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Mundane tourism mobilities
on a watery leisurescape:
Canal boating in North West England

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Manchester Metropolitan University
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Manchester Metropolitan University

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The land says – *come uphill*: and water says
I will. But take it slow.

A workman's ask and nothing fancy –
Will you? Here's an answer, engineered.

A leisurely machine, a box of oak and stone;
the mitred lock, the water's *YES.*

From 'Lifted' (2013),
by Jo Bell, Canal Laureate 2013-2015
www.waterlines.org.uk

Abstract

Mundane tourism mobilities on a watery leisurescape: Canal boating in North West England

Maarja Kaaristo

There are over 3,000 miles of navigable inland waterways in England and Wales, managed mainly by the Canal and River Trust, which promotes their use for various leisure activities. Canals have undergone a radical transformation in their use and purpose, from being important transport links in the 18th and 19th centuries, to largely being left derelict. During the 20th century, however, the canals have been transformed from an obsolete infrastructure into a modern leisurescape used by various individuals, groups and stakeholders. Concentrating on the canals of Northern England and Northern Wales, this thesis focuses on one of those groups on the canals who have not yet received sufficient academic attention, the holiday and leisure boaters. In order to research tourism, a temporary and mobile phenomenon, with the commitment necessary for an ethnographic research, this study develops a methodology, reflexive mobile ethnography that combines the mobilities approach and European ethnology, utilizing semi-structured interviews, participant observation and auto-ethnography for data collection. As no previous academic study has presented a comprehensive analysis of contemporary canal tourism as a lived and embodied experience, the present study extends our understanding of inland waterways tourism and mobilities. Theoretically, the study suggests studying tourism mobilities from the everyday life perspective – mundane tourism mobilities – and the data analysis shows that these are simultaneously material, embodied, temporal and convivial. A number of materialities have to come together in order to constitute mobile assemblages that make canal travel possible. These assemblages, such as boat-humans, move in the temporal canalscape, characterised by its specific – slow – tempo, but also engaging with the past in embodied ways. Furthermore, the canal temporalities are characterised by mundane socio-natural and socio-bodily rhythms, which are identified in the thesis through the rhythmanalysis of the leisure boating everyday life. The material and temporal practices of boating take place in the context of social interactions and their closer examination helps to redefine the boundaries of a canal boating community. This study therefore presents an analysis of the canal leisurescape where the human and non-human form various co-agencies and assemblages, experienced in embodied ways in the context of mundane tourism mobilities. The latter framework, as developed in this thesis, constitutes a theoretical contribution to mobilites studies by proposing to research tourism from the perspective of everyday life focusing on three key elements: time, place and practice. The work will therefore extend existing understanding of tourism mobilites, particularly in the ways in which they relate to embodied everyday life practices.

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Publications:

Kaaristo, Maarja and Rhoden, Steven (2017). 'Everyday life and water tourism mobilities: mundane aspects of canal travel', *Tourism Geographies*, 19(1) pp. 78-95.

Kaaristo, Maarja (2018, forthcoming). 'Engaging with the Hosts and Guests: Some Methodological Reflections on the Anthropology of Tourism.' *In* Owsianowska, S. and Banaszkiewicz, M. (eds.) *After the Iron Curtain. Anthropology of Tourism in Central and Eastern Europe.* Lanham, Boulder, New York, London: Lexington Books.

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Kaaristo, Maarja and Rhoden, Steven (2016). 'Producing the canalscape: engaging with mobile materialities in UK's inland waterways tourism.' 14th EASA (European Association of Social Anthropologists) Biennial Conference 'Anthropological Legacies and Human Futures', University of Milano-Bicocca, Milano, Italy, 20-23 July 2016.

Kaaristo, Maarja and Rhoden, Steven (2015). 'The everyday life, proximities and multi-modal experiences of England's canalscapes'. Royal Geographical Society (RGS-IBG) Annual International Conference 2015 'Anthropocene', University of Exeter, Exeter, 1.-4.09.2015.

Short glossary of terms and acronyms associated with boating on the UK inland waterways

ACP – Ancoats Canal Project, a community group working in the Ancoats area in Manchester on the Rochdale and Ashton Canals.

Barge – a canal boat with a minimum of a 10ft beam.

Butty – an unpowered narrowboat with a larger rudder and tiller, towed by a powered boat.

BW – British Waterways. The navigation authority of most of the canals and rivers in England, Scotland and Wales. Established in 1962 and reorganised into the Canal and River Trust in 2012.

Cill (also **sill**) – a bar of mason-work resembling a shelf in the lock below water level, against which the closed lock gates rest. When the boat is going down in the lock, it is important to not be caught on the cill.

Continuous cruiser – a boater with no home mooring, continuously navigating the waterways. According to the CRT guidelines, the continuous cruiser has to have a travelling range of at least 20 miles (32 km) over the course of a year, and they cannot stay to one mooring place for more than 14 days at a time.

CRT – Canal and River Trust. A charity established in 2012. (Sometimes also abbreviated CaRT, especially by liveaboard boaters.) The CRT took over the responsibilities of BW and owns most of the waterways in England and Wales (altogether over 2,000 miles).

CRT key (also **BW key**, **watermate key**) – a key providing access to CRT facilities, such as water points, sanitation points and showers etc., near the canal.

Cut – another term for canal, the word refers to the canals being literally cut into the ground during their original construction.

Fender – a round or cylindrical 'cushion', traditionally made of rope, but also of plastic or rubber, that protects the bow and stern of a boat when in locks, and the sides when mooring.

FoR9 – Friends of the Rochdale 9. A community group in central Manchester established in 2016 in collaboration with the CRT and Manchester City Council, working on the Rochdale Canal between locks 92 and 84.

Gunnel (also **gunwale**) – upper edge on the sides of the boat's hull.

Gongoozler – a person stopping to observe the canal boats and boaters as they pass by or go through the locks.

Handcuff key – a cross-shaped key to open the paddle gear locked with handcuff-like locks before the windlass can be used. Common in urban areas to avoid the locks being opened and canals drained by vandalism.

IWA – Inland Waterways Association. Established in 1946 as a registered charity in order to campaign and promote the restoration and use of the canals.

Liveaboard – a person for whom a canal boat is their primary residence.

Lock – the construction on the canal for raising and lowering the water level thereby allowing a boat to pass through to higher or lower ground. Locks are comprised of a lock chamber, with gates on both ends and sluices with paddles that are raised or lowered in order to change the water level in the lock. Locks are numbered on each canal and additionally therefore serve as points of orientation for boaters.

Lockwheeling – preparing ('setting') locks in advance of the boat's arrival to the locks.

Narrowboat – a flat-bottomed boat with a maximum width of 6ft10 and length of 72ft, specifically designed to fit the narrow canals of the United Kingdom. Working boats ('narrow boats') were first made of wood, then later a combination of wood and iron/steel and were used to transport goods. They were towed by horses walking along on the towpath and had small 'boatman's cabins' in the stern of the boats as living areas. The boats were fitted with first steam, and then diesel, engines in the 19th and 20 centuries. Modern narrowboats are built for leisure and housing purposes, and can have either traditional, semi-traditional or cruiser sterns.

Packet-boat – historically a faster (ca 10 mph) type of canal boat, designed to carry passengers and small parcels, towed by a horse. Regular packet-boat services on the UK canals ceased to operate by the end of the 19th century.

Paddle – the sluice in the bottom of a lock gate, which is raised and lowered when emptying or filling the lock.

Paddle gear – the mechanism on the lock that opens and closes the paddles.

Pound – the stretch of canal between two locks.

Rochdale 9 – Set of nine locks on the Rochdale Canal in Manchester city centre running from Dukes 92 to Piccadilly Basin (locks 92 to 84).

RYA – Royal Yachting Association. Founded in 1875, the national body in Great Britain and Northern Ireland for governing and promoting all forms of boating, both marine and inland.

Shroppie – Shropshire Union Canal.

Single-handed boating – boating on the canal alone, which means having to perform all the tasks, such as operating the locks, on your own.

Tiller – the lever, which directs the rudder on a boat that the helmsman holds and pushes against in order to steer.

Winding hole – a wider area on the canal with enough space for boats to turn around. Pronounced *win-ding.*

Windlass (also **lock key**) – an L-shaped metal handle for operating the locks and winds the paddles up and down.

WRG – Waterway Recovery Group. Founded in 1970 and formally a division of the IWA. National body organising the volunteer labour to restore the canals in the United Kingdom.

Chapter 1. Introduction. The background and outline of the study

There are over 3,000 miles (5,090 km) of navigable (and 1,800 miles (2897 km) of non-navigable) inland waterways in England and Wales (see Figure 1) (Harrison and Sutton, 2003), owned and managed by different navigation authorities, of which the two largest are the Canal and River Trust and the Environment Agency (MCA, 2016). Canals have undergone a transformation in their usage, from being essential transport links during the Industrial Revolution in the 18th and early 19th centuries, to gradually becoming derelict and disused following the introduction of the railways in the 1840s. However, the importance of canals as a leisure resource has been recognised since the 1950s, with diverse uses including boating, walking, angling, running, hiking and cycling promoted as leisure activities. Contemporary canals have emerged as 'blue and green corridors' in urban spaces; as industrial heritage; as spaces for urban waterfront development; as water resources; urban cooling systems; and the towpaths have increasingly been used as service routes containing telecommunication fibre optic cables (Jones and Mean, 2010), as well as spaces of (industrial) heritage and leisure.

The canals are of interest in the context of tourism studies, because, even though they may not be aware of it themselves, nearly half of the total population of the United Kingdom (UK), some 65.6 million people, resides within five miles (8 km) of a waterway. In 2016/17, 4.3 million people, or 6.6% of the population, visited the waterways during a typical two-week period (CRT, 2017a). There are currently around 35,000 boats (including narrowboats, river cruisers, and various wide beam boats) on the canal network (CRT, 2017b). About 22% of those boats are used as a primary residence, whilst approximately 10% are day-trip, restaurant- and hire-boats, and the rest are used as second homes and for leisure purposes. In 2016/17, around 350,000 people would boat over a two-week period on either a canal or river using trip- or hire-boats, as well as accompanying their friends or family members on privately owned boats (CRT, 2017c; CRT, 2017a). Boating and water sports participation is currently at its highest level within the last seven years (Hodgetts, 2017), which demonstrates the relevance of topics connected to water tourism and leisure and the need to understand them better.

This thesis focuses on studying leisure and holiday boating on the canals, which I define as cruising on a waterway for recreational purposes ranging in time from just a few

hours to several weeks, on mostly self-drive but also captained boats. In this regard, a canal boat trip could be positioned on the transport–tourism continuum as 'transport as tourism', where mobility itself serves as an attraction for the activity (Lumsdon and Page, 2004), and more specifically as an active transport tourist experience (Rhoden, 2010), characterised by high organisational involvement by the tourist. Similar to the floating destination of a cruise ship where the ports visited play a considerably smaller role in the formation of the tourist experience than the cruise itself (Mendes and Guerreiro, 2017), the canal boat, too, can be regarded a mobile destination where the starting point, journey and destination(s) all merge into the tourist experience.[1] Geographically, this study focuses on the canals of Northern England (and partly Northern Wales) and concentrates specifically on spending holidays on narrowboats, a particular type of canal boat designed to fit the narrow canals of the UK with a maximum width of 6 feet 10 inches (2.08 m) and a maximum length of 72 feet (21.95 m) (see Figure 2). I seek to identify the various embodied, temporal and social practices of how tourists experience everyday life on canals whilst 'on the move' (Cresswell, 2006).

Figure 1. The inland waterways network in England and Wales. Source: www.waterways.org.uk.

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[1] The type of canal holiday discussed in this thesis however differs from cruises by a number of key points. These are the type of waters (narrow canal or river vs river/sea/ocean), scale of vessel (small usually self-driven boat vs large skippered ship) and routes and rhythms of the trip (largely decided by the boaters vs pre-determined by the tour company) (Jennings, 2007).

I draw mainly from the disciplinary traditions of tourism studies, human geography, social and cultural anthropology and sociology, focusing on the ways leisure boating is practiced and experienced in convivial, temporal, material and mundane ways. In order to do that, I adopt Edensor's (2001: 59) standpoint that 'tourism should be understood by its imbrication in the everyday rather than special, separate field of activity and enquiry' and study the 'under-acknowledged routines, ordinary objects and familial interactions of tourist practice, as well as quotidian forms of excitement, creativity and small-scale, disruptive "tactics"' (Larsen, 2008: 31). In order to do that, I will research these mundane tourism practices of canal boaters in the context of the mobilities studies, exploring the everyday activities integral to the journeying practices of the boaters on the canals in the UK. This work will therefore extend existing understanding of tourism mobilities, particularly in the ways in which they relate to everyday life practices.

1.1 Context of the study: the UK canals and the people on them

To better understand the complex leisurescape of the canals, it is necessary to understand the history of the inland waterways, as well as their position in public discourse. In the following subchapter, I will present a context for this research by first giving an overview of the building of the canals in the United Kingdom during the Industrial Revolution, as well as early passenger travel and pleasure boating on the inland waterways until the end of 19th century. I will then move on to show how, after this infrastructure fell largely into disrepair in the early 20th century, the canals were then brought to use for a new function, primarily leisure boating. As these changes have been reflected in the public discourse, I will therefore present a short analysis of the canals as represented in the cultural texts and media in order to provide a general context of where the studied topic is situated.

Figure 2. A 70ft cruiser stern narrowboat moored for the evening on the Macclesfield Canal. Photo: Author, 2016.

1.1.1 The 'Canal Age'

The first Act of Parliament in England for a canal independent of rivers was obtained in 1759 by Francis Egerton, the Duke of Bridgewater, who owned coalfields at Worsley, ten miles (16 km) from Manchester (Owen, 1977). The textile industry in the city of Manchester was growing fast and coal was needed, however the cost of transport was high (Bagwell and Lyth, 2006). Egerton had been very impressed by the Canal du Midi in France during his Grand Tour in 1754 (Malet, 1977) and therefore decided to build a canal to link Worsley with Salford where the coal could be unloaded at a cheaper price of 4 pence per ton instead of 7 pence. The Bridgewater Canal was planned and built by John Gilbert and James Brindley between 1759 and 1761. This canal, an 'extraordinary piece of engineering' for its time, opened on July 17th 1761 and featured an aqueduct carrying the canal across the River Irwell (Bagwell and Lyth, 2006: 7). According to transport historians, 'the opening of this canal was as dramatic a turning point in the history of British transport as was the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway on 15 September 1830. It was a remarkable demonstration both of engineering skill and of the economic potential of canals as a vastly improved medium for the movement of bulky commodities' (Bagwell, 1974: 16).

The success of the Bridgewater Canal inspired a significant upsurge in canal building. Between 1760 and 1764, 52 Acts for inland navigation were passed – more parliamentary activity than in the previous fifty years, including for important canals such as the Trent and Mersey and the Oxford Canal (Duckham, 1983: 103). At first, the canals were not planned to form a network (Matthews, 2016), however, once their potential became clear, discussions and plans to link the canals nationally started by the end of the 1760s in order to link London, Liverpool, Bristol and Hull with Birmingham and the Black Country via waterways. A boom of canal building, often called the 'Canal Mania' (1791-1794, during which time 42 new canals were built (Bagwell, 1974: 17)) was characterised by the building of new canals which often competed with the existing ones and did not necessarily earn back the money spent on building them. The above-mentioned linking of the major cities would finally be complete in 1790; however in practice, because of the change of gauge between the wider Grand Junction Canal and the narrow Oxford canals, it never became a fully-functional national system. As Bagwell and Lyth (2006: 9) point out, 'the basic characteristic – and weakness – of the English canal system was already manifest by the 1790s: it was a product of overlapping regional interests rather than a centrally-planned national network.'

The canals were built by the 'navvies' (the short from of navigator), some of whom were skilled workers, who physically dug the canals and tunnels and built the embankments. This act of fundamentally changing the landscape is why the canals were, and still are, referred to as 'the cut'. The navvies' lives were nomadic, which set them apart from the general population, and they developed a group identity of their own as they travelled around the country moving where the work was (Taylor, 1988). During the second half of the 18th century, the men and women who worked on canal boats moved onto them with their whole families, and the boats' design changed to include a specific 'boatman's cabin' at the rear of the boat where the family would live. Due to their mobile lifestyle, they were often characterised by both the authorities and the general public as living in unsanitary conditions, the over consuming of alcohol, illiteracy and breaking the Sabbath, as well as having criminal, violent and immoral natures (Matthews, 2013).

In the beginning of the 19th century only a couple of major canals were built: the Kennet and Avon (completed 1810) and the Liverpool and Leeds Canal across the north Pennines (longest canal in Britain at 143 miles, completed in 1816). The 'Canal Age' largely

ended with the beginning of the 'Railway Age', generally marked by the year 1830, when a railway line between Manchester and Liverpool was opened. During the course of the 19th century, the importance of the canals as transport links declined steadily: while in the 1840s canals still carried more goods than railways, this situation rapidly changed, and by the end of the century the railways dominated the transport industry (Bagwell, 1974). This canal network, unplanned and imperfect, grew and developed gradually and organically, stretching over 4,000 miles (6,400 km) by the end of the 'Canal Age' (Bagwell and Lyth, 2006).

The canals' importance lie not just in successful hydraulic but also 'social engineering' (Mukerji, 2009). Just like with Canal du Midi in France, their building was a collective enterprise of different human and non-human actants (Latour, 1999), where the canals 'provided a common focus for the collaboration' (Mukerji, 2009: 10). A number of diverse social groups had to come together in order to build the canals and this provided either social or physical mobility (or both) to many individuals and groups. For example, James Brindley, son of a yeomen farmer and a talented wheelwright who worked on the construction of the Bridgewater Canal, went on to being one of the most important canal engineers in Great Britain next to Thomas Telford (Buchanan, 1980). The construction of the canals required stupendous (for the time) financial investment; funds were raised from all classes looking for a sure return and much came from small investors, among whom were also women (Doe, 2009). Most of the people working on boats operated as a husband and wife crew living on board with their families. The wife would usually steer the unpowered butty boat tugged by the powered boat and often take over the ownership and operation of boats when the husband died, thus challenging the conventional gender roles of the era (Hately-Broad and Moore, 2014). The boatpeople who moved from place to place on the canal network showed a possibility for a different way of life, 'almost too threatening for white, pro-empire, nineteenth-century, textual culture to contemplate', a mobility not fully controlled by the state and thus challenging notions of Britishness, identity and gender (Matthews, 2015: 359).

1.1.2 Passenger travel and pleasure boating on the canals until the end of the 19th century

The transport of passengers as well as pleasure boating was a feature of most of the British canals at least for some time since their building, but according to Bagwell (1974), in the majority of the cases, it did not continue for very long, nor was it an important part of commercial activities. There were two notable exceptions: that of Scotland and of North West England, where canal transport was a viable, as well as a more comfortable, alternative to coach travel until the arrival of the railways.

Passenger travel started on the Bridgewater Canal in 1767: boats ran from Manchester to Runcorn daily and there was also a boat transport service between Leigh and Manchester through Worsley (Owen, 1977). Many canals were designed to link the bigger cities with their suburbs and smaller towns, such as Liverpool being connected to Crosby, and Manchester with Worsley and Bolton. There was also a regular service between bigger cities; for example it was possible to travel from Glasgow to Edinburgh, from Liverpool to Manchester and from Preston to Lancaster by canal (Duckham, 1983). In the 1830s, around 800,000 passengers a year were carried on Scottish canals. For example the Paisley and Johnstone Canal, an 11-mile (17.7km) long canal without locks opened in 1811, where light passenger boats were towed by two horses who were changed every four miles (Bagwell, 1974). Bagwell (1974: 30) quotes a traveller going from Perth to Port Dundas by both a coach and a boat in the beginning of the 19th century and being extremely glad to transfer 'from a rumbling old drag, badly horsed and worse driven, to a snug and warm cabin in the Edinburgh and Glasgow barge which went at the rate of 9,5 miles an hour throughout the journey.'

George Head, an army officer, noted in his memoir *A Home Tour through the Manufacturing Districts of England in the Summer of 1835*, that although making the journey with a packet boat on the Bridgewater Canal gave him the opportunity to 'glide tranquilly onwards through a continuous panorama of cows, cottages and green fields,' there was, nevertheless, a drawback 'to the comfort of the traveller, — namely, that within a dozen miles of Manchester, the water of the canal is as black as the Styx, and absolutely pestiferous, from the gas and refuse of the manufactories' (Head, 1836: 8). Regular passenger services in North West England continued for about 25 years after the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester

Railway in September 1830, whilst the occasional passenger service occurred on the Bridgewater until 1924 (Hadfield and Biddle, 1970).

The owners and promoters of canals acknowledged their potential for leisure very early on, although this was not necessarily always realised before the 19th century (Burton, 2016; Wenham, 2012). The promoters of the Trent & Mersey Canal, for example, had already produced a pamphlet in 1766 imagining the waterway's potential for pleasure boating:

> And if we add the amusements of a pleasure boat that may enable us to change the prospect, imagination can scarcely conceive the variety of such a landscape. Verdant lawns, waving fields of grain, pleasant groves, sequestered woods, regular canals to different towns, orchards whose trees are bending beneath their fruit, large towns and pleasant villages, will all together present to the eye a grateful intermixture of objects, and feast the fancy with ideas equal to the most romantic illusions (cited in Burton, 2016: online).

The Bridgewater Canal became a visitor destination right after its opening, and the letters and diaries of visitors describe them marvelling at the Barton Aqueduct, the coal mines in Worsley and the busy Castlefield Basin where the canal ended. Manchester's first guidebook, *A Description of Manchester*, published in 1784, starts with the overview of Bridgewater Canal and its builder, Francis Egerton, and encourages the visitor to the city to begin their tour in Castlefield (Nevell and Wyke, 2012).

However, the canals could only develop to be seen as holiday destinations or spaces where to spend leisure time, when their usefulness of carrying freight declined from the mid-nineteenth century; indeed during summers some of the empty coal boats were converted into usage for short boating trips. By the end of the 19th century, there were some pleasure boats kept regularly on the Leeds and Liverpool canal. On the Lancaster Canal (that provided access to the Lake District), it was also possible to take a boating holiday with accommodation, and pleasure boating on the Scottish canals became more popular after Queen Victoria's trip on the Caledonian Canal in 1873 (Burton, 2016). Trips on the river Thames became especially popular from the 1880s onwards (Wenham, 2012) and there were day trips taken on the Rochdale Canal, with Sunday Schools organising outings on a canal boat with picnics at Stoodley Pike hill (Monahan and Spencer, 2004). Burton (2016: online) quotes a magazine article on London's Regent's Canal from 1885 which described it as the city's 'unknown river', where 'small pleasure boats are allowed to ply on parts of the canal, and has given life to the

scene. A large barge is anchored in front of a green field, and its owner informs us by a sign that he has "boats to let for school and picnic parties".'

In addition to organised trips, private boat hire was becoming especially popular on the non-tidal Thames as well as the Regent's Canal in London. Day boats were available on many canals, however for a longer trip, the boat had to be arranged privately (Burton, 2016). A travelogue, *Two Girls on a Barge* (Cotes, 1891), by Canadian journalist and author Sara Jeannette Duncan writing under the name of V. Cecil Cotes, records a journey by two Cambridge University graduates on the Grand Junction, Oxford and Coventry canals on the narrowboat *Industrious*. This is the first book-length travelogue written about a journey taken on a converted working narrowboat (even though the 'two girls' did not steer the boat themselves, but hired a couple, called 'Mr. and Mrs. Bargee' in the book, to do it for them.)

Boating was partly connected with the ideas of modernity and progress – pleasure boating was an undertaking, where not just men but also the active and educated 'New Woman' (Marks, 1990) participated. On the other hand, it was also seen as an escape from busy urban life and an opportunity for relaxation in the rural idyll (Wenham, 2012): the end of the 19th century saw a rise in popularity of many outdoor pursuits, such as cycling, angling, skiing, hillwalking, hiking etc. (Smout, 2000). In the last quarter of the 19th century, the boatyards along the rivers met the increased demand by starting to offer more and more varying types of boats for hire and 'messing about in boats' as a leisure activity became an increasingly democratic activity with both genders and people from different social groups participating (Tickner, 2002: 7).

1.1.3 From obsolete infrastructure to modern leisurescape: canals in the 20th and 21st century

In the first half of the 20th century, the canals witnessed another rise in usage, this time for carrying cargo for the war effort during the World Wars. The rise in use also saw the emergence of a new type of boater. Although the working boatmen were still on the canals, their numbers were slowly, but steadily, declining. During the Second World War, the canals were used to carry coal, cement and other important freight, and the increased traffic and demand, coupled with the lack of men to perform these traditional roles, saw women

recruited and trained to work on the waterways, just as in many other spheres of the industrial workforce. These women, mostly 'middle-class outsiders with little or no [previous] knowledge of the closely-knit and isolated community they were trying to enter' (Hately-Broad and Moore, 2014: 212) thus constituted a new social group of people finding their way to the canal network.

With the Transport Act of 1947, most of the canal network was nationalised along with the railways and road transport. A year before, a voluntary body and registered charity, the Inland Waterways Association, had been established by the boating enthusiasts L. T. C. (Tom) Rolt, Robert Aickman and Charles Hadfield, campaigning and lobbying for using, maintaining, restoring and developing the waterways for both recreational and commercial purposes (Blagrove, 2006). It is largely due to their efforts that the network still exists (Harrison and Sutton, 2003). The voluntary work on the canals started in the 1950s and the volunteers dubbed themselves 'navvies', thus constructing a psychological and historical link between themselves and the original labourers who had built the canals (Trapp-Fallon, 2007). In addition, a number of IWA members started boat hire businesses during the early years of the Association, in order to raise interest in the waterways and their restoration (Blagrove, 2006; Slocum and Clifton, 2012). The number of boats on the canals and rivers increased steadily during this time. There were 1,500 craft licences issued on the canals in 1950 which had increased to 18,025 in 1972 and 23,880 in 1998 (Harrison and Sutton, 2003). As of 2017, there are currently 34,123 registered boats on the canals of England and Wales (CRT, 2017b).

The British Waterways Board was established under the Transport Act of 1962 with the official focus of the restoration of the canals and promoting their use for pleasure boating, angling and other leisure activities, as by this point it was uneconomical to continue the narrow canals' use for freight and passenger transport. This, in turn, encouraged private investors to invest in hire boat companies, marinas and boat building as well as the development of other amenities by the canals (Slocum and Clifton, 2012). Nevertheless, the 1960s saw many local authorities starting to fill in derelict canals, largely perceived as health hazards. The Transport Act of 1968 categorised the nationalised waterways into three groups: commercial (supporting commercial traffic), cruising (having potential for river cruising, fishing and recreation) and remainder (essentially derelict and subject to town and country planning) (Transport Act, 1968). In the 1970s, many volunteers, mainly under the auspices of

the IWA's Waterway Recovery Group (WRG), physically restored many canals to reclassify as many of them as possible from remainder to cruising (Duckham, 1983; Hadfield and Biddle, 1970; Bagwell, 1974).

The IWA and WRG volunteers reopened many parts of the canal system through organising cruises or attempting to cruise closed sections of the canal system and demanding the navigation authorities raise impassable bridges or to fill empty pounds (stretches of canal between two locks) as was their right of navigation guaranteed by the law (Bowles, 2015). Leisure usage grew over the years and one of the arguments IWA used to persuade BW that the canal network should be maintained and restored was its growing use for the leisure and tourism industry. Indeed, by the 1970s, large hire boat fleets were becoming common on some waterways such as the Oxford Canal or River Thames (Blagrove, 2006). On others, the hireboats were used as a means to demonstrate the real value in reopening the canals. For example, on the Rochdale Canal a hireboat business was established in 1985 by Nigel Stevens, owner of Shire Cruises at Sowerby Bridge. The company's first boat, *The Rochdale Pioneer*, could be hired for a maximum of 3 days, a limit set by the actual physical cruising length of the restored stretch of canal. Soon two more boats, *The Rochdale Progress* and *The Rochdale Perseverance* joined his fleet, with the boat names reflecting 'the feelings of those involved with the canal' at a time when 'most people thought canal restoration was "an impossible dream"' (Monahan and Spencer, 2004: 45).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the number of boaters on the canals increased significantly and new restoration schemes were funded by the National Lottery in the 1990s. The canal network became part of the urban regeneration process and acquired an important role in urban planning next to urban parks and rivers. The ideas that canal enthusiasts had promoted since the 1940s – namely that 'the post-industrial canal infrastructure might have much to offer to both the UK economy and to the public life of its towns and cities, suddenly found themselves in the mainstream' (Knight, 2010: 218).

In 2012, all the British Waterways' responsibilities (except in Scotland where the canals stayed under the public body, Scottish Canals) were transferred to a newly formed registered charity, the Canal and River Trust (Bagwell and Lyth, 2006). CRT is the main owner

of the canals in England and Wales, maintaining over 2,000 miles of the inland waterways.[2] The charity uses their government grant, the license fees from the boat owners as well as hire-boat and trip boat businesses, investments and commercial incomes in order to maintain the canal network. They additionally rely on support from the Lottery funds, local authorities, donations from the members of public, as well as extensive volunteer work (500,000 volunteer hours were recorded during 2016/17) (CRT, 2017a). CRT's current ten-year strategy maps out the following priorities: to improve and protect the accessibility and usability of the waterways; provide valued places to people; produce economic benefits on both the local and national levels; enrich people's lives; be respected and trusted guardian of the waterways; and to secure sufficient economical resources for the waterways' effective and sustainable management (CRT, 2014a).

Over the course of their 'life cycle' (Tang and Jang, 2010: 439), the canals have transformed 'from ruthlessly efficient arteries of the industrial revolution – unconcerned with notions of place or community – through periods of neglect, closure and abandonment, to key sites of "regeneration" – costly to maintain but also potentially massive cash cows' (Knight, 2010: 218). Consequently, 'the decline of the transportation industry life cycle can be understood not as the end of the canal, but the initiation or beginning of a tourism life cycle. In other words, tourism development could be viewed as an innovative re-use of the canal region or an extension of the transportation life cycle' (Tang and Jang, 2010: 439).

