train arrival and departure times, connections, delays and cancellations, duration of the train ride and the distance from a train station to a destination or an activity. Thus, travelling by train sets a temporal order to a holiday and requires tourists to be more clock time conscious. Equally, travelling by train restricts how much luggage one can take on a day trip or a longer holiday, which again influences activities at the destination and the overall holiday design.

Accordingly, in the field of tourism and transport, the present study extends our understanding of the link between experiences at the destination and the transport experience to/from a destination. While previous research has identified that the transport experience is influenced by the commitments, motivations and obligations of other time-spaces, in other words, the destination and planned activities at the destination (Bissell, 2007b; Ory and Mokhtarian, 2005; Salomon and

Mokhtarian,1998), this influence has never been examined and clarified, and certainly not in the context of the tourist experience. Therefore, it is suggested that an important contribution of this study is the fact that it has sought to extend our understanding on the dynamic and reciprocal relationship between the experience of travelling to/from a destination and experiences at the destination. Moreover, this study has pointed out that travelling to a destination is experienced differently to traveling back, emphasising the complex nature of this relationship and its effect on the total tourist experience.

Apart from the destination's impact on the travelling phase, *the mobile experience is influenced by the leisure traveller him/herself and his/her psychographic and demographic characteristics*. Specifically, chapters 6 and 7 illustrate that age, interests and hobbies, familiarity with train travel and prior experiences, disposition to train travel and reasons for choosing the train have an impact on the lived transport experience. To explain, this study demonstrates that, for instance, train enthusiasts, who perceive train travel as a hobby and as the main activity of the day, experience the same train journey differently than leisure travellers who use the train because they have no choice (for instance, students who do not drive or the leisure traveller who embarks on a non-circular hiking holiday). Equally, the train journey is perceived and experienced differently by leisure travellers whose main purpose of the day is to visually contemplate the historic Settle-Carlisle railway section and those leisure travellers who perceive the train as a convenient and pleasant service that facilitates access to different walking or cycling trails. The train journey is also perceived completely differently by contended car users who dislike public transport.

What is more, the findings of this study demonstrate that the older generation (for instance, retired leisure travellers) perceive the slow rhythms of the diesel train enjoy train travel because it evokes memories and sensations of nostalgia and because the slower rhythms of the branch line train are in harmony with their retired lifestyles and perception of time. The latter, on the other hand, are more willing to use faster transport, such as cars, because the younger generation is enmeshed in the 'accelerating' pace of the modern world that is heavily clock time regulated. Hence, chapter 6 demonstrates that younger people value speed, technologised progress and acceleration over the slowness and natural beauty of the branch line trains. Finally, chapter 7 highlights that factors like familiarity, knowledge and

necessary skills, for instance, to travel with a bike influence the transport experience. For instance, unfamiliarity with train travel and the region creates uncertainty and tension while familiarity produces confidence and turns train travel into a safe, pleasant and relaxing leisure routine that enables predictable and pleasurable sensations. In other words, chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate that lifestyle, interests and life stage influence the mobile experience and the meanings that leisure travellers attach to train travel.

By examining tourists' demographics and psychographics and different ways in which these factors influence the motivations to choose train and affect the mobile experience, the present study goes some way towards addressing a research gap identified by Lumsdon et al., (2006), Lumsdon (2006) and Page (2005) in the tourism research and the social psychology of tourist travel and motivation. To explain, these scholars point out the need to better understand the motives that underpin modal choice as well as socio-psychological benefits associated with different transport modes. For instance, Lumsdon (2006), analysing tourism bus services to rural destinations identifies a significant difference between the needs of utilitarian and leisure users and concludes that motivations and the socio-psychological benefits associated with public transport use are not well researched, especially factors such as sensitivity to time and experiences of being with others. Hence, in order to make these services more attractive to the leisure market, Lumsdon prompts transport practitioners and scholars in tourism and transport to gain a better understanding of leisure travellers' needs and motivations for using public transport. Picking up this cue, chapters 6 and 7 summarise factors that influence the choice to use branch line trains as well as their impact on the lived and embodied transport experience of travelling by train.

8.2.2 Experience of Time, Rhythms and Activities on the Move

A train journey, which is part of a daytrip or a longer holiday, is also an integral part of leisure time that is allocated for being together with friends or family, hobbies, special interests, enjoyment and/or simply relaxation. Chapter 6 demonstrates that the majority of leisure travellers perceive the train journey as an enjoyable and relaxing element of leisure and many travellers deliberately choose the slower branch line train over driving or a much faster mainline train to get to

their destinations. What is more, chapter 6 reveals that the time spent travelling holds many time dimensions such that clock time, although important during leisure, is not the only time experienced 'on the move'. Scrutinising different temporalities that constitute the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster train route, it becomes apparent that the train journey consists of activity time, liminal time, waiting time and appropriated time, dreaming and memory time and body time. These times intentionally or unintentionally constitute the duration of the train ride and influence the transport experience.

Very importantly, these time dimensions endow transport time with different meanings, emphasising the dynamic, multiple and heterogeneous nature of time. Chapter 6 demonstrates that travel time is waiting time if one perceives the train as a convenient facilitator that provides an easy access to a leisure destination. In this situation, the experience of time can range from being enjoyed and desired and passing quickly or it may be experienced as unwanted and then it drags. The transport time becomes appropriated time when the train journey is the focal point of the interest and the main activity of the day or when train travel is perceived as a destination like as with train enthusiasts who can spend days travelling by trains from one place to another. In these situations, time and duration are apprehended differently because the person is immersed in the flow of activity of travelling and he or she loses a sense of time or is simply not interested in clock time. Yet, travel time can also be perceived as liminal time – a 'time frame' that allows a gradual emotional start for the holiday. As the train physically moves one away from home, work and everyday daunting routines, it gradually frees the person from everyday worries and stresses, enabling that person to adopt a more relaxed state of mind and to enter a holiday mood. Moreover, chapter 6 illustrates that the liminal nature of travel time accompanied by the rocking movement of the train and the swiftly passing landscape prompts people to immerse themselves in different thoughts, memories, anticipations and dreams, melding together spaces of past, present and future.

Additionally, chapter 6 introduces body time – time that stresses the rhythmic and embodied nature of movement and renders the mobile experience varied, changing over time, creative, bodily sensed and 'in becoming'. To explain, on the one hand, leisure travellers perceive, feel and experience the train journey and the train environment through attending to the rhythms of their own body and mundane

habits. Different times of the day are marked with certain voluntary rhythms (e.g. reading, eating and having a hot drink) and involuntary rhythms (e.g. being sleepy or awake, hungry or feeling stiffness or pain) and these bodily states, needs and habits affect the sense of time and change the perception of mobile place as the time flows. On the other hand, however, chapter 6 shows that the mobile experience changes over time because the surrounding mobile environment - the built form of the carriage, sociality and technologised movement of the train – inscribes on human bodies, changing the way leisure travellers bodily feel and causing various visceral sensations, like fatigue or back stiffness from sitting. Hence, one's own bodily sensations, needs and desires that emerge over time render the travel experience a flow from one state into another. It is important to highlight, however, that waiting, appropriated, liminal and body times do not exclude each other and can be experienced by the same traveller at different stages of the train journey travelling to/from a destination. This recognition stresses the subjective and non-linear nature of transport time.

However, not only body rhythms but also a multitude of other rhythms, disruptions, paces and velocities produce and reproduce the time-space of a train carriage as embodied, practiced and in becoming. As demonstrated in chapter 4, the mobile time-space of a train journey consists of diverse mechanical rhythms, velocities and arrhythmia, the pulses of nature, changing social rhythms as well as rhythms of the route, all of which are sensed and experienced but also (co)produced by 'travelling bodies', creating a particular engagement of the body-mind-environment. Chapter 4 illustrates that a combination of these rhythms gives a temporal shape to a train journey and renders a train ride fluid, dynamic and often unpredictable.

Finally, chapter 6 reveals that *transport time that becomes part of a daytrip or a longer holiday is constructed through leisurely/touristy activities and inactivity*. To explain, leisure travellers construct their time 'on the move' in a dynamic and non-linear fashion that is not dominated by a specific activity. In other words, travel time consists of diverse activities and inactivity that fold through one another, constituting the experience of mobile leisure time. For instance, in a short period, a tourist can gaze through a window, chat to travel companions, take photographs, and follow the route on the map. These activities can interchange with intermittent dreaming, wandering in memories, observing other passengers and sensuously

enjoying the movement of the train. What is more, all these activities and inactions are accompanied by a state of relaxation that underpins leisure time 'on the move' and renders it elusive.

Ultimately, what emerges from these considerations is that, firstly, the travelling phase to/from a destination is not just about saving time and getting to a destination more quickly. On the contrary, chapter 6 reveals that for most leisure travellers transport time constitutes a valuable leisure time that is an integral part of a leisure trip. Hence, chapter 6 challenges the assumptions about the usefulness and value of transport time held in mainstream tourism and transport studies and, by doing so, presents transport time as part of leisure time that is lived, embodied, practised and assigned with diverse meanings.

Secondly, and very significantly, the analysis of transport time reveals that experience of transport time to/from a destination should be conceptualised as a 'time frame' that is filled with diverse time dimensions, practices, travel routines and unreflexive habits, embodied sensations, and rhythmicity of the journey. The concept of 'time frame' facilitates the finding that leisure travellers' attention and the involvement with the immediate surroundings and distant environments is fluid, dynamic and changing over time. This assertion challenges the transport-tourist involvement typology developed by Rhoden and Lumsdon (2006) who categorise the transport-tourist involvement into four types – active (e.g., cycling), passive (e.g., heritage railways), positive and reluctant (e.g., taxi, urban bus). These authors suggest that the transport mode, tourists' motivations to choose that particular transport and the role tourists assign to it determine the nature of tourists' engagement. Yet, the findings of the present study suggest that it is important to consider the flow of the lived experience in order to determine the transport-tourist involvement. Besides, chapter 7 illustrates that different passengers ascribe different meanings to the same transport mode and the same train route.

By analysing the experience of transport time during leisure trips, this thesis has sought to contribute to the discourse on travel-time in social sciences, transport studies and tourism. In traditional transport geography, transport economics and tourism studies, time spent in different transport modes has always been assumed as lost and empty, meaningless, ancillary to reaching a desired

destination or as a burden that ought to be minimised (Jain and Lyons, 2008 on transport policy). This assertion has recently been questioned by some scholars in transport studies (e.g., Lyons, 2014; Lyons et al., 2007; Lyons and Urry, 2005), who, analysing experiences of commuting, argue that transport time should be conceived as productive time from which positive utility can be derived. Yet, this study goes beyond economic productivity of travel time and, by doing so, it aims to problematise the dichotomy between lost, empty time and productive time.

By focusing on leisure trips, the present research demonstrates that travel time consists of diverse intermittent activities and periods of desirable withdrawal. In other words, travel time can be valued for other reasons than just economic productivity, like its restorative effects. Hence, this study invites scholars in transport studies to reappraise productivity and value of travel time beyond economic terms and measurements and consider travel time from individuals' perspective and, by doing so, engage with the actual meanings people ascribe to the way they experience mobile time and how this time creates embodied movement.

Geographers (e.g., Bissell, 2007a,b; Edensor, 2003), sociologists and advocates of mobilities turn (Cresswell, 2006; Jain, 2009, 2011; Jain and Lyons, 2008; Watts and Urry, 2008) go beyond the narrow economically-driven productivity approach to travel time and conceptualise time spent 'on the move' as always lived, constructed through diverse mundane activities, embodied and accompanied with diverse meanings and representation. Yet, as already identified in section 8.2, existing research in wider social sciences mainly focuses on mundane, habitual, everyday mobilities of modern western societies. Accordingly, an attention on other dimensions of modern social life, such as leisure and tourism, was lacking. It is maintained that the present study extends the literature on travel time in wider social sciences (geography, sociology and mobilities research) through providing an insight into how domestic tourists/day trippers embody, practice and value travel time on trains to/from their destinations. By doing so, I complicate the understanding of travel time as personal time or working time, as presented by Bissell (2007), or travel time as transition time, time out and equipped time – three forms of travel time proposed by Jain and Lyons (2008). On the contrary, this thesis conceptualises travel time as a 'time frame' that holds diverse time dimensions and meanings and one of the meanings that passengers attach to

travel time is that this time can be experienced and perceived as tourism/leisure time that is constructed through diverse touristy activities and unreflexive habits of travelling by train.

With reference to tourism studies, firstly, this thesis contributes to a broader understanding of how time is experienced during daytrips and longer domestic holidays and, secondly, this thesis makes an original contribution to the tourist experience of transport time to/from a destination. Both aspects need to be further clarified and unpacked.

As identified in chapter 3, the experience of time, notions of timings and temporalities have been neglected in the tourism studies and, as a result, under-explored (Bærenholdt et al., 2004; Edensor; 2012). Mainstream research in the field of tourism conceptualises the experience of time as 'time out' of mundane routines or as 'special time', or as a 'continuous sense of presence' that is free of clock time (Ryan, 2002). Yet, in tourism, advocates of performance turn contend that leisure/tourism time is filled with many everyday habitual routines, performances and practices and, thus, it cannot be totally separated from regulatory clock time and everyday habits (e.g., e.g., Bærenholdt et al., 2004; Edensor, 2000a; 2001; 2007). Besides, in western societies, leisure/tourism activities have become an integral part of everyday life and, thus, cannot be relegated to some special times and exotic places. Hence, by analysing the embodied and performative nature of travel time as constructed through different touristy activities and imbued with many mundane happenings, this study has sought to make a distinctive contribution to an emerging literature on performative and embodied nature of the tourist experience and, in particular, the experience of time as constructed during daytrips and longer domestic holidays.

Finally, this study makes an original contribution to an emerging literature on the tourist transport experience and, in particular, how travel time is constructed and experienced by tourists/leisure travellers while travelling to/from their destinations by train. By analysing tourists/leisure travellers' experiences of transport, this thesis addresses a research gap that has been first identified by Clawson and Knetsch (1966) and recently restated as still existing by Rhoden (2010) and, namely, that the experience of travel phase to/from a destination is a poorly understood area of research in tourism/leisure studies. To illustrate this point,

Clawson and Knetsch (1966) suggest that recreational experience consists of five stages (anticipation, travel to, on-site, travel back and recollection) and note that 'travel to' and 'travel back' are overlooked in the literature as both the specific focus of studies and as a valuable part of the total recreational experience. In a similar vein, referring to Clawson and Knetsch's framework, Rhoden (2010) acknowledges that the experience of 'travel to' and 'travel back' phases remains an under-researched element of the tourist experience.

The literature review conducted in the present study (chapter 3) on tourist transport experiences supports the assertion that the tourist transport experience to/from a destination is an under-researched area in tourism studies, with one notable exception, namely the study conducted by Johnson (2010). Examining backpackers' transport experiences on trains in Europe, Johnson unpacks the culture of 'inter-railing' and different ways in which backpackers 'dwell' in motion on trains. Yet, while this study focuses on how backpackers practice, embody and experience the mobile place of a railway carriage, it fails to examine explicitly the experience of mobile time. Accordingly, one of the main aims of this thesis has been to open up a debate regarding the dynamic, embodied and fluid nature of travel time as constructed and experienced by tourists/leisure travellers while travelling to/from their destinations. It is hoped that the findings outlined in this subsection can become a useful starting point for further research on the experience of transport time in the field of tourism and leisure.

8.2.3 Social Dimension of Train Travel, Travel Companions and Atmospheres 'on the Move'

This thesis has shown that *social dimension and travel companions constitute an important element of the tourist transport experience*. Chapter 4 illustrates that the social environment along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster branch line is characterised by distinct social rhythms at different times of the day and week. There are hectic early morning rhythms dominated by commuters, which can render train carriages very crowded and impersonal. These rhythmic assemblages are later replaced by leisurely off-peak morning tempos created by retired day-trippers and hikers who usually set off early to spend the whole day at a destination. The off-peak morning rhythms change into quiescent mid- afternoons that are

characterised by quite empty carriages of a few drifting locals and some returning tourists from longer holidays while, towards late afternoon, the relaxed touristy rhythms again gradually change into returning-from-work commuting beats produced by hectic locals. Additionally, the everyday rhythm of peak and off-peak hours changes into 'special' Friday evening tempos when hedonistic crowds of evening clubbers and drinkers fill the carriages along this train line. Finally, as the week progresses, the working day routine changes into distinct weekend tempos mainly dominated by hikers, small groups of cyclists, domestic tourists, guides who organise walks in the Yorkshire Dales and the Lake District and locals rushing nowhere. Overall, these diverse but repetitive rhythmic intensities constitute the character of this route, which makes the route remarkable and attractive.

Dominating social rhythms inside a carriage give rise to different affective atmospheres that predispose passengers to form certain non-verbal relations. These affective relations have the capacity to affect individual travellers' mobile experiences while, at the same time, individual travellers contribute to, and (co)create, these affective atmospheres. For instance, chapter 4 demonstrates that off-peak and weekend social pulses along this branch line create leisurely, relaxed and friendly atmospheres because many passengers along this route are on their holidays. They want to enjoy the route and, thus, feel and behave in a less hassled manner. They are more willing to make conversation and enjoy the surrounding mobile environment and, by being relaxed and friendly, these passengers contribute to the leisurely atmosphere within the carriage, while, in return, gain a positive mobile experience.

Yet, mobile sociality is dynamic and heterogeneous and, thus, it is also marked by intermittent arrhythmic manifestations or accompanied by unexpected social rhythms that are individually and inter-subjectively felt and, thus, shape the affective atmosphere of the whole train carriage. For instance, chapter 4 illustrates that trains can be crowded and overcrowded, dramatically changing the expected pulses of a familiar, leisurely ride and negatively affecting the mobile experience. Equally, disruptive and loud passengers, who do not adhere to the train's code of behaviour, such as drunks, stand out from normative, synchronised tempos of the majority train users and, by doing so, distribute tense affective relations in a carriage and cause other passengers to feel annoyed and irritated.

Nevertheless, chapter 4 also reveals that some unexpected rhythms are not always perceived as unwanted and disruptive, at least not by all passengers. To illustrate this point, sometimes, along this train route, festive and creative social rhythms take place, generated by big groups – approximately 6-15 people travelling together to celebrate, for instance, a hen party. The train environment and traveling time become part of their special occasion and, to enjoy it comfortably, groups aim to create their own private space within the public space of a train carriage. They flock around tables as close as possible to each other, socialise, laugh, share food and some drinks and sometimes even sing. These sporadic leisurely rhythms are capable of changing the overall atmosphere inside the whole carriage, rendering it loud and festive. Yet, although unexpected and out of ordinary, these rhythms are perceived by many passengers with interest, as long as the group members conform with the common-sense rules and ‘appropriate’ behaviour.