1.1.4 The canals in British cultural texts and public discourse

Having discussed the history of canals since their construction until the present day, I will now address the ways how the canals have been represented in British cultural texts such as films, books, plays, art (Gray, 2002) and how public discourse has changed significantly over the past three centuries. As follows, I will give a brief account of the main themes that emerged

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[2] Two thirds of the inland waterways in the UK are managed by three main navigation authorities: the Canal and River Trust, the Environment Agency and the Broads Authority. The remaining one third is managed by 18 other authorities (TCPA, 2009).

from my analysis of a selection of sources including the written press, television, memoirs, novels and plays: innovation, heritage, danger and slow tempo.

During the industrial revolution until early 19th century, canals were seen as the embodiment of human triumph over nature and the pinnacle of innovation. In 1763, for example, a reader of the *Manchester Mercury* (quoted in Owen, 1977: 24) wrote in a letter to the newspaper that he has 'lately been viewing the artificial wonders of London, but none gave so much pleasure as the Duke of Bridgewater's Navigation [Bridgewater Canal]. His projector, the ingenious Mr. Brindley, has indeed made such improvements in this way, as are truly astonishing.' During the 'Canal Age' (between 1760s and 1830s), the canals were also often depicted in art, primarily painting. With the canals changing the landscape, moving goods and people and unearthing geological layers of earth, they inspired artists to work on the problems of changing time and space – for example the series of Flatford paintings by John Constable that bring together the themes of changed and changing landscape, the canal population and the local inhabitants (Cole, 2013).

With the introduction of the railways in the 1830s, the canals' importance as a viable transport link started steadily declining and during the Victorian era, the canals came to represent an obsolete mode of transport with the people working on them by default perceived as backwards, treated with increasing suspicion and needing 'reform'. The people who lived and worked on canal boats, together with other mobile communities in Britain such as Romani, entertainers and seasonal agricultural people

> represented, simultaneously, escape and privation, freedom and poverty, timelessness and anachronism, colour and danger, dirt and entertainment. Their arrival, stay, and departure were recorded in newspapers, fiction, drawings, engravings, paintings, pamphlets, and on the stage and in song, with a fascinating set of commonalities in representations of these groups across different forms. That they had come from elsewhere in Britain, that they brought alternative behaviours with them, and their need or urge to travel at all, apparently made them worthy of comment in every form and at regular intervals (Matthews, 2015: 360).

The end of the 19th century, however, also marks the beginning of the leisure narrative on Britain's inland waterways, best exemplified by the humorous novel *Three Men in a Boat* (1889) by Jerome K. Jerome. This story of a two week boating holiday (on a rowing boat) on the Thames, that 'demonstrated the shift to leisure enjoyment in the countryside after

urbanization had changed the way of life for many in the West' (Fallon, 2012: 147), became immensely successful and has never been out of print. Canal holidays, specifically on narrowboats, came to the centre of attention with Tom Rolt's (2014 [1944]) publication of his travelogue *Narrow Boat* which describes Rolt's and his wife Angela's travels on their converted narrowboat, *Cressy*. The book 'highlighted both the fading industrial beauty of the canal network and the possibility of living on the system' (Bowles, 2015: 76-77) and Rolt's writings presented a rather idyllic and sentimentalised picture of the life on the canals, sometimes creating narratives of the canal life that never existed (Fallon, 2012). Regardless, the book became immensely popular and Tom and Angela came to be seen as the Adam and Eve of the waterways; *Narrow Boat* itself was revered as the canals' book of Genesis, as popular waterways author and journalist Haywood ironically comments in one of his travelogues (Haywood, 2009; Bowles, 2015). Following the Second World War, the canals were increasingly perceived in a way that suggested 'historic continuity, repose, reassurance and calm' (Bishop, 1995: 179) with IWA members actively campaigning for canal restoration in the media, promoting them as desirable and idyllic leisure spaces (Trapp-Fallon, 2007).

However, though the IWA might have been an 'influential minority' (Trapp-Fallon, 2007), it was a minority nonetheless. The canals, especially derelict urban canals, were by and large depicted as dangerous and unwanted relics in the national media. In the 1960s and 1970s, there were many calls in both the local and national press for filling in the (partly) abandoned canals. For example, *The Guardian* reported in 1961 that local authorities in Manchester had decided to ask the British Transport Commission to calculate the costs for closing the Ashton Canal in Manchester. The newspaper lists the advantages to closing as follows: health and safety; lowering the level of roads, made possible by the demolition of the bridges crossing the canal; extra land made available for development; and 'putting an end to mosquito breeding, and the weeds and odours of decay' (Guardian, 1961: 20).

This narrative of danger has been persistent and contemporary urban canals are often represented in the contemporary media as dangerous spaces of antisocial, illicit and criminal behaviour. In Manchester, one of the more contested spaces is the 'Piccadilly undercroft', of which the *Manchester Evening News* reported in 2014 that 'the underground canal towpath, running from Dale Street to Minshull Street, has been the scene of a series of violent crimes, most recently an attempted robbery in which a man died after falling into the water. Holiday

makers on narrowboats who have seen men engaged in sex acts have also made complaints to the police' (Glendinning, 2014). The undercroft, also described as 'lethal' by the newspaper (Williams, 2016), has been a popular gay cruising area for decades. It is therefore also a space 'of many different stories, many of which involved elements that were illegible, unspoken and lacked forms of elaboration' and which 'were silenced, covered over by singular public, acceptable images of these urban spaces' (Atkins, 2013: 203).

The area came under increased scrutiny due to the 21st century regeneration schemes in Manchester city centre, as well as the aforementioned increase in boating on the canal, thereby changing the way the space was used. Following consultations and discussions, gates were installed on the canal between Dale Street and Minshull Street, and public access to the towpath was prevented from 10pm to 7am from the 24th April 2017, though still accessible via boat during these times (ITV, 2017b). Furthermore, since the Rochdale Canal runs through the city centre, including the nightlife hotspot of Manchester's Gay Village, it also presents a danger for intoxicated people. Manchester LGBT Foundation's volunteers, known as 'Village Angels'[3], who patrol in the Village at nights and early mornings during weekends and big events, also often deal with people falling into the canal (Martin, 2017). Accidents on the canal towpaths have triggered another narrative: in 2015 various newspapers started publishing articles on a supposed serial killer operating in Manchester, pushing young men into the canals (Rainey, 2015; Riches, 2016). The circulation of the stories about 'The Pusher', also a focus of Channel 4's 2016 documentary *Manchester's Serial Killer,* prompted the police to publicly respond that these speculations were unfounded (Hopkins, 2016; Morley, 2016).

In contrast and in parallel to this however, the canals have been depicted in media as important part of the Britain's history. An early sign of this changing attitude is a *Daily Mirror* article from 1967, called 'The Wasted Heritage', which heralded a new narrative: that of the canals' important role in history (CRT, 2011). One of the topics explored has been the canal history of the Second World War, through the theme of women who worked on the waterways during the war, which has been subject of several theatre plays. Mikron Theatre, operating from a narrowboat in Marsden and often performing canal-related plays, brought *Imogen's War* by Mike Lucas and Sarah Parks to the stage in 1992/1993 and 1998. In their

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[3] http://lgbt.foundation/get-support/village-angels/ (03.09.2017)

2017 tour, London's Alarum Theatre recreated a journey from London to Birmingham by the 'Idle Women', a nickname given to the women working on cargo boats during the war, with two plays, *Isobel's War* and *Idle Women and Judies* performed by Heather Wastie and Kate Saffin. These plays, based on the memoirs of the women working on the boats, are presented and narrated as a part of 'forgotten' social history that needs to be brought to public attention by the performers and activists, sometimes themselves descendants of the boaters in question.

The 2010s have brought about a renewed interest in the topics related to canal history and heritage in the mainstream media. On the one hand, the canals are featured in the media connected to the ideas of slow living. This was particularly in the foreground of BBC4's 2015 programme *All Aboard! The Canal Trip*, a two-hour narrowboat journey on the Kennet and Avon Canal with no spoken commentary as part of the *BBC Four Goes Slow* programmes of 'slow television'. Slow living and travelling was likewise the focus of Channel 4's *Great Canal Journeys* (2014-2016). Presented by beloved acting couple and canal boating enthusiasts Timothy West and Prunella Scales, the programme features canals in both the UK and continental Europe. And keeping with the ideas of 'slow' and 'escaping the rat-race', ITV featured on their news website two short clips of their former reporter David Johns, who had resigned and moved onto a narrowboat to work as a freelancer (ITV, 2017c).

While the 2007-2012 satellite TV programme *UK Boating* broadcast on InformationTV was directed mostly at the boating community by providing practical information, newer series, such as BBC1's 2015 programme *Canals: The Making of a Nation*, focus on heritage and history, giving the topic a much wider audience. Presented by the historian Liz McIvor, the show explored the canals' importance in industrial, as well as social history, helping to publicise the narrative of the canals as an important aspect of Britain's historical role as the cradle of industrialisation. In addition, canals have been increasingly presented in the media as places for leisure, as seen in popular programmes such as ITV's *Barging Round Britain* (2015) presented by John Sergeant and introducing boating in general, canals and local history to viewers. In 2017, Channel 5 screened a documentary *Barging Brits in the Sun*, featuring the tagline 'an affectionate look at the faces populating British canals'[4], as well as a reality show,

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[4] http://www.channel5.com/show/barging-brits-in-the-sun/#/about (15.08.2017)

Celebrity Carry On Barging (2017). At the time of writing this, new BBC Two programme *Britain Afloat*, focusing on the different boat types on the inland waterways, is being filmed and due to air in the autumn of 2017, and with a second season already ordered before the first airs. The programme's producer Stuart Woodman, explains in *Waterways World* magazine that 'as far as TV commissioners are concerned, viewers can't get enough boating programmes', reasoning as follows: 'It makes great television because the canals look so wonderful, and you meet so many warm, friendly characters along the way. Also, I know myself that as soon as you go cruising on a boat, you enter a kind of holiday mode where everything slows down and you begin exchanging waves with complete strangers. I think that comes through on TV. Also, I think it's a circular thing – TV is making boating more popular, and with the activity's increase in popularity comes more of an appetite for programmes about the canals' (Waterways World, 2017: 36-37). Increasing media coverage of canals and canal boating in a positive light has indeed seen many hire-boat companies credit these programmes with increasing bookings for 2017 (Canal Boat, 2017).

In the public discourse, therefore, the following main themes emerge regarding the canals: first innovation, but later also danger (associated with canal-dwelling communities) in the earlier discourse of 18th and 19th centuries. The themes of heritage and slow living emerged mainly in the mid- to late 20th and 21st Centuries (as well as the danger narrative that was now mostly connected to canals as urban spaces). When the canals were first constructed, as well as during their historical use for transportation, they were seen mostly as embodiments of modern engineering and progress. With their growing dereliction in the 20th Century, however, they became increasingly perceived as spaces of antisocial behaviour and illicit and criminal activity, especially in urban areas. On the other hand, from the late-1940s onwards, they also carried a contrasting parallel narrative, that of being a vital part of the history and heritage of the British nation, and one that can be easily visited and consumed. This in turn has brought about the discourse of canals as idyllic leisure spaces, associated with ideas about slow living, nature and rurality. In the analysis section of this thesis (Chapters 4 to 7), I will show how the latter three themes are also important to the studied holiday boaters.

1.2 Researching inland waterways mobilities and tourism

Having presented the context of the study – the history of the UK canals and their representations in public discourse and cultural texts – I will now move on to discuss the academic research on inland waterways mobilities and tourism. In general, the latter is part of water tourism, which has been defined as leisure activities undertaken outside a person's regular environment on a number of water resources such as inland waterways, coastal areas, seas and oceans on a variety of means of transport. The vessels vary in their sizes (from large ferries and cruise ships to small vessels such as sailboats or narrowboats, and to individual crafts such as kayaks, canoes or dinghies), in the environment where they move (ocean, sea, inland waterways), the purposes of use (transport, cruising, pleasure-boating, sports) and power (motorized, non-motorized, human-powered) (Jennings, 2007). Dickinson and Lumsdon (2010: 158) further divide contemporary water-based transport tourism into 'sea travel (ferries and ocean-going cruisers), routes along inland waterways, and small craft such as urban ferries and taxis and individual pleasure craft'. This, while useful in drawing important attention to the difference between marine and inland waterways tourism, also highlighting the scarce body of research on the latter, remains slightly confused by effectively juxtaposing two types of water bodies (oceanic and inland) with a type of vessel (which could be found on both types of water). They also differentiate between 'water-based travel' and 'water-based activity', but acknowledging that the distinction between the two cannot always easily be made (Dickinson and Lumsdon, 2010).

It furthermore appears that most dedicated treatments of either river (Prideaux and Cooper, 2009), lake (Hall and Härkönen, 2006) or also canal (Fyall et al., 2000; Tang and Jang, 2010) tourism are written from the management, planning and marketing perspectives. Canals are discussed as desirable leisure environments in urban settings (Coles et al., 2013). Their tourism potential is considered, for example in recent publications on the Scottish canals as exemplified on the Falkirk Wheel boat lift and the canals' impact to area regeneration in Scotland (Lennon, 2016; McKean et al., 2017). In his account on tourism on the European waterways, Erfurt-Cooper (2009) focuses mostly on rivers, but also includes canals, discussing environmental issues and various tourism activities available on different waterways. According to him, the main draw of the canals are the scenery, peace, locks,

historic villages and cities, various canal features, industrial history as well as canal side public houses. Timothy and Boyd (2014) briefly discuss the canal network as an example of their notion of linear touristic spaces, with historic canals and their towpaths presented as heritage routes for recreational boating and walking as well as for their potential for organising events.

Slocum and Clifton (2012), analysing available written documentation, assess two canal heritage sites, the Iron Trunk (an aqueduct) and Foxton Locks (two staircase locks), both on the Grand Union Canal, evaluating their potential for community development and tourism. The study found that in case of the Iron Trunk, the focus was on local identity, sense of place and networking with neighbouring communities whereas in the case of Foxton, the emphasis was placed on increasing the visitor numbers and the potential economic impact for the region. In a forthcoming chapter, Prideaux (2018) similarly discusses recent interest in canals as heritage sites and their potential to generate revenue as well as employment for local communities when developed as tourist attractions. He also assesses potential risks associated with that, including danger to local communities as well as to canals themselves as heritage sites and structures. These accounts of inland waterways tourism however are focusing mostly 'on the tangible, and arguably the "objective" and readily measurable interrelationships and interdependencies between people and places, frequently from an economics, marketing and/or management perspective' (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004: 40). They therefore do not pay attention to the ontological, lived experience of the canals, which is the focus of my thesis.

Anderson and Peters (2014) have criticised human geography for being too terra-centric and neglecting waterscapes that are vitally connected to the everyday lives of the contemporary individual. Anim-Addo, Hasty and Peters (2014: 337) express the same sentiment declaring that 'in the burgeoning field of mobilities studies, the seas and all that moves in, on, across and through them, have not been embraced with the same enthusiasm as mobilities ashore.' I agree, finding a relative scarcity of research especially in the area of water tourism and leisure mobilities taking qualitative, subject-centred and phenomenological approach. Where it exists, scholars concentrate typically on embodied and sensory experiences of maritime and oceanic mobilities of various types of sea-going vessels, such as cruise ships (Ek, 2016), sailboats (Kleinert, 2009; Hastings, 1979) and yachts (MacBeth, 2000) but also cargo vessels (Sampson and Thomas, 2003; Symes, 2012) and ferries (Vannini,

2012a; Vannini, 2012b). These studies, however, discuss important topics such as the spatialities of being in the confined spaces, the temporalities of boating as well as the importance of skills in the boating practice. And Peters' accounts on drifting (2014) and floating (2011) as specific styles of water-based mobility, examining their implications and meanings in the context of maritime politics, are also noteworthy.

Yet, for all the calls to fill the 'watery void' (Anderson and Peters, 2014: 8) in cultural and critical geography as well as socio-cultural anthropology, the slowly but steadily growing literature on water mobilities concentrates almost exclusively on oceanic and sea mobilities (see for example Merriman (2015) who only briefly mentions rivers in his overview of cruising mobilities). Research on inland water bodies', such as river, lake and especially canal mobilities is infrequent. Studies taking a more individual-centred, emic (from the perspective of studied groups and individuals) and phenomenological approach to inland waterways boating are especially rare. Regarding the canals, liveaboard boaters have received the most attention from Bowles, an anthropologist studying the boat dwellers notions about safety and how they form vigilant communities as a reaction to perceived threats (Bowles, 2014) as well as their perceptions of temporality as specific 'boat time' on the canals (Bowles, 2016). Bowles's PhD thesis, *Water Ways: Becoming an itinerant boat-dweller on the canals and rivers of South-East England* (2015) where he discusses the formation of the community of practice of canals and the temporal experience of boating as well as the boaters relationship with authority, is one of the most comprehensive source on the experience of canal boating to date. However, his extensive research focuses exclusively on the liveaboard boaters, which means that other boaters on the canals receive no attention.

Regarding leisure and holiday boating, the studies that discuss the social, symbolic or sensory aspects of inland water mobilities tend to focus mostly on non-powered vessels. For example, in their autoethnographic study, Waskul and Waskul (2009) discuss the embodied experiences of canoeing in Minnesota, USA as sensory and skilful work, and Mullins (2009) analyses canoeing in North Canada from Ingold's (2000b) dwelling perspective, focusing on sense of place, mobility and the development of skills. An exception is the study by Johns and Clarke (2001) who identify themes of nature, adventure, fun, otherness and activity in the discourses of holiday boaters on the self-drive motor cabin cruisers on the Norfolk Broads.

Ravenscroft's and Gilchrist's (2011) study focuses on the canoeists and their conflicts with anglers and riparian landowners in the UK. The latter work also discusses the politics of mobility, a more studied topic, as there are more accounts of general developments in urban waterfronts in terms of mobility politics (Ramsey, 2011). Urban waterways have also received attention as 'hydro-spectacular' (Ellis, 2014: 272) environments of consumption and leisure that can be digitally mediated and enhanced via engagement with mobile applications and social media (Jordan, 2015).

In their comparison of three European canals (in the UK, Italy and Spain), Visentin et al. (2014) consider canals as part of wider production of nature that yields in particular constructed cultural hybrid hydro-landscapes. Using the case of the Kennet and Avon Canal they suggest that the canals are 'essential in defining the nature of English rurality' (Visentin et al., 2014: 212). Although they do not discuss tourism at length in their short paper, in their consideration of waterways as 'cultural corridors' they suggest developing not just boating holidays but also other types of tourism, in particular cultural tourism on the canals (Visentin et al., 2014). In addition, Fallon (Trapp-Fallon, 2003) has discussed the methodological issues of using oral history in tourism and leisure research by exploring leisure on the canals of South Wales, as well as volunteering on the canals as a leisure activity (Trapp-Fallon, 2007). Surprisingly, however, none of these studies considers inland waterways leisure and tourism from the theoretical perspective of new mobilities paradigm (see 2.1). As I will demonstrate in this thesis, this perspective, especially when combined with the practice approach, would allow us to shed new light on the canal leisure as research subject.

Dickinson and Lumsdon classify canal tourism as a 'smaller-scale cruise sector that tends to focus on relatively short excursions of up to one day' (2010: 161-162). However, for the purpose of this thesis, and based on the literature reviewed above, I will define canal and river boating tourism and leisure as cruising on canals and rivers on various motorised vessels, both self-driven as well as captained, from several hours to several weeks. However, defining or classifying canal tourism is not the aim of the thesis *per se*, but populating this definition with subjective, evocative, embodied and experiential meanings of boating as perceived and experienced by the leisure boaters. One of the aspects Dickinson and Lumsdon emphasise in regards of canal leisure and tourism (incorrectly referring to all canal boats as 'barges') is the importance of the concept of slow travel, noting that

tourists on canal barge holidays travel at a particularly slow pace, often little faster than walking. This significantly limits both the distance that can be travelled and the resultant carbon footprint. On this basis, barge holidays encapsulate the elements of slow travel (Dickinson and Lumsdon, 2010: 162).

This is a key aspect of canal tourism and leisure, one that is also confirmed by Fallon, who, by analysing published memoirs about boating on Britain's canals in the framework of slow tourism, shows how this particular form of mobility provides relaxing experiences and is seen as an antidote to the fast pace of the contemporary technology-driven world (Fallon, 2012). Fallon (2012: 149) furthermore contends that the motivations 'for seeking experience on canals would be for the sense of being apart, being close to water, nature, seeking a perceived authentic experience and allowing a closeness to the past.' Similarly, Bowles's (2016) original study on the canal temporalities confirms that the boaters perceive time as simultaneously slow and unpredictable and an important part of their identity of resisting the dominant temporalities of London. There is, however, a need to study further how the holiday boaters perceive both the canal temporalities as well as other constitutive aspects of holiday boating.

Recently, the academic interest in inland waterways has started growing, also facilitated by the CRT, who appointed the first CRT Honorary Research Fellow, a literary scholar Jodie Matthews, in 2016, who, in collaboration with John Benson, archivist of National Waterways Museum, set up the Waterways Research Network. Bringing together both academics and non-academics, the network meets twice a year for waterways-related presentations and discussions. The growing interest is also reflected in the recent session called 'Finding Futures for Waterways'[5], at the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers Annual International Conference of 2017. The session, built largely around a joint research project 'European Waterways Heritage: Re-evaluating European Minor Rivers and Canals as Cultural Landscapes'[6], brought together researchers from the UK and Italy, with the presentations focusing on two main areas: cultural heritage, history and communities; and changing lifestyles and urban regeneration. In addition, the forthcoming book *Waterways and the Cultural Landscape* edited by Vallerani and Visentin (2018) studies

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[5] http://conference.rgs.org/AC2017/344
[6] http://waterwaysexplorer.org/ (02.09.2017).

waterways mainly from the heritage perspective, assessing their potential for the development of cultural and sustainable tourism, but also exploring the intangible aspects of waterways in what they term as the 'fluvial sense of place.'

As there are no primary empirical studies of the individual contemporary tourist experience on canals in the UK, the study of canal leisure is overdue. Therefore, my thesis is a response to Tang and Jang's (2010: 437) observation that 'even though many canals are transformed from commercial shipping waterways to tourism destinations, little effort has been made to understand the contemporary phenomenon of canal tourism in academia' which is what I set out to do in this thesis. By studying tourism and leisure on the UK inland waterways, this study will provide new insights on canal boating as a leisure activity and advance our understanding of tourism mobilities.

1.3 The aim and objectives of the thesis

This thesis sets out to study the ways canals are experienced in a leisure and tourism context, focusing on the convivial, temporal and material aspects of holiday boating. I developed the aim and objectives of this thesis in a recursive and iterative process of reviewing the relevant theoretical literature and during my fieldwork on the canals of Northern England and Northern Wales. As demonstrated in the previous subchapter, the research of water mobilities (particularly in regards to the inland waterways leisure and tourism) is scarce, which is why I focus on canal holidays, looking at them from the phenomenological and individual-orientated perspective. More specifically, I will discuss canal boating, a particular mode of transport tourism, within the recent theoretical framework of the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller & Urry, 2006) as a particular mundane practice.

One of the themes arising from the data I gathered during the fieldwork dealt with the question of the parameters and boundaries of belonging to the studied group, i.e. the leisure boaters on the canals. The problem of how to define the canal boating community was further influenced by Bowles' (2015) study of the liveaboard boaters as a community of practice, which warranted the question about how to re-define the canal boating community. Another

important theme emanated from this topic – namely the focus on the different canal boats, especially narrowboats – the boaters' relationship with them, and the role they play in the development of the boating community. In order to investigate this further, my attention turned to the theoretical literature on sensory engagement with various materialities from small to large scale, as well as to the need to further study canal boating from the materialities theories perspective itself, in order to better understand canal boating as a tourism and leisure practice.

Furthermore, the review of the extant literature on inland waterways leisure and tourism revealed one of the key themes to be the slow tempo, prompting researchers to consider holiday canal boating in the framework of slow tourism and travel (Dickinson and Lumsdon, 2010; Fallon, 2012). During the fieldwork, however, several other time-related themes emerged, pointing to the need to investigate the temporalities of boating. Therefore, in addition to slow tempo (Fallon, 2012) and the boaters relationship to the past, such as relating to canal history and heritage which is of high importance to the boaters (Bowles, 2016), there are also other important temporal aspects to canal boating which require further consideration. For that reason, I will also consider the everyday rhythms of boating, which were identified as an important subject both during the data collection, as well as the review of the theoretical literature on the application of rhythmanalysis for tourism research (Edensor, 2010b). Consequently, based on the empirical and theoretical evidence reviewed, there is a need to study holiday canal boating as a particular type of mobility, paying attention to the various everyday life practices.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to investigate holiday boating as a particular water mobility that forms through the interplay of the human, non-human and material and how it is experienced in temporal, social and embodied ways. This aim will be achieved via the following objectives:

1. Reviewing the theoretical boundaries and intersections regarding mobilities and everyday life practices;

2. Exploring everyday practices and social (inter)actions in canal environments;

3. Studying the embodied engagement with canal materialities;

4. Investigating the temporalities of leisure boating;

5. Developing a theoretical framework of mundane tourism mobilities for researching canals as leisurescape.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

In order to achieve the aim stated above, the thesis is comprised of eight chapters, which I will briefly introduce. The current chapter, Chapter 1, provides context and the background information of the studied field – the canals of the United Kingdom. In order to better understand the canal boaters' relationship with canal history and heritage; I give a short overview of the history of the canals. The subchapter on the canals in British cultural texts and public discourse provides further contextualisation to the information and knowledge field in which the contemporary boaters dwell. I continue by providing an account of the current state of the academic research on inland water tourism, identifying a gap in literature on inland waterways tourism mobilities, especially from the interpretivist perspective and provide the aim and the objectives of the thesis.

Chapter 2 will lay out the theoretical dimensions of the study, reviewing the literature on mobilities, tourism and everyday life. I will start with giving a historiographical and contextual background to researching mobilities, discuss mobilities studies and the emergence of the new mobilities paradigm framework and focus on tourism as one possible mode of mobility. I will then move on to identify the key elements for studying everyday life, namely materialities, embodiment and temporalities, reviewing studies from human geography, tourism studies, socio-cultural anthropology and sociology, with a focus on the tourist practices especially with relevance to the mobilities perspective. By identifying the gap in current theorising in mobilities studies, I will conclude with highlighting the need to further study mundane tourism mobilities, which is my theoretical contribution.

In Chapter 3, I will present the research philosophy that guides my study of canal boating as lived experience. I position my study in the interpretivist research paradigm and explain my ontology, which is based on social constructionism and epistemology that comes from phenomenological anthropology. I will then explain the adoption of ethnography as methodological framework, developing reflexive mobile ethnography and explain the methods used for the data collection (participant observation, ethnographic interviews and autoethnography). I explain how I analysed the collected data and give an overview of my ethical considerations when conducting this research.

The findings of my research are presented in the discussion chapters 4 to 7. In Chapter 4, I will introduce the different boaters and their boats on the canal, as well as the ways the boating community is formed and perceived by different actors. I will discuss the leisure boaters as members of the mobile boating community and demonstrate how this community is practiced both on board of the boats as well as on towpaths and lock sides. As I will show, an important aspect of the membership of the community is the possession of boating knowledge and etiquette. I will demonstrate that the act and practice of acquiring it, and, more importantly, the motivation for doing so, is an important property for gaining the membership of the community. Furthermore, I will show that different groups of boaters can define the community differently based on their values and priorities.

In order to boat successfully the boater needs to interact with various canal materialities, which I will study in Chapter 5. Bringing the materialities of canal boating into the foreground, I will analyse the boaters' relationships and interactions with water, built environment and the boat. Much of the discussion centres on how the boat-human forms and is lived in embodied ways; however, the boat-human is just one element of the wider canalscape mobility assemblage. This assemblage consists of a variety of other elements such as canal water with its various agencies, the built structures, the boats and a number of everyday items of boating.

In Chapter 6, I will move to the perception of time when boating, focusing on two key aspects of canal mobilities: the slow tempo and the time modalities (the dynamics of past, present and future). I will discuss canal boating in the perspective of slow tourism and identify the key aspects of slowness in leisure boating: the conscious changing of the temporal regime and the need to maintain and guard the slow tempo while on the canal. Another important aspect of the leisure boating temporality is the way the boaters interpret and relate to the temporal modalities. The past is something that the boaters experience mainly in a physical, embodied way through engaging with the heritage structures of the canals. At the same time, however, the boaters are orientated not just towards the past, but also the future. These notions of history and tradition are further mixed with the ideas of rurality and the ways of perceiving the natural environment.

Utilising the rhythmanalysis perspective, Chapter 7 focuses on the key elements of leisure boating rhythms. Analysing the everyday rhythms of leisure on the canal, I have

identified two main sets of rhythms: the socio-natural and socio-bodily. All the rhythms on the canal are social as they are perceived, lived and interpreted by humans. However, some natural rhythms that most directly influence the human activities can be identified, such as the seasonal and diurnal rhythms that influence a variety of boating practices. In addition, there are rhythms that emerge directly from the physiology of the human body, and the corresponding gastronomic, bodily functions and sleeping rhythms are discussed.

Chapter 8, the conclusion, brings the above-discussed themes together and presents the key themes overarching the convivial, material, temporal and rhythmic: namely time, place and practice, presenting the analytical contribution. I then discuss these themes as essential to the study of mundane tourism mobilities, which is the theoretical contribution of my study. I also revisit my methodological contribution in presenting the methodolgocial framework of reflexive mobile ethnography for tourism studies. The chapter concludes with my recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature review. Tourism mobilities and everyday life practices

In this chapter, I will review the literature on mobilities, tourism and everyday life. I will focus on mobilities as understood in the new mobilities paradigm, a relatively new theoretical framework of looking at sociocultural realities, paying attention to tourism, one possible way of being mobile. In order to study tourism in the wider framework of mobilities, tourism's relationship with the everyday life needs to be considered. Since studies on the mundane aspects of travel and tourism are relatively scarce, I will examine the dimensions through which everyday life is experienced and practiced. This will be achieved by looking at how materialities, sensorialities and temporalities have been considered in the humanities and social sciences until now, linking these dimensions of everyday life with (tourism) mobilities.

2.1 Mobilities and tourism

Mobility, socially produced motion, has become an increasingly important keyword in the language of 21st century cultural geography, social anthropology, sociology, tourism studies and in many other disciplines (Cresswell, 2006).[7] In this thesis, mobility is understood in the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006) perspective and I concentrate largely on the meanings and embodied actions of physical movement as lived reality. Mobility is linked to the ideas of modernity, globalisation and accelerated living and entails both the global movement of people, objects and information, such as in tourism or migration. Mobility also includes the mundane and local everyday practices of commuting, public transport, people moving about in the public spaces and experiencing them in various ways, as well as the material objects moved from one place to another (Adey et al., 2014b). Consequently, both individuals as well as institutions are 'seeking to understand, monitor, manage and transform aspects of these multiple mobilities, and of the new "immobilities"' (Hannam et al., 2006: 1).

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[7] The other (and thoroughly researched) meaning of the term mobility in social sciences is social mobility – the (potential) changes and alterations in individuals' social status. The intersections of spatial and social mobility have also been researched together in some studies (see Kaufmann et al., 2004; Butler and Hannam, 2014).

The theoretical mobilities perspective allows us to highlight various social processes taking place between people as well as study the places where moving subjects encounter each other in embodied ways as well as the materialities that surround them. As follows, I will give an overview of the research focusing on the various mobilities, especially the theories belonging to the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006). I will then move on to contextualise tourism as mobility, paying specific attention to the relationship of tourism and everyday life.

2.1.1 Mobilities research: the background

Mobility/ies have implicitly been looked at from various angles in the social sciences and humanities from at least the end of the 19th century. Urry (2007) names sociologist Georg Simmel as the most important source of inspiration and the original provider of the basic framework for mobilities studies, bringing forth Simmel's idea of humans creating visible material 'paths' that link various places and permanently connect those places in the human minds. This, according to Simmel, is the result of the human 'will to connection', which, in turn, shapes objects and relations between individuals and social groups. Another important aspect here is the human ability to see potential for connection in separated objects, such as two banks of a river for example, which can be joined via building a bridge between them. Simmel also distinguishes various forms of human mobility such as nomadism, wandering, diasporic travel, migration, adventure and leisure travel, etc., each one different 'form of sociation' (Urry, 2007: 20-26).

The issue of mobility has implicitly or explicitly been strongly present in the rich corpus of anthropological studies of nomadism (e.g. Barth, 1964; Lewis, 1961), in the anthropologies and sociologies of migration (e.g. Watson, 1977; Lewis, 1961) and (sub)urbanisation (Yago, 1983). However, these studies tended to remain in the geographical and socio-cultural boundaries associated with the studied social groups, seeing them as confined to their respective areas, 'each identified with an apparently objectively identifiable location and set of cultural traits' (Dalakoglou and Harvey, 2012: 462). Mobility as a phenomenon itself was never the focus in these types of studies namely because it was mostly seen as 'a special and

temporary phenomenon' (Olwig and Hastrup, 1997: 6) which, when studied, presupposed sedentarism and stasis (Salazar and Glick Schiller, 2013). Moreover, attention has mostly been paid only to those certain types of mobilities such as the abovementioned transnational migration or transport, whereas other types – such as mobilities related to tourism for example – have been mostly marginalised and neglected (Adey et al., 2014b).

In transport studies – a field probably most dedicated to the topic of movement – most of the scholarship has concentrated on the movement of people and goods as an empirical reality, and not paid much attention to the other aspects that Cresswell (2006) has accentuated, i.e. mobility as a representation and as an embodied experience. These studies focus on the production of specific modes of movement by transport vehicles such as ships, boats, cars, trains, buses, lorries and so on, carrying goods, people and sometimes information. They concentrated on the transport system as well as the production and maintenance of various infrastructures where movement was 'abstracted from contexts of power' and understood implicitly as an 'act of displacement that allows people to move between locations (usually given as point A and point B in abstract and positivist discussions' (Cresswell, 2006: 2).

Discipline-wise, transport studies draw generally from history, economics, business and management and provide comprehensive transport histories (see for example Aldcroft et al., 1983; Bagwell, 1974). These treatments of transport, however, as Divall (2014) notes in his overview of the relationship between mobilities and transport studies, paid almost no attention either to the actual users or to the ways of experiencing the various modes of transport until the end of the 1990s. Therefore, they failed to 'recognise the irreducible nature of transport flows as simultaneously both meaningful and functional' (Divall, 2014: 36) and tended to conceptualise mobility as nothing more than an empirical fact, of movement from one place to another where what happened between the starting and the end points was not considered noteworthy.

2.1.2 New mobilities paradigm

As a research focus, mobilities emerged particularly in the 1990s in both geography and sociology, where 'socio-political practices of production and consumption, and the cultural economies of leisure' (Adey et al., 2014b: 6) were important to both disciplines. A key figure in starting these conversations was Urry, first with his extremely influential analysis on tourism, visuality and power (Urry, 1990) and later with his comprehensive way of studying the mobilities as a phenomeon where 'peoples, objects, images and information travel and hence produce and reproduce social life and cultural forms' in various power contexts (Urry, 2000: 49).

In 2006, Sheller and Urry brought forth an argument that the issues of mobility had mostly been excluded from the thus far static and 'a-mobile' social sciences, failing to study 'how the spatialities of social life presuppose (and frequently involve conflict over) both the actual and the imagined movement of people from place to place, person to person, event to event' (Sheller & Urry, 2006: 208). According to them, there are two broad categories of theories and treatments that should be challenged with the emergence of the new take on mobilities: sedentarism and nomadism (Sheller and Urry, 2006). The sedentarist body of work, they argue, is resulting loosely from Heiddegger's idea of 'being there' or 'presence' and treats stability, fixity and permanency as normalcy and something desired, which in turn is strongly related to the ideas of territory-based nationalism and a sense of place as the basis for human identity. Secondly, they also dissociated new mobility studies from the nomadist concepts such as 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000) that celebrate the constant movement and change and often see the rapidity of movement of people, images, information, goods or capital as a goal in itself and means for the liberation from particular spaces and places.

The theoretical inspirations and sources of the new mobilities paradigm are manifold; however, Sheller (2014a) identifies the most influential as phenomenology, post-structuralism, and post-colonial as well as feminist theory. The phenomenological approach leans on the theoretical work of Merleau-Ponty (2012 [1945]; 1964), tackling the issues of relations between bodies, movement and space, various embodied practices, sensory experiences and the production of motion. This is often seen through the lens of performance studies that follow the theories of Goffman (1959) and deals with mobility as staged and

performed. The post-structuralist work on mobilities follows Foucault and discusses the questions of mobility and immobility in the larger power contexts and 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 2012 [1977]), analysing the discourses of mobilities and dealing with the general issues of power, the processes of normalisation and governance, and the politics of mobility. The third larger theoretical pool, are postcolonial (Said, 1978) and feminist theories (Haraway, 1991; Butler, 1990), which have brought about discussing the questions of race, borders, displacement, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, migration, inequalities and transnationalism.

Sheller and Urry (2006) also list six major contemporary theoretical and disciplinary fields for advancing mobilities studies: 1) the work of Simmel on human interactions, urban tempos, and metropolitan temporalities; 2) science and technology studies and techno-politics; 3) the spatial turn in social sciences with its attention to relationality; 4) sensuous and emotional geographies and embodiment; 5) social networks across time and space; and 6) mobile systems. In their view, the project of the new mobilities paradigm ought to be departing from both the sedentarist and nomadist approaches discussed above and target to be 'part of a broader theoretical project aimed at going beyond the imagery of "terrains" as spatially fixed geographical containers for social process, and calling into question scalar logics such as local/global descriptors of regional extent' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 209). In his book *Mobilities*, Urry (2007: 12) resonates the above-quoted statement on the exclusion of mobilities from the previous research, asserting that the issue of mobilities has been 'a black box' in the social sciences, seen mostly as 'a neutral set of processes', echoing Cresswell's (2006) observation that different mobilities have mostly been treated as mere empirical facts in academia.

The 2000s saw an increasing interest in the topic, now termed as 'mobility turn' (Cresswell, 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Hannam et al., 2006) within the wider social sciences and humanities. The authors writing in the context of this turn belong to what has also been called 'the new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007) and agree that mobility is much more than a neutral linear movement between two points. It is rather a lived experience where attention ought to be paid to the practices, corporealities, materialities, imagined and virtual mobilities, as well as to the power and authority over different mobilities and immobilities. Mobilities can be physical, social, spiritual or imaginary; the practices

connected to them are often non-discursive, performative, mundane and subtle, and according to Sheller (2014a: 792),

> [t]he new transdisciplinary field of mobilities research effectively seeks to reunite some of the specialist subfields that have been evicted from sociological research, including: the spatial mobility of humans, non-humans, and objects; the circulation of information, images, and capital; critical theories of the affective and psychosocial implications of such mobility; as well as the study of the physical means for movement such as infrastructures, vehicles, and software systems that enable travel and communication to take place.

Adey et al. (2014a) conceptualise the trans-, multi- and interdisciplinary scholarship on the topic that has emerged in the past 15-20 years as an area of study termed as 'mobility studies'. Elsewhere it has also been called 'mobilities studies' (Anim-Addo et al., 2014), 'critical mobilities thinking' (Jensen, 2009), and 'critical mobilities research' (Söderström et al., 2013; Sheller, 2014a). An important forum for these new ideas about movement was established with the founding of the journal *Mobilities* in 2006 followed by *Transfers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Mobility Studies* in 2011, *Journal of Global Mobility* in 2013 and *Applied Mobilities* in 2016.

Even though Cresswell questions the idea of a 'new mobilities paradigm', on both accounts of whether it is a paradigm or indeed if it is new[8], he does so with an acknowledgement that there is still something novel about the ways in which the mobilities approach has brought together 'a diverse array of forms of movement across scales ranging from the body [---] to the globe' (Cresswell, 2010: 18). Previous accounts on various forms of movement, such as for example migration and transport have mostly taken the movement of humans for granted, as a given, and not looked at how exactly people are moving, instead concentrating more on the places and people and much less on the act of movement itself. For example, transport studies have frequently considered the time of the transport or transit as 'dead time' (Cresswell, 2010), both when and where nothing special happens and rather concentrated on the destination and starting points as well as what and who is being transported. Likewise, Ingold (2010b; 2016) conceptualises movement by differentiating

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[8] Cresswell (2010) notes that the sociologists, geographers, anthropologists, philosophers and others have always paid attention to different kinds of physical movements. For comprehensive overviews of mobility in various disciplines such as geography, transport history, sociology, anthropology, migration studies, tourist studies, queer theory, and feminist studies see Adey et al (2014a: 21-102).

between transport and wayfaring. Transport, Ingold argues, is functional and utilitarian, only possessing the properties of mobility Cresswell (2006) calls the movement as empirical reality. Its purpose is to move an individual from a starting to end point within as short time as possible. Ingold (2010b) even goes on to argue that whatever happens on the route is of little consequence and not memorable. The wayfarer, however, is

> a being who, in following a path of life, negotiates or improvises a passage as he [sic] goes *along.* In his movement as in life, his concern is to seek a way through: not to reach a specific destination or terminus but to keep on going. Though he may pause to rest, even returning repeatedly and circuitously to the same place to do so, every period of rest punctuates an ongoing movement. For wherever he is, and so long as life goes on, there is somewhere further he can go. Along the way, events take place, observations are made, and life unfolds (Ingold, 2010b: S126, original italics).

Even though Ingold admits himself, that 'in practice, however, pure transport is an ideal that can no more be actualized than can the dream of being in two places at once' (2010b: S127), the dualism of transport and wayfaring directly contradicts the new mobilities paradigm as well as numerous studies, discussed above, that understand 'mobile experience as [---] not a merely functional event' (Edensor, 2012: 60). Therefore, making the distinction between transport and wayfaring is not analytically useful in the context of my research, which focuses on mobility as a significant way of being in the world. My research is positioned in the new mobilities paradigm, and even if the term itself is a 'provocative moniker [---] initially applied with a knowing wink' (Sheller, 2014a: 790), the actual process of movement and the various ways it is done, experienced, staged, performed and embodied, takes the central stage. In short, mobilities are seen in this framework as 'particular patterns of movement, representations of movement, and ways of practicing movement that make sense together' (Cresswell, 2010: 18).

Although the authors writing under this rather broad common denominator of mobilities studies all tend to agree on the importance of bringing the issue of movement to the foreground, the question remains exactly how to do that, for what purposes, and what are the most important questions to discuss? Thus Merriman (2015: 5) asks: 'If movement is primary, foundational, ubiquitous and universal – if everything is in process and flux – then

how do we distinguish between different kinds of movement, different regimes for controlling, governing and enabling movement, and different experiences of movement?'

Doughty and Murray (2016) differentiate between two main discourses of current mobilities research: institutional and everyday. The institutional discourse deals with topics of technologies, inclusions and exclusions from certain mobility practices, the ideas of acceleration in contemporary society and sustainable mobility. Mobilities have an ideological dimension, which can be highly contested: on the one hand, they are frequently associated with the ideas of liberalism and freedom (e.g. the ideas about free trade, privatisation, deregulation as well as free movement and circulation of people, capital and goods). On the other hand, however, as numerous studies on borders, citizenship and migratory mobilites (e.g. Baerenholdt, 2013; Bauder, 2014; İçduygu, 2007) show, people do not have similar access to the resources of mobility and therefore the individual 'mobility management' (Kesselring, 2006) and personal mobility choices depend strongly on social class, gender, age, race, nationality, citizenship, income, geographical location, etc. (Massey, 1993). There are some mobilities that are teemed desirable: certain 'privileged mobilities' of tourism (Tesfahuney and Schough, 2016), and those of the 'kinetic elite' (Adey et al., 2014b: 14), such as cosmopolitan jetsetters or the superrich (e.g. Ho, 2011; Spence, 2014). However there are also mobilities that are perceived as dangerous and unwanted: those of the homeless, the Roma people, refugees and migrants (Desjarlais, 2005; Castañeda, 2015; Bose, 2014).

The second main discourse of mobilities research is that of the everyday (Doughty and Murray, 2016), interested in the quotidian and habitual movement – which is where my research is positioned. This discourse has stemmed from criticism of the majority of work done in the new mobilities paradigm framework focusing on large-scale travel, indicating that contemporary mobility is characterised by transnationality and focusing 'upon the spatially extensive movements across the planet rather than the usually more modest journeys of the everyday' (Binnie et al., 2007: 166). This strand of theorising, termed 'mundane mobilities' (Edensor, 2007), developed mainly in the past ten years, suggests looking more closely at the various mobile everyday incidences and performances that are characterised by their regular and everyday occurrence, unreflexivity, and habituality, because

> the space most intimately inhabited, traversed and practised is that familiar, often homely space that forms the all too unnoticed backdrop to the unreflexive habits of

domesticity, shopping and work, and associated forms of banal movement which reproduce the meanings, material form and function of place. Accordingly, the car, bus, tube, tram, train and bicycle journey to work or the shops are far more central to the human experience of mobility than the jet plane excursion across the world (Binnie et al., 2007: 166).

The focus is on various mobile everyday practices and performances characterised by their 'commonplace and regular occurrence, [---] enmeshed with the familiar worlds we inhabit, constituting part of the unreflexive, habitual practice of everyday life' (Binnie et al., 2007: 165). The studies in this framework have focused on various small-scale movements of various forms of transport, with the largest portion of them researching automobilities. The burgeoning research on this topic has, according to Merriman (2009), divided into two main, spatial focal points with the first of them focusing mainly on 'road space', that is the spaces and infrastructures of cars. For example Urry (2004) has studied cars and their associated infrastructure as a mobility system and Augé (1995) theorised motorways as 'non-places', the direct result of an era of 'supermodernity.' The other focus of automobilities research identified by Merriman (2009) is focusing on 'car space', i.e. the ways how the spaces of vehicles are inhabited in embodied and emotional ways (Sheller, 2004). The dominant discourses of everyday automobilities have been identified mainly as those of modernity and freedom, but also of morality (Doughty and Murray, 2016), and cars have been researched as potent status symbols as well as carriers of (national) identity (Edensor, 2004).

Public transport has also been studied, with the most attention given to train (Watts, 2008) and bus travel (Jain, 2009), often focusing on commuting (Edensor, 2011b), with the attention being paid to the passengers' habits, routines, practices and sensory experiences. These studies have demonstrated that for many commuters, the duration of the commute, of physically moving from one place to another, is not a passive undertaking, a 'dead time'. It can instead be productive, used for working, but also for reading, watching films or socialising with friends (Aldred, 2014). Additionally, commuting also offers a space for daydreaming where 'it is not only the movement that stimulates the mind but also the passing landscape and the faces of the anonymous fellow travelers' (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010: 141). In addition to motorised transport other everyday mobility practices such as cycling (Green et al., 2012; Jensen, 2013) and walking (Ingold, 2010b) have been studied. Mundane mobilities thus focus on the habits, routines, conventions, and normative enactments of movement.

However mobilities are theorised, in essence they all come down to conceptualising movement as an amalgamation of empirical and physical, representational and symbolic, embodied, sensorial and experiential (Cresswell, 2006). While the former are also present in this thesis, my focus lies mainly on the latter: on holiday boating as a lived, embodied experience, a process and a way of being in the world and inhabiting time and space. Following Cresswell (2010) who suggests that all mobilities should be studied focusing on their constituent elements of speed, rhythm, routes, experience, emotions and friction, this work will examine a particular type of mobility – boatmobility – as practiced and experienced in the tourism context. In order to do this, I will next discuss tourism as a mode of mobility as well as mundane practice.

2.1.3 Tourism mobilities

The relationship between mobility and tourism seems to be self-explanatory at the first glance. After all, this is what tourism is all about – moving from one place to (experience) another. However, tourism is not only a 'temporary form of mobility' (Hall, 2008: 15), but rather diverse mobilities inform, and are informed by, tourism (Sheller and Urry, 2004). This means that 'the turn to mobility in the social sciences calls for the decentring of tourism studies so that, rather than being preoccupied with the tourist and travels to distant lands, it recognizes the interconnected mobilities of a variety of *individuals* [---] voluntarily on the move' (Gale, 2008: 2, original emphasis). According to Sheller and Urry (2004: 1),

> [m]obilities of people and objects, airplanes and suitcases, plants and animals, images and brands, data systems and satellites, all go into 'doing' tourism. Tourism also concerns the relational mobilizations of memories and performances, gendered and racialized bodies, emotions and atmospheres. Places have multiple contested meanings that often produce disruptions and disjunctures. Tourism mobilities involve complex combinations of movement and stillness, realities and fantasies, play and work.

Tourism is thus 'no longer a specialist consumer product or mode of consumption: [it] 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 organized' (Franklin and Crang, 2001: 6-7). Cresswell and Uteng (2008) furthermore argue that tourism is the most significant form of contemporary mobility. Indeed, international tourism grew significantly after the Second World War, and travel has become increasingly easy and cheap (Franklin, 2014b), with tourism becoming one of the fastest growing and biggest global economic sectors, with uninterrupted growth. Globally, international arrivals have increased from 25 million in 1950 to 1235 million in 2016 (UNWTO, 2017). This has led to identifying 'almost everyone in the world as a tourist and every place as configured for tourism consumption', which means that binaries that had characterised earlier tourism mobilities such as 'home/destination; everyday/tourism spaces; familiarity/difference; stationary/mobile, began to break down as tourism became a more socially, economically, culturally and spatially distributed form of experience' (Franklin, 2014b: 77).

Indeed, it has been a long tradition within tourism studies to view tourism as something extraordinary and existing outside everyday life. It has been studied mainly as something temporary, and routinely contrasted with 'work', an activity that takes place away from 'home', with a main purpose of experiencing something different (Smith, 1977). It has been conceived as 'essentially a temporary reversal of everyday activities – it is a no-work, no-care, no-thrift situation' (Cohen, 1979: 181). In *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, Urry and Larsen argue (as Urry does in the book's first edition (1990)) that

> tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organised work. It is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organised as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in 'modern' societies. Indeed, acting as a tourist is one of the defining characteristics of being 'modern' and is bound up with major transformations of paid work (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 4).

The notion expressed above has been prevalent in the dominant studies on tourism: typologies of the tourist (Plog, 1977) and tourist experience (Cohen, 1979), the tourist's (eternally unsuccessful) search for authenticity (MacCannell, 1999 [1976]; Wang, 1999), the supremacy of the visual in tourist experience (Urry, 1990), as well as a focus on exceptional moments and emotions in tourism (Cary, 2004). Often characterised by dualisms and binaries, in these studies,

> [t]he tourism escape is portrayed as special event (such as the annual summer holiday) taking place in contained places designated, regulated, or preserved more or less

specifically for tourism, such as resorts, sightseeing buses, hotels, attractions, paths, promenades, and beaches. It is an escape from the ordinary and a quest for more desirable and fulfilling places to consume (Larsen et al., 2007: 246).

These studies that focus mainly on the tourist's need for the change of scenery and their desire for novelty, see tourism as detached from everyday life, and often perceive it as socially inconsequential. If tourism is episodic and temporary, it was 'not creating anything new but belonged, essentially, to what already was. It belonged to those social institutions that reproduce society as though it was also a branch line and did not lead anywhere else' (Franklin, 2012: 44). That does not mean that Franklin contests that tourism is also about 'getting away from "it all" (work and home), affording relaxation from tensions, and, for some, the opportunity to temporarily become a nonentity' (Graburn, 1989: 22). He rather argues that we should also look beyond the novelties and that tourism does not necessarily mean reacting against the life in the modern world, but can often be a celebration of being modern, because 'every place is ordered by everyday and touristic structures that combine rather than separate' (Franklin, 2012: 44) our lifeworlds.

Indeed, for the people in the 'developed' world and for the elites of the rest of it long-distance travel for recreation and other purposes is relatively accessible and easy; it is part of contemporary lifestyles, an 'everyday mobility' (Hall, 2008: 15). It is therefore no longer as easy as before to separate 'tourism' from 'work', since work and leisure cannot be juxtaposed antagonistically as the boundaries between them increasingly wear away and blur. Consequently, it is not as important where exactly does a certain tourist practice take place (and how far away from 'home'), but rather when, why and especially how, since 'extraordinary' status can be attributed to various expressions of tourism regardless of their familiarity or unfamiliarity (Williams and Lew, 2014).

When the first edition of *The Hosts and Guests*, now a classical book in anthropology of tourism, was published, Graburn's argument that tourism offers temporary opportunity to be 'removed from a ringing telephone' (1989 [1977]: 22) described the current socio-technological realities. However, owing to the fast progress in information and communication technologies in the past 25 years, widely accessible (wireless) internet and easily available portable devices now enable people to (often simultaneously) communicate, work, relax, and socialise in various locations of their choice (Nansen et al., 2010). This has

resulted in the growing interdependence of new technologies and mobilities, with the technologies reimagining and reconstructing both space and time and becoming essential elements of various tourism assemblages (Hannam et al., 2014).

The binaries of work/leisure, home/away and host/guest have been destabilised and their fading distinction is further strengthened by numerous mobile developments in the contemporary world, such as multilocality, migration, diasporas and new nomadism (Cohen and Cohen, 2012). The various phenomena related to these have been labelled 'lifestyle tourism' (Salazar and Zhang, 2013), 'lifestyle migration' (Benson, 2013) or 'residential tourism' (Janoschka and Haas, 2013). These – leisure, travel, migration etc. – generate 'lifestyle mobilities' where identity is formed through various mobilities in social life and where 'ongoing corporeal mobility weakens conventional binaries such as work/leisure and home/away, and challenges discrete notions of travel, leisure and migration' (Cohen et al. 2015: 167).

In addition, the research on tourism mobilities has also turned the focus to the immobilities of tourism, because the same processes that have brought about the increased mobility of some have either emphasised or reinforced the immobility of others (Hannam et al., 2006; Bissell, 2007; Söderström et al., 2013). The prospects to actually take part in the multitude of opportunities for existing mobilities is unevenly and unequally distributed both between, as well as within, contemporary societies (Hannam, 2008). Salazar and Glick Schiller (2013) suggest focusing on immobilities altogether by studying regimes of mobility that influence the ways mobility and immobility are conceptualised, and stress the need to question dominant national discourses that normalise stasis and sedentarism. The variations in access to tourism mobilities that depend on ethnicity, nationality, citizenship, class, age, gender, sexuality, disability, class or stage in the family cycle should all also be studied from the immobilities perspective (Gale, 2008).

These developments have made several scholars doubt the category or idea of tourism at all, bringing forth discussions on the 'end of tourism' (Lash and Urry, 1994) and asking: 'Is there such an entity? Does the term serve to demarcate a usefully distinct sphere of social practice? Where does tourism end and leisure or culture or hobbying and strolling begin?' (Rojek and Urry, 1997: 1). Several authors have debated this idea, with Gale (2008, 2009) arguing that the idea of the end of tourism should not be taken literally, but rather as

means of 'de-differentiating' (Lash, 1990) tourism and 'leisure, culture, retailing, education, sport, hobbies and everyday life' (Gale, 2008: 1):

> Whereas earlier forms of capitalism and the modern era in general were marked by the development and differentiation of institutional, normative and aesthetic spheres of society (including work, leisure, class and gender identities, high and popular culture, the past and the present, etc.), disorganised or late capitalism has seen the de-differentiation or blurring of boundaries between each sphere (Gale, 2009: 122).

Furthermore, Quan and Wang (2004) show that the focus of what they call the general social sciences approach to tourism has been on the attraction-centred 'peak experience' (Maslow, 2013 [1962]) while the marketing/management approach studies the consumer experience. While this division, another dualism, may be too generalising, it nevertheless reflects the dominant discourse of tourism as a search for the extraordinary. At the same time, the 'supporting consumer experiences' (Quan and Wang, 2004), i.e. activities such as eating, drinking, sleeping and moving around, have been researched by management and marketing studies, though limited by their mainly business-orientated focus, where the tourist is regarded as a consumer, which leaves little room for a more individual-centred and phenomenological approach. There is a need, therefore, to study everyday practices in tourism to better understand the tourist experience, as the tourist spends a lot of their time preoccupied with various mundane tasks, activities and practices.

Edensor (2001) has called attention to this under-researched issue, noting that even though tourism is still very much connected to the idea of escaping from normativity, tourists inadvertently carry their everyday routines and practices with them when they travel. Urry, whose focus had moved from tourism to mobilities during the 2000s, also notes that 'holidaymaking, walking, car driving, phoning, flying and so on are mainly ignored by the social sciences although they are manifestly significant within people's everyday lives' (Urry, 2007: 12). These mundane mobilities as essentially everyday practices, which constitute an important part of touristic place-making, have not yet received sufficient attention.

The everyday habits and practices resonate in Larsen's (2008) project of 'de-exoticising' tourist travel. For Larsen, the idea of 'everydayness' is a useful concept when analysing the tourist experience, allowing us to see how tourist spaces are actually full of everyday practices and directing us to look beyond the fixed dichotomies of work and leisure,

everyday and tourism, ordinary and extraordinary. Our everyday lives are made up of various mundane habits, activities and routines that become non-conscious since they are ingrained in our lives via repetition. When these routines are upset, such as in the tourism setting, they can create psychological discomfort and unease (Edensor, 2010a) and therefore one of the strategies for being a tourist is actually to seek out the familiar and homely in an unfamiliar space. Mikkelsen and Cohen (2015: 676) show in their study of domestic caravanning how 'experiences of freedom can occur in close proximity to home and through engaging in ordinary doings [---], and this mundanity can transform into perceived extraordinary experiences.' According to this perspective, tourists are constantly in the process of domesticating their spaces, creating and adjusting to new routines and habits, which then become an important part of the overall experience.

Tourism spaces are thus localizable, but not necessarily fixed, as they can be mobile and dispersed simultaneously in many locations, times and sociabilities. The blurred boundaries between tourism and the everyday enable us to look at travelling as one of the ways of performing everyday life (Edensor, 2007; Larsen, 2008; Mikkelsen and Cohen, 2015). As discussed above, tourism as a temporary phenomenon has often been in the margins of social sciences; however, as Hannam et al. (2014: 172) argue, shifting the perspective and looking at tourism in the framework of mobilities studies would actually bring tourism to the forefront of studying cultural and social lifeworlds and realities:

> From this perspective, tourism mobilities are viewed as being bound up with both everyday and mundane journeys as well as with the more exotic encounters that have been the mainstay of much of the analysis in contemporary tourism studies. Tourism is then analysed not as an ephemeral aspect of social life that is practiced outside normal, everyday life. Rather it is seen as integral to wider processes and even constitutive of everyday life.

In order to unpack this everyday life, researching tourism from the mobilities perspective means studying various practices as lived experiences, where attention ought to be paid to the corporealities, materialities and technologies (Büscher et al., 2011). As the boundaries between tourism, leisure, education, sports, hobbies, everyday life and virtual travel are disappearing, many researchers have moved away from both industry-orientated definitions based on overnight stays, as well as the varying associated tourist classifications and typologies, as well as views on tourism as a combination of the extraordinary and the

temporary. The mobilities perspective allows us to subscribe to more flexible ideas that see tourism as one of the many ways of being in the world (Obrador, 2003), as a mode of perceiving the world (Franklin and Crang, 2001) – also in mundane ways (Edensor, 2007). Therefore, in this thesis, I will study holiday boating as a tourism mobility from the everyday life perspective. In order to do that, I will look into how everyday life is practiced and perceived, focusing on its material, embodied and temporal elements.

2.2 Everyday life practices: the material, embodied and temporal

Everyday life is both located in and part of 'dynamic and changing material, sensory and social environments, and shifting ways of perceiving, knowing and being' (Pink, 2012: 14), realised in 'all those seemingly trivial tasks and routines that shape people's lives, often in unconscious ways' (Ehn et al., 2016: 1). This of course does not mean that the everyday is mechanistically dull and repetitive; rather it is, vice versa, 'the heroic realm of modernity, full of creativity, manipulation and resistance' (Larsen, 2008: 23). The practices of everyday life, the ways of doing things allow us to re-appropriate the space, and navigate the lived reality (de Certeau, 1984).

Developing Schatzki's (2001) 'practice theory', Pink (2012) contends that in order to study everyday life we should analyse the practices, the complexes of human actions that are related with each other by particular means and can therefore form a category for analysis, as actions that lie in the dynamics between consistency and change and can sometimes simultaneously initiate both. These practices are sensory and embodied (Pink, 2012) as well as interlinked with 'material entities (including human bodies) that people manipulate or react to. Most practices would not exist without materialities of the sorts they deal with, just as most material arrangements that practices deal with would not exist in the absence of these practices' (Schatzki, 2012: 16). Therefore, 'the everyday is the groundless ground of lived/living concatenation, conglomeration and visceral cross-reference' wherein 'the "lived/living" should not be understood to somehow exclude the unlived, inorganic,

incorporeal and non-human in whatever form such matters might take' (Seigworth and Gardiner, 2004: 141).