Finally, chapter 4 demonstrates that there are institutionalised touristy rhythms, which re-occur weekly on certain early morning trains. These rhythms are orchestrated by diverse rambling and cycling societies, such as Friends of the Settle-Carlisle Line, in partnership with Northern Rail who operate the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster branch line. To explain, the charity organisations arrange guided walks and cycling tours in the Yorkshire Dales and the Lake District that start from various train stations and trains’ arrival times are synchronised with the guided tour starting times. Hence, during these times, the train becomes a meeting and socialising point for many walkers and their tour guides as they share common interests, purpose of the trip and sometimes destinations, creating a sense of a mobile community. Hikers collectively fill the space of the train with touristy rhythms of anticipation, curiosity, excitement, and the tourist gaze. On these trains, everyone seems cheerful, friendly and chatty and this emotional state of individual passengers transcends to the overall feeling inside the carriage. This vibrant social environment creates a very touristy and convivial atmosphere inside a carriage and renders all passengers part of something organised, something bigger than just a train ride from A to B.

Yet, chapter 5 also highlights that the affective atmospheres and the feeling of being part of a train community is an ephemeral, transient and almost elusive sensation because it depends on the fluid train sociality and one’s interests, emotional dispositions, travel plans and situations such as when one feels

anxious and unsure about something. During these periods or situations, the travel community becomes more pronounced, meaning that affective atmospheres vary from carriage to carriage. This leads to a recognition that not all passengers feel as if they are part of a train community while some leisure travellers do not even want to be associated with other passengers. As a result, within the fluid and heterogeneous public space of a train carriage, individual travellers form their own private spaces through diverse place-making tactics, blurring the boundaries of public-private whilst on a train journey. These place-making practices, such as having seats together around a table and blocking out other passengers, enable individuals, couples and small groups of 3 to 4 travellers to create their own enclosed sociality that is emotionally experienced by its members but does not influence other passengers. This sociality becomes an important part of the tourist transport experience, influencing how leisure travellers construct their travel time.

The insight into the intersubjective dimensions of railway travel and different affective atmospheres that emerge on trains during leisurely trips, extends our understanding on how social relations evolve among travel companions and other tourists 'on the move' and, by doing so, how these relations enhance/influence the tourist mobile experience. In other words, this thesis has sought to contribute to the dwelling-with-others aspect of the mobile experience, recognising that tourism is performed collectively, and, in part, sociality is what makes tourist performances pleasurable (Haldrup and Larsen (2010); Bærenholdt et al. (2004).

What is important here is that, in tourism studies, the theme of the 'sensual and performative' tends to focus on the relationship between tourists and destinations (Crouch and Desforges, 2003; Edensor, 2006; Obrador Pons, 2003;) with an emphasis on tourism enclaves (Edensor, 2006). Meanwhile scholars in sociology, geography and mobilities studies tend to examine embodied dwelling in different transport modes (Bull, 2000; Edensor, 2003, 2010; Merriman, 2009; Sheller, 2004; Thrift, 2004) and focus on mundane social interactions and the social dimension of mundane commuting trips (Bissell, 2007b, 2010, 2009; Jensen, 2011; Letherby and Reynolds, 2005). Hence, in the context of tourism and transport, the experience of 'dwelling-with-others on the move' remains an under-researched area of the tourist transport experience (Lumsdon, 2006).

Therefore, it is maintained that the significance of the present study lies in the

examination of particular forms of sociality that emerges on off-peak and weekend trains along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster branch line. By examining these off-peak and weekend train socialities, this study complicates the understanding of how sociality 'on the move' is formed and experienced and what kind of affective relations can emerge between individuality and collectivity within the public space of the railway carriage. By doing so, the present study makes a distinct contribution to the theory of tourism, transport and mobilities on the social aspect of public transport.

8.2.4 Transport Mode, Its Built Form and the Railway Route

The fourth element that constitutes the tourists mobile experience is the transport mode itself with its mechanical rhythms and the built form inside a train carriage as well as the railway route that opens up a view on the spaces through which the train travels. Chapter 4 demonstrates that the technology of an old diesel train with its loud, vibrating and relatively slow mechanical rhythms enables a particular style of movement and affords distinct sensing of the terrain through which the train travels, generating both visual experience of the fleeting landscape and bodily sensations of the mechanical movement, vibrations and sounds. To illustrate this point, chapter 4 demonstrates that slow tempos of the diesel train along the branch line allows passengers to almost feel, hear and sometimes smell the ascents, turns of the track, slowing down and speeding up, bridges, tunnels, passing farmland with its smells and the wind along the seashore blowing in through the open windows.

Hence, the moving train technology affords and mediates a particular engagement of the body-mind-environment, creating a distinct multi-sensual transport experience. This mobile experience is characterised by both pleasantly reoccurring and routinized mechanical rhythms as well as arrhythmic manifestations often caused by service delays and cancellations, together forming a distinguishing feature of this mobile experience. However, chapter 4 also reveals that not all passengers pay attention, have an emotional response or attach any importance or meaning to the mechanical rhythms of a train. Many leisure travellers have a high adaptation level to train travel and experience it in a habitual, ordinary and routine manner.

The train technology offers a distinct experience of the mobile place inside a carriage. chapter 7 reveals that, along the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow- Lancaster train route, diesel multiple-unit trains operate. Overall, these trains feel older, rougher and convey a sense of being provincial in comparison to modern electric trains or tilting trains that operate along main lines. Yet, due to some investment to modernise the rolling stock, many trains end up consisting of older and newer or refurbished carriages with varying comfort. Consequently, older and newer cars contain different sensory stimuli, in terms of temperature, sounds, smells and kinaesthetic sensations, as well as different 'affordances' (e.g., in older carriages one can open windows) that, in its composition, impress differently on the travelling bodies, resulting in diverse affective and multi-sensory experiences of train mobility. For instance, the newer carriages feature air conditioning, power-operated interior doors, more soundproof windows and a notably smoother and quieter ride, which, in total, create a more sealed, more neutral and socially friendly environment that is felt as more comfortable and as conducive to rest and relaxation, reverie, thinking and dreaming.

The older carriages, on the other hand, have no air conditioning but all windows can be opened. They are more rickety and tatty with very loud and pervasive noises and sounds that come from outside and inside the carriage and are generated by the roaring diesel engine, the rattling noise of train wheels and brakes. Depending on the geographical terrain the train travels through (ascends, bends, tunnels), whether windows are open or closed and whether the train accelerates, stops or stands idle, these sounds and noises becomes more pronounced or downplayed. Overall, these carriages are felt as less sociable, less comfortable, shabby and sometimes smelly and dirty. Despite this, chapter 7 also highlights that most leisure travellers are used to these old diesel trains and travel in them habitually, ignoring the monotonous technologised noises. Their attention is mainly on the fleeting scenery and they only start consciously noticing the inside environment if something out of the ordinary happens that disturbs these passengers. For instance, if one starts feeling too cold or too hot; or if it becomes too windy or too loud to talk sociably.

Furthermore, chapter 7 reveals that the mobile place is brought into being by passengers through their diverse mobile practices, performances and often

unreflexive and habitual place-making tactics, such as finding seats together or sitting around a table and putting belongings on the table and seats around to lock others out. These place-making practices enable leisure travellers to preserve personal space, maintain privacy and create comfortable dwelling in motion. What is more, diverse mobile activities and performances highlight that different people attach different meanings to the mobile place of the train carriage and, as a result, experience the train journey differently. In summary, chapter 7 demonstrates sensuality of, and affective relations to, a seemingly bland, strictly organised and mundane mobile space of a train carriage.

By examining the lived experience of the train technology, its built environment and different ways of sensing movement, encountering passing places and dwelling in motion, the present study aims to add another dimension to the discourse on hybrid geographies and material cultures in tourism. The discourse has recently gained prominence among the 'performance turn' and mobilities advocates who maintain that material cultures – objects and technologies – mediate human experience and, thus, are crucial to the ways we grasp the world and make sense of it (e.g., Haldrup, 2010; Haldrup and Larsen, 2006; Roy and Hannam, 2012). Yet, in the context of tourism and transport, the relationship between the sensual experience and different materialities and technologies is not well examined and, thus, this area represents a rich field for further exploration. Consequently, one of the aims of the present study has been to scrutinise the tourists' embodied experiences of mobile place of a train and the embodied experience of the train technology itself. By fulfilling this aim, it is maintained that the present study goes some way towards addressing the gap in tourism and transport on how tourists engage with material cultures and how technologies afford a particular way of encountering places.

This leads to the final element that impacts on the tourists' lived experience of the travelling phase, that is, *the railway route and the fleeting scenery*. The present study has shown that the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster railway route offers one way to tour, discover and experience two popular holiday destinations: the Lake District and the Yorkshire Dales National Parks. The route is located in specific geography of the region that is marked with diverse points of interest and a rich and remarkable history, dramatic landscape, spectacular dales and hills as well as breath-taking seascape that, as the route unfolds, evoke diverse aesthetic

pleasures and emotional reactions. What is more, chapter 4 illustrates that the route becomes an introduction to a destination and, by doing so, affords tourists the chance to anticipate the day or a longer holiday and daydream about the approaching leisure time at the destination. Gazing at the passing landscape becomes an aesthetically pleasant time-creating and time-passing activity that many leisure travellers anticipate in its own right and purposefully include in their day out. The train journey becomes a visual attraction and, thus, an integral part of a leisure trip.

Additionally, chapter 7 reveals that the passing scenery often triggers memories of some past leisure trips in this region or train journeys to different places and, thus, looking outside becomes the source of pleasure and talk among travel companions. This statement leads to the next assertion that the experience and perception of the route and the fleeting landscape is linked to one's interests and hobbies, experiences accumulated during previous trips and knowledge of the region. Moreover, this statement emphasises that perception of the fleeting scenery is not confined to the visual sense. Chapter 7 illustrates that vision is linked to sensory memory, sinestetically to other sense organs as well as processes of thinking, dreaming, imagining. Hence, the visual gaze enables a multi-sensuous engagement with the outside environment that evokes a range of emotional reactions, triggers memories, stories and daydreaming. Domestic tourists, who often travel along this route, develop an emotional attachment to this region and the route whilst the route and the landscape reinforce their identity. Finally, chapter 7 demonstrates that many travellers enjoy and value the natural environment along this route because it has a calming and restorative effect on them, reinforcing the idea that, during a leisurely trip, the transport experience becomes part of the recreational and restorative leisure experience.

The insight into the experience of the route and fleeting scenery, firstly extends our understanding in tourism on how landscapes 'on the move' are perceived and experienced by leisure travellers/domestic tourists while, secondly, it broadens the understanding on how this experiential element contributes to the total experience of a day trip or a longer holiday. Previous research in tourism has mainly focused on the visual qualities of the mobile experience, describing trains as 'vision machines' that afford the 'immobile' spectator to glance upon fleeting landscape panorama through the window (Larsen, 2001). Yet, the findings of the present study

challenge this assertion and present a different perspective on the mobile experience of fleeting landscape, pointing out the embodied nature of the mobile vision. By doing so, firstly, the present study contributes to the embodiment discourse in tourism and transport while, secondly, this study has sought to contribute to an emerging literature in mobilities (Baker, 2013; Roy and Hannam, 2012) on how transport modes mediate experiences of travel and landscape.

8.3 Contribution to the Understanding of Tourists' Embodied Transport Experience

The analysis of the four themes provides a comprehensive insight into the complex and subjective nature of the tourist transport experience and, by doing so, enriches our understanding of the tourist experience. This knowledge becomes the overarching contribution of this thesis that extends the general tourism knowledge as well as that specifically focused on tourism and transport.

Through examination of the four experiential elements that constitute the mobile experience, the present study goes some way towards addressing a research gap identified by Clawson and Knetsch (1966) and later reiterated by Rhoden (2010) that 'travel to' and 'travel back' experiential phases are under-researched elements in the tourism/leisure literature. However, the four themes not only provide an insight into the multidimensional and multifaceted nature of the mobile experience, they also reveal that the travel to/back experience is dynamically interlinked with other experiential phases, that is anticipation, on-site experience and recollection. In other words, the tourist transport experience to/from a destination is not a self-contained experiential phase that is always perceived as a cost and as ancillary to reaching a desired destination; on the contrary, the transport experience is an integral part of the total tourist experience, capable of influencing and being influenced by other experiential phases.

What is more, the present study demonstrates that the same train journey is ascribed different meanings by different leisure travellers. To explain, a train journey on the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle-Barrow-Lancaster line facilitates access to a destination for some leisure travellers while for others the same train ride might be

the main purpose of the day, in other words, the destination. This leads to the next assertion, namely, that no clear division can be drawn between transport as tourism and transport for tourism. Accordingly, by analysing the lived and embodied experiences of travelling by train and different meanings that leisure travellers attach to this mobile experience, the present study complicates and challenges the accuracy of existing frameworks (Lumsdon and Page, 2004; Moscardo and Pearce, 2004) in tourism and transport. The findings of this study infer that existing tourist-transport typologies only partially reveal the nature of the tourist transport experience because these models do not take into account the practical and embodied nature of the tourist experience as perceived by tourists.

Finally, by focusing on the experiential and performative dimensions of tourists' embodied transport experiences of travelling by train, this thesis, similar to recent studies conducted by Bissell (2007), Spinney (2008) and Jiron (2008) in geography, adds depth to the mobilities debate on how the line from A to B is embodied, experienced and practiced, accompanied with meanings and representations.

8.4 Contribution to Research Methodology in Tourism Studies

In this section, I want to emphasise the value of the methodological approach adopted in the present study and suggest that it is one of the main strength of this study because it helped to identify the research focus and, using a creative combination of ethnographic research methods, it facilitated the production of new knowledge. Firstly, it is important to point out that the majority of past tourism and transport studies are positivistic in their nature and, thus are conducted using quantitative methodologies to discover the positive utility of travel and to measure intrinsic value of a transport experience. Recently this approach has been criticised by scholars in tourism who claim that this approach overlooks the true nature of the tourist transport experience as perceived and expressed by tourists (Rhoden, 2010). Similarly, Dickinson and Dickinson (2006: 193) summarise traditional business and economics approaches which, "while useful for establishing baseline information and trends, do little to further our understanding of the social realities that underpin people's attitudes towards transport and tourism and their decisions about transport behaviour".

Consequently, in order to enrich the understanding of the tourist transport experience and to provide an original contribution to knowledge, the present study, as illustrated in chapter 4, firstly adopted a cross-disciplinary approach to research to gain ideas from wider social sciences. Secondly, it embraced the new mobilities paradigm and NRT, which informed and guided the ethnographic research approach of this study. Finally, an original combination of four data collection methods (self-reflexive observations, passenger observations, rhythmanalysis and ethnographic interviews) and three data collection tools (time-space diary, photo/video camera and audio recorder) was designed to uncover the dynamic and complex nature of the mobile experience as it unfolds 'on the move'.

Chapter 4 reveals that the strength of this complex research process was in its combination and the fact that each research method complemented the other in order to capture and uncover different dimensions of the mobile experience, such as emotional, affective, sensory and intersubjective. Hence, the 'data collection assemblage' consisting of four data collection methods and three data collection tools enabled to uncover the often-neglected, hard to articulate and remember, in other words, the habitual and unreflexive encounters with the world. As such, the 'data collection assemblage' is considered to be an original contribution to research methods in tourism studies.

8.5 Reflections on the Study

8.5.1 Future Research Recommendations

In light of the nature of the present study, in this subsection I would like to suggest several recommendations for future research, which I have developed while conducting this research.

Firstly, the secondary research reveals that sensory perception is a learned behaviour, influenced by culture, social and geographical environment. Similarly,

emotional responses to different objects, situations and environments are culturally and socially constructed. With regards to landscape aesthetics, culture and education determine people's preferences and attitudes to environmental settings. Culture directs people's vision and teaches what is beautiful. As a result, it would be interesting to investigate how train travel and disposition to train travel (or other transport modes) varies among cultures. For instance, how tourists from different cultural backgrounds experience train travel, what are their perceptions of fleeting landscapes, kinaesthetic experiences of the train technology, place-making tactics? What are their perception of travel time?

Secondly, the primary research of the present study focused on domestic tourists and day-trippers many of whom were very familiar with local trains, the train route under investigation and the region. For many tourists, day trips by train constituted another leisurely routine and, thus, to a certain extent were performed habitually and unreflexively. Yet, secondary research suggests that novel and unfamiliar places are experienced differently to familiar ones. Novelty lowers the sensuous threshold, rendering tourists more sensitive and perceptive to different, previously not encountered stimuli of various new places and activities. Hence, it would be interesting to examine how the experience of travelling by train changes during international trips, when one might not be familiar with the language, train culture or local sociality? How the novelty of being in a different country and encountering an unfamiliar mobile environment influences the mobile experience?

Thirdly, this study was conducted during summer months and during unusually good weather that, overall, positively influenced leisure travellers' experiences. It would be interesting to find out whether (or how) the experience would change during winter months when it is rainy and freezing cold or when it snows? Also, how darkness outside might influence the mobile leisure experience, place-making tactics and activities on the move? How would these and other natural rhythms influence the perception of a leisurely train ride and the mobile place of a train carriage?

Fourthly, the primary research findings illustrate that during shorter and longer trips, passengers have different needs and they pay attention to different affordances of the mobile environment. For instance, during longer journeys, passengers notice the location of toilets, how comfortable the seat is and the location of the buffet car.

Meanwhile, during shorter trips these services are somewhat less important. Hence, it would be interesting to investigate how the choice of a different 'time frame' would affect the mobile experience. For instance, what is the mobile experience of sleeper trains or trains that cross different cultures, climate zones and geographical locations, for instance the Trans-Siberian Express.

Additionally, during the data collection stage on trains, I mainly happened to observe and talk to able-bodied, fit and energetic leisure travellers of younger and older age who led relatively active life styles and who, during our conversations, told me about their mobile experiences. Yet, two interviews and the comments the interview participants made stood out - an interview with a disabled lady and an elderly couple who had difficulty walking long distances. These two interviews revealed that disabled people (or people with ill-health) embody and experience the train journey differently and these people attach different meanings and give different values to the technologised movement of the train. Hence, in order to enrich the understanding of the tourist transport experience, it would be useful to analyse how one's embodiment affects or changes the mobile experience.

Moreover, an interesting theme emerged from the primary research, namely that some leisure travellers use trains as 'venues' to celebrate some events, for example, a birthday party, for fine dining or when a train carriage becomes a meeting and socialising place for a hen party. This was an unexpected finding and it would be interesting to examine this theme further and understand better why people choose trains for events and how they experience these 'mobile events'?

Finally, since the focus of this study was on the embodied tourist experience of train travel, future research could begin to explore embodied mobile experiences of different transport modes, for instance public buses or water-based travel, since a solid body of knowledge has yet to develop in the context of tourist-transport experiences.