These lived, embodied and materially grounded everyday life practices further take place in particular temporal settings, since 'time is about coordination and rhythm, but it also involves material, emotional, moral and political dimensions. Time is punctuated by extraordinary events like birth and death, but it is also organised through a range of ordinary routines, like sleeping, eating or watching the evening news' (Shove et al., 2009: 3). Pink calls for us to 'situate the practices of everyday life in such a way that recognises their interwoveness with and contingency on other processes, materialities and representations' letting 'both the lived reality of practice and the event of place to be understood as contingent and as mutually interdependent' (Pink, 2012: 29). As de Souza Bispo (2016: 174) contends, 'tourism is a set of ongoing organizing practices' and Cohen and Cohen (2017) similarly applaud practice approach as a useful theory in order to overcome the dichotomies and binaries characterising earlier tourism research. They also recommend drawing on a wider range of theories when studying tourism practices; an example of that is the forthcoming book by Barry (2018) who studies packing bags as a touristic everyday mobility performance and an affective experience that includes numerous materialities. 'Mobility involves practice – the embodied and experienced aspects of moving' (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008: 6) and as follows, I will take a closer look at how everyday life is constituted materially, bodily/sensorially and temporally and demonstrate their relevance to understanding tourism mobilities.

2.2.1 Interacting with materialities

'Tourism is intimately involved and predicated on the movement of a whole range of materialities' (Hannam et al., 2014: 171) – tourism mobilities involve the movement of various material objects from vehicles to everyday artefacts to technological applications. Objects move and are being moved, and the 'relationships we develop and share with a tangible arena of artworks, buildings, infrastructures, monuments, relics and everyday trinkets varies from

the remote to the intimate, from the fleeting to the durable, from immediate to mediated, from the passive to the passionate, from the philosophised to the commonsensical' (Laviolette, 2013: 13). Therefore, it is important to apprehend mobile practices via the materialites perspective with the intention of understanding how mobility is co-produced and co-performed in and with the material environment in our everyday lives. As follows, I will discuss the main ways the human and material relationship has been theorised in social sciences and show the centrality of the materialities perspective to mobilities' studies and, therefore, for the study of tourism mobilities.

The idea of 'materiality' refers to the physical objects (both natural and human-made artefacts) that people experience and interact with in their everyday lives. The general interest in the topic was renewed with the 'material turn' of the 1980s (see Hicks, 2010), during which time, in parallel with the interest in embodiment and sensory experiences (which I will discuss in the next subchapter) the attention to the material spread from anthropology and archaeology to the other social sciences. An important early hallmark had been Mauss's famous analysis of the symbolic importance of reciprocal gift giving, and how it reproduces the value systems and ideas about kinship and social status in traditional societies (Mauss, 2002 [1950]). This work influenced the growing field of the studies of consumption and consumerism, which continued looking at the representational and symbolic aspects of the world of objects and artefacts.

Material objects came to be theorised as the expression of the subject's worldview and values, and as the embodiment of immaterial and tangible relationships, hierarchies, ideologies and social structures. Douglas and Isherwood (1979) for example showed how various goods satisfy material needs and create a sense of satisfaction. They also contribute towards a person's psychological needs; work as a compensatory mechanism; and also function as symbols for power, success or group membership. Another important study by Bourdieu (1984) further demonstrated that understanding consumption is the key to apprehending the reproduction of class relations and presents a new way to study social relations via the idea of 'taste', something acquired when being socialised to a certain class. In addition, in introducing an anthropology of things, Appadurai (1986) showed that although humans create the material world surrounding us, physical objects also shape the human existence within certain exchange systems. The social life of things can be studied focusing on

the ways material objects acquire value (be it emotional, aesthetic, religious, spiritual, symbolic or market value) both for individuals and groups. The commodities, 'things with a particular social potential' (Appadurai, 1986: 6), are in constant circulation of ongoing exchange processes, which determine their value, and that in turn are ever changing and depend upon the particular social and historical context at that particular point in time and space.

Following these studies focusing on value, the objects of perceived non-value, such as for example waste and garbage, have also started to receive attention, mainly following Douglas' work, and theorised as 'matter out-of-place' (Douglas, 1966) which can be categorised as dirt, pollution or danger. Waste, in this perspective, is a transitory relational matter, the disposal of which involves the managing of both social relations as well as numerous representations (Hetherington, 2004). For example, toilets have been studied as mechanisms of translation between nature and culture, and showcases for what is seen as culturally acceptable and what is not (Gramigna, 2013). These approaches however tend to 'emphasise the symbolism of waste's polluting effects and how social distinctions and orderings are enacted through practices of separating, demarcating, purifying, abjecting and expelling' (Swanton, 2014: 288). Since 'just as much as societies have sought to distance themselves from and hide their wastes for fear of contamination, so academia has been shy of the *stuff* of waste' (Gregson and Crang, 2010: 1026, original emphasis), meaning that the focus has been on the materialities as representations, but not on the embodied, physical interactions and collaborations with them.

This critique does not apply to the studies of waste only: material culture studies as a whole came to be criticised for focusing on the symbolic aspects and the meaning of things alone, whilst leaving the things themselves unattended. Ingold had already stressed in the 1980s the pressing need to bring the (human) actor, environment and materialities together in order to research in a coherent way the material properties and the use of artefacts in their situative practices (Ingold, 1988). He continued with the study of materiality of environment in regards to action, and coined the idea of 'taskscape', one of the numerous 'scapes' that social and cultural research saw emerging in the 1990s and 2000s. Ingold's taskscape is temporal and interconnected into an array of related activities and, connecting the mutual interrelations of the environment, actor and action, stresses that whereas the

physical reality exists without an organism perceiving it, the environment exists only in relation to the living organisms (Ingold, 2000b).

Another important shift in the focus – what Pickering (2010) describes as rejection of the linguistic and textual, and a radical shift from epistemology to ontology – was brought about largely by science and technology studies (STS), which also in the 1980s began paying attention to infrastructures, technical objects and their mutual relationships between the human, non-human and material. What is more, it is the focus on practice that allows for the material to become the centre of analysis:

> If practices are foregrounded there is no longer a single passive object in the middle, waiting to be seen from the point of view of seemingly endless series of perspectives. Instead, objects come into being – and disappear – with the practices in which they are manipulated. And since the object of manipulation tends to differ from one practice to another, reality multiplies (Mol, 2002: 5).

In this perspective, the subject realises itself in the practices related to various materialities – the artefact and individual are inescapably connected, since the artefacts are so integrated into our everyday lives. This creates a mutual dependency between the artefact and individual.

These studies about the human-artefact relationships and co-dependency are also partly rooted in Haraway's (1991) feminist and postmodern theories of the cyborg, 'a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction [---] and lived experience' (1991: 149), a product of both imagination and material realities. The idea of cyborg deliberately breaks down the dichotomy between nature and technology, nature and culture (Kasemets et al., 2015). At the same time, subject-object relationships as well as the questions of material agency, were also discussed in STS. The idea of agency as a solely human property was rejected, and agency was applied to human, non-human and material alike.

One of most influential of these theories, Latour's actor-network-theory (ANT), saw both society and culture as networks of relations and associations between human and non-human agents connected by action. The various relational life processes and the socio-cultural phenomena came to be seen as dependent on their successful integration with a multitude of material elements (Latour, 2005). The resulting notion of material agency thus developed in the coming together of various agents in certain socio-technological networks (Latour,

1999). From ANT perspective, the sociality is heterogeneous phenomenon inseparable from the nonhuman, as according to this theory the technologies and other materialities are part of society on an equal footing with humans. However, this also has meant that ANT is largely ignoring aspects such as gender, class, group identity or ethnicity as all the human subjects just become actors in the larger network (Michael, 2017).

In parallel to STS, assemblage thinking developed as another important way of conceptualising the human and nonhuman/material relationship. As Müller (2015) explains, assemblages are relational, productive, heterogeneous, deterritorialising/ reterritorialising as well as desired. In short,

> What is an assemblage? It is a multiplicity which is made up of heterogeneous terms and which establishes liaisons, relations between them, across ages, sexes and reigns – different natures. Thus the assemblage's only unity is that of a co-functioning: it is symbiosis, a 'sympathy'. It is never filiations which are important, but alliances, alloys; these are not successions, lines of descent, but contagions, epidemics, the wind (Deleuze and Parnet, 1987: 69).

Whereas ANT and assemblage thinking share significant similarities, such as both are dealing with the relationship of human and non-human and stress the socio-materiality of the world, there are also differences between the two approaches. Most notably, whilst for ANT agency only comes from relations and associations between different elements of the actor-network, assemblage thinking maintains that the components of an assemblage can have their inherent agencies as well (Müller, 2015). Therefore, the latter approach may be analytically more useful for studying the subjective lived experience while still paying attention to the previously largely ignored importance of the materialities.

In recent years, forms of co-operation between humans, non-human animals, artefacts and various other materialities have also found their way into tourism research, especially ANT that places the emphasis on the multiplicity of various human and material orderings that enables us to determine the interrelations between them (van der Duim et al., 2012). Taking the role of materialities and non-humans seriously allows for further study of the various 'diverse relational orderings of tourism' (van der Duim et al., 2017). Some materialities of tourism have indeed started receiving attention; however, as evident from the slowly growing literature on the topic, it mostly focuses on small-scale artefacts of

tourism, be it souvenirs (Hitchcock and Teague, 2000), photography (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006), Cuban cigars (Simoni, 2012) or the simple bucket and spade on the beach (Franklin, 2014a).

Cohen and Cohen (2017: 9) note that the 'more obvious materialities' of tourism such as cars and planes still need research and I concur, especially in relation to the lack of research in water tourism materialities demonstrated previously in subchapter 1.2. A recent exception is a study on the materialities of campervan travel in the context of slow tourism by Wilson and Hannam (2017), focusing on the socio-technical frictions involved in this particular tourism mobility: gradients, weather, surfaces and other vehicles. The authors demonstrate, how 'as the driver-vehicle materialises velocity, the kinaesthetic and emotive "driving body" aligns or retracts from adhesive surfaces, weather conditions, mechanical turbulence and other drivers to sense different aspects of mobilities' (Wilson and Hannam, 2017: 34).

There is still a multitude of other large-scale materialities that have been under-researched in regards to tourism; for example, built environment or substances such as water. There are exceptions: for example, in her study on Australian water basins, social anthropologist Strang (2009) also offers a comprehensive analysis of water as a source for recreation, physical, social as well as spiritual 'regeneration'. She focuses on diverse waterscapes, such as areas where rivers serve as settings for adventure and self-realisation, for sports that reinforce masculine identities (jet-skiing, rafting, speed-boating), as well as places where one may simply enjoy the birds and wildlife and visually consume the waterscapes. All these diverse range of activities bring about a particular relationship with the watery place, where 'experiences of meditating upon or being immersed in water engender affective responses and a particularly powerful sense of connection' (Strang, 2009: 197). However, Strang does not discuss dangers that can also be associated with the recreational water space (she does in her earlier analysis of the meaning of water in a non-recreational context, discussing fear of water as well as the destructive power of floods (Strang, 2004)).

If the relationship with material is so constitutive to the human experience, we might ask whether the human and non-human can indeed be seen as possessing equal agencies and capabilities (Latour, 2005) as ANT suggests. Dant (2014) points out that actor-network-theory tends to downplay the specific capabilities of the human component in the human-nonhuman assemblage, and stresses the importance of intentionality that both motivates as well as

directs mobility. Intentionality, for Dant (2014: 369), is 'a human property that points to the range of possibilities that are open and on which consciousness works to direct the human being into the future'. Ingold similarly criticises ANT for relying too heavily on the idea of somehow separated material entities, which 'entails that the elements connected are distinguished from the lines of their connection' (Ingold, 2010: 70). Furthermore, according to Thrift (2000) the actor-network approach fails to accommodate the unexpected and incidental as well as the embodied human capacities. In other words, the 'becoming' part of the human-material assemblage, the part that is 'always incomplete, always in the midst of being formed' (Deleuze 1997: 1).

In order to overcome this problem, Bennett, proposes the concept of 'distributive agency', stating that intentionality or non-intentionality are not necessarily the most important aspects of agency:

> There are instead always a swarm of vitalities at play. The task becomes to identify the contours of the swarm, and the kind of relations that obtain between its bits. To figure the generative source of effects as a swarm is to see human intentions as always in competition and confederation with many other strivings, for an intention is like a pebble thrown into a pond, or an electrical current sent through a wire or neural network: it vibrates and merges with other currents, to affect and be affected. This understanding of agency does not deny the existence of that thrust called intentionality, but it does see it as less definitive of outcomes (Bennett, 2010: 31-32).

Bennett looks at agency as something 'beyond human bodies and intersubjective fields to vital materialities and the human-nonhuman assemblages they form' (2010: 30), and has noted that non-humans as well as inorganic matter have a critical and active role, such as in political processes and power struggles. Assemblages, for Bennett (2010: 23-24) are 'ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts. Assemblages are living, throbbing confederations that are able to function despite the persistent of energies that confound them from within.' The physical and material are thus not just objects of various power struggles, but active participants, 'vibrant matter' in those assemblages that shape and allow various actions to take place.

The ideas on assemblages have found its expression in the recent vigorous research on automobility, being 'mobile-with' a car (Edensor, 2004), which has come to be one of the most important symbols of modern mobility, constituting 'a radically different set of spatial

practicings of the city' (Thrift, 2007: 75). Treating the material object as means for certain potential actions enables us to look at the artefact as something shaped by the various cognitive aspects of its use and perception. As Adey (2010: 18) states, mobility is never singular, but always plural, and about 'being mobile-with'. This means that people are not mobile just by themselves or other people, they are usually mobile with the materialities, be it cars, boats, bicycles or boots.

Together, the car and driver form a hybrid assemblage, that of the 'driver-car' (Sheller and Urry, 2000), a way of being in a world that consists of human individuals, technologies, roads and signs. The 'driver-car' is also a 'mobility assemblage' (Dant, 2014: 369) including at least a driver and a car operated by the driver and that has various capacities such as driving, speeding, parking, polluting, slowing down and accelerating, changing lanes but also injuring and killing (Dant, 2004). The car, thus far the most studied component of various mobility assemblages, is often perceived by the drivers as a tangible extension of one's physical body, for driving it is an embodied and affective experience also involving various kinds of communication (e.g. flashing the headlights, hand gestures, sounding the horns) (Katz, 1999).

These assemblages are not isolated but are part of other, more general mobility systems (Urry, 2007) – wider networks that enable movement of people, goods and information. Each intersecting mobility presupposes a system that includes objects, ideas and constructs such as tickets, addresses, protocols, websites, luggage storage, barcodes, timetables, and so on. These make movement actually possible, permitting and enabling predictable repetitions of particular movements in the first place. The mobility systems, such as car-system, telephone-system, computer-system – or canalboat-system – are getting more and more intricate in the 21st century and demand a growing level of specialist expertise to maintain and administrate, whilst the individual journeys of people are continually shaped and determined by these growingly complex mobility systems (Urry, 2007).

This also means that the individual bodies are increasingly turning (and being turned) into subjects requiring regulation and governing by various mobility systems. Following Urry's (2007) lead, Bærenholdt (2013) utilises Foucault's idea of 'governmentality' and, combining it with the insights gained from the mobilities studies, suggests that increasingly contemporary societies are being produced and governed by mobility, introducing the term 'governmobility' to explain how societies are produced through mobile connections.

Governmobility is imposed on the subjects via relationally enacted, embodied, technological and organisational forms of self-government. Both social relations as well as political structures are united through 'the technologies of circulation and connection, materially constructing societies, governed through mobility' (Baerenholdt, 2013: 31).

Rather than via individual subjects, governmobility works through larger networks and systems, through objects and the relations between them. This is similar to Mukerji's (2009) appeal to analyse the state power in the material, geographical and territorial perspective studying infrastructures and other public building works, a research she has done using the example of the building the Canal du Midi in France. This approach is also exemplified in Harvey's (Dalakoglou and Harvey, 2014; Harvey and Knox, 2015) work on how state power manifests itself in concrete, roads and infrastructures. However, in Bærenholdt's (2013) perspective, the main focus is on mobility as the governing force of power relations (whereas Harvey and Mukerji focus more on the material and the social).

Contemporary landscapes are 'shot through with technological elements which enrol people, space, and the elements connecting people and spaces into socio-technological assemblages' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 9) where the movement emerges via the dynamics between the human and the surrounding materialities, which creates a manifold of possibilities and potentials. Anderson and Wylie (2009) have identified three main themes of materialities research: encounters with environments; science and technology; and the materialities of the lived body, and I have discussed the first two in this subchapter. However, 'crucial to the recognition of the materialities of mobilities is the recentring of the corporeal body as an affective vehicle through which we sense place and movement' (Hannam, 2009: 109) – which is why I now will turn my attention as to how mobile materialities are experienced in bodily and sensory ways.

2.2.2 Embodied and sensory ways of engaging with the world

The main starting point for bringing the body into the centre of analysis in social sciences and humanities stems from the criticism of the Cartesian notion of dualism between body and

mind. The tendency to follow the dualism of mind (as rational consciousness) and body (as almost an automaton in service of the consciousness) was well developed in the humanities and social sciences and the body was mostly excluded from sociological thought (Turner, 1984). Nevertheless, there have been some early exceptions, most notably Mauss (1992 [1934]) who argued that systematic attention should be paid to how bodies move and perform certain tasks, because the ways how people use their bodies, for example, for walking, sitting or swimming are not 'natural', but learned, and therefore specific to culture or society.

Mauss (1992 [1934]) identifies body techniques of different genders and ages (life stages), which include techniques of sleep, rest, activity and movement (walking, running, dancing, jumping, climbing, swimming), techniques of body care (washing, soaping, rubbing, care of the mouth and 'needs of nature') and consumption techniques (under which he lists eating, drinking, techniques of reproduction). Admittedly, Ingold (1996) criticises Mauss for his statement that the body is 'man's first and most natural instrument' (Mauss, 1992 [1934]: 461), arguing that this again reflects the Cartesian body-mind dualism reducing body to being in in the service of a disembodied cultured mind. However, it is important that Mauss brings to light the ways how bodily activities are 'pursued in a series of assembled actions, and assembled for the individual not by himself alone but by all his education, by the whole society to which he belongs, in the place he occupies' (Mauss, 1992 [1934]: 462). He therefore opens an avenue for paying attention to the cross-cultural, and adopting a comparative approach to the bodily and the sensory, which later became an important strand of research on its own. Furthermore, Mauss's approach forebodes that of Bourdieu, for whom bodily dispositions were an important part of the habitus, an internalised way of acting, feeling and thinking in particular ways, the bodily element of which is a 'permanent disposition, a durable way of standing, speaking, walking' (Bourdieu, 1990: 70).

The wider actualisation of the topic of body in the social sciences and humanities started in the 1970s in parallel to, and in relation with, the renewed interest in the material, as discussed in subsection 2.2.1 above. It was important for the new subdisciplines to separate themselves from the Cartesian approach. Blacking (1977), for example, stressed quite early that the anthropology of the body should not be mistaken for either physical or biological anthropology (which treats the human body as physiological entity), but that its

purpose should be to study the representations of the body, as well as its role in social and cultural relations. Two main lines of theorising emerged: the body as a source or result of representations, concentrating largely on its symbolic, moral and social aspects; and the body as embodied and sensory.

First, the human body came to be studied as a result of various socio-cultural circumstances, a system of symbols that could be read and interpreted as a text. A key author here was again Douglas (1966), who distinguished between a physical and social body and argued that society determines the ways how the physical body is perceived and interpreted by both the self and others. In different cultures, different bodily functions and parts have different meanings, and the body acts as a mediator between the society and self. The body is also seen as a result of the processes of representation and subject to power: it is created through different discourses and categorisations (Foucault, 1990 [1976]). From the standpoint of Foucault's biopolitics, the power over the body is achieved by first defining certain standards, and then by constant discipline and supervision; and when the guarding principles have been accepted by the larger population, they will go on to supervise and survey their adherence to the norms on their own (Foucault, 2012 [1977]). These studies deal with the 'multiple body' (Csordas, 1990), the body as a compound of social and physical elements.

In this framework the cultures were read and interpreted as texts (Geertz, 1973), and following the 'representation crisis' of the 1980s, the texts written by anthropologists and other social scientists became conceptualised and scrutinised as (written) cultures (Clifford and Marcus, 1986). Practicing ethnography in an interpretive framework was compared to 'trying to read (in the sense of "construct a reading of") a manuscript [---] written not in conventionalised graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour' (Geertz, 1973: 10). Indeed, even though socio-cultural realities are not texts, the field notes and published research results about them mostly tend to be (Pink, 2009). Nevertheless, it was partly the changed focus to the researcher's self in the form of reflexivity, that eventually brought about more intense interest in the (also researcher's) bodily experiences (Pink, 2009). Reflexivity did not just imply an attentiveness to the epistemology of the multitude of possible relationships during the fieldwork, the researcher's positions on the subject and their ethnographic writing styles, but also a conscious reflection on the ethnographer's self

(Robben, 2012). This inevitably brought forth the need to write (more) about sensory, bodily, affective and emotional experiences in the fieldwork diaries, as well as the need to conceptualise and theorise this sensory data. Reflexive accounts of sensory field experiences began to emerge in the 1980s, stressing the necessity for a reflexive stance in ethnographic knowledge production, and an acknowledgement of the importance of the bodily experiences (Pink, 2009).

Csordas (1990; 1994) further identified a 'topical body' that looks at the human body in the context of various social and cultural activity such as health, religion, technology, etc. Anthropology of the senses emerged as a sub-discipline in the 1990s, studying different cultures 'as cultivating different ways of sensing, or "techniques of the senses," and the aim of ethnography [was] to describe the socio-logic which informs how the members of a given culture distinguish, value, relate and combine the senses in everyday life' (Howes, 2011: 441). For Howes (2005: 143), 'the experience of the environment, and of the other persons and things which inhabit that environment, is produced by the particular mode of distinguishing, valuing and combining the senses in the culture under study'. Therefore, the numerous ways in which the senses are constructed and lived in various cultural contexts, often comparing sensory categories in different cultures, as well as meanings attributed to those categories, became the centre of the study. Anthropology of the senses was to an extent a revisionary research focus, advocating for a rethinking of the discipline through renewed interest in the senses (Pink, 2015).

In a similar manner, geography also turned to the senses. Porteous (1990: 5), for example, notes that 'while visual landscapes have been analysed to death, non-visual sensory modes have been paid little attention in studies of "landscape appreciation"' and suggests focusing on 'the possibilities of otherscapes' (1990: 17). He then goes on to discuss soundscapes and smellscapes (touchscapes and tastescapes are mentioned, but not thoroughly discussed). He also talks about the 'metaphorical landscapes of the mind' (Porteous, 1990: 17) such as bodyscapes, inscapes, homescapes, escapes, childscapes and deathscapes. Even though metaphorical and focused on narratives, this approach still offered an alternative to Cosgrove's (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988) conceptualisation of landscape as a representation and a cultural image, predominantly visually perceived and consumed.

Discussing the need for 'sensuous geographies', Rodaway (1994) likewise talks about the need for haptic, olfactory, auditory and visual geographies. His take does not feature gustatory geographies though: following Gibson's (2015 [1986]) 'smell-taste perceptual system', Rodaway categorises olfactory and gustatory together, reasoning that 'it is important to remember that the two senses are closely linked and, certainly in the context of the enjoyment of food, are strongly linked, so making meaningful distinction difficult, if not impossible' (Rodaway, 1994: 62). Even though that project is not taken further – since Rodaway's olfactory geography focuses almost exclusively on the smell and the experiences pertinent to taste are not apprehended – he still promotes examining the various ways in which different senses interconnect and produce a sensed and sensory environment. These works have pointed to important directions, namely that other senses besides the visual should also be incorporated into research. However, focusing on one sense means artificially promoting in importance one sense over another, and even though Porteous (1990: 196) suggests that 'it is clear that all of the senses are involved in our appreciation of the world. We live in a multisensory world, an allscape', he does not take this further, and his sensorial analyses focus on distinctive smellscapes and soundscapes. Therefore, these works have not looked at the sensory perception as immediate and individual, bodily and lived experience as Pink (2009) suggests us.

The latter became the focus of research on the 'analytic body', in Csordas's (1990) terms, that deals with the questions of perception (following Merleau-Ponty (2012 [1945])) and practice (following Mauss (1992 [1934])), critiquing privileging the cultural, symbolic and mind-related over sensory and embodied and focusing too much on the representational, textual and discursive. Merleau-Ponty's *The Phenomenology of Perception* (2012 [1945]) sets out to bring the lived experience of the body into focus by looking for a way to overcome the mind and body dichotomy, for an alternative to reducing one to another, and argues that the main ways of perceiving the world are based purely on the bodily engagements with it. The human body, as far as Merleau-Ponty is concerned, is something that both gives substance to the world as well as helps people to interpret it:

> We grasp external space through our bodily situation. A 'corporeal or postural scheme' gives us at every moment a global, practical, and implicit notion of the relation between our body and things, of our hold on them. A system of possible movements, or 'motor projects', radiates from us to our environment. Our body is not

in space like things; it inhabits or haunts space. It applies itself to space like a hand to an instrument, and when we wish to move about we do not move the body as we move an object. We transport it without instruments as if by magic, since it is ours and because through it we have direct access to space. For us the body is much more than an instrument or a means; it is our expression in the world, the visible form of our intentions (Merleau-Ponty, 1964: 5).

Embodiment was a new paradigm, based on the idea that the 'body is not an *object* to be studied in relation to culture, but is to be considered as the *subject* of culture, or in other words as the existential ground of culture' (Csordas, 1990: 5, original emphasis). Not wanting to use the negative term 'non-representational', Csordas suggested focusing on 'being-in-the-world', the sensory presence and engagement with the world that is conditioned temporally, fundamentally conditional, in other words, the lived experience (1994: 10). The sensory experiences, emotions and affects, thus came to be studied as 'the essence of our embodied materialities and socialities' (Mascia-Lees, 2011: 2). Anderson and Smith (2001) suggest turning the attention to the way our world is constructed as well as lived through a variety of emotions. These affectual geographies deal with qualities that are interpersonal, pre-cognitive and transpersonal, emerging in encounters between bodies (Pile, 2010).

The concept of embodiment, 'a way of inhabiting the world as well as the source of personhood, self and subjectivity, and the precondition of intersubjectivity' (Mascia-Lees, 2011: 2), which Pink (2009) describes as a relationship with the environment as well as a biological process, did help to resolve the body and mind dualism to a certain extent. The body began to be theorised 'not simply as a source of experience and activity that would be rationalised and/or controlled by the mind, but itself as a source of knowledge and subsequently of agency' (Pink, 2009: 24).

In his work on perception of the environment, Ingold (2000b) also criticises previous scholarship for concentrating mainly on the representational properties of the sensory experience in order to discover the cultural values, social structures and symbolic meanings behind them; whereas he argues for the individual-centred approach to determining how the immediate world around us is actually perceived. Drawing on Jackson (1989), he criticises the tendency to reduce bodily actions and movements to mainly symbolic and semiotic signs that the researcher has to decode, thus leaving the individual physical body inert and inactive.

Ingold introduces the idea of 'dwelling', which means focusing on the immersion of the person in an environment or lifeworld. From this phenomenological perspective, the world 'continually comes into being around the inhabitant, and its manifold constituents take on significance through their incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity' (2000a: 153). Ingold thus argues that actual action and lived experience always come before (social) construction, to which he refers as 'building perspective' (Ingold 2000a: 153).

An important part of Ingold's work of sensory experience of the environment is dedicated to weather and he contends that 'Given its centrality to life and experience, the absence of weather from anthropological accounts of human ways of being and knowing is little short of extraordinary' (Ingold, 2015: 69). His analysis of perceiving the environment (Ingold, 2010b) takes its starting point in the division proposed by Gibson (2015 [1986]) who distinguishes between surfaces, medium and materials. The medium, for human beings, is air, affording us to move and to perceive; substances include solid physical materials; and the surfaces are the interface between medium and substances; humans walk on the surface (ground) of the substance (earth) with the sky above them. Yet for Gibson, the clouds in the sky are also surfaces. Ingold proposes going beyond the idea that life somehow takes place on the various surfaces of the world and in order to do that 'we need to attend to those fluxes of the medium we call weather' (Ingold, 2008: 1802).

Drawing from Merleau-Ponty (2012 [1945]), Ingold (2005: 101) argues that 'the sky is not a surface at all but the world of light itself to which we *open ourselves up* in vision' (original italics). A human body is 'body-on-the-ground' and a 'body-in-the-air' simultaneously, and earth and sky are not some external environmental elements for the body to interact with, but rather 'regions of the body's very existence' (Ingold, 2010b: S122). Thus, for Ingold the 'weather-world' is central to the human, bodily experience of the environment. While for him the Gibsonian perspective represents that of 'exhabiting' (Ingold, 2008: 1804) the earth, the weather-world, on the contrary, is inhabited (with a stress on the 'in'):

> To inhabit the open is not, then, to be stranded on a closed surface but to be immersed in the fluxes of the medium, in the incessant movements of wind and weather. In this weather world, there is no distinct surface separating earth and sky. Life is rather lived in a zone in which substance and medium are brought together in the constitution of beings which, in their activity, participate in weaving the textures of the land (Ingold, 2008: 1803-1804).

Human beings do not move on and across the surfaces: they move through the world, on the ground and in the air simultaneously. It is the moving that equals knowing and this knowledge cannot be simply transmitted from one being to another (Ingold, 2010b). As Colapietro (2015: 31) maintains, 'to insist upon the weather world as the medium through which we move, rather than taking our terrestrial home as a predetermined surface on which we tread, carries more radical implications than we are likely to appreciate. These implications pertain to how we should reimagine ourselves, our lives, and indeed our world.'

In tourism studies topics such as climate in tourist decision making (de Freitas, 2003), weather and tourist experience (Jeuring and Peters, 2013) and extreme weather's implications for tourism (Jeuring and Becken, 2013) have been studied. These treatments, however, are focused on the tourist motivation and decision making related to weather and do not deal with the embodied experience of the weather. Rantala, Valtonen and Markuksela (2011) are an exception in this regard, studying weather as an agentive entity that directs and influences human activities in nature as exemplified by their analysis of the wilderness guides of Finnish Lapland. Likewise, Wilson and Hannam (2017) discuss the agency of weather as one of the four key vectors causing friction in their study of campervan mobilities. Furthermore, Mullins (2009: 247) discusses canoeing as an embodied activity that needs skills and techniques in order to properly respond to both weather conditions as well as the 'weathered condition' of the canoeists' bodies.