8.5.1 Final Thoughts

Although my initial thoughts were to conduct my primary research in Switzerland (the first stage of my pilot study) and analyse a unique, extraordinary and eventful

experience of travelling by train in the Swiss Alps, I had to make some pragmatic decisions related to available resources, especially time and money, and other commitments that I have in my life. As a result, I chose to conduct my primary research along the train route that lies in the region of Cumbria and North Yorkshire (UK) and provides access to two popular National Parks. Very interestingly, the change of the research setting meant that my research focus had to shift from researching extraordinary and eventful experiences to somewhat routine, habitual and unexceptional happenings, which are hard to pin down, notice and consciously remember. This aspect determined the focus of my secondary research on 'somewhat elusive and habitual experiences' of leisure and guided me to explore 'performance turn' in tourism, the notion of embodiment, sensory perception and the theory of rhythmanalysis.

It has been a challenging and complicated task, which required immersing myself in literature, research fields and disciplines that I did not even know existed, like mobilities research or ethnology. Yet, realistic aims, thorough research on methodology and a systematic approach to data collection and organisation of findings and data analysis, made this study successful. On reflection, it has been a very rewarding and utterly interesting research journey, which has taught me a lot and, to some extent, which has even changed my life. I am happy I had the courage to start this research and the perseverance to complete it

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – Passenger Profile Characteristics

Interviews	Gender	Age	Education	Employment Status	Employment Sector	Income £	Travel Companions	Purpose/Activities of the day	Route via
1st (1 participant)	M	30-39	GCSE/O-Levels	self-employed	Service sector	20 000-29 999	couple	Hiking	Settle
2nd (2 participant)	M	older than 70	GCSE/O-Levels	retired	Railway	PNA	father and son	hiking/ heritage train	Settle
	M	30-39	Degree qualification	employed	Railway	PNA			
3rd (1 participant)	F	20-29	Degree qualification	Student		less than 15 000	single traveller	cyclist in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
4th (1 participant)	M	40-49	GCSE/O-Levels	self-employed	PNA	PNA	single traveller	sightseeing in Carlisle	Settle
5th (1 participant)	M	older than 70	GCSE/O-Levels	retired	Railway	PNA	single traveller	train riding	Barrow
6th (2 participants)	F	50-59	Degree qualification	employed	Public Sector	30 000-39 999	two friends	on a longer hiking holiday	Barrow
	F	60-69	Degree qualification	retired	Education	20 000-29 999			
7th (3 participants)	M	older than 70	GCSE/O-Levels	self-employed	Public Sector	PNA	group of 8 friends	train riding and spending time together	Barrow
	M	older than 70	HND/diploma	retired	Public Sector	PNA			
	F	60-69	A-Level/BTEC	retired	Education	20 000-29 999			
8th (1 participant)	M	60-69	PNA	retired	Street Musician	PNA	single traveller	hiking in Lake District	Barrow
9th (3 participants)	M	Younger than 20	A-Level/BTEC A-Level/BTEC Degree qualification	Student		less than 15 000	3 friends	cycling in Lake District	Barrow
	M	20-29		Student	Social Welfare	PNA			
	M	30-39		employed	PNA	PNA			
10th (1 participant)	F	20-29	A-Level/BTEC	Student	Social Welfare	less than 15 000	2 friends	Day out in Barrow	Barrow

11th (1 participants)	M	40-49	Degree qualification	self-employed	Business	PNA	2 friends	on a longer hiking holiday	Settle
12th (1 participant)	M	older than 70	Degree qualification	retired	Chemicals	PNA	3 fiends	train riding and spending time together	Settle
13th (1 participant)	M	40-49	Degree qualification	employed	Railway	30 000-39 999	single traveller	Fishing in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
14th (1 participant)	F	50-59	GCSE/O-Levels	employed	Retail and Service Sector	PNA	couple	Train ride Settle – Carlisle	Settle
15th (2 participants)	M	40-49	GCSE/O-Levels	self-employed	Business	PNA	2 friends	cycling in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
	M	50-59	GCSE/O-Levels	retired	Railway	PNA			
16th (1 participant)	M	50-59	Degree qualification	employed	Business	PNA	couple	Train ride Settle – Carlisle	Settle
17th (3 participants)	F	20-29	Degree qualification	employed	Education Public Sector	PNA	group of 6 friends	Trip to Leeds/Hen Party	Settle
	F	50-59	HND/diploma	employed	Retail and Service Sector	PNA			
	F	60-69	GCSE/O-Levels	retired		less than 15 000			
18th (1 participant)	F	50-59	Degree qualification	self-employed	Public Sector	over 50 000	2 friends	hiking in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
19th (2 participants)	F	60-69 older than 70	HND/diploma	retired	Public Sector	PNA	couple	hiking in Lake District	Barrow
	M		HND/diploma	retired	Engineering	PNA			
20th (1 participant)	M	40-49	GCSE/O-Levels	PNA	PNA	30 000-39 999	disabled mother and son	train riding and day out in Lake District	Barrow
21st (1 participant)	M	older than 70	GCSE/O-Levels	Retired	Education	30 000-39 999	couple	hiking/ heritage train	Barrow
22nd (1 participant)	F	40-49	Degree qualification	self-employed	Business	PNA	single traveller	cycling Coast to Coast Route	Barrow
23rd (2	F	60-69	GCSE/O-Levels	retired	Service sector	15 000-19 999	group of 4 friends	hiking/ heritage	Barrow

participants)					Retail and Service Sector	15 000-19 999		train	
24th (3 participants)	F	60-69	GCSE/O-Levels	retired					
	F	40-49	Degree qualification	employed	Education	over 50 000	group of 4 friends	cycling in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
	F	40-49	Degree qualification	employed	Engineering	over 50 000			
F	30-39	Degree qualification	employed	Public Sector	PNA				
25th (3 participants)	F	older than 70	A-Level/BTEC	retired	Public Sector	PNA	group of 3 friends	hiking in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
	M	60-69	HND/diploma Degree qualification	retired	Public Sector	20 000-29 999			
	M	60-69		retired	Education	20 000-29 999			
26th (2 participants)	F	30-39	Degree qualification	self-employed	Retail and Service Sector	20 000-29 999	2 sisters	Train ride Settle – Carlisle	Settle
	F	30-39	Degree qualification	employed	Public Sector	20 000-29 999			
27th (1 participant)	M	50-59	Degree qualification	self-employed	Education	30 000-39 999	single traveller	hiker on a longer holiday	Settle
28th (2 participants)	F	older than 70	PNA	retired	PNA	20 000-29 999	couple	Train ride Settle – Carlisle	Settle
	M	older than 70	PNA	retired	PNA	20 000-29 999			
29th (1 participant)	M	20-29	Degree qualification	Student	N/A	PNA	single traveller	Cycling	Settle
30 th (1 participant)	M	older than 70	Degree qualification	retired	Engineering	20 000-29 999	single traveller	train riding/steam train	Barrow
31st (4 participants)	F	60-69	Degree qualification	retired	Education	over 50 000	group of 6 friends	Guided walk, members of walker's ass.	Barrow
	F	60-69	HND/diploma	retired	Social Welfare	20 000-29 999			
	F	60-69 older than 70	HND/diploma	retired	N/A	PNA			
			A-Level/BTEC	retired	Medicine/health	less than 15 000			

					care				
32nd (2 participants)	F	60-69	PNA	retired	Business	20 000-29 999	2 friends	hiking in Lake District	Barrow
	F	60-69	Degree qualification	retired	Education	30 000-39 999			
33rd (1 participant)	M	60-69	Degree qualification	retired	Engineering	40 000-49 999	single traveller	train riding	Barrow
34th (1 participant)	M	60-69	Degree qualification	self-employed	Business	over 50 000	single traveller	hiking in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
35th (5 participants)	F F	40-49	Degree qualification	self-employed	Education	over 50 000	group of 5 friends	cycling in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
	F F	40-49	Degree qualification	Housewife	N/A	PNA			
	F	40-49	Degree qualification	employed	Service sector	over 50 000			
		40-49	Degree qualification	employed	Education	40 000-49 999			
		30-39	Degree qualification	employed	Education	40 000-49 999			
36th (2 participants)	F	50-59	HND/diploma	employed	Medicine/health care	40 000-49 999	couple	shopping, sightseeing in Carlisle	Settle
	M	60-69	GCSE/O-Levels	employed	Public Sector	30 000-39 999			
37th (2 participants)	M	older than 70	PNA	retired	Business	PNA	couple	Train ride Settle – Carlisle	Settle
	F	60-69	PNA	retired	Retail and Service Sector	PNA			
38th (1 participant)	F	50-59	A-Level/BTEC	employed	PNA	PNA	single traveller	hiking in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
39th (3 participants)	F	30-39	Degree qualification	employed	Public Sector	over 50 000	group of 3 friends	running in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
	M	40-49	Degree qualification	employed	Business	over 50 000			
	M	40-49	Degree qualification	employed	Medicine/health care	over 50 000			
40th (1 participant)	F	60-69	PNA	Retired	PNA	PNA	2 friends	hiking in Yorkshire Dales	Settle

41st (2 participants)	F	60-69	Degree qualification	Retired	Education	over 50 000	couple	Train ride Settle – Carlisle	Settle
	M	60-69	Degree qualification	employed	Education	over 50 000			
42nd (3 participants)	F	60-69	HND/diploma	Retired	Medicine/health care	15 000-19 999	single traveller	hiking in Yorkshire Dales	Settle
Participants met on the train	F	50-59	GCSE/O-Levels	employed	Public Sector	PNA	couple	Sightseeing in Carlisle sightseeing in Carlisle	
	M	50-59	HND/diploma	employed	Other Transport	PNA			
43rd (2 participants)	M	60-69	HND/diploma	Retired	Public Sector	PNA	Couple	hiking in Lake District	Barrow
	F	60-69	A-Level/BTEC	employed	Public Sector	PNA			
44th (2 participants)	F	60-69 older than 70	Degree qualification	Retired	Education	over 50 000	2 friends	Birthday, train and spending time together	Barrow
	M		Degree qualification	Retired	Education	20 000-29 999			
45th (1 participant)	F	40-49	HND/diploma	employed	PNA	15 000-19 999	single traveller	shopping, sightseeing in Carlisle	Barrow
46th (1 participant)	M	20-29	Degree qualification	Student	Education	less than 15 000	Couple	sightseeing in Settle	Settle

Notes: 1. PNA – prefer not to answer;

2. The number of interview participants varies from the total size of the group if not all members take part in the interview process.