The general turn towards the sensorial and embodied has been strongly reflected in the qualitative tourism studies. One of the key texts here is definitely Urry's (1990) *The Tourist Gaze*, not only for its influential analysis of the importance of the visual perception in the tourist experience and the power structures that construct it, but also for the fact that it inspired the work that departs from it, critiquing its visual-centric focus. For Urry, tourism is mainly visual experience and practice, and the 'tourist gaze' is the main organising principle of tourism, the idea mirroring the long-time privileging (and promoting) of the visual sense over the others in Western society (Larsen, 2014). Even though Urry builds on the other senses as well in the later editions of the *Tourist Gaze*, and in his 1999 take on senses and tourism (Urry, 1999) he does discuss olfactory experience alongside with the visual, he is still arguing for the hegemonic position of the visual within the tourist experience of contemporary Western society.

This ocular-centric position to the tourist senses was questioned by Veijola and Jokinen in their seminal article *The Body in Tourism* (1994) that focused on the absence of the physical human body in tourism studies, partly as a direct response to Urry, and a critique of reducing the tourist to a sightseer also in other studies in tourism. Veijola and Jokinen stressed the centrality of the sensuous, feeling body in tourism encounters, and showed how in different tourism situations different senses come to the foreground. They also argued that one of the main motivators for engaging in tourism practices is a desire to place one's body in situations where it could feel and experience that which had previously been consumed only visually and via various representations. In tourism studies, research emerged studying the aural (Waitt and Duffy, 2010), olfactory (Dann and Jacobsen, 2003), gustatory (Stowe and Johnston, 2012) and tactile (Obrador, 2009) dimensions of the tourist experience.

However, studying sensory and embodied experiences should not mean just putting particular senses to the centre of the study and simply producing ethnographies of smell, touch, sound and taste in tourism (Crouch and Desforges, 2003). A phenomenological take on the sensory and embodied therefore means not looking at the five senses as distinct biological conduits of experience, but rather 'we should understand multisensory sensory-embodied experience as something that both surpasses and bears a relationship to the culturally constructed categories that people use to represent that experience culturally and socially' (Fors et al., 2013: 175). The bodily tourist experience should rather be analysed by looking at the intersections of materialities, embodied multisensory experiences, corporeal performances and mobilities (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006). In tourism research, therefore, a significant line of research has emerged, where Csordas's (1990) 'topical body' is analysed as the 'analytical body', thus becoming a phenomenal body, one that perceives the world and engages with it.

The practices of those bodies should be examined in a spatial and temporal context as they provide us with 'the sensual, the moving body', which unites the senses through the act of being part of the environment (Lund, 2005: 40). Just as with the relationship between human and material, initial studies on sensory mobilities often focused on the automobilities, arguing that car evokes a manifold of emotions, such as boredom, detachedness, loneliness, or alienation, as those authors studying the motorways as anonymous and generic 'non-places' (Augé, 1995) have suggested. Urry (2000: 63), for example argues that the car isolates

the driver from the outside world where the 'sights, sounds, tastes, temperatures and smells of the city and countryside are reduced to the two dimensional view through the car windscreen' and that the environment on the other side of that windscreen becomes 'an alien other, to be kept at bay through the diverse privatising technologies which have been incorporated within the contemporary car'.

Although it is certainly a step forward from de Certeau (1984), for whom car traffic was more or less a background noise for the pedestrians, conceptualising the car through the ideas of alienation and isolation alone is certainly limiting. Edensor (2003) has shown that feelings such as comfort, enjoyment, familiarity, homeliness, pleasure, and nostalgia among others are also clearly connected with the experience of driving along the 'carscapes'. The car also invokes other emotions such as anger, irritation, fury, frustration and annoyance (Katz, 1999). Routine travel on the motorway brings forth familiar and homely emotions of comfort, and Edensor argues for 'an understanding of mundane travel that does not merely involve linear passage through undifferentiated space in an allotted space of time when "nothing happens" but always implicates other connections' (2003: 152).

In addition, there are a multitude of bodily experiences that remain under-researched, especially in tourism studies, such as, for example, the hygiene practices and questions of dealing with bodily waste. These have remained a site of abjection 'too "squeamish" for the focus of geographers' (Longhurst, 2000: 66). The notions, ideas and taboos connected to subjective bodily experiences of bathroom use while travelling are thus empirically very little researched. A notable exception is Falconer's (2012: 111-121) analysis of female independent travellers. She shows how backpackers use narratives about dealing with various secretions and fluids such as vomit, urine, excretion, infection and menstrual blood for strengthening and legitimising their identities as seasoned, cosmopolitan travellers. These stories, often told for entertainment or bonding with other travellers, serve the purpose of demonstrating that their narrators have successfully completed the rite of passage of 'exotic' travel, overcome the hardships and thus differ from the imagined other (Western) travellers.

Embodied experiences are 'formed in developmental engagement with a particular socio-cultural and physical context, mediated by cultural practices and interpreted in the light of cultural beliefs and values' (Strang, 2004: 50). How, then, do they relate to the multiplicity of sensory experiences evoked in the context of tourism? Fors et al. (2013: 182), for example

promote the idea of 'multisensory emplaced learning', which is 'embedded both in specific environments and in the embodied activities of learners.'

'The senses are intensely entangled with each other. Just as scholars have been busy categorizing and labelling emotions, the talk of separating the five senses can be rather unproductive. [---] Instead of thinking in terms of five separate senses, it will be good to look for concepts that bridge them and might show how they work together or block each other' (Ehn et al., 2016: 88-89). The idea of the 'sensorium', which Hockey and Allen-Collinson (2009: 220) conceptualise as 'the totality of the perceptual apparatus as an operational complex', or rather the multiple sensoriums (Ehn et al., 2016), where all the senses work together and different senses can prevail at different moments in different combinations, could be in the centre of sensorial analysis of embodied experiences. These sensoriums could then be important components of assemblages, as Hamilakis (2017) suggests in his concept of sensorial assemblage, a temporary and purposeful organisation of various non-material and material elements, where sensoriality, affectivity, memory and temporality emerge as key elements. The material and the sensorial interactions discussed above, therefore take place in particular temporal settings, which I will discuss next.

2.2.3 Experiencing the temporal

The perception of time is central to the human experience; however the ways how we perceive and think about time varies according to each culture, historical period and society, and also depends on the particular individual, their personal qualities, social group memberships etc. Whether time as a physical reality exists or not, humans do possess a sense of time, termed 'chronestesia' (Tulving, 2002): the psychological capability to perceive time and think backwards and forwards in it. Since the key elements of movement of any kind are space and time, as movement is 'the spatialization of time and temporalization of space' (Cresswell, 2006: 4), I will now focus on the ways humans perceive time, paying specific attention to the topics of rhythms and tempo.

Human perception of time can be conceptualised in regards to rituals connected to the calendar year, as well as the human life cycle, which function as markers of the passage of time (e.g. Leach, 1961). Leach (1961), stressing the paradoxical nature of time, which is simultaneously repetitive and unrepeatable, saw it as a structuring device, showing that various (calendar) rituals (New Year celebrations, rites of passage etc.) function to make time perceivable for humans and therefore structure it so that they might successfully use its passing for their individual and societal development. He also differentiates between biological and social time and by focusing on the collective perception of the latter argues that although people do experience the passage of time in the biological sense (e.g. getting older) the continuum needs to be in measurable segments so that people could fathom it. This creates social time, a collective and symbolic structuring device for human society, with rites and ceremonies as integral enabling elements of the human temporality (Leach, 1976). Time has also been studied in the context of space, with Hägerstrand (1970) conceptualising movement by tracing particular space-time paths of goal-orientated individuals completing certain 'projects', which can also overlap and influence each other. Although human intentionality is at the centre of these projects, Hägerstrand's time-geography also converges numerous human, non-human, material and immaterial elements into spatio-temporal arrangements, thus forecasting the later posthumanist network approaches (Peters et al., 2010), such as ANT, discussed in the previous subchapter.

Time is not linear, or necessarily quantitative, irreversible, abstract and clock-orientated (Adam, 2005). As Koselleck argues, although the various categorisations and measurements of time are indeed heavily culture specific, and therefore relative depending on geography, historical period, (sub)culture and community, they are still based on natural rhythms with their cycles, repetitions and restrictions (Koselleck, 2002). Thus, human life is not only structured by various collective rituals, and although temporality is indeed a 'symbolic process', it is more so an individual 'project', rooted in everyday practices (Munn, 1992: 116). Munn (1992) distinguishes between a number of dimensions of time such as timing, past-present-future and sequencing that people experience as significant relations between persons, space and objects constantly (re)made in lived experience. Therefore, 'time is about coordination and rhythm, but it also involves material, emotional, moral and political dimensions. Time is punctuated by extraordinary events like birth and death, but it is also

organised through a range of ordinary routines, like sleeping, eating or watching the evening news' (Shove et al., 2009: 2).

The multiple dimensions of time (the social, collective, historical, political and individual) and different temporal qualities, are in a more comprehensive manner brought together by Adam (2004; 2008), who sees perception of temporality and the human relationship with time as one of the fundamental bases of the development of human culture. She formulates this in her notion of 'timescape', an array of related temporalities. Timescape, as understood by Adam (1998), is an embodied feeling of time. More specifically, Adam (2004) suggests differentiating between the following elements of the timescape: time frames (such as second, day, year); temporality (processes); tempo (pace); timing (synchronization); time point (moments, instants); time pattern (rhythmicity, cyclicality); time sequence (simultaneity); time extension (duration, continuity); and past, present and future time (memory, anticipation).

Ingold's taskscape, as discussed above, is likewise simultaneously temporal as well as social. It cannot be perceived as if by spectators who could somehow stand aside and observe the passage of time, but as participants of various tasks and activities. Arguing for a 'dwelling' perspective, Ingold maintains that the histories and life stories of humans, plants and animals are woven together through practices (Ingold, 2000b), and the taskscape thus becomes a conglomeration of various temporal modalities:

> We perceive, at that precise moment, a particular vista of past and a future; but it is a vista that is available only from this moment. It *constitutes* unique present, and the present is not *marked off* from a past that it has replaced or a future that will in turn, replace it; it rather gathers the past and future into itself (Ingold, 2000a: 195, original italics).

Ingold also adresses the binary of social and clock time, the former corresponding to the idea of rhythmic individual and social temporality, the latter to the concept of time as an objective reality, defined by the movements of the earth around the sun and around its own axis, external to human activities and perception. While people can attune their activities to the temporal segments of clock-time, he maintains that time as an experience inheres in the rhythms of performing various and related tasks. The rhythms of humans thus interweave in the social taskscape, where rhythms of human activity link with the rhythms of other

phenomena, including the activities of animals, plants growing and decaying, the seasons, and the alternations of day and night. These rhythmicities, however, should not be taken for mechanical metronome-like repetitions, but grow out of, and are essential parts of, people's everyday activities (Ingold, 2000a).

The rhythms are in the centre of Lefebvre's (2004) take on temporality, who suggested rhythmanalysis, both as method as well as theoretical approach, for studying everyday life. As Lefebvre (2004) suggests, in order to fully understand human life, we should start with examining the bodily rhythms and their relation to various socialities and materialities. Indeed, the physiologists, too, concur, that

> [p]hysiological rhythms are central to life. We are all familiar with the beating of our hearts, the rhythmic motions of our limbs as we walk, our daily cycle of waking and sleeping, and the monthly menstrual cycle. Other rhythms, equally important but not as obvious, underlie the release of hormones regulating growth and metabolism, the digestion of food, and many other bodily processes. The rhythms interact with each other as well as the outside fluctuating, noisy environment under the control of innumerable feedback systems that provide an orderly function that enables life (Glass, 2001: 277).

Edensor, who has criticised tourism studies for focusing mostly on place-making aspects of tourism practices and neglecting temporalities of tourism (2012), has introduced and promoted rhythmanalysis for researching tourism (Edensor and Holloway, 2008). He has also applied it to researching a variety of urban and rural places and spaces in terms of geography of rhythms (Edensor, 2010b) also focusing more specifically on the rhythms of various mobilities such as for example running (Edensor, 2014; Edensor et al., 2017). Edensor and Holloway (2008) demonstrated the analytical usefulness of rhythmanalysis in a tourism context, presenting a study of a coach tour showing how various rhythms happen and take central stage in different stages of the coach journey and looking at how tourism involves a multiplicity of rhythmic assemblages of affect, technologies, materialities, sensations and embodiment. Edensor (2012) also draws our attention to the familiar and unfamiliar rhythms, mobile rhythms, embodied rhythms and everyday rhythms when discussing tourism rhythms. In addition to analysing the synchronised practices of Hägerstrand's (1970) space-time paths, 'rhythmanalysis can develop a fuller, richer analysis of these [practices] in space, while also accounting for spatial qualities, sensations and intersubjective habits' (Edensor, 2012: 55).

This has been taken further by others, rhythmanalysing various mobilities such as cycling (Fox et al., 2014), train travel (Mertena, 2015), climbing (Rickly, 2017) or walking (Sarmento, 2017). Regarding other tourist practices, Rantala and Valtonen analyse touristic sleep in nature that heavily depends on the seasonal rhythms and is seen as contrasted to often frenzied everyday (2014).

There is also a growing literature of conceptualising tourism activities in regards to their perceived tempo. This focus is a direct result of the post-modern society characterised by acceleration and time-space compression, where the space is perceived as shrinking into the 'global village' and people focus perpetually on the present moment (Harvey, 1989). This has apparently resulted in the 'tyranny of the moment' (Eriksen, 2001) and 'time famine' (Agger, 2015) where private time and the right to be unavailable for communication have become scarce resources, which consequently has influenced the economy, social life as well as personal identities.

The reasons for this change lie mainly in the technological acceleration. Transport such as trains, cars and airplanes have dramatically shortened the travel time from one destination to another (Virilio, 1995). In addition to that, advances in information and communication technologies have brought about the perceived acceleration of the pace of life, created new ways of how time is perceived and transformed the practices and habits of communication between people (Wajcman, 2008). This, however, does not mean assuming a general shift from balanced, slow, and healthy 'traditional' time regime into an agitated and speedy 'modern' one over the course of history. The existence of various tempos does not assume a shift from one temporal regime to another, but rather 'reveal the coexistence of multiple periodicities, and by implication a lack of coordination between scales and registers of temporal order' (Shove et al., 2009: 3).

With the new technologies increasing the speed of production, communication as well as transportation, earlier forms of those processes have come to be perceived as slow and associated with past, heritage and history (Parkins, 2004). A good example of this are trains, which in the 19th century were seen as the epitome of fast transport, turning 'a man from a traveller into a living parcel' (Ruskin, 1903, cit Mathieson, 2015: 83). Contemporary train travel, however, is often perceived as a slow way of moving, affording the opportunities to be attentive to the environment (Mertena, 2015: 90-93). Likewise, canal boating, an effective

and swift means of transport in the 18th century, became outmoded by trains in the 19th century, and can now be classed as an extremely slow way of travelling, one that presupposes (or creates) a conscious shift in thinking about mobility and movement. These examples illustrate very well Vannini's (2014) point that tempo is always relational – 'there is no threshold or minimum limit to slowness or deceleration that we can use to judge particular instances against' (Vannini, 2014: 120).

Bowles (2016: 102) argues that for the liveaboard canal boaters, the 'simplistic descriptions of modern time, particularly those that describe the acceleration of temporal experience produced by new technologies and structures[9] [---] can fail to take into account the continuing use and re-uptake of old technologies, and the creation and maintenance of exilic spaces wherein other ways of experiencing time can stubbornly coexist with dominant forms.' He also contends that time as perceived by the liveaboards is actually in direct contrast with the accelerated time, and that the 'dominant rhythms are imagined by many boaters as being connected to a modern condition wherein time is rigidly controlled by timetables set by employers and institutions, and where speed is of prime importance' (Bowles, 2016: 102) – a view that actually supports the acceleration theories.

A response for this perceived acceleration is the manifestation of the idea of slow living, cognisant negotiation of everyday temporalities with a purpose to experience time more meaningfully (Parkins, 2004). In tourism context, this includes engaging in slow tourism, which in general is regarded in tourism studies as a framework that gives 'an alternative to air and car travel, where people travel to destinations more slowly, stay longer and travel less' (Dickinson and Lumsdon, 2010). Mobility itself can also be the purpose of travel, and not just the means to get from one place to another. This is the case in transport tourism, where transport itself is the main focus the tourist experience, and where people enjoy being in movement and engaging with the particular mode of transport, such as taking a cruise, cycling, sailing (Rhoden, 2010), as well as canal boating.

The ideas connected to slow tourism encourage the simultaneously nostalgic and future oriented longings for 'glocalism' and sustainable, ecological low-carbon choices (Dickinson and Lumsdon, 2010). Slow tourism can also be described as deliberative attempt

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[9] Bowles refers to Castells (1996), Eriksen (2001) and Virilio (2012) as examples of this.

to slow down the perceived time flows. McGrath and Sharpley (2018) further distinguish between slow tourism (activities and practices undertaken at a holiday destination) and slow travel (journeys between the starting point and the destination). This distinction, however, cannot always be made, as there are activities, which are simultaneously both: a canal boat, for example, is a slowly moving vessel that follows certain routes and trajectories, stops at multiple destinations and usually returns to its starting point (marina or boatyard) from where the boaters would then travel to their homes. The main discourses of slow tourism, as identified by Guiver and McGrath (2016) include themes such as contrast to both mainstream holidays and hectic work life, experience of time and particular pace, accommodation and travel at the destination, sensory and emotional experiences and the local population and culture. Fallon (2012: 143) similarly argues that 'slow tourists are in search of a relaxing, passive, traditional experience with low technology and a lack of competitiveness as an antidote to a world where the sound-bite features significantly over substance.' In addition, the slow tourism experience, even though it can be, is not necessarily passive, as there are a number of slow tourism activities that require significant skills, such as cycling or sailing (see Rhoden, 2010) or canal boating.

In her analysis of pace in discourses on tourism mobilities, Molz (2009) shows that the social construction of pace in public discourse affects the way mobile leisure practices are seen: in different mobile tourism situations speed can be either desirable and valued as a success symbol, or perceived as unwanted and therefore marginalised. Likewise, slowness can be associated with failure and ineffectiveness, but also with sustainability or resistance to dominant ideologies. Molz (2009: 284) therefore suggests that there is actually no need to reconcile the notions of speed and slowness, but 'we should understand modernity in terms of friction, tension and ambiguity as we pivot between stillness, slowness and acceleration' instead. Taking the above into consideration, the term slow tourism mobility, would therefore best encompass elements of both slow travel and tourism when talking about the slow tourism practices in regards to canal boating. For this reason, I follow Fullagar et al. (2012: 3), who define slow mobilities as

> more than movement, or transport, between places. Rather, the term 'mobilities' encapsulates a range of spatio-temporal practices, immersive modes of travel and ethical relations that are premised on the desire to connect in particular ways and to disconnect others. Slowness is more than anti-speed, however. Rather, slow is

embodied in the qualities of rhythm, pace, tempo and velocity that are produced in the sensory and affective relationship between the traveller and the world.

In regards of tourism and temporality, there are two important themes to consider: rhythm and tempo. Studying touristic activities from the rhythmanalytic perspective allows us to pay attention to the multitude of mundane practices that constitute tourism. These practices are related to the rhythms that stem from the cyclical moving of the Earth around the Sun, as well as the more individual perceptions of time. In addition to the rhythms, the tempo is another important construct in regards of tourism mobility, as often the tourism tempo is perceived as a counterpoint to the perceived acceleration of modern life, which then brings about the idea of conscious deceleration and therefore, slow tourism mobility.

2.3 Conclusion. Towards mundane tourism mobilities: Researching the temporal, material and embodied practices

Travelling is a practice of (often physical) mobility, simultaneously functional and full of meanings, experienced in embodied ways that includes being co-present and interacting with other humans as well as materialities in various temporal settings. A mobilities perspective allows us to study movement not just as transporting people, goods or information from one place to another, but also as a discourse or representation as well as a lived, embodied experience. It therefore helps to highlight the social processes that take place between individuals and groups, as well as to study spaces and places where moving subjects encounter each other in their everyday interactions. Looking at tourism in the framework of mobilities studies – as one possible way of being mobile among many – allows us to see it not as a phenomenon disconnected from larger mobile processes, but a part of it.

What is more important, it gives us the framework to study tourism as a mundane, everyday activity. Advances both in transport as well in information and communication technologies have increasingly distorted the borders between leisure and work, making tourism part of contemporary everyday life. Research done in the new mobilities paradigm framework has, by studying a number of mundane mobilities such as automobilities,

commuting and air travel, given us the tools to do that. I therefore suggest that it is fruitful to study tourism from the mundane mobilities perspective. This would prompt us to see tourism from two complementing viewpoints: tourism as a part of everyday life as well as everyday life in tourism, as neither of those perspectives has received much attention thus far.

In order to do that, a practice approach (Shove et al., 2009) that sees practices as enduring social entities that consist of various mutually dependent elements, such as embodied and sensory, as well as mental activities in the physical environment, is useful. 'Mobility is practiced, it is experienced, it is embodied' (Cresswell, 2006: 3) and physical travel involves 'lumpy, fragile, aged, gendered, racialized bodies encountering other bodies' (Urry, 2007: 272). By practicing mobility, human beings both recreate and reproduce as well as invent and change both their physical and social environment. These practices are a constitutive part of everyday life that occurs in interaction with various materialities, which thus further allows us to interrogate the relations between the material, perceptual and discursive (Anderson and Wylie, 2009) as well as the temporal.

I therefore propose we study mundane tourism mobilities through closer examination of various material, embodied and temporal everyday practices. This perspective allows us to shed light onto the multitude of processes via which the various human-material assemblages are perceived and lived by individuals in tourism situations. We can study how mobile assemblages are formed by the co-presence and co-practices of skilled individuals working together with a number of materialities. This further allows us to study mundane tourism mobilities in particular temporal environments, as well as to unpick a number of mobile temporal experiences such as rhythms of tourism or slow tempo. This would lead to the further investigation of how tourism places occur through a number of interrelated practices, which are temporal, material and embodied. To conclude, I argue that taking mundane tourism mobilities as a theoretical starting point to the study, helps us to reveal reveal the connections between the different aspects of socially practiced, and bodily experienced tourism mobilities which in turn opens the way to further analyse the resulting entangled mobility assemblages.

Chapter 3. Philosophical framework and methodology

Any research involves a series of choices that ultimately contribute to its results. There are numerous ways in which knowledge can be produced and they involve different paradigms, with their corresponding ontologies, epistemologies, methodologies (Pernecky, 2007) and axiologies (Lincoln et al., 2011), thus constituting the philosophical framework of a study. In the previous chapter, I identified the key theoretical frameworks of mobilities and everyday life practices that will inform my analysis of the data on touristic activities practiced on canals. In this chapter, I will describe the philosophy that directs this research: the research paradigm, epistemology, ontology, methodology, methods of data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations guiding the process.

3.1 Positioning the research: Paradigm, epistemology, ontology

Philosophical issues are very important in any qualitative study, because methods are more than just instruments of data collection: they express the researcher's critical and philosophical awareness as well as influence and modify the collected or created data. It is important to make sure before choosing a particular methodology that the researcher has positioned herself paradigmatically and that 'ontological concerns of "being" are assessed in tandem with epistemological concerns about "knowing"' (Hollinshead, 2004b: 64). Therefore, in the following chapter, I will outline the main philosophical foundations of my study. I will start by introducing the general research paradigm, interpretivism, and continue with the epistemological and ontological orientations of the study.

3.1.1 Research paradigm: interpretivist approach to tourism

This study is part of the larger, loosely defined discipline (or indiscipline (Tribe, 1997)) of tourism studies, a multi-, inter- and transdisciplinary project that brings together various disciplines: geography, sociology, business and management, anthropology, cultural studies, development studies, psychology, history, political science and others (Echtner and Jamal, 1997). All of these disciplines belong to social sciences where, very broadly speaking, two main paradigms – accepted and coherent systems of academic research practices (Kuhn, 1970) – have been identified: (post)positivist and critical/constructivist (Lincoln et al., 2011) or interpretivist (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). Despite the wide variety of disciplines – and therefore, potential research philosophies – until the end of the 20ᵗʰ century, tourism studies was largely dominated by (post)positivist paradigms, often using quantitative methods (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004) that analyse causal relationships between measured variables (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008a). In this paradigm, researchers are seen as neutral and objective, having no impact on findings, expected to 'transcend subjectivity and disconnect knowledge from everyday life if there is to be any knowledge worthy of analysis' (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004: 35).

Research in the (post)positivist paradigm is not only quantitative: there is also a lot of qualitative research, exploring various phenomena from an individual perspective and focusing on the experiential (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008b) in tourism. These studies nevertheless tend to take more of an instrumental, industry and policy-making orientated view on the subject, treating the tourist as primarily a consumer and focusing mainly on potential applications in business, management and marketing (Hall, 2004). According to the evaluation by Jennings (2009), approaches such as those related to critical theory, social constructivism, postmodernism and phenomenology were until recently mostly marginalized in tourism research. This marginalization is well exemplified in Tribe's (1997) overview of the field, which divides tourism research into two main areas: business tourism studies and non-business tourism studies, essentially defining studying the social and cultural topics in tourism by what it is not rather than attempting to describe what it is.

Furthermore, in tourism business and management studies, qualitative methods often form a set of data collection methods, and the opportunities to utilise them for critical

thinking and analysing different ways of knowing and being have repeatedly not been taken advantage of (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) called for moving in the direction of interpretive qualitative tourism research and for departing from the abovementioned static and largely (post)positivist means of knowledge production. In the past 15 years, these calls have been answered by researchers in human geography, sociology, anthropology and related disciplines. This has produced more individual-centred critical research, grounded in empirical data but also highly theorised (see for example overviews in Cohen and Cohen, 2017; Cohen and Cohen, 2012; de Souza Bispo, 2016; Leite and Graburn, 2009), which can be labelled critical tourism studies (Ateljevic et al., 2007).

My research into canal tourism is positioned in the interpretivist paradigm, characterised by the disappearance of the grand narrative, a focus on particular smaller cases, context-specific theories, rejection of the possibility of the objectiveness of the researcher and the essentiality of the reflexive position of the author (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008b). Due to the significant lack of empirical work on the tourist's experiences of the mundane and everyday aspects of their travels, especially in the water tourism context, this study is essentially inductive, starting with collecting empirical data, which then leads to the formulation of theoretical perspectives and insights (Reichertz, 2013). In the following, I will further explain my ontological and epistemological positions in regards to this research: social constructionism and phenomenological anthropology.

3.1.2 Ontological outlook: social constructionism

Ontology 'is concerned with the nature of existence' (Jamal and Everett, 2007: 58) and the perceived reality (Hollinshead, 2004b) and structure (Couclelis, 2017) of the human experience. It deals with the nature and form of reality, what exists and how, how things are or how they work and what can be known about them (Pernecky, 2007). However, it is important to note that ontology is 'a set of propositions, urging a particular viewpoint on reality. An ontology is words and concepts, not reality itself' (Carrithers et al., 2010: 160).

My viewpoint on the nature of reality takes as its point of departure social constructionism, which maintains that reality exists only in relation to the individual who is a social being, born into a world shaped by many socially produced and constructed interpretations. It therefore aspires to understand how individuals and groups perceive, interpret and give meaning to their surrounding reality (Bonham and Johnson, 2015). These meanings can be extremely diverse, depending on many different factors, including historical, cultural, social and individual, therefore 'leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow the meanings into a few categories or ideas' (Creswell, 2013: 24-25).

Developed by Berger and Luckmann (1966), social constructionism centres on the idea of the 'life-world' (*Lebenswelt*): our most immediate and experiential surroundings. People participate in the 'everyday life-world', taken for granted and often perceived un-reflexively, in predictable and patterned, routine ways (Luckmann and Schutz, 1973). This life-world however, is not a single, 'objective' reality – which does not exist according to the social constructionist ontology – but is made of many realities of different people. Each person perceives his/her individual life as objective reality, seemingly constituting a normal and self-evident world of meanings shared with others (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

I am, therefore, following Pernecky's (2007) relativist ontology, according to which there are multitudes of realities which are socially constructed and not necessarily governed by causal or natural laws, and according to which truth is understood as the best-informed and consensual construction for a particular group. Not only are 'meaningful tourist realities [---] constructed through our engagement with the world', but tourism as a phenomenon is essentially 'constructionism in action' (Pernecky, 2012: 1132). This is also called symmetrical constructionism, according to which always changing multiple realities are the results of interchanging and interrelated social knowledge, as well as material practices (Gervais, 2002).

Constructionist tourism research focuses on how meanings of hosts, guests, places, spaces, ideas and material objects have been 'constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed over time' (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004: 39). Tourism realities are socio-cultural constructions, but it is also important to note the 'worldmaking' (Pernecky, 2012) ability of tourism (an idea borrowed from Hollinshead (2004a)): the capacity to create new ways of being by privileging certain dominant representations of people, places and spaces over other

potential representations. However, the world-making ability of tourism involves more than the symbolic, discursive and representational creation of tourist imaginaries and sites. As a theory, social constructionism does not suggest the existence of an ontological realm that exists whether humans have knowledge of it or not, which means that tourists 'can never know with certainty the existence of a world beyond their linguistically formulated knowledge of it' (Burkitt, 1999: 68).

Tourism (as with other human activities) is indeed constructed, imagined and narrated, but it is also performed (Edensor, 2001) and lived through active embodied, sensory engagement (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994) with the surrounding material (Jóhannesson, 2005) and temporal (Small, 2016) world. Social constructionist viewpoint means understanding that practices produce multiple realities (Bonham and Johnson, 2015) and therefore we can study tourism as 'a set of ongoing organising practices' (de Souza Bispo, 2016: 174) of everyday life. Having briefly discussed my position on the nature of reality and its socially constructed nature, I will now move on to discuss how can we obtain knowledge about these realities: the epistemological principles of this study.