Appendix 2 – Semi-Structured Interview Topics and Questions

DESTINATION, ACTIVITIES AND PLANS FOR TODAY

What are your plans for today? What motivates you take this trip?

What attracts you to this region/ route/ place?

Do you attach any historical, cultural, personal value to these places?

How would you describe what cycling/hiking means to you?

Have you done this type of journeys before? What kind of experience has it been?

How did you decide to take the steam train? In what ways the experience on the steam train is different from the experience on a modern train?

TODAY: why train? Do you usually travel by train? Commuting?

Does the experience of the day feel different if you chose train/car?

Different transport types, do they enable to see a place from a different perspective? Maybe anything else is different?

Does it require **skills, knowledge, and experience** to travel by train?

In general, DOES IT FEEL DIFFERENT:

commuting - leisure trips; main line – branch line; travelling alone, in a group, or as a couple; different weather conditions, seasons, day or night.

FAMILIARITY vs. NOVELTY

Is there a difference between travelling along a familiar route and a new route?

Familiarity – how does it change your perception of the route? Can a train journey be adventures?

Speaking about the train itself: What was your first impression of the train carriage?

Any preferences where do you like to sit? What are your strategies to feel comfortable, gain privacy? Can different seats create a different feel of comfort?

How it feels if you are not forward facing?

If we focus on this journey, and if I asked you to reflect on it so far, what have you:

Noticed (heard, smelled, felt), what has attracted your attention (other passengers, landscapes, sounds, smells, vibration, design of the carriage)?
The sounds that you hear (social/mechanical) do they influence how you feel on this ride?

How about the motion of the train – how does it feel? Do you notice it?

Is there something you particularly like/dislike about this journey?

What makes the journey a positive experience; what could spoil it (happenings, situations, circumstances, mood)?

If you say that you are disappointed/happy with this train service, what impact it has on your total experience of the day?

SOCIALITY: How would you describe **the sociality** of this carriage?

On this train, do you feel that your experience is somewhat **shared with other passengers**?

How would you describe **the atmosphere** of this carriage? How do you think what creates atmosphere that we feel?

BEHAVIOUR: What do you usually do on a train? Do you plan your time? You take photos, why?

TIME: **How the passing of time feels on this train?** If we return to what you said that you **experience time differently than while...**, what influences that?

What you emotionally feel when it takes longer than you thought/waiting?

As a tourist, how do you **experience delays and cancellations**? Missed connections? **What is waste of time?**

Nostalgia: I remember.... (Does this journey reminds you of these days? When was it, time?)

So, although, you are paying attention mainly outside, you wouldn't like if it was crowded? How does it change the ride? What is a crowded train, what happens, how do you feel? Coping strategies? For how long can you stand it?

EXPERIENCE OF LANDSCAPES

If first time – did you have **any expectations**, did you **gather any information about this route**?

How much time do you spend looking outside? Main activity?

Scenic beauty – how does it make you feel? What do you think / remember / anticipate?

About scenery, how would you describe what attracts you to these landscapes?

Why is it so pleasant to observe landscapes from a moving train?

Looking outside, does it motivate/tempt you to go and explore these places?

RETURN JOURNEY: How does being tired change your perception? How does going home change your perception?

Appendix 3 – Personal Profile Questionnaire

ABOUT YOU

To ensure diversity of opinions and viewpoints, please, answer the following questions:

1. **Gender** (tick a box):
Male Female
2. **How old are you?** (tick a box)
Younger than 20 Between 50 – 59
Between 20 – 29 Between 60 – 69
Between 30 – 39 Older than 70
Between 40 – 49 Prefer not to answer
3. **Ethnic origin**.....
4. **What is your highest qualification?** (Tick 1 box only)
GCSE/O-Level or equivalent
A-Level/ BTEC or equivalent
HND/diploma or equivalent
Degree qualification
5. **What is your current employment status?**
Self-employed Student
Employed Unemployed
Retired Prefer not to answer
6. **What is your job title**
7. **In which employment sector do you currently/did you most recently work?**
Railway Medicine/health care
Other Transport Public sector
Engineering Retail and service sector
Education Social welfare
Finance Prefer not to answer
Other (*please specify*)
8. **What is your household's annual income?**
Less than £15 000 £30 000 – £39 999 Prefer not to answer
£15 000 – £19 999 £40 000 – £49 999
£20 000 – £29 999 Over £50 000

I give permission to record this interview and use my voice for data analysis and presentation of findings.....

Appendix 4 – An Example of an Interview Transcript and Self-Reflexive Diary Notes

08.06.2013 Lancaster to Barrow-In-Furness 3 cyclists at 10:08 AM for 36min 36sec (Interview 9)

My observations: There were 3 cyclists standing in the area next to the door (in the door way) constantly manoeuvring from one side to another, letting passengers in and out, slightly changing position of themselves and their bikes. 1st cyclist (C1) is a more mature guy around 30-35 years old while the other two cyclists are very young, probably students. During the interview, C1 spoke the most. Although all three of them new each other he (C1) travelled with them only up to Cark.

So, where are you going to? I'm going to Cark. Well, I'm getting off at Cark and then I'm probably going to Ambleside (couple side of it) (Lake District).

And you travelling along different route? (speaking to the 2nd and 3rd cyclists who are going to stay together for the whole day) Yes, we going to North Ulverston, doing a big bound by ride into the Lake District.

So, how come you going together? Did you accidentally meet on train? No, we are in the same cycling club (C1). And we are in the same team (C2 and C3).

Why did you choose to travel by train today? C2: You can't catch a bus with a bike. C1: The other way would be to ride there.

Do you know that only two bikes are allowed on this train? C1: Yes, 2 bikes, in there (he points to the place where bikes have to be parked. **[I can see that there are 3 buggies in this area already]...**C2: and you are not allowed to obstruct any doorways ...hehe. C1 agrees, saying 'Yes'.

So, how were you allowed all three of you? C3: So, officially they don't say get off the train; C1 explains: you can get on the drawer??. They could prevent it (the conductor or railway staff on the platform)... I mean, my friend got off in Lancaster

because he was for 2 hours already on the train but we **(C1 and C2)** got on in Preston. He (the conductor or staff on the platform) could have prevented myself and Jack getting on in Preston because the bike space is already full and sometimes there are people already sitting there because there are fold down seats.

When you get on a train, what is your first impression? What are you evaluating? **C2:** are there any other cyclists at all. **C1:** Yes. **C3:** usually, I think where can I put my bike, do I have to stand up next to it, is the bike space available, make sure I'm not scratching anything.

A big problem: during announcement you can't hear what the interview participants are saying. Example 08JUN13, 1st interview 1:36 - 1:47; 5:20 -5:31; 5:50-6:06; 6:22-6:33! These are sound that don't usually disturb you on trains and sometimes they are so familiar you don't even pay attention to them but when it comes to conduction interviews (engaging with the train environment in more unusual way) then you discover that it is very distracting, annoying and prevents you from hearing the answer on the tape while the interview participants keep talking because for them it is not a distraction. And sometimes you feel you can't stop that person from talking while the loudspeaker is on.

I say that I have talked to people who don't travel by train with a bike because they are afraid that they won't be allowed on the train because there might be already 2 bikes on it. The cyclists agree, they know about this situation.

Is there an option to book in advance? **C2:** you can't book in advance for these ones (Northern Train). On the big once, the once that are going to Glasgow, there you can book but for these you can't. You just pop up (appear).

So, is it like because you have the experience you know that probably nobody will prevent you from getting on with your bike even if there are already two bikes there? **C1:** Yes, because we have experience and knowledge we know what will probably (most likely) happen. For instance, we know that at the smaller station like Penrith to Lancaster which are run by Virgin Trains, they usually really hard on that. You know, they say show me the reservation for the Virgin train. AAaa, you don't have it? Then you have to go and book! We 're not letting you on without a reservation. **C2:** yes. I mean, I tried to get on a Virgin train when

there were no bikes in the bike ways and we were going one stop and they wouldn't let us on.

So, what are you doing in these situations? C1: for trips like this, we usually use routes where we know the train company is more flexible, relaxed about bikes?

C2: Eee, yes. Ha! **C3:** Aaa, eee...I was hoping this was Northern Train. The Northern Trains don't really care... as long as you don't obstruct the door, get on as many as you like. They are really relaxed about it.