3.1.3 Epistemological outlook: phenomenological anthropology

Epistemology is dealing with the problem of what and how can we know about the realities discussed above – what are the limits and scope of the knowledge that can be produced. Since my understanding of reality is based on social constructionist viewpoint, producing knowledge about this reality means that epistemologically I am 'actually creating rather than discovering the phenomenon called tourism' wearing particular 'disciplinary spectacles' (Tribe, 2004: 57) – those of phenomenology. The underlying epistemology of this study is that 'the complex social world can be understood only from the point of view of those who operate within it' and that research is collaborative 'with the researcher and the researched [---] as partners in the production of knowledge and the interaction between them being a key site for both research and understanding' (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004: 36). In order to deal with these issues, I will utilise phenomenology, a transcendental philosophy that deals with

the preconditions for the possibility of subjective experience (Zahavi, 2007). Phenomenology is generally understood as 'a radical, anti-traditional style of philosophising, which emphasises the attempt to get to the truth of matters, to describe *phenomena*, in the broadest sense as whatever appears in the manner in which it appears, that is as it manifests itself to consciousness, to the experiences' (Moran, 2002: 4, original emphasis). My epistemological approach therefore grows out of the ontological standpoint discussed previously, that the various realities of lifeworlds are based on multiple individual experiences.

While at the beginning of the 1990s Csordas (1994: 11) noted that 'in anthropology, phenomenology is a poor and underdeveloped cousin of semiotics', phenomenological anthropology quickly rose to prominence mainly due to Ingold's (2000b) work. In general understood as 'a theory of perception and experience' (Ram and Houston, 2015: 1), phenomenological anthropology focuses on how sensitivities and experiences are (re)created through various social, cultural and practical strategies for engaging with the world. This approach deals primarily with questions of lived experience and embodiment. As a result, it attends 'at once to the tangible realities of people's lives and to the often inter-related social, biological, corporeal, sensorial, discursive, cultural, political, economic, psychological, and environmental dimensions of those realities' (Desjarlais and Throop, 2011: 97).

In this thesis, I am mainly following the phenomenological anthropology of Ingold (2000b), who, drawing on the work of Gibson (1974; 2015 [1986]), Merleau-Ponty (2012 [1945]) and Csordas (1990), sees sensory engagement with the world as a mode of participation as well as a way of 'being' in the surrounding environment. Although Ingold (2000b) concentrates mostly on the senses of vision and sound when constructing his argument, for him engaging with the world via different senses does not involve different channels: they all come together as essential facets of the same experience. Furthermore, in his take on engaging with materialities, material objects do not emanate from ideas but 'through a pattern of skilled movement', coming 'into being through the gradual unfolding of that field of forces set up through the active and sensuous engagement of practitioner and material' (Ingold, 2000a: 57).

In human experience, interpretation and perception are interlinked and inseparable, and making sense of data and subsequent theorising are always present in the process of data

collection (Maso, 2007). Phenomenological anthropology focuses on the centrality of human experience and perception, while regarding it as inseparable from the construction of cultural meanings, categories and representations (Pink, 2011). Lifeworlds are meaningfully constructed by individuals (Pernecky, 2012) but they are also perceived, experienced and realised through various embodied practices. I have discussed the question of what is reality and what can be known about (the ontological question) as well as the relationship between the researcher, reality and knowledge (the epistemological question) (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Pernecky, 2007). The next step is to explain how I, as a researcher, will go about finding out what can be known about my topic, which is why I turn to my research methodology – ethnography – next.

3.2 Research methodology. Reflexive mobile ethnography of tourism

Methodology is the way researchers approach their studies, focusing on the means for gaining knowledge about reality (Pernecky, 2007). The methodological framework of this study is ethnography, 'an integration of both first hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organization and culture' (Hammersley et al., 2007: 1) as well as a way of writing (Campbell and Lassiter, 2015). In this thesis, I take an anthropological approach to tourism, with ethnography as my methodology, which means asking particular anthropologically guided research questions and gathering primary empirical data using the methods characteristic to anthropology (Leite and Graburn, 2009). Next, I will focus on the two main aspects of ethnography as constituted in my research: mobility-temporality and reflexivity.

3.2.1 The temporal and mobile field

An important aspect that characterises ethnographic fieldwork is temporal commitment, as it is the most time-consuming of the qualitative approaches. In this I concur with Ingold (2014: 384) who criticizes the contemporary use of the ethnographic method, stating that in many studies it often appears to be a substitute for other forms of qualitative research and that 'proper, rigorous anthropological inquiry' should include 'long-term and open-ended commitment, generous attentiveness, relational depth, and sensitivity to context.' In tourism research, however, it is not always easy or even possible to create this long-term commitment, which is more applicable mainly when studying 'hosts': those living and working in tourism destinations. Studying tourists in the same way is more difficult due to the temporal and mobile nature of tourism and tourist practices.[10] This means that anthropologists have had to, and will have to adapt their research methods in order to capture the fleeting phenomenon, practice and experience that is tourism (Leite and Graburn, 2009). Thus, in order to better overcome the contradiction between traditional anthropological fieldwork and the temporal and mobile nature of tourism, I have made use of another, equally participatory, ethnographic research framework, which has developed in parallel, but also in dialogue with socio-cultural anthropology: European ethnology.

The discipline of ethnology historically grew out of German *Volkskunde* ('the study of people'), traditionally focused on one's own (folk) culture as opposed to *Völkerkunde* ('the study of the world's peoples'), now commonly associated with social and cultural anthropology. There have been many discussions (which are ongoing) on the differences and similarities of the two disciplines, mostly in regards to the histories of the disciplines, their position in various national academic hierarchies and their situations in regard to their respective centres and peripheries: while ethnology is generally more associated with continental Europe, the anthropological centre lies in the Anglo-American (or 'Franglus',

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[10] Stronza (2001) identifies two key themes in the anthropology of tourism: the origins of tourism, focusing on tourists, and the impacts of tourism, focusing on locals. She suggests that the factors explaining local involvement in host communities should be further studied, as well as the various effects travelling has on tourists' attitudes, values and behaviours. Furthermore, anthropologists have without doubt contributed significantly to the development of critical tourism theories. For example they have studied tourism as a liminal stage and a secular ritual (Graburn, 1989), a catalyst for cultural commodification (Greenwood, 1989) or as a set of imaginaries (Salazar and Graburn, 2014) (for overviews on anthropological research into tourism, see Stronza, 2001; Burns, 2004, Leite and Graburn, 2009).

including France) academic-geographical domain (Vermeulen and Roldán, 1995; Hann, 2009a; Hann, 2009b; Kockel, 2012). Another important point of discussion regarding the dis/similarities of the two academic traditions however, and one that has been reflected on much less in the academic methodological literature, is the question of methodology (Annist and Kaaristo, 2013; Brkovic and Hodges, 2015).

The traditions of both ethnology and socio-cultural anthropology are primarily qualitative endeavours, relying on ethnographic fieldwork, where the most common methods continue to be participant observation and ethnographic interviewing. However, there is a difference in executing the method historically: while in anthropology one of the most important requirements for fieldwork is continuous long-term study, ethnology has relied more on short-term (mostly multiple) field trips (usually in the researcher's own country of residence/origin), and has used more targeted interviews and concentrated, intensive observations. Brkovic and Hodges (2015) identify these two main approaches to fieldwork as 'extended stay' (which they categorise as 'Anglo-Saxon'), which means spending at least a year in one location, and 'back and forth', which they call 'Balkan and Eastern European', where researchers make short trips to the studied area, sometimes repeatedly over many years. It should be noted, however, that the whole discipline of continental European ethnology, including Scandinavian culture analysis, actually has followed or still follows this model.

Löfgren (2008b) identifies four key methodological aspects of European ethnology. First of all, it is a discipline dedicated to the study of the (seemingly) trivial and everyday, with painstaking efforts to record and document details. Secondly, it relies on ethnographic fieldwork, a method that it shares with anthropology, but the regularity and intensity of the participant observations differ depending on circumstances. As traditionally ethnologists have studied their own cultures (or ones that are rather similar to them), questions of the researcher's relationship to the field are critical, which places great importance on the reflexive approach. Ethnology's third feature is its frequent use of historical perspective and dimension. Its fourth characteristic is its flexibility, a great sensitivity to the use and combination of various perspectives, theories, approaches and methodologies in researching different phenomena.

When discussing the long- and short-term fieldwork models, Brkovic and Hodges (2015) define movement as a central issue: the epistemological movement of the researcher across various social and cultural spaces, as well as her movement between the 'field' and the 'desk'. Indeed, anthropological knowledge of certain phenomena, such as tourism, can no longer be defined by utilising just one particular kind of research method, such as long-term participant observation: it can and should also be acquired by other means. I would argue that this means that the ethnographic method as understood in ethnology is inherently suited to the mobile methods of the new mobilities paradigm (see 2.1).

I demonstrated in the previous chapter (2.1.3) that tourism has become an important mode of contemporary (transnational) life (Franklin and Crang, 2001). A fruitful way to practice back and forth ethnography, when researching tourism, would be to combine it with the techniques of mobile methods developed in recent years as part of the new mobilities paradigm. The turn to theorizing in terms of mobile practices started in the mid-2000s, when Sheller and Urry showed that the issues of mobility had mostly been excluded from the thus far static and 'a-mobile' social sciences, failing to study 'how the spatialities of social life presuppose (and frequently involve conflict over) both the actual and the imagined movement of people from place to place, person to person, event to event' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 208).

Viewing tourism research from the mobilities perspective focuses attention on various practices that involve much more than linear movement, as attention ought to be paid also to the practices, corporealities, materialities, imagined and virtual mobilities, and technologies in tourism situations. Tourist practices should be researched by 'trying to move with, and to be moved by, the fleeting, distributed, multiple, non-casual, sensory, emotional and kinaesthetic' (Büscher et al., 2011: 1). This means doing ethnography while moving alongside the research participants, the tourists, tour guides, hotel workers, tour groups, managers of hotel chains, museum employees, crews of airlines, etc. Mavric and Urry (2009) point to ethnography as a starting point for mobile research techniques and methods that can be used to study and conceptualise the world as a web of mobilities and immobilities. Mobile tourism ethnography can then be done in various (social, geographical and hierarchical) spaces and places simultaneously (Marcus, 1995), coupling various methods, such as participant observation, with mobile observation techniques.

The combination of these various methods makes it possible to study the complexity of tourism in the contemporary research situation, where it is increasingly difficult to define a 'field', as well as where and when it begins and ends:

> My research experience was not marked solely by 'leaving for the field' for an extended period of time. Mine was the experience of continually coming and going to and from the field, to the point where, at times, the field became indistinguishable from home. [---] Blurring field/home boundaries was further enhanced by technologies that facilitated these crossings by linking my field with home, home with other fields and my home with other homes. [---] At times, I did not need to physically travel to the field to be able to reach my 'key' informants or for them to reach me. [---] Keeping the field and home conceptually separate and distinct in practice, a key marker of 'real' fieldwork, was impossible for me (Caputo, 2000: 26).

Caputo, quoted above, studied the gender performances of schoolchildren in Toronto, the city in which she herself resided. Indeed, when talking about 'back and forth' research, the inevitable question arises: back and forth from where and to what? (Brkovic and Hodges, 2015). The blurred (and continually blurring) boundaries of 'home' and 'field' are important in the qualitative study of tourism, which often needs to start with re-conceptualising the place and the duration in regards to the field. Studying spatially fixed groups of people for longer periods can prove difficult in the tourism context, and other methods have to be adopted and choices made. For example one can decide to study a particular tourism space by staying for months in a specific tourist location (Edensor, 1998), or one can move with tourists on their tours by becoming either a tourist or a tour guide (Bruner, 2005). The studied group (the tourists) and the place (the tourist destinations) are not permanent or stable, but temporary and mobile – always changing, as various groups and individuals move about various destinations for differing periods of time. This means that attempting the classical one-year extended stay may not be feasible or even possible.

Here, following the ethnological back-and-forth short-term fieldwork model can provide better results, as long as the fieldworker subscribes to the 'ontological commitment' (Ingold, 2014: 388), where the knowledge of the studied phenomena organically grows out of the lived experience and knowing is not separated from being. The knowledge of the world thus obtained consists of perceptions and decisions that develop during the sensory, direct engagements with the surrounding world, which brings us to the issue of reflexivity.

3.2.2 Reflexivity

Ethnography is a methodology in which the operational and theoretical parts of the study are interconnected, incorporating both social and cultural theory as well as a method for documenting and studying various phenomena (Nolan, 2013). It brings together both the perspective of the research participants and the wider theoretical considerations informing the work and growing out of it, as the ethnographer is part of the process of creating and constructing her own data. Here, the researcher's involvement in the lives of the research participants is particularly close, as 'the relationships between ethnographer and informants in the field, which form the basis of subsequent theorizing and conclusions, are expressed through social interaction in which the ethnographer participates' (Davies, 2012: 5). Accordingly, it is important to bring together the empirical perspectives of the research participants and the researcher with the wider theoretical considerations that inform the work and emerge from it.

This reflexive position, now a relatively common practice in the social sciences and humanities, started gaining prominence with the wider spread of postmodernist thought in the 1970s, when anthropology started to pay closer attention to the strategies of knowledge production. The methodological and theoretical foundations that earlier[11] had been left unchallenged now came under scrutiny as anthropologists started to critically analyse the influence of the author's own identity and personality on his/her writing, as well as the process of fieldwork and data collection.

By the 1980s, the discussions of how anthropology is actually 'done' had become more and more mainstream. Debates were held about the limits of representation in the discipline as well as the actual writing process. Anthropology started to move towards greater self-reflexivity and introspection, as well as self-analysis. The 'manifesto' of this kind of thought

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[11] The classical ethnographic method of participant observation was laid out by Malinowski (1922) in his famous *Argonauts of Western Pacific*. In its earlier incarnations, however, as criticised by Marcus and Cushman (1982), the method adhered to a genre they called 'ethnographical realism', meaning that it was characterised by the invisibility of the author in the written product, as well as an absence of individual research participants' perspectives. In those ethnographies, cultures and societies were described as if existing in an abstract 'ethnographical present', a style where everything was written in the present tense no matter when the described events actually took place. Therefore, quite often, early ethnographers did not take into account historical or social change and wrote their accounts as if existing outside of time and space.

and of postmodernist anthropology is the edited book *Writing Culture*, which sees 'culture as composed of seriously contested codes and representations; [and assumes] that the poetic and the political are inseparable, that science is in, not above, historical and linguistic processes' (Clifford and Marcus, 1986: 2). The book had a strong influence on the 'the crisis of representation in ethnography' (Marcus and Fischer, 1986), on 'rhetoric' or the 'textual' (Hammersley et al., 2007) or 'interpretative' crisis (Rabinow, 1986), or more generally, the 'postmodernist turn' (Caplan, 2003). This new way of writing and thinking was characterised primarily by acknowledging various epistemological issues of knowledge production in research and using multiple strategies to overcome them.

Reflexivity, an effort to look at one's own research activities, from data collection to writing, in a critical, insightful and analytical manner, while also focusing on one's own self, is now one of the main elements informing contemporary ethnographic methodology (Have, 2004). All researchers, but especially those in social sciences and humanities, are connected to and therefore influence their research objects, subjects, participants and environments to a certain degree. Thus, it is important to think through how the researcher affects the research, from the initial selection of the topic to the published result. This is done through a reflexive approach, which means that 'the researcher is aware of her/his presence in the construction of knowledge, and in the conduct of research, the fieldworker scrutinises and exposes her/his subjectivities as a result of interactions with the researched' (Ali, 2012: 14). In order to engage in what Davies calls reflexive ethnography, the ethnographer 'must seek to develop forms of research that fully acknowledge and utilize subjective experience and reflection on it as an intrinsic part of research. Furthermore, given the contribution of the ethnographer's sociocultural context to the research, these contexts too must be considered' (Davies, 2012: 151).

Hall criticizes large parts of tourism research for its lack of reflexivity, which he regards as 'critical to all tourism research practice, even if it is not as well acknowledged as it should be' (Hall, 2004: 150). Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) have also called for moving towards more interpretive (and qualitative) tourism research and for departing from static and largely positivist means of knowledge production. They argue for tourism scholarship, where 'functionalist and totalizing research approaches and practices, like the relentless hunt for a rational and "objective truth", are being challenged by critical and interpretive scholars

seeking a more meaningful experience and understanding of the text and context of their study' (2001: 78).

Willig (2001) suggests focusing on two main forms of reflexivity: personal and epistemological. While personal reflexivity means including one's own values, feelings, experiences and beliefs and the ways the research has shaped both the researcher and the research participants to the analysis, the epistemological deals with questions about the knowledge production as well as the meaning, limits and scope of knowledge. Therefore, it is important to discuss such topics as the location and context of the study, initial contact and subsequent relationship with the research participants, what took place during the data collection and the researcher's position vis-à-vis various institutions, which I will present in the following sub-chapters. The reflexive approach has enabled me to communicate how my, the researcher's, values, (embodied) experiences and practices have intersected with those of the research participants and the reciprocal environment thus created has contributed to the transparency and analytical quality of the research.

My 'anthropological interventions' (Leite and Graburn, 2009) into canal holidays therefore have included researching the mobile, multiple, mundane, casual, sensory and embodied experiences (cf. Büscher et al., 2011) in the wider canalscape. This has meant doing ethnography while moving alongside the research participants in the dynamic and ever-changing canal leisurescape. This results in reflexive mobile ethnography, which I regard a critical methodology rather than just a way of collecting empirical data (Pink, 2009), paying reflexive attention to the embodied aspects of the experiences, practices and forms of knowledge production of both me as the researcher and of the research participants. Studying tourism ethnographically means producing mobile (micro)ethnographies, where the researcher traces the hosts and/or guests across and within their numerous activity sites, and where various places, spaces, sites and people are linked more or less loosely together into a general leisurescape.

3.3 Methods of data collection: participant observation, interviews and auto-ethnography

O'Reilly and Kiyimba (2015) argue for the 'necessity of congruence between ontology, epistemology and methodology in terms of how this informs the choice of methods for data collection and analysis in qualitative research'. Ethnographic research can include a number of different data collection methods, depending on the particular research setting and research questions, as well as the preferences of the researcher. Most often, ethnographic research is participatory, which means participating in and observing the research participants' (everyday) lives and activities, usually accompanied by qualitative interviewing (commonly semi-structured or unstructured interviews), conducted both in the immediate 'field' and in other settings (Hammersley et al., 2007; O'Reilly, 2012). Following the established ethnographic research tradition, I have used these most common methods within ethnographic methodology: participant observation combined with interviews. However, due to the particularities of my fieldwork, which led me to become a member of the studied group, I have combined these methods with the auto-ethnographic method (Anderson, 2006), also referring to my own experiences of becoming a boater and a canal enthusiast.

3.3.1 Participant observation: 'deep hanging out' on the canals

Participatory methods are especially well-suited for investigating and understanding human experience, activities and perceptions. Participant observation is a method of data collection where the researcher partakes in the studied group's activities, events and exchanges in order to learn about both the explicit and tacit aspects of their culture and society (Musante, 2015; Dewalt et al., 1998). As a method, it 'requires a profound level of introspection on the part of the researcher with respect to his or her relationship with what is being researched. [---] The process of giving voice to others is never neutral and works itself through power structures. Participant observation assumes a subjectivity in which the voices are heard from somewhere in particular rather than from some Archimedean point of reference' (Hall, 2004: 150).

Participant observation, therefore, can only be successful if the researcher is able to immerse herself in the studied field, regardless of its temporal and spatial properties. The mere fact of physically being in the field (for however long) does not necessarily guarantee immersion, because it can only be achieved via the ethnographic practice of becoming part of certain social, cultural and political relations. Immersing yourself in the field means being part of the (always incomplete) process of finding your conceptual place in changing networks of hierarchically ordered relations and, for this reason, the temporal length of stay is less important than taking into account the particularities of a certain research problem (Brkovic and Hodges, 2015). The observation part of participant observation is never distant or 'objective': it always includes being part of, and present in, the situation-specific network of phenomena, events, people and ideas that is the studied field. The researcher therefore has to constantly reflect on the processes of data generation and the ways of approaching them, since they will later influence the analysis of the data.

Choosing the particular locality and group for fieldwork is where the sampling procedure effectively begins (Honigmann, 2003), since the location influences the selection of potential research participants. I focused on canals in and near Manchester, slowly widening my area to the north-west of England (as well as northern Wales): being located in Manchester, this was the most suitable way for me to conduct long-term fieldwork. The literature review on the history of canals (see 1.1), conducted during the first stage of the research, supported this choice because the development of the canal network during the Industrial Revolution started in the north-west (beginning with the Bridgewater Canal). A wider review of non-academic literature on canals and boating (boating memoirs, travel books and newspaper articles) and other canal-related cultural texts, such as plays and TV programmes (see 1.1.4), demonstrated the meanings the northern canals had for the boating community. They are valued for their industrial heritage, urban and rural environments, and significantly lower number of boaters. They are also perceived by boaters as not as 'chocolate-boxy … twee and cutesy' (Haywood, 2008: 310) as the ones in the south, therefore invoking nostalgia for the industrial past; yet at the same time they are also associated with danger and antisocial behaviour. There are also popular cruising circuits in the north, such as the Cheshire Ring, the South Pennine Ring, and the North Pennine Ring.

The first stage of any anthropological fieldwork involves gaining access (often with the help of a gatekeeper), which includes a process of meeting various people, establishing contacts and rapport, and being generally accepted by the group (Dawson, 2013). The Inland Waterways Association's (IWA) Manchester branch was one of my main entry points into the field of the canals and was where I established initial contacts by visiting the association's monthly Winter Talk in October 2014. This was made easier by (at his own suggestion) mentioning Rohan, a live-aboard boater and continuous cruiser, and a friend and employer of my Estonian former colleague Triinu. I contacted him shortly after moving to Manchester, since, like most other anthropologists attending biennial conferences of the EASA (European Association of Social Anthropologists) and SIEF (Société Internationale d´Ethnologie et de Folklore) that his company organizes, I knew that he was living on a canal boat.

Rohan's name, well known to many canal boaters in northern England, as I soon learned, smoothed my entry into the community and helped me to establish good rapport with his friend Steve, the vice-chairman of the IWA Manchester branch, who subsequently became my gatekeeper. Steve, the 'professional stranger-handler' (Agar, 1996) in this group, was the first person to approach me when I went to the open talk, and he was my main contact during this initial stage of gaining access. As he wanted to help me to learn everything possible about canals and canal tourism (as I usually phrased my topic when talking to research participants), he invited me to various events and meetings and was also the first person I interviewed for the research project. His motives for his generous help were probably wanting to help me with my project, since I was a friend of a friend, but also, as Alvesson (2011: 29) notes, 'interviewees may have other interests than assisting science by simply providing information. They may be politically aware and politically motivated actors.' Steve's secondary motivation for actively including me in the group was also to promote the activities of the IWA Manchester branch, as well as to recruit new volunteers to the group. I gradually got to know other members of the organisation, began building rapport (Schensul et al., 1999) and developed good personal relationships with the boaters as I participated in their various events. These included IWA winter talks, Christmas potlatches, work parties for cleaning the canal towpaths and, as the time went by, informal socialising and activities, such as having drinks before or after events or joining some of them in their trip to the Lake District. These activities were very important as they helped me to better understand the shared systems of

meaning and value of the boaters, as well as giving me access to both information and various activities I needed for conducting the study.

Another, essentially parallel, entry point to the world of the canals was the Canal and River Trust (CRT). Shortly after arriving in Manchester in September 2014, I applied for the position of volunteer office administrator advertised on the CRT web page. My reason for wanting the job (as opposed to joining a 'towpath taskforce', which deals with cleaning up litter, cutting vegetation and other general maintenance activities) was to get to know as many people on the CRT administrative side as possible. Subsequently, I spent one day a week at the CRT Manchester and Pennines depot in Rochdale from October until December 2014, doing different tasks, such as sorting out archives, cleaning cupboards and updating various information lists for boaters ('customers' in CRT-speak) and employees. This indeed allowed me to get to know people working for CRT in various teams, such as customer services, volunteering, operations and communities, and to establish contacts with them.

In autumn 2015, I was invited to join a working group initiated by Jon, the lead volunteer at CRT Manchester and Pennines, and Steve, the volunteer coordinator, to devise a new filing and recording system for volunteer working hours in the area. This allowed me to meet CRT employees at the meetings, which took place at the CRT offices in Rochdale and Red Bull. I also started attending the volunteer days of the Ancoats Canal Project (ACP) in Manchester and, as both IWA and ACP events are always overseen by CRT customer operations supervisors, I acquired good contacts with both the volunteers and canal enthusiasts, many of them holiday boaters, and the people responsible for the general maintenance of the canals in the Manchester area. All of these groups overlapped, as I soon learned: for example, Paul and Terry, whom I had met in the CRT Rochdale office or Jim from Red Bull would oversee IWA 'work parties'. Jon, with whom we were developing the volunteer hours recording system, was the main CRT contact for the ACP. I met my initial CRT volunteer task manager Tracey at various events, such as Manchester and Pennine Waterway annual 'outbursts' or the national users' forums (which take place twice a year), where she introduced me to CRT employees and participants, boaters and members of volunteer groups. Likewise, I saw the waterways manager David, based in Red Bull, giving talks in IWA events and being the main CRT contact for various IWA projects, such as discussions ensuring the

boaters' interests would be taken into consideration when securing the undercroft area at Dale Street in Piccadilly Basin or attending 'canal inspection' boat trips organized by IWA.

Just like with many other interest and hobby groups (Norris, 2002), a lot of communication regarding canal boating takes place online. At the suggestion of Enid, a boater I had met, I started reading the popular CanalWorld[12] forum (even though I never registered as a user, but remained a 'lurker' in the forum). I also subscribed to the popular magazine Canal Boat and joined a number of boating related communities ('groups') on Facebook: the Narrowboat Users Group, Canal & River Trust Volunteers, Ancoats Canal Project, Canal Market Place, CANALWORLD.net Discussion Forums, Great British Canals, Canals and Rivers UK and Women on Barges. In most of these groups, I just observed the conversations going on, although in the groups where the new members had to introduce themselves I mentioned that I was doing research on canal tourism. As a group member, I only posted on the Canal & River Trust Volunteers group, sharing photos from the volunteer activities of the IWA Manchester branch and FoR9. On Twitter, I followed a number of canal-related accounts, such as CRT's various departments, CRT employees' public-facing accounts, IWA and other volunteer groups, attractions, companies and organisations, as well as a number of individual boaters (mainly live-aboards), documenting their lives on the boats and travels on canals (popular, for example, was @sort_of_dan and @CruisingTheCut). On Instagram, I similarly followed CRT and IWA, as well as waterways enthusiasts and boaters, such as @explore_waterways, @coalboat_alton, @goozlegram and others.

On Twitter and Instagram, I mainly posted about my volunteer activities, boating and trips to various canals, feeling great pride when @explore_waterways 'featured' my canal pictures twice on their Instagram account. On these public accounts, other boaters started following me, liking the pictures and sometimes commenting or asking questions, which also signified my membership in the wider online boating community. Keeping the researcher's self separate from the 'private' one was almost impossible, and this was the case on social media as well. On Instagram, I would sometimes also post photos of my other, non-canal-related trips, earning joking comment from a research participant, 'Very lovely… but where are canals?' Several of the research participants also became my 'friends' on my private Facebook profile, often liking and commenting on my pictures or status updates, which, on

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[12] http://canalworld.net/forums/ (09.10.2017).

the one hand signaled my membership in the studied community, but on the other hand further blurred the boundaries of the 'field' of my fieldwork.

Being familiar with the discussions going on in online communities was important in further understanding the boaters, who were mobile and scattered around the waterways, as it highlighted some of the issues that perhaps were not talked about that often 'offline'. As Bowles (2015: 58) notes, 'boaters do also act differently online than they do in real life, perhaps taking advantage of the Internet's ability to grant the user freedom from face-to-face rules and norms. Thus, Boaters who may be polite and measured in person may use the relative freedom and distance afforded by the Internet to vent their opinions on various annoyances (for example, naïve newcomers in the community, bad behaviour by other Boaters, Boaters who encourage or condone overstaying in popular spots which may lead to a backlash for others).' Therefore, some of the information and background data gathered online is used in this thesis. I have not undertaken 'netnographic' (Kozinets, 2012) research, but rather treat my online presence as part of the participant observation. More specifically, following Hine (2000), who distinguishes between various levels of online participation, I did not undertake extensive online data collection, such as archiving online discussions, but rather shared the same timeframe online with the forum and group members, which means that online participation was another avenue for participant observation.

Participant observation means immersing yourself deliberately and totally in the studied phenomena with the intention of acquiring knowledge from the perspective of the studied group and obtaining first-hand knowledge of their lifeworlds. It is 'a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning both the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and culture' (Musante, 2015: 251). Therefore, in order to understand the leisure boaters, I also needed to experience boating myself (see Appendix 1). Starting with a three-day trip on the Shropshire Union Canal in May 2015, I boated as much as I could with Rohan on his 55ft narrow-boat Ganesh. He taught me how to open and close the locks and steer the boat, and by September 2015 I had learned how to steer the boat through the locks on my own: an achievement of which I was very proud. During those trips, when we were travelling along different canals in north-west England, such as the Shropshire Union, Leeds and Liverpool and Bridgewater, we chatted a lot about boats and boating (among other topics), which is how I

learned the main boating vocabulary. He also introduced me to his friends, all experienced boaters, when boating on *Ganesh* or, for example, visiting the Bedford Basin boatyard (I met many boaters when he invited me to their bonfire night in November 2015). By the summer of 2016, I was fairly capable of steering the boat and operating the locks. However, as Rohan said to me when we were boating on the Leeds and Liverpool canal in the summer of 2016, he would not consider me 'a proper boater' and worthy of a PhD in canals before I had learned to 'single-handle' a boat, the most important skill of which would be the ability to go through a lock alone. When boating through a lock with two or more people, one of them would stay on the boat to hold it steady, while the other(s) work the lock. A single-handed boater, however, would have to secure the boat in the lock with ropes, climb on and off while the boat was in the lock (using the ladder on the lock's side if the lock was empty), close and open the paddles in order to fill or empty the lock, and at all moments make sure that the boat was safe in the lock.

I also continued spending as much time as possible with the members of the Inland Waterways Association Manchester branch. As I was participating in the local work parties, and the IWA members knew about my interest in the canals for research purposes, Steve started inviting me to their other canal-related activities as well. For example, in June 2015 I accompanied IWA volunteers on the Rochdale and Ashton Canals, assisting the elderly leisure boater John through the 'Rochdale Nine' – a rather difficult set of Manchester city centre locks – and onwards to the Portland Basin. Later that year, in September, Steve invited me to join the Ashton canal 'inspection' starting from Piccadilly Basin and covering the whole canal length of 6.7 miles to the Portland Basin. This inspection took place on the work-boat *Joel*, built in 1948 (provided by Robert and Enid from the Ashton Packet Boat Company), and its aim was to detect any potential problems for boaters along the route (damage to locks, etc.), with Canal and River Trust representatives (waterway manager David and customers operations supervisor Paul) on board.

This trip marked a turning point in the fieldwork for me, as I found out that Steve had not invited the whole list of the usual IWA volunteers to the inspection, but a core group of people more frequently involved in work parties, as well as the Branch's committee members. 'I didn't invite everyone, only our special ops team,' he said, smirking, early on a September morning as he held my backpack while I climbed over a small locked gate (having

taken a wrong turn in Piccadilly Basin while trying to locate the meeting point). For me, this was what Musante (2015) calls 'breaking through': a moment in the fieldwork when I felt a true rapport and the establishment of the groundwork for further participation as a group member. From that moment onwards, I felt a part of the IWA group, and as time went by, started identifying myself with the IWA Manchester Branch more and more.

In August 2015, I participated in 'Canal Boat Adventure', a four-day 'hostel-boat' trip from Manchester to Whaley Bridge (on the Rochdale, Ashton and Peak Forest Canals) on board their 69ft narrow-boat *Rakiraki*. The Wandering Duck, then run by Mark and Ruth (they sold the company, that was awarded Manchester Tourism Experience of the Year 2015, in 2016), offers narrow-boat trips for people who do not want to rent a boat themselves. This trip offered me an opportunity to experience first-hand what it meant to spend several days boating and negotiating the limited space of a boat with a bigger group of people, as there were nine of us on the boat. The guests on the boat were expected to help with opening and closing the lock gates (which they first had to learn, as most of them had not done it before) and were all welcome to steer the boat. However, Mark and Ruth remained the responsible parties for the steering, going through the locks, and mooring up for the night. This trip therefore offered me a valuable point of comparison to the more common narrow-boat holidays, spent on either hired or owned self-driven boats, with friends or family.

In April 2016, I joined Gordon, Janet and Phil from IWA and their friends Derek and Sue for their holiday on the Macclesfield Canal on the 70ft narrow-boat *Olympic* and in October 2016, boated on Chesterfield Canal, River Trent and Fossdyke Navigation with Gordon, Janet, Phil and David. *Olympic* is jointly owned by a group of ten friends who have taken boating (and other) holidays together for the past 40 years with their friends and families. As other people on the boat knew each other very well, this allowed me to take on more of the role of a guest and a bystander. However, since by that time I had become a committee member of the IWA Manchester branch (and had been invited on the trip by Phil, a fellow committee member), this meant also having to negotiate the roles of an IWA (committee) member and a fellow boater, as those roles continually kept blurring during the course of my research. That meant that, for example, sometimes Phil, Gordon, Janet and I as IWA members, or Phil and I as committee members, would discuss IWA-related issues and share them with other guests on the boat.

In April and September 2016, I took three further day-trips on a hire-boat with Richard and Ian, volunteers for the CRT, and Mike and Ed, employees of the CRT, on the Ashton and Rochdale Canals. Helping them to move the hire-boats from the Portland Basin to central Manchester for the Friends of the Rochdale 9 launch weekend in April and Manchester Waterside Festival in September, I spent full eight-hour days with them on the boat, mostly working the locks but occasionally also steering, which meant having long conversations with them about boating and canals. In addition, I also assisted the CRT volunteers and employees in bringing the CRT work-boat down the locks of the Rochdale 9 for Friends of the Rochdale 9 volunteer days in July and August. While those two trips were taken on a work-boat, they still provided me an invaluable opportunity to practice going through the locks, chatting with the CRT volunteers (who are also holiday boaters) and with the other boaters on the canal.

When in the 'field' – the canals – I would follow the principles outlined by DeWalt and Dewalt (2011), firstly, fitting into the studied group, which I achieved by assuming the (at first) natural position of novice and learner. A second important aspect is active looking and observing in order to capture the unspoken norms and rules of the studied groups, often unacknowledged actions and routines that would not come up during interviews, because research participants think of them as insignificant (Guest et al., 2012). In order to be able to write sufficient field notes, memorising things in the short term is another important strategy, as is conducting informal interviews constantly when in the field. It was on these boating trips that I learned about the sensory aspects of leisure boating from first-hand experience: the smells of the diesel, sounds of the engine running, the taste of food after a long day of boating and therefore spending most of it outdoors, the views of urban and rural landscapes sliding past at a tempo of 3 to 4 miles per hour, short chats with passers-by as well as other boaters, the physical experience of standing in cold rain for hours steering the boat and muscles aching after a day of winding the paddles up and down and opening and closing lock gates.

The subsequent trips, when I hired a boat myself (in March and April 2016) added various other emotions and experiences to the mix: I learned first-hand what it meant to be a beginner boater on the canal solely responsible for a boat. I felt the joy of being able to control the boat properly, alternating with moments of sheer terror when I was afraid I would crash into a bridge or, much worse, into moored boats. I also felt the embarrassment (mixed

with panic) of not being able to turn the boat around in a small marina during my first solo trip. And I experienced the kindness of canal community, when a live-aboard, who, after watching me try and fail numerous times, hopped on board to help me. 'Do you have to do that often?' I asked, as she dexterously handled my small, 32ft hire boat (a boat that 'practically turns around itself!' as Rohan exclaimed later, when I recounted the story). 'Turn the boat around for hapless tourists, I mean?' She smiled and replied, 'Yes, it does happen from time to time here,' in an amused way, before giving the tiller back to me and jumping effortlessly and elegantly onto another boat's gunnel to get back to her own boat.

The volunteer activities with both IWA and CRT were another important part of the fieldwork, as they gave me good reasons to be near the canals, to get to know the people and to engage in 'deep hanging out' (Geertz, 2000). The latter is a form of participation and observing where the researcher is present in the studied group for longer periods of time, engaging in informal communication and becoming a part of the group, but not necessarily always conducting formal recorded interviews or visibly taking notes or photos. This allowed me to initiate conversations with various people I met along the canals and also was a good way to recruit research participants for interviews, as the people I interviewed in the later stages of my fieldwork perceived me primarily as a fellow canal enthusiast, volunteer and holiday boater. Informal interviewing (Russell, 2011; DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011), however, was an important part of this process: principally conversations in the field, which naturally followed the topics brought up by the participants, while asking occasional questions in order to clarify some points. An important characteristic of an informal interview is its lack of pre-determined structure, although there is some degree of control from the researcher, who constantly asks additional questions on the topic she is interested in. It also means that the researcher does not take notes but rather just tries to remember the conversations and writes them down at the end of the day.

I recorded information in a field diary I kept during the boating trips (as well as during other meetings and encounters on the canal), since 'the writing of field notes is a central activity of the method of participant observation' (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011: 160). During the course of a day, for example, when on a boat, I would usually write down some 'jot notes' (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011): words, phrases or sentences that I would later use as primary aids for memory. At the beginning of my research, I kept a separate, smaller

notebook, for the jot notes; in later stages, however, I also utilised my phone's voice recorder, recording audio memos. I also took photos and some video recordings of the events, primarily for use as memory aids for writing the field diary. Since most of the people I had longer encounters with during the fieldwork knew that I was doing research, they also knew that taking photos was part of that. Nevertheless, the people in the photos I have used in this thesis signed consent forms to allow the photos to be reproduced.

In order to write the main field diary, however, I had to wait either for a quieter time during the day, or more often write notes down in the evenings, reflecting on the events that had happened. I wrote down these notes by hand, in notebooks, since carrying a laptop with me was not always feasible or practical. I wrote about the main events of each day, paying attention to my observations, discussions with people and, as an auto-ethnographic endeavour, my personal experiences and feelings about boating. I also wrote down questions that had emerged during the day to ask the research participants later. For example, in early 2016, I wrote down a series of questions that I felt needed answering, which included 'heating, how?; electricity: how?; how long do you have to go in one direction before you can turn around?' These questions, the answers to which now seem to me self-evident, and in the latter case, naïve, confirm that 'if the researcher's daily reactions to events and contexts are not recorded, it will be virtually impossible to reconstruct the development of understanding and to be able to review the growing relationship between the researcher and study participants in a manner that allows for reflexivity at the end of the process' (Musante, 2015: 276).

Although positioned in the wider framework of anthropological methods, my fieldwork differed from the classical approach in two aspects: the place and the duration. Whereas anthropologists traditionally study spatially fixed groups of people for long periods of time (usually a year), both the studied group (leisure boaters) and the place (the boats) are not permanent and stable in any way, but temporary and mobile: always changing as various groups and individuals move about the canals for differing periods of time, from a couple of hours to a lifetime. This meant tracing the boaters both geographically (boating on various canals with different people) and temporally (talking about trips that had taken place as long ago as the 1970s). In addition, there was no fixed one-year period of participant observation as is traditional in anthropology. Therefore, this thesis is a mobile ethnography (Büscher et

al., 2011) of the wider canalscape, where various places, spaces, sites and people are more or less loosely linked together. Furthermore, my fieldwork started with my first contacts with the members of the boating and canal community in autumn 2014 and is effectively ongoing, since at the time of writing this in 2017, I am still attending, and helping to organise, monthly volunteer events for both IWA and FoR9, attending various boaters' events, boating and keeping the field diary. However, although the information that I have gathered in 2017 does inform my research, the majority of the data (interviews and field notes) this thesis is based on, are, for analytic purposes, from the main data collection period of 2014–2016. During this period of participant observation I also conducted ethnographic interviews, which I will discuss next.

3.3.2 Ethnographic interviews

Interviewing is one of the most common methods of collecting empirical data in qualitative research, and it was as important a method of data collection during my fieldwork as participant observation. The qualitative interview is a professional conversation with a clear purpose: 'it is in an interview where knowledge is constructed in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. An interview is literally an *inter view,* an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 2, original italics).

The ethnographic interview is a qualitative method characterised by its explicit purpose of data collection, ethnographic explanations by the interviewer (about the project and recording, as well as using group-specific language) and ethnographic questions (both descriptive and meaning-related) (Spradley, 2016). However, Spradley's stance, while well established in the tradition of ethnographic research, is rooted in symbolic interactionism and therefore focused on the cultural systems of meaning often as expressed in language. The interview is indeed a 'speech event' (Spradley, 2016: 55), however it is also a 'social, sensorial and affective encounter' (Pink, 2015: 76) where, through a combination of data collected

through shared experiences and activities and by discussing them during the interviews, the sensory and embodied can also be studied.

An interview works especially well for gathering data if the main aim is to study the subjective perspective of an individual and when the main research questions are related to the production of meanings. Research participants can express themselves freely during the interview and reply to questions using their own words. This means that the interviewee is an active contributor to the interview and fully participates in the processes of meaning making, as well as being an equal partner and guide to the interviewer. The research participant, therefore, is not just someone replying to questions asked of them, but actually shapes the interview protocol, which in turn can then influence the whole focus and course of the study (Agar, 1996; Roulston, 2010; Holstein and Gubrium, 1995).

The ethnographic interview differs from other types of interviews – for example oral history, life history, biographical, narrative and focus group interviews – in two important ways. First, the time (duration of the interview and contact frequency) and second, the quality of the relationship with the research participants, allowing the development of respectful and continuing relationships with enough rapport to be a sincere interchange (Heyl, 2001). In short, 'an ethnographic interview does not involve entering the field, collecting the data, then immediately leaving. It is engaged, committed, involved and time-consuming' (O'Reilly, 2012: 127). This means that my understanding of the topic of leisure boating gained through participant observation (volunteering, attending various boat-related events and boating) had a strong influence both on my selection of and interaction with the interviewees. Together with a review of literature on mobilities and everyday life practices in tourism, the participant observation was an important way of gathering data on the topic in order to design and modify the semi-structured interview protocol. This helped to determine the main topics and themes for discussion, while making it possible to follow the natural course of discussion with the research participants (see Appendix 2.2).

Starting in June 2015, I conducted in-depth interviews with 20 leisure boaters (see Appendix 3). The first two interviews (with Steve and John) also served as pilot interviews to test the initial interview protocol I had developed (see Appendix 2.1). This initial version of the protocol, based on the literature review and my notes on the first conversations during the fieldwork from Autumn of 2014 and Spring 2015, turned out to be slightly too general, at

times putting too much stress on other activities besides boating, and did not address some important topics at all, as I was not yet aware of them. All of the interviews were recorded, and after transcribing the first two interviews and subsequent to the boat trip in June 2015, I devised a revised interview protocol for use thereafter (see Appendix 2.2). This had an improved structure for my research purposes and worked much better with my interviews: it focused strongly on boating (while still allowing for discussion of other experiences on the canal) and helped me to ask questions about details of different activities, experiences, practices and topics related to it. I also added some new topics to the protocol, for example angling, which I did not include initially. Some questions were populated with new meanings: for example, the first interview protocol included a question about safety and danger, which I initially intended to be related to public spaces and possible negative behaviour by members of the public. However, it turned out that a much more important topic regarding safety actually dealt with questions of handling the boat safely, especially when in the lock.

As DeWalt and DeWalt (2011: 129) have noted, if the researcher wishes to go 'beyond the most general and superficial generalizations about a setting or community, it is necessary to understand the range of variation of experiences and perspectives' and this has to be reflected in the choice of interviewees. I mostly followed judgement (purposive) sampling, which assumes a certain deliberateness in selecting research participants. The selection was based on criteria developed through participant observation, using my 'prior knowledge of the [researched] universe to draw representatives from it who possess distinctive qualifications' (Honigmann, 2003: 123). One of the first decisions was to focus on narrow-boating as experienced by domestic tourists, which means that the interviewed boaters were British. This choice partly grew out of the specifics of the field, as during my research I only encountered three non-Brits on canal boats (from Australia, the United States and New Zealand).

I followed the two main principles for interviewee selection proposed by Alvesson (2011): representativeness and quality. I made sure that different age groups (their ages ranged from 24 to 83), as well as both genders were represented (twelve men and eight women). However, I also approached boaters who seemed to be more open, talkative or experienced. When I noticed that I was mostly talking to experienced boaters, I made an effort to also talk to those who had less boating experience. To an extent I combined this

approach with the snowball method (Kadushin, 1968), where one research participant would lead me to the next by suggesting other potential interviewees: I interviewed Denise at the suggestion of Steve, and Kirsten at the suggestion of Tom.

The interviews started with a 'warm-up' question: 'To start, could you tell me a bit about your most recent canal holiday?' I would then address various themes in the interview protocol, including reasons for boating, everyday life on the boat, physical experiences of boating, safety, sensory experiences of boating, tempo, rhythm and social aspects (see Appendix 2). In ethnographic interviews, 'the participant knows the ethnographer and feels able to interject, to query, even to wander off the point', making the interview relaxed and enjoyable for both parties (O'Reilly, 2012: 127). The semi-structured interview schedule allowed me to switch between different topics and naturally follow the interviewee's structure of talking about various topics. I concluded the interview when all the topics in the interview schedule had been discussed or mentioned. The interviews lasted on average over an hour, the shortest being 18 minutes and the longest two and a half hours. I did not attempt to take the role of 'neutral' and 'objective' bystander, but was prepared to share my own experiences and ideas during the interviews, although keeping them to a minimum. I engaged in active listening, using both verbal and non-verbal responses, in addition to asking questions, in order to not only signal attention, but also encourage the interviewee to continue with a topic (Levy and Hollan, 2015).

I carried out the interviews in various locations, largely chosen by the research participants: their homes, workplaces, boats and cars, as well as the MMU Cavendish Building. There are several things to take into consideration when choosing a location, starting with general health and safety. 'Do your supervisors know that you're sitting in the cars of strange men?' Tom joked when he picked me up from the train station. Engaging in participant observation, however, minimises this issue, as it makes it possible to get to know people you are working with over a longer period and therefore assess situations accurately; in preparation for the fieldwork, I had also conducted a risk assessment (see section on risks and hazards in Appendix 6). The choice of interview location however is more than an issue of researcher safety or convenience: who chooses and what place is chosen is a question of power (Herzog, 2005). By letting all of the interviewed research participants choose the place to be interviewed, I strived to create a familiar environment where they would feel safe and

able to express themselves freely. This also communicated my willingness to travel wherever necessary in order to conduct an interview, which showed them how important these interviews (and the interviewees themselves) were for my research.

Another important aspect regarding the location for an interview is privacy: it is best to conduct interviews away from interviewees' families, friends and other people who might be around in order to create a friendly and safe atmosphere and maximise the potential for honest and open responses (Levy and Hollan, 2015). According to Levy and Hollan (2015), in the presence of other people interviewees try to behave as if they are in public places and monitor their responses in order to adhere to general socially acceptable values. The interviews in which the informants were most honest and open were indeed those I conducted in complete privacy. This was, however, not always possible, since I conducted some of the interviews at the interviewees' homes. As in Herzog's (2005) study, the most popular locations were the participant's home (or in my case, a boat), workplace or car or neutral location (such as the university or a café). While homely and familiar spaces made the interviewees more open, the presence of their spouses (generally not in the same room but sometimes still potentially within hearing distance) definitely influenced the topics under discussion. In addition, another important aspect for a successful interview is to conduct it in a quiet space with as little background noise as possible. An office, parked car or home were therefore more suitable locations than the stern of a moving boat or a busy café, since the background noise could usually be reduced to a minimum in the former, therefore distracting the interviewee less.

In the interviews conducted on boats, the issue of privacy was extremely evident, since quite often (and depending on the weather) there simply was nowhere to go in order to have a private conversation uninterrupted by other boaters. I took the opportunity to interview Linda while all of the other boaters went to visit the Chadkirk chapel: since she had already been there, she decided to stay behind, which gave us about an uninterrupted hour and a half on the boat. However we were not completely alone all the time, as from time to time Ruth, one of the owners of the boat, moved about the boat and listened in on the interview while making lunch in the galley and sometimes also joined the discussion.

When I interviewed Lloyd, though, the other boaters were on the boat, moored on Peak Forest Canal, waiting for word from the CRT on whether we were going to be able to go

through since there was a problem with a leaking lock gate at the Marple locks. We sat outside on the stern of the boat, giving us some privacy, as the others were mostly sitting inside. However, it soon started to rain and we had to move back in, and although Lloyd did not mind continuing with the interview in the boat with the others present, it nevertheless influenced the rest of the interview. His replies became shorter, more concise and slightly more formal (as did my questions, because I felt uncomfortable asking questions about hygiene practices or about his relationship with and thoughts about other people on the boat). The recorded part of the interview was therefore cut short due to the changed dynamics of all of the other boaters listening in. Similarly, my interview with David consists of three separate audio files recorded on the same day, with the first break occurring when he noted something interesting through the window of the moving boat and wanted to go outside to examine the passing landscape. Another break occurred when the boat stopped at the lock and we went out to see if we could be of any help. Similarly, my interview with John was cut short since I was conducting it during the lunch break and as soon as the other boaters returned we needed to continue cruising and working the locks, so we continued the interview with me making notes, since the noise of the older engine in the stern made audio recording futile. In all of these situations I made sure to communicate to the boaters that their needs to continue cruising, see what was going on outside, have tea, etc. were definitely priorities over my need to record the interview.

Having experience with cruising on canals allowed me to recognize boating terminology the experienced boaters used, for example words like 'rudder', 'tiller', 'paddle', 'windlass' and 'gunnel', which I would not have recognized before. Although one could argue that it would have also been possible to learn the terminology simply by reading boating manuals (which is what I also did), this would not have given me a deeper understanding of what exactly constituted this particular multi-modal and multi-sensory experience of canal boating. Without this experience, I would never have really understood what Tom actually meant when he said 'some of the paddles can be difficult to open. Dangerous as well if you get a windlass in it and you don't have the locking mechanism in place' without having myself experienced the windlass whirling backwards on the paddle gear and hitting me on the chest when I had forgotten to put the safety catch on. My first-hand experience of boating therefore had two important methodological influences on conducting the interviews: a) it enabled me

to better understand both the terminology and the discourse on the canals and b) it assured interviewees that I actually understood the details (of, for example, operating the locks) they were talking about, which made communication easier, especially when interviewing more experienced boaters.

Nevertheless, as Spradley (2016: 4) states, 'instead of collecting "data" about people, the ethnographer seeks to learn from people, to be taught by them.' Therefore, in all the interviews I took a very clear position as a newcomer and beginner, an 'acceptable incompetent' (Lofland, 1971), making sure that I was seen as someone who did not fully understand the complexities of canal boating and therefore was constantly in need of clarification. By letting the interviewees know that my boating experiences were at the beginner level, I strived for the position of 'someone interested in learning about the social life of the field but only partially competent (skilled or knowledgeable) in the setting and whom members accept as a nonthreatening person who needs to be guided or taught' (Neuman, 2014: 453). As the fieldwork progressed, my confidence in handling narrow-boats, and my general knowledge about boating and canals grew. 'You know more about the canals and boating than many live-aboards that I have met!' said Mark in a surprised and definitely approving manner as we were cruising on Peak Forest Canal in August 2015. During the course of the fieldwork, I would hear similar remarks now and then, a clear sign to me that I was getting more and more familiar with the researched canalscape. It also meant that at some point during the course of conducting the interviews I discovered that sometimes I actually knew more about the technical side of canal boating than the interviewee, as occasionally interviewees struggled with boating terms, details, rules or the names of the canals on which they had boated.

During one interview, for example, I casually asked an interviewee which type of stern he preferred, and on seeing the confusion on his face, realised that this was not something that he, only having had two holidays on hire boats, had ever thought about. Most hire boats have cruiser sterns (to allow as many people as possible to spend time outside on the back of the boat) and therefore he had obviously never thought about or perhaps even noticed different stern types, which was something that I was pondering myself at the time of the interview. Seeing the momentary confusion and mild discomfort the interviewee felt served as a strong reminder to me to stay in the role of the learner also with less experienced boaters

and rephrase these types of questions. I had asked, 'Which type of stern do you prefer, trad, semi-trad or cruiser?' In subsequent interviews with holiday boaters who had little experience, I reworded that question along the lines of 'I've noticed that the backs of the boats are different, some have more room and some less. Have you noticed that and if so which kind of boat do you prefer?'

Another important aspect regarding research interviews is when to stop conducting interviews: how many interviews should be conducted in a qualitative study? As Guest (2014) notes, even though handbooks on qualitative interviews often state certain 'rules of thumb' regarding sample size (which can vary from 5 to 50 depending on the discipline, methodology and research questions), none of those suggestions are presented with supporting evidence. Therefore, it is less important to decide on a set number of interviewees, and the number of interviewees should be determined inductively until theoretical saturation of data is reached (Guest, 2006; 2014). Saturation occurs when no new codes can be established within the data and therefore no new information can be obtained: it is not about numbers, but about the depth of data (Fusch and Ness, 2015).

Indeed, Guest et al. (2006) demonstrate in their analysis of 60 in-depth interviews that seventy percent of the codes were identified after the first six interviews and after 12 interviews 88% were identified. This corresponds to my experience, since after 16 interviews I could not add any new codes to the data. I, however, carried on interviewing, in order to be sure that my perceived data saturation was indeed accurate. As Guest (2014) stresses, reaching the data saturation also depends on the research instrument. In my case, the use of the semi-structured interview protocol for the recorded interviews and the relative homogeneity of the sample (in my case, British boating tourists) both contributed to the data saturation. Another important element contributing to the data saturation also came from the autoethnographic research, which I am going to discuss next.

3.3.3 Autoethnography

During the course of this research, I became a canal enthusiast and a boater. Therefore, I must take into account the fact that I have become a member of the studied group: people taking holidays on the canals in England and Wales. This calls for the use of autoethnography, a method where the researcher who is a member of the researched group and shares certain values and interests with the researched, includes their own experiences during the course of the study in the analysis (Chang, 2008).

The roots of the autoethnographic method lie in the postmodernist anthropology of the post-representation crisis, as well as in autobiographical writing (Reed-Danahay, 2007). The crisis of representation (discussed above, 3.2.2) elicited questions about authority in ethnographic writing: who has the right to make statements about a certain group as well as the need for the bigger transparency of the writer and their positionality. This led to the focus on reflexivity in academic research, considering the ways in which the researcher's person influences understandings of her topic and overall making sure that 'the researcher is aware of her/his presence in the construction of knowledge' (Ali, 2012: 14). The autoethnographic approach, however, requires taking one step forward in the reflexivity continuum as the researcher also becomes the researched and through intensive self-observation is, to put it very simply, present in the result beyond the methods section (Anderson and Austin, 2012).

In his method of analytic autoethnography, Anderson (2006) stresses the following key features of the method: analytic reflexivity, visibility of the researcher in the research narrative, dialogue with informants, the researcher's status as a member of the studied group and commitment to theoretical analysis. The main goal of analytic autoethnography is not to just document and describe the personal experience but rather to offer a way to understand a wider phenomenon, critically analysing it from the insider's perspective. Being what Anderson calls a 'complete member researcher' (CMR) (Anderson, 2006: 378) is a key here and this means that the researcher has good access to the studied field. It also means that in addition to scholarly aims, the researcher is personally motivated to spend as much time as possible in the field.

One of the main problems with the CMR status is that even though the researcher is a complete member of the studied group, she or he simultaneously also belongs to another

group, that of the academics, which in turn differentiates the researcher clearly from other group members. Collecting data can mean having practical implications, preventing the researcher from participating fully in all activities due to the need to often step back and observe certain events. It also affects the way the researcher is perceived by the other group members as well as their own understandings of the studied phenomenon (Chang, 2008). Auto-ethnographers face challenges such as balancing their personal stories with the wider socio-cultural analysis and dealing with the boundaries between self-indulgence and self-reflexivity (Winkler, 2017). Therefore, in regards of my study it is important to maintain that in the case of analytic autoethnography, the researcher's experience of the studied phenomenon is just one among many, as the personal experience of the researcher is put into a wider empirical and theoretical context (Anderson, 2006). This approach therefore differs from that of evocative (or emotional) autoethnography, which focuses almost exclusively on the systematic analysis of the personal experiences of the researcher (Ellis and Bochner, 2000).

Anderson (2006) differentiates between two modes of group membership: opportunistic and convert CMR. An opportunistic complete member researcher has been born into the studied group, has become a member accidentally, or has joined it as a choice of lifestyle. The convert CMR starts out only gathering data, but later joins the group. I am a convert CMR, as I had no contacts or relationships with boaters prior to my research, and I started volunteering and attending meetings and events only in order to meet potential research participants. However, during my fieldwork, I became more and more engaged in various activities and became part of several groups of canal enthusiasts in Manchester, as I genuinely started sharing their interests in canal restoration, maintenance and history, and developed an interest in canal boating. This change happened slowly over the course of my research. However, I particularly remember the IWA Manchester branch's Christmas party in December 2015 (a Jacob's feast on the trip boat Emmeline Pankhurst moored in Castlefield, where open meetings and discussions usually take place). I was standing there, having an ale ('Do you want a lager or a real beer?' Mike had asked me) chatting and joking with the other guests, when I suddenly remembered the same party a year before, where I had felt slightly awkward, very much a foreigner and a bit like an intruder, eagerly trying to strike up conversations with people, but feeling self-conscious and very much out of place. At the

Christmas party of 2015, however, I knew most of the people present, and they knew me, I did not have to explain my reasons for being there to most of the people and I genuinely had become, if not friends, at least close acquaintances with many of them. This happened during the course of one year: 'rapport', an essential feature of successful fieldwork (Glesne, 1989; Springwood and King, 2001) had been established.

As I volunteered monthly with IWA, it made sense for me to join it officially as well, which I did in January 2016, and, soon after that, Steve invited me to attend a committee meeting of the Manchester branch. At that meeting, I was invited to join the committee (I was officially elected at the annual general meeting in April that year) and was offered the task of coordinating publicity. I accepted the offer immediately, as attending the committee meetings meant both better access to the studied group and an opportunity to give something back to them (see 3.5.2). I started by setting up a branch Facebook page[13] (which I still run) and continued by conducting an interview with Liz McIvor, the presenter of the BBC4 series "Canals: Making of a Nation" for IWA's Waterways Magazine (McIvor and Kaaristo, 2016). This was very well received by the branch members as it brought attention to the branch by being the most clicked story of the magazine's web version that month, as IWA headquarters informed us. In addition, I have written short activity reports about the various events, talks and the branch's volunteer work parties for the IWA head office and branch webpage.

I also continued working with CRT, and in March 2016 I accepted Jon's invitation to become involved with getting a new community project off the ground, 'Friends of the Rochdale 9', focusing on the part of the Rochdale canal that runs through the Manchester city centre. This again meant running both the Facebook group and the page for the project[14], and assisting with organising the launch weekend for the project (16-17th April 2016), as well as monthly volunteer days (that started in May 2016), and the Manchester Waterside Festival (10-11th September 2016)[15], which I continue to participate in and help to run. These activities further cemented my membership in the studied community. It also meant that I started producing a narrative of canals, taking a clear position as a group member,

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[13] www.facebook.com/IWAManchesterBranch/
[14] www.facebook.com/CanalFestival/
www.facebook.com/groups/103785293357563/
[15] www.for9.org.uk (09.10.2017)

highlighting what the group saw as positive aspects, and de-emphasising those aspects that were not valued or were seen as controversial by the group members.

Canal boating became a hobby rather than just a research topic for me. Over the course of the research, I have tried to boat as often as possible, as well as spending time with people interested in canals. My first experiences in 2015 gave me the courage to try renting a boat myself, so in March 2016 I rented a boat for a day and cruised from the Portland Basin on the Ashton Canal to the Droylsden Marina and back with my friend Marko. This trip, the first of several, was essentially an auto-ethnographic study of my own experience as a beginner boater. Although I had boated with others numerous times before, this trip was the first where I was solely responsible for the boat (including legally, having signed the necessary documents at the marina). During this trip on the 32ft narrow-boat *Mary* and on subsequent boat trips, my confidence handling the boat slowly but steadily grew. I therefore inhabit 'the space between' (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009) outsider and insider, having become a complete member of the studied group, nevertheless constantly combining the identities of researcher, holiday boater and canal volunteer.