So, in general, Virgin is more strict. Yeee, Yes (C1 and C2). C1: I mean usually the station staff is more strict than the train staff. The thing about Virgins is that the bike space is right behind and the station staff needs to open that space. Also if the train is quite long and if you get on at Lancaster or Warrington, to let you off with your bike the station staff has to be there and actually walk down the train and it's actually a long way ...so, it takes time...If they know it's coming they will be there to let you off. If they don't know it's really inconvenient because the train gets delayed to let some idiot off with his bike (slightly laughing). That's why they like booking it. They used to charge £3 at a time. I can do it on my phone, even 10 min before the train is in. And you can change bookings, as well. I've done it many times (It looks like he considers it as a very convenient service). Like, if my train is in 2 hours, and if there is a train in an hours' time or even in 20min., I've gonna change it. That is really nice about it, that was no problem. But sometimes they said sorry there is no bike space available. Then you just wait for the next train. And sometimes, like at Lancaster you get 3 different train companies running through: the Virgin, Northern Trains and TransPennine. And sometimes you let the Virgin train go and you get on the Northern or TransPennine because it's easier, you expect less hassle, complications, less planning in advance needed.

C2: most of the time I just wait until the last moment and then just walk straight on, I mean there isn't a bike space but I just walk straight into the door way and just stand there with my bike.

Just hoping if you are already on the train, they won't tell you to get off?

C2:

Yes, they won't [trey??] you off (with a sure tone in his voice).

How do you feel when the staff refuses you to get on the train? C3: it is frustrating because you pay for it and you want to use the service, especially if there are no bikes on that train. **C1:** yee, yee... because often on this route and at this time of the year, people have already booked the spaces...and I don't mind not getting on if there are already 4 bikes but, you know, it would be nice, if there are no bikes, you can just walk on, get on with your bike....For the most Virgin trains, the interaction is pretty reasonable, if there is one or two (loud speaker, can't get what the informer is saying...)

How often and why do you use trains? C1: I use train once in a fortnight. Mostly day trips, sometimes tours, I don't do as much touring as I used to. Never done very much, it's a hard work. But I used to use it every single day. **As a commuter?** Yes, I had a season ticket and Virgin said that you don't have to book, you can just put your bike on, no problem. But that was only for season ticket holders and that was about 5 or 6 years ago. I don't know what the rules are now (because he said it's inconvenient for us to do it all the time. He said if you don't have a season ticket than you need to book).

How about you? C3: I usually just do it for day trips like this one. But sometimes I use it to go to Manchester, also a day or evening out. **C2:** I use it once a week may be, for day trips or going home because I study.

Is there a difference between commuting and day trips by train? C3: It is exciting to go on day trips than to come to work. **C1:** when I was commuting, if the train was 10 min. late I used to get really angry. Even though it didn't make a lot of difference. Is just, it was late by 10 min two or three times a week, and it felt very annoying... because for some reason when I was commuting it made me really angry whereas if I'm on holiday and the train is 10 min late ...I'm on holiday, who cares...

C2 and C3 (especially C2) are eating: crisps, muffins...Properly using time on the train to eat...

If you standing in the doorway, as soon as the door opens all the sounds from outside come in and, on the tape, it is really difficult to understand what the interview participants are saying.

Speaking about activities on the train, what do you usually do on the train?

C3: Yes, I'm quite happy just standing with my bike rather than leaving it and sitting down somewhere. **C1:** a lot of people getting on and off all the time. This is actually a pretty empty train. I've seen luggage up to here (demonstrates that he has experienced really busy trains with loads of luggage), like tunnels through the luggage. Because it's early June, July and August. Because this [train] comes from the [Manchester] Airport, I think, so you get people well, I think, coming from and going to Manchester Airport. And also coming to the Lakes, and they might fly from the Manchester Airport, you know, after visiting the Lakes. And sometimes, you can't get on the train, I mean you can't physically get your bike on because there is no space.

So, what is your experience of this train journey today? How would you describe it?

C3: less stressful than when we're going to lots of towns and stuff. Like when you are going to Manchester, there are buildings everywhere, and it is busy of people being moody about going to work and stuff... whereas here the atmosphere is all relaxed, people going for a day out. **C1:** it's always different, as well! They just cut all that hay. Comparing to a few days before... there was nice, tall grass, it's always changing, it's always spectacular [not only seasons change the landscape but also people, farmers who cultivate the land] **C2:** on this train journey, I don't pick up a *cad* [something, may be a game or to read something] I just like to look out of the window. All three agreed that it is interesting to look out of the window along this route because the nature is changing ... **C3:** yee, it's interestingly **C1:** it's always because of the farming and also the massive tides as well. It's just amazing..[saying in delight]. **C3:** and then it like it reflects on you... it fulfils you with a perfect mood... if you see it's outside quite nicely it makes you feel inside nicer. **C1:** the journey is quite nice, quiet relaxed.

So, what mood are you in today? All three excited. **C2:** tired, didn't get enough sleep last night. But yes, excited...I would say relaxed

Would there be anything that could change your mood on the train? Drunk, aggressive football fans. Some people when they, especially when they drunk, can be quite curious and they just keep asking you questions. And you have to keep answering if you get the tone of your voice wrong they might take offence and that's... no one actually been mean to me but it's more like...mmmm

uuuu. They curious, someone on a train asked me how much my bike costs, and I told them how much and the guy was very surprised but I actually said a half of what it costs. I didn't want to say them that my wheels cost more than that. It's like £30 for my wheels, never mind the rest. **[So, you need to find and learn ways how to communicate with others]**. **C2**: if there are other cyclists, anyone in the carriage looks like to talk to. **C3**: I don't like it when I'm on the train to Manchester, when you getting into Manchester, I'll be like sat down or stood like but then people pile on and then I have to like move my bike then no one is happy to see that I'm on a bike, and a lot of the time people have put their luggage around it and when they take it they can scratch my bike. And it is stressing me out. Coz I'm not in the right place, I have to move for them basically. So, it's stressful because I feel I disturb them and they disturb me in a way. **C1**: I think train companies don't like doing too much bike space coz they take up a lot of room, I mean. They not well stacked, even if you place them like that. Also, often you have to negotiate with cyclists, as well. Say like, I'm getting off this station and you that station. You has to get rid of a anticipation (hopes) when you coming into a station and look how many people are they [he is saying that into a depressed, low voice], coz sometimes there is like a wall of people.

We are approaching Arnside and C2 says, "Oh, that's a lot of people". He is looking out how many people are going to get on this station and whether there are any more bikers. C1 looks out and comments: "This is going to be fun but they probably going to Grange-over-Sands".

How would you describe this train journey? Is it part of today's experience or does it just facilitates you to get to the place? **C1**: Aaa, a bit of both really. I would be happy not to bring a bike, just have a walk...coz on Sundays, from Blackpool is Dales Rail. It is for walkers and it goes right up to Settle and Carlisle, it takes a while but I mean some people do it just for train journey. They go to Carlisle, Appleby or Kirkby Stephen, have a nice walk around and get back to train. Only, you can't get there directly from Preston, you have to change. Physically you can do it [but he looks not sure, probably because he has not done it himself] but he knows that just on Sundays (running since 70s), the train goes straight up the line. Say you can go from Preston or Blackpool (or something) (he doesn't really know and that's why there is this uncertainty in his voice), join the route and later the same train back. I recon, it won't be very expensive. It's good

also for people who are not particularly mobile, you know, can't walk very fast and far. So, they can have a wonderful train journey to Carlisle and then come down the, the other way to come down, the coast line back to Preston, for instance. That's great, it's a really nice atmosphere on that train.

You say the atmosphere along the West Coast Line is really nice? Can you describe it? C1: Nobody is going to work. If the weather is like this, then it's even better. People are relaxed, looking forward to the walk, you know. And a lot of people, the walking clubs are based on the train (and the walking routes start from train stations) meet each other on the train. So, there are friends meeting, say like in the morning. And then there is "Hey, how you doing Bill?" Yehhh, that's great.

So, you've been part of this kind of journey and atmosphere. C1: Sort of. What they do, they actually get on the train and ask everybody where they going because they organise walks, coz if you sign up for a walk, they wanna make sure you get off the right station. Firstly, because they leading that walk and they wanna make sure you are on that walk because otherwise people get off the wrong station and are upset because they lost. Yes, it's really nice to observe it, you can sense it, it's really, really nice.

We are approaching Grange-over-Sands and C2 is looking outside and observing the platform and how many people are there to get on. He says, "This going to be interesting." The door opens and there are two more cyclist. **C1:** "O, my God!" **C2:** looks really excited and laughs. **C1:** "This is getting silly...". **I'm asking what's going to happen.** C2: He's going forward (one cyclist). **There is another cyclist, an elderly lady with a big bike, she stands on the platform and hesitates to get on because there are already 3 bikes in front of her. She asks them whether they [conductor] will ask her to get off but the guys say, "No, you're OK", and C2 helps her to get on. C2:** yeeh, but this is a sunny day, this is Saturday, I really should have got the earlier train.

According to my observations, travelling by bike requires more communication with other people. Yes (all of them agree), more, constant negotiation of space with other passengers and cyclists.

Actually, these cyclists paid more attention and engaged more with social environment of the train journey (outside the carriage on the platform) and inside the car than the natural environment. Also, they paid more attention and had more knowledge of the built environment of the carriages of different train companies, their rules because they were travelling with their bikes. For these cyclists, the social environment and the built environment of the carriage evoked stronger emotions than the natural environment because they felt truly engaged with other people and space of the carriage due to their bikes.

How does it make you feel? C3: laughingly says, “Well, like best friends”. They giggle. C1: Emm, it makes the journey more work, I would say. Sometimes I get really annoyed when I see people sitting there or putting their luggage, basically using these empty double seats (the space that is actually meant for cyclists and their bikes), making my life inconvenient. They don’t have to be sitting there. If the train is packed and then they sitting there then fair enough, you know...

So, other passengers don’t consider what are these seats for? C1: kind of, but it happens quite rare. Some people just like those fold down seats, they prefer sitting that way rather than in the rows. I mean, normally what I do if the car is like this I’ll be sitting like that. I place my bike like this and sit down like that and sit near the bike. Well, because, you know, if they come on this side you garra move the bike. So, I stand up and stand next to it and move it [to allow people in and out]. And sometimes, I get off and people get on these seats again. So, it’s all part and parcel of travelling by train with bike.

So, because you travel quite frequently with bikes you have knowledge and skills, you anticipate these situations and you know how to deal with them? C1: Yes. C2: when you first start travelling on the train with a bike, it’s very intimidating (frightening) because you don’t quite know what you supposed to do and you don’t know if you breaking any rules and so on.

But now you know the rules and you know when and which rules you can break? They all agree and say yes. C1: The thing is, I think, there is not a lack of demand because people want to travel by bikes but they are intimidated by lack of infrastructure and support for cyclists. C2: I know that in San Francisco there is a

'car train' - a little suburban railway, they got like double height cars. They put a car on it for cyclists only, you not getting on this car unless you're a cyclist with a bike. And because it's double height all the lower deck is just a bike racks. And you can get thirty or forty bikes on it. So, they got like thirty spaces for bikes and thirty spaces for people to sit.

Kents Bank – the door is not opening and the old lady with her bike is unable to get out. She can't really move to the next door because she's got the bike and it's not so easy to move on a train with a bike. However, other passengers helped. They informed the conductor that the door is not opening and the conductor opened it. All sorted.

Another thing – high steps! It is problematic, difficult for the elderly woman to get down there, she needs some help. It's good the guys are there to help her to get off. She is grateful.

C1: Yes, this is another problem, high steps and we don't have a tilt here, aren't we. It's just the way it is. **C1:** I don't know the statistics for bike uses on trains but I think it's 10 – 15 bikes on weekends and apparently on workdays it's fool. Ha, I don't know.

Basically, I think there is this uncertainty that puts people off to travel by bike on trains? Would you agree? C2: yes. **C3:** I recon you get a lot more commuters by bike on a train if they had more space for bikes. **C2:** yes, people are put off travelling by bikes. **C3:** if you only allowed 2 bikes on train, people who travel to work at 9am... you won't try to get to work with bike because most likely there will be no space for you. **C2:** would the carriage without no seats, wouldn't be that bad. Then people could only stand and there would be less problem with bike. Let's think about, in bike spaces, people can always stand there if there are no bikes whereas you can't put your bike on a seat if there was an empty seat. **C2:** Well, you can but you wouldn't, you probably get into trouble... probably..[we laughing]...**C3:** especially, on the way home when your bike is all dirty...**[they think about the train space according to their needs, from their perspective].** **C2:** On the car train, they take all the chairs out, which mean that you can wheel the bike on there. So, you don't have to hanging up. So, you can put it on an individual stand and go and sit...In San Francisco, they did it first as an

experiment. They thought that not so many people are going to use it but they had a lot of uses...I think it's great!

How do you handle crowded trains? **C1:** At the start of the day, if the train is really bad, I might just decide to do something else, something different. However, in some situations there is no choice you have to get on it because you're committed to it. Also, sometimes trains are so frequent, you know. Like, sometimes, I get to the station and a train is due and I think I wanna do this trip or something else, and only then I buy a ticket. But where it's really stressful, you've been out all day and you tired, cold and wet and you going back filthy and it's like... I garra get on this train because there is another one in two hours that comes in...and you solid, desperate... wanting to get on this one. **C2:** Oh, yes, I've done it, I have experienced similar situation when you know you have to get on that train because this is the last one (there were only 2 per day).

C1 got off in Cark, he got off and cried out: Freedom! **C2:** yes, in general it is hard to start travelling by bike on train, the experience is intimidating, and most people don't do it. Once you started, it's actually sort of alright.

And then once you gain knowledge, skills, is it that you become more relaxed doing that? **C2:** oh, yes, I feel much more relaxed. I'm perfectly fine catching trains now. But when I first started catching trains about 2 or 3 years ago I was always very anxious about catching trains and always scared about what would happen if I don't get on.

Would you consider any other way how to get to your destination? **C2:** Oh, yes. If I can get a lift I get a lift and go by car. If my dad is willing for cycling then we go together by car.

Why? **C3:** It's just easy. You can get there straight from your house and it's quicker. That's what we do most of the time.

Do you perceive/experience the route differently depending on which transport mode you use? The route is not that scenic if you are in the car. And obviously, if you driving you concentration more on the road, not on the sceneries. To be honest, it's much more relaxing to be on the train but there is always the risk of not being able to get on. So, beforehand is less relaxing and then the

train journey is more relaxing. **C3:** I find it different, coz I don't drive. Either car or train, I'm always looking out of the window but the route seems more interesting by train because the motorway is not as exciting. I have never seen this view in the car. **C2:** like from here, now you can see the entire Lake District [between Cark and Ulverston]. This is my home route from university, so I quite often travel this route. I study in Lancaster and I live in Ulverston. So, it is about an hour and 20 min from home to university. And if it's not a day out, I bring my university stuff on train and work. **C3:** me too, it's good because there are no distractions like TV or other people on the train unlike home.

What is the difference travelling with friends and alone? **C3:** if I travel with people I find that I don't get bored because you can talk to them but if you are on your own and you not in the move and just sitting down and listen to music and something then I can get quite bored. So, sometimes when I'm not in the move and I'm on the train on my own I just get really bored.

So, when you start listening to music? **C2:** I don't stop listening to music if I'm alone. I probably listen to the music all the time. **Why?** It's just the thing, isn't it, you always got your IPod on. **C3:** It allows you to chill out. **But you don't have it now?** **C2:** yes, coz I go cycling, I don't like listening to music when I cycle. **C3:** besides, we're together and we will be talking. **C3:** I wouldn't do this kind of trip on my own...**C2:** I've done it on my own.

Atmosphere: it looks like on trains you can capture the atmosphere by recording the sounds. It is a very sound intense environments and listening to the interviews I can hear how the atmosphere changes depending on carriage, time of the day, passengers, routes.

.Appendix 5 – Themes in NVivo Data Management System

- **RHYTHMANALYSIS**

- Motion on the train
 - Feelings about motion
- Social and institutional rhythms
- Occasional, less expected rhythms
- Habitual rhythms
- Touristy rhythms
- Day out rhythms – different to everyday but also familiar
- Adventure
- Retired rhythms
- Rhythms of the day, week, year, season
- Natural rhythms
- Rhythms of the route
- Familiar experience versus unfamiliar, novel experience
- Slow travel rhythms
 - Slow travel influence on the day trip
 - Experience of combining transport modes (car + train, train + cycling)
 - How transport influences perception of the place, region
 - Train, bike in comparison to car, bus or any other transport type

- **EXPERIENCE OF MOBILE PLACE**

- Sense of place
 - Perception of mobile places
 - Smells inside the carriage
 - Sounds
 - Attitudes to mechanical train sounds
- Sociality inside a carriage
 - Sociality creates atmospheres
 - Organised walks – observations
 - Sociality – from negative to positive through interaction
 - Positive emotions
 - Negative emotions
 - Staff
 - Train environment affords TALKS among leisure travellers
 - Perception of a train community

- Experience of being together with travel companions
 - Meaning of place – direct and intimate
 - Meanings through texts, representations
 - Atmosphere of place
 - Place-making
 - First impression – what is important
 - Comfort
 - Place-making with bikes
 - What is noticed when travelling with a BIKE
 - Privacy
 - Crowding
 - Design of carriage affords privacy, comfort, activities
 - Food
 - Comparison with different train services – past experience
 - Experience of steam trains
- **EMBODIMENT**
 - Embodied experience of different trains
 - Experience of time
 - Journey entangled in past and present – memories
 - Nostalgia
 - Body rhythms
 - Activities during a day out
 - Taking photos
 - Way back
 - Knowledge, Skills and past experience
 - Experience of Route, Landscapes along the route
 - Big circle
 - Emotional relationship or belonging to the region
- **DESTINATION AND REASONS FOR TRAVEL**
 - Expectations and anticipations
 - Different atmospheres depending on trip's purpose, passengers, routes
 - Reasons for travel
 - Plans for the day
 - How passengers make the choice
 - Involvement – Disinvolvement
 - Comparison between mandatory trips and leisure trips

Electronic Appendices (Refer to attached USB Hard Drive)

Electronic Appendix 6 – MMU Ethics Check Form

Electronic Appendix 7 – Visual Representation of the Leeds-Settle-Carlisle Train Route

Electronic Appendix 8 – Visual Representation of the Lancaster-Barrow-Carlisle Train Route

Electronic Appendix 9 – Background noises inside an old carriage

Electronic Appendix 10 – Background noises inside an old carriage

Electronic Appendix 11 – Background noises during Interview 28

Electronic Appendix 12 – Background noises during Interview 11

Electronic Appendix 13 – A smooth and soundless movement of a newer train

Electronic Appendix 14 – A group of 8 elderly travellers singing on a train

Electronic Appendix 15 – Very loud hen party

Electronic Appendix 16 – Very loud hen party, photo taking

Electronic Appendix 17 – Singing 'Happy Birthday'

Electronic Appendix 18 – Background hikers

Electronic Appendix 19 – Background families with children

Electronic Appendix 20 – Mobile Vision

Electronic Appendix 21 – An Example of Landscape Occurring as People Travel Along

Electronic Appendix 22 – Examples of Natural Rhythms of the Route