In all of my boating trips I engaged in what Crawley calls 'self-interview', focusing especially on bodily experiences, 'evoking and theorizing simultaneously but refusing to be boxed into categorical notions of method and the ruling relations of knowledge production' (Crawley, 2012: 143). I devised a set of questions, a 'self-interview protocol' of sorts to keep in mind when writing reflexive notes in my field diary. These questions included: How am I feeling right now? (Comfortable, happy, relaxed, excited, sad, content, tired, annoyed, bored etc.?) Why? What am I thinking? How many people are on the boat, and who are they? What are our interactions like? How does it feel on the boat/ in the cabin/ on the towpath? What do I feel when handling the boat? How do the food and drink taste and smell? What do I see/hear/smell around me? These questions helped me to concentrate on various sensations and emotions as they occurred, which I wrote down as soon as the opportunity arose (during lunch breaks, when others on the boat were steering it, or in the evenings). The main idea was to record and capture as precisely as possible what went on with me as a (beginner) boater during the boat trips, focusing on the sensorial and everyday, as well as the social aspects of canal boating. I did not keep a separate diary for the autoethnographic field notes, as I felt it was not analytically useful to separate my experiences on the boat from the

descriptions of other boaters in different notebooks. This strategy fit better with the method of analytic autoethnography (Anderson, 2006), where my own experiences were studied not as main or primary sources of data, but as a way to contextualise the data gathered by other means (participant observation and ethnographic interviews.)

Autoethnography as a method thus facilitates the researcher's investigation of a familiar setting (Minowa et al., 2012). However, my status as a convert CMR added a layer of unfamiliarity for both me and the research participants, namely that from the perspective of the studied groups, I am a foreigner. Holiday boaters in Northern England are a rather homogeneous group (mostly White British) and my foreignness was therefore very clearly highlighted in all of the interactions with the boaters due to my accent and my name. Even though it made me feel, at times, like an intruder, there were several positive aspects – I had almost an excuse to ask the 'self-explanatory' questions. As I would often inform my research participants, since there are no canals in Estonia I do not know anything about them – which was certainly true in the beginning of my research. On the one hand, after the initial questions about Estonia, why I had chosen to study in the UK and whether I liked it here, over time my foreignness became almost a non-issue and I felt clearly that what mattered to the boaters was my genuine interest in the canals. When discussing whom to appoint as another person with the right to sign for the money from the IWA Branch account and I suggested another committee member instead of me, for the reason of her being a British citizen, Steve said in an almost surprised manner that he forgot that I was not 'local'. I took this as a deliberate statement and affirmation on his behalf of his view of me as a firmly established group member.

On the other hand, the fact that I am foreign was of course obvious and therefore negotiated by the group members using different strategies. One of them, for example, was highlighting this obvious difference by joking about it: we once had a lot of laughs when Mike stated that it is probably not politically correct to call me foreigner and suggested 'alien' instead; or when going through the Harecastle Tunnel and asked how many crew were on the boat, Gordon replied 'four crew plus one Estonian hidden away.' One boater, however, painstakingly searched for errors in my spoken English, and corrected me whenever I made a grammatical mistake or used a wrong word, which felt as his attempt to somehow 'domesticate' me.

Similarly, my nationality could not go unnoticed before and after Britain's vote on leaving the European Union and the discussions on 'Brexit'. On the first work party after the vote, several IWA members came to hug me and apologised, wanting to make sure that I knew their position on the vote. When I mentioned I was going to see *Twelfth Night* at the theatre, Barry told me wistfully: 'Shakespeare wrote all those plays set in Italy and Denmark and Greece and other places in Europe. Is it not ironic how in the same year we commemorated 400 years from his death this country voted for Brexit. I wonder what he would have thought about this Brexit and Trump nonsense and what plays he would have written about it.' However, I took it for granted that most would share a similar position, and had a long and heated discussion with one canal enthusiast, which even though we both remained civil, was on the verge of becoming an argument, which brought the complexity of my position clearly to the foreground. On the one hand, I felt that being a group member I am entitled to sharing my positions, opinions and feelings; on the other hand, however, this was still a research situation, which required not voicing my personal opinions too much should they clearly clash with that of the research participant.

All in all, however, my status as a foreigner and outsider – 'new migrants', such as Eastern Europeans, tend to occupy more marginal positions in British society (Fletcher, 2014) – a woman, university student and in many cases a significantly younger person, all helped to balance the power dynamics which in research situations often clearly favour the researcher (Chen, 2011). Using the autoethnographic method therefore allows substantial contributions to the academic research, as it encourages rich and engaging writing, and greater methodological rigour due to the clear visibility of the researcher in the study, and provides valuable analytical insights. However, it also facilitates self-understanding and personal development of the researcher (Anderson and Austin, 2011).

To sum up this section, the primary data for the present research was gathered using three methods of data collection. I combined participant observation and autoethnography (producing a written field diary and visual data in the form of photos and some videos) with ethnographic interviews with 20 research participants (producing audio files and their transcriptions). This allowed me to accumulate a collection of self-generated (Cope, 2010) data, which was co-produced with the people I met in the field. I will next describe the analysis of this data.

3.4 Data analysis

Data analysis is central to qualitative research, since it makes it possible to make sense of the data, and therefore determines and shapes the main results and outcomes of the study (Flick, 2014). In practical terms, it is mainly understood as the process of (re)ordering collected data, dividing data into smaller units of meaning and discovering patterns and themes that allow for interpretation and theorising (Ellingson, 2011; Schensul and LeCompte, 1999). Data analysis is therefore the process of

> classification and interpretation of linguistic (or visual) material to make statements about implicit and explicit dimensions and structures of meaning-making in the material and what is represented in it. Meaning-making can refer to subjective or social meanings. Qualitative data analysis also is applied to discover and describe issues in the field or structures and processes in routines and practices. [---] The final aim is often to arrive at generalizable statements by comparing various materials or various texts or several cases (Flick 2014: 5).

In ethnographic research, the processes of data analysis and data collection overlap throughout the fieldwork period, as the analytical process is essentially iterative and recursive: the gathered data informs both the methodological and analytical practices, which in turn, affects the way new data is gathered (Bazeley, 2013). This iterative-recursive analysis (O'Reilly, 2012) is an ongoing process where important parts of the data analysis are conducted in parallel with data gathering. Therefore, preliminary data analysis essentially started in the very first stages of my fieldwork: the process of making sense of the gathered information and trying to fully understand these new, boating related, concepts, ideas, values, categories, understandings and practices. This also meant always going back to the field – to the research participants, other people met in the field and to online forums, boating magazines and popular literature – to double check, ask and clarify. Data collection and analysis were interwoven, with me as a researcher following the research participants' leads, yet at the same time being guided by my main research questions and interests, as well as theoretical insights.

For example, very early during my research, a research participant suggested that everyone was equal on the canals, whereas another, when replying to my question about

different boats on the canal, described what I interpreted as a full-scale hierarchy of different boats and boaters. This made me think about the ways the canal boating community is organised and also perceived by different boaters (for example live-aboards and holiday boaters). When I next talked with boaters, I then knew to ask about this topic. In addition, I did not recognise 'hire-boater' as a specific category of boaters in my first field encounters, and did not fully understand when research participants talked about being treated differently by more experienced boaters. Only after more fieldwork and having learned about the category through first hand experience, did I recognise it in later stages of analysis when constantly returning to the data.

As is common in ethnographic research, my analysis did not start with pre-existing codes developed from the literature, but I used an inductive coding where the codes were first identified from the collected data and then applied to subsequent data (Schensul and LeCompte, 1999). This process was also essentially reflexive since it was influenced both by my own ontological and epistemological understandings (Bazeley, 2013) of the research process and boating as an activity. I fully transcribed all interviews and fieldwork notes and diaries, doing so as I acquired new data, and stored it in the qualitative data management software NVivo. These different data – interview transcripts, fieldwork observation notes and descriptions of my own feelings and experiences during fieldwork – made triangulation possible: confirming the information and subsequent results by data gathered from multiple and diverse sources via different methods, which improves the rigour of the analysis (Silverman, 2006).

Using multiple methods to gather data (in my case, participant observation, ethnographic interviews and auto-ethnography) is the most commonly used triangulation strategy in qualitative research (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2007). However, it is important to stress that triangulation is not a means of ensuring an 'objective' analysis of data, which is neither desired nor possible in ethnographic research. The construct of validity as it is understood in quantitative research (how well a research instrument measures what it is intended to measure) is not appropriate or relevant for ethnographic studies (Cope, 2010). Triangulation does not validate the results, but serves as an alternative for validation that makes it possible to further enrich and complement data. Different methods not only provide different information about the same topic, but also constitute the world in different ways

(Silverman, 2006). Triangulation is consequently one possible way of 'transgressing the (always limited) epistemological potentials of the individual method' (Flick, 1998: 230) and 'is best understood as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to any inquiry' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008a: 7). Furthermore, data triangulation is an important means of making sure data saturation is reached (Fusch and Ness, 2015). I gathered data for this research using three different methods, where the conducted interviews were informed by my experiences during participant observation and my auto-ethnographic experiences, which clearly contributed to reaching data saturation when conducting the interviews.

Following Schensul and LeCompte (1999), I conducted the data analysis on three levels: item, pattern and constitutive/structural. The item level analysis involves identifying specific analysis units in the data (Schensul and LeCompte, 1999) that largely correspond to descriptive coding of mainly in vivo codes, meaning those that come from the respondents' own narratives (Cope, 2010). Item-level analysis was especially intensive in the first stages of my fieldwork, when I acquired a lot of new information in short periods of time through participant observation and interviews, and somehow had to make sense of all of it. This initial process meant reading and rereading the transcripts with the goal of identifying the specific thematic units present in the data. These first codes were mainly in vivo codes, but they were also related to the themes laid out in the semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix 2). These codes included 'weather', 'food', 'bathrooms', 'sleeping', 'light and dark', 'water use', 'locks', 'danger and safety', 'slow tempo', 'relaxation', 'rural', 'steering', 'boating season', 'history and the past', 'industrial heritage', 'nature', 'wildlife', 'sociability', 'boaters', 'boats', 'hire-boat', 'narrow-boat', 'barge', 'gin palace', 'boating rules' and 'conflicts'.

From these initial codes, I moved on to identify the patterns that 'consist of collections of items or categories of items that seem to fit together or are related to one another' (Schensul and LaCompte, 1999: 68). For example, the items 'food', 'cooking', 'sleeping', 'toilet' and 'hygiene practices' linked together into the pattern of 'everyday life practices'; 'guidebook', 'windlass', 'CRT key', 'mooring equipment' and 'handcuff key' formed the pattern 'material everyday items of boating'. The patterns manifested themselves in various ways: sometimes by declaration from the research participant (for example the hierarchies that form in the canal community). They could also be identified by their frequency: for example, every interviewee talked about the slow tempo of canal travel and, by extension,

the slow tempo of life on the canal and how that made them feel tranquil and relaxed. This, in turn, made me look more closely at the themes corresponding to the pattern related to temporality in general.

On the third and final level of analysis, I started looking for relations and connections between the patterns. Schensul and LeCompte (1999) call these 'constituents' or 'structures' and they are composed of mutually related and connected groups of patterns that start to form an overall theoretical stance explaining the studied phenomenon. I identified these constituents via iterative reading and re-reading, coding and re-coding of the data and already identified codes (Roulston, 2014), rereading theoretical literature, (self)reflection and writing. Connecting various ideas and identifying larger themes within the data, I analysed these pattern sections in the framework of the reviewed theoretical literature and identified the four major themes emerging from this data – community (Chapter 4), materialities (Chapter 5), temporalities (Chapter 6) and everyday life rhythms (Chapter 7) – which I present in the discussion chapters. These, in turn, allowed for the identification of the over-arching meta-themes of this research contributing to the theory: time, place and practice (Chapter 8).

3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethics in research deal with the researcher's actions related to trustworthiness, transparency, truthfulness, accountability and trust. Questions of ethics – axiology – are inextricably linked to the epistemological and ontological foundations of the research, since assumptions about the reality and the knowledge of it influence our expectations of the responsibilities of the researcher (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007). In participatory methods especially, questions of ethics are in the foreground of the research, as the greatest number of ethical concerns and issues are raised in qualitative studies (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011). Detailed attention to those issues is also an inevitable result of increased reflexivity in research (Davies, 2012). This means making sure that the principles of truthful reporting (Alvesson, 2011), confidentiality and informed consent (Davies, 2012) are essential parts of the study. Ethical principles have to inform the design of the study, data collection, writing and publication: in short, all stages of

the research. However, following the principles of ethical behaviour does not just mean protecting the dignity and well-being of the research participants: it should also produce positive and identifiable benefits for the studied group and thus offer the 'potential to increase the sum of good in the world' (Israel and Hay, 2006: 2).

The general guiding ethical principles for this research are based on the Economic and Social Research Council's (ESRC) *Framework for Research Ethics* (ESRC, 2015), which takes into account the following key principles for conducting research: the quality and transparency of the research design, informed consent, confidentiality, voluntariness, non-harm and independence of research, and freedom from conflicts of interest. Prior to commencing this study, I sought ethical clearance from the university for this research project (Appendix 6). In the following, I will give an overview of three key ethical considerations I encountered during my fieldwork: informed consent, confidentiality and benefit to the research participants.

3.5.1 Informed consent

Informed consent means making sure that the research participants are fully aware of the aim and topic of the research, what is expected from the research participants, how much time and commitment it will take, how the collected data will be handled and stored, and what will be done with the results of the study (Davies, 2012). During participant observation, I always stated when talking to people that my primary reason for volunteering and visiting the events was my research. I also expressed my identity as a researcher in my public social media accounts. Both on Twitter and Instagram, I described myself as a researcher studying canal tourism, in line with suggestions that researchers should always be overt about their interests, whether 'offline' or online (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2011), as well as a canal enthusiast and volunteer.

The fact that I was doing research was also a good way to initiate conversations with people I did not know on the canals and gave me a 'legitimate' reason to engage in the deep hanging out and always asking additional, sometimes 'obvious' questions. All of my interviews, likewise, started with me introducing my research (even though I knew most of

the interviewees already from previous participant observation and had discussed my research before). After this introduction, I gave them the participant information sheet (Appendix 4) and asked them to read it through. I would then ask the interviewee whether they allowed me to switch on the voice recorder. When all of the interview topics had been covered, I asked the participants for the following personal details: age, employment status, place of birth and current residence; and switched off the voice recorder.

I then signed the consent form (Appendix 5), gave it to the research participant, asked them to read it, choose whether they would like to be quoted with their real names or with aliases in the thesis and subsequent publications, and to sign the form as well. Signing the consent form usually caused mild amusement: many interviewees joked about 'signing their life away'. Some also asked why I needed such a bureaucratic piece of paper and one of the interviewees suggested it must be so that 'the university would know you did not make the interviews up.' I liked this explanation, and I used it myself half-jokingly in subsequent interviews, when giving the reasons for my need for signatures. They never refused to sign the forms, which is not always the case, as sometimes people who have first agreed to participate in research and in interviews later refuse to sign too formal-looking papers (see for example Fluehr-Lobban, 2013: 75-76). Signing the consent form was probably not an issue because I knew all of the interviewed people: I had met them at the events of IWA, FoR9 or ACP, had spent time with them boating or met them through the recommendations of mutual acquaintances. The only two interviewees whom I had not met prior to the interviews were both social scientists themselves and therefore familiar with the interview method.

The informed consent form states that the participants give me full permission to use the information shared with me in my research. This data however has to be handled with care so that the research participants are not harmed in any way as a consequence of their decision to take part in the research. This brings us to the issue of confidentiality.

3.5.2 Confidentiality

Confidentiality in research means ensuring the privacy of the research participants in order to make sure that they do not suffer any harm due to participating in the research (Davies, 2012). In order to guarantee this, in ethnographic studies the common practice is to remove identifying information from the data at the earliest opportunity, use pseudonyms routinely and change details not relevant to the research questions (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007). However, some researchers have recently started questioning this standard practice. While it is undeniably important to ensure confidentiality for those who request it, there are also research participants who have a vested interest in the research, when it is closely connected to their identity. It might therefore be better practice not to automatically assign pseudonyms to all research participants and instead offer them the right to not remain anonymous in the published results (Giordano et al., 2007). In my study, this was addressed in the written informed consent form, where the interviewees had to select whether they wanted to remain anonymous or not.

All of my interviewed research participants, except for one, opted for the use their real first names. This corresponds to Grinyer's (2002) experience, where three-quarters of her research participants chose to be quoted by their real names after the researcher, who had started questioning the strict anonymity rule while writing up her research, contacted all of the interviewees later and asked whether they would prefer that she used pseudonyms or their real names in the publications. There were two reasons for not opting for the use of pseudonyms: some said that they didn't have anything 'to hide' or they just did not mind; for others it was important to have their voices heard, as talking about the canals was not just a conversation about their holidays but about a cause that had been important to them for many years. Therefore, although many authors reject the wishes of research participants and change names automatically in order to follow the established research ethics principles as strictly as possible, my intention was to give the research participants individual agency over the matter, as well as clear and individual choices, since they were essential co-producers of this research.

Nevertheless, in some cases I chose not to disclose the names, since many of the interviewees belong to the same groups and can therefore be easily identified by other group

members. Providing anonymity is not entirely possible in ethnographic research: even if the researcher manages to hide the identity of the research participants from the outside world, the community members are often still able to recognise one another, regardless of whether the pseudonyms are used or not (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007). I do not use the names when discussing potentially conflict-inducing statements by the research participants or personal topics the quoted boaters might find awkward or embarrassing, such as detailed descriptions of hygiene practices. Alvesson (2011: 37) argues that, 'even if the interviewer is eager to reassure interviewees that there should not be anything "objectively" to worry about, interviewees may be cautious.' In my research, however the situation was frequently the opposite: the interviewees felt very relaxed in the interview situations and often willing to discuss quite private topics even after giving consent to use their real names, especially in interviews that I conducted in the later stages of my fieldwork.

As Murphy and Dingwall (2007: 341) point out, 'research participants may be wounded not only by what is contained in a report, but also by what has been left out: this may seem to treat as trivial or unimportant something which has great significance for them. Ethnographers who think of themselves as sensitive, respectful and caring people, may be surprised and chagrined to discover how their published accounts offend and distress those about whom they have written.' Some of the interviewed boaters, for example, might not understand why I would choose to quote them verbatim only on their bathroom habits out of a long interview and not on the subjects that they themselves considered most important about their experience of canal boating. Therefore, in my research, the focus was not on granting universal (and somewhat superficial) anonymity: community members would recognise others anyway, even if they were given pseudonyms. Instead, I focused on ensuring anonymity as much as possible in regard to the information that the participants could potentially find harmful: in those cases, no names or identifying information are given, and details are sometimes slightly changed.

Following the principles of non-maleficence and confidentiality means making sure that the research participants do not suffer any social harm as a result of participating in interviews (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007). In practice, this also means not being able to use all of the information obtained during the interviews. As many research participants perceived me as a friend, a close acquaintance, a fellow volunteer or some combination of the above,

they often felt comfortable enough to discuss topics that they most probably would not have talked about with a stranger or someone that they would have considered an outsider. For example, in one interview, a slightly sensitive topic came up, which I happily went along with, until, suddenly remembering that the interview was being recorded, the interviewee asked me urgently and multiple times to not share the conversation with a certain person we both knew and urged me to 'delete it from the... tape.'

Although there was a lot of laughter, this was an uncomfortable moment for both of us, a stop in the natural flow of the interview. Both the interviewee and I were reminded of the nature of our encounter – a semi-formal setting – and that our conversation actually had research purposes and was being recorded. I assured the interviewee that I would not mention the topic discussed under any circumstances and that no one else but me had access to the original interview data (recordings and transcripts), and repeated this at the end of the interview. There were other similar incidents during the interviews and participant observation and therefore both my fieldwork diaries and interview transcripts contain information that I could not use for the research. Using aliases would not suffice for protecting my research participants from potential social harm and uncomfortable or awkward situations that might ensue should I fail to protect their confidentiality by quoting them on something that would make them easily identifiable to the other members of the group. It is however not enough only to refrain from harming the studied individuals and communities, which is why I am going to discuss the benefit to the researched community next.

3.5.3 Benefit to the researched community

Ideally, the studied group should benefit in some way from the research, which should 'produce some positive and identifiable benefit rather than simply be carried out for its own sake' (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007: 339). In my research, the benefit, albeit minor, includes giving something back to the studied boating community. It has also given a voice to the studied boaters, as canal boating as a leisure and tourism activity has been surprisingly under-researched in the United Kingdom. This aspect is important to experienced boaters, who are

often also activists and volunteers and have sometimes spent many decades volunteering and campaigning for the restoration and maintenance of the canals. These (often unanticipated) benefits of participating in research interviews include sense of purpose, self-acknowledgement, empowerment and self-awareness (Hutchinson et al., 1994).

My interest in their stories as well as my commitment to their projects by volunteering and thus making a regular contribution of my time have also served as proof that their cause is attracting new, as well as younger people, as some have told me. At one IWA work party at Ashton Canal in May 2016, we were discussing the long-term plan to create a 'bee highway' along the Ashton canal by sowing wildflowers along the towpath:

> After the long and detailed discussion, [the research participant] told me, 'Make sure you remember this conversation and those ideas, because after I am no longer here someone has to remember it, and carry it on'. This was quite startling and I kind of shrugged it off with a joke about counting on him to carry on for another 30 years, but the implications of his words were very… I can't stop thinking about it as it has created very mixed feelings. Of course, I am happy, because if there ever was a sure sign that I have been fully accepted, this is it. I really am a member of this group, furthermore, not just a member but someone who can be counted on. But at the same time, I felt this awful weight of responsibility. And part of me felt guilty – as if I had deceived someone somehow. As if I had not earned this trust but gotten it through some sort of deception, which, I know, is totally absurd (Field diary, 27.05.2016).

Becoming a member of groups that rely on volunteer labour has enabled me to contribute to the research participants' cause by participating, helping to organise and promoting canal-related activities and events. During this research, I have contributed my time by participating monthly at the work parties of IWA Manchester and FoR9 (and to a smaller extent ACP). I also have run all of the social media presence of both IWA and FoR9, which promotes their events among various groups of canal enthusiasts and shares canal-related activities on the pages. I have been told that this has been beneficial to the groups, with new people turning up at the work parties who mention that they received the information from social media. Furthermore, when one of the IWA committee members returned from the World Canals Conference in Scotland in 2016, he informed the others that the representative of IWA headquarters had used the IWA Manchester branch Facebook page as an example of best practice on IWA social media in her talk.

I also helped the branch's vice-chairman and IWA's communications officer write up the justification for nominating IWA's Incredible Edible vegetable and herb garden on the Ashton Canal Lock 4 for the Living Waterways Awards 2017. (The garden ended up not being nominated as it was too early in the project, but we were encouraged to apply again in the future.) I also wrote a story about the garden and the branch's work on the regeneration of the Ashton Canal for the IWA's Waterways Magazine (Kaaristo, 2017), challenging the canal's reputation as dangerous for boaters. In addition, I have helped Jon to come up with ideas for descriptions of the FoR9's goals and have written them up myself for the web and social media presence. For all of these writings, I have relied on the ideas of my fellow group members, my own ideas and the data I have gathered for this research, which has helped me to better understand the boaters', volunteers' and other canal users' views and goals.

3.6 Summary

My research is positioned in the interpretivist paradigm of research: I focus on the social and material world as experienced by individuals and created through their interactions. As noted above, tourism studies have until quite recently been criticised for not addressing tourism-related social and cultural phenomena in the interpretivist framework. While not doubting the merits of management-related tourism research often done in the (post)positivist framework, there are many subjects and issues, especially regarding individual experience and subjective meaning making that cannot be addressed in these paradigms. Therefore, my study on the ways holiday boaters perceive, sense and relate to their activities, as well as the wider canal leisurescape, is positioned in the interpretivist paradigm.

This paradigm includes a multitude of ontological, epistemological and methodological issues and, depending on the aim and objectives of the research and my reflexive position as a researcher, I have framed my study philosophically in social constructionism and phenomenological anthropology. Ontologically, my research is positioned in social constructionism, which means that I reject the possibility of the existence

of one, 'objective' reality, but instead subscribe to the notion that many different realities exist for different individuals. That means that although the physical and social environment, the immediate life-world, is always perceived by the individual as 'objective' and 'real', there are a multitude of objective realities for different people. To a certain extent, these realities can also be shared between people belonging to certain groups (which I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4). The question of how those multiple realities should be apprehended brings us to the question of epistemology: what can be known about those realities, and how can they be understood? From the ontological standpoint discussed above, it is clear that the knower and the known cannot be separated. Therefore, I have relied on phenomenological anthropology in order to find out how the lifeworlds of the canal boaters are constituted, experienced and perceived. The phenomenological approach allows us to further inquire into and analyse the lived experience of the embodied and physical engagements with the world.

This task calls for a particular methodology that makes it possible to create knowledge about these realities. How is it possible to transform the multitude of sensations, emotions, feelings and experiences about various personal life-worlds into coherent and analytical research? For this, I have adopted the methodology of ethnography, which, due to its temporal commitment and strong reflexive position, is in my opinion the best framework for asking and answering these questions. Furthermore, due to the mobile and temporary nature of tourism, I argue for the use of ethnography, as it is understood in European ethnology. This means utilizing shorter stays in 'the field' over a long period of time and a strong focus on the seemingly mundane and everyday. In terms of data collection, I have combined three methods (participant observation, auto-ethnography and ethnographic interviews), merging them into a reflexive mobile ethnography framework that can be used to research everyday experiences in mobile settings.

Chapter 4. The linear village: a mobile community of boating

Space is a social product (Lefebvre, 1991), a 'concrete abstraction' (Stanek, 2008: 62) that unites the physical, cognitive and social. According to Casey's (1996) phenomenological place theory, both space and time arise from the experience of place, which is a starting point of the human experience of the surrounding environment. Therefore, when talking about a place we should focus on 'person-or-people-experiencing-place' (Seamon, 2013: 150) because 'places belong to lived bodies' (Casey, 1996: 21). Sheller and Urry (2006: 214) furthermore contend that

> [r]esearch within the new mobilities paradigm examines the embodied nature and experience of different modes of travel, seeing them in part as forms of material and sociable dwelling-in-motion, places of and for various activities. [---] These 'activities' can include specific forms of talk, work, or information gathering, but may involve simply being connected, maintaining a moving presence with others that holds the potential for many different convergences or divergences of physical presence.

Places thus form through the mobilities of humans, other organisms and various materialities; they 'do not so much exist as occur [---] along the life paths of beings' (Ingold, 2008: 14). As Mertena (2015: 296) argues in her study about embodied experiences of travelling by train, 'relatively little [is] known on how social life enfolds in different mobile environments and how tourists inhabit, perceive and experience mobile time-space while traveling to/from and within their destinations.' Thus, in this thesis I will study the canal leisurescape, a place-event (Pink, 2009) that is constituted through a variety of social, material, temporal and mundane practices.

I start by examining the social connections and interactions of people on and near canals, produced through and with a number of human and non-human mobilities. Tourism and leisure are often simultaneously social and individualistic undertakings, and holiday boating, as with most other tourism activities, is mostly a shared, communal activity. However, 'surprisingly there is little research on tourist social interaction' (McCabe, 2005: 101) and the issues of sociability and co-presence, as well as tourism's important role in reproducing social relations, have often been overlooked (Larsen et al., 2007). Leisure boating on canals is a form of mobility usually co-practiced and co-produced with family members

and friends: of the leisure boaters I have met on the canals during my fieldwork, only a few travel on their own. These social interactions with friends and family are, in turn, part of wider connections with the other boaters on the canal that take place on the towpaths and locks. In this chapter, I first give an account of the different boats and boaters on the canal, explore the formation of the boating community, discuss gender aspects of the community and examine various convivialities on the canal.

4.1 Inclusions and exclusions: Distinction on the canal?

'There is no class on the canal; everyone is equal here,' a boater told me at the very beginning of my fieldwork. Indeed, this seems to be the case, as there is a close-knit community on the canals that accommodates everyone: from the northern canal enthusiasts and volunteers, with whom I mostly socialized, to the live-aboards on busy London canals. Social class is not as important a factor on the canals as elsewhere in British society, which is 'more obsessed with class than any other nation' (Cannadine, 1999: 175), as convincingly demonstrated by Bowles (2015). Nevertheless, the people on the canals still form a range of groups, hierarchies and associations. There is a certain distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) on the canal, based on different (consumption) practices growing out of differences in the tastes and values of the boaters. This 'sense of distinction, an acquired disposition which functions with the obscure necessity of instinct, is affirmed [---] in the innumerable stylistic or thematic choices' (Bourdieu, 1984: 499) of the boaters. Even though diverse groups on the canal subscribe to different values and priorities, which are fluid and continually shift, some of these are shared, which is why it is still possible to speak about a (loosely defined) canal boating community.

4.1.1 The boaters and boats

As far as my fieldwork on the northern canals is concerned, almost all of my research participants are middle class, white and English. They also tend to be older, since my entry point to the canal communities was through the IWA Manchester Branch where the majority of the active branch members – those attending the talks and volunteering events – are retired. Indeed, a 'Womble – white older male with beard and a lifejacket' (Pitt and Northern, 2017) is very common sight on the canal. Bowles (2015: 24), too, notes that when cruising out of London, he 'mainly met liveaboard cruising Boaters who were older couples, often retired, or individual middle-aged people, usually men.' While the early canal boat people challenged the notions of Britishness (Matthews, 2015), the contemporary holiday boaters rather seem to confirm or re-establish it. The surveys conducted by CRT and RYA confirm that almost three quarters of canal boat owners are 55 years old or over (CRT, 2017c) and that canal boating (together with yacht cruising) is the most popular boating activity for those over 55 in the UK (BMF and RYA, 2013). There are some communities and groups that are almost missing from the canal: just 6% of all the UK waterway users are 16-24 year olds and only 7% belong to Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic groups (Pitt and Northern, 2017). This perception is also shared by the boaters I met on the canal:

> I think they [other boaters on the canal] tend to be white. And they tend to be middle-aged. We've seen a few older families. There may be families with teenagers. Which I suppose is quite good because once they're in that age you don't worry about them falling in so much, so we have seen, been near a few families with teenagers, like 15-16-year-olds. And not very many people our age to be honest (Kirsten, 32).

> Quite a lot of liveaboard retirees – people who just, you know, got time on their hands; they're just being on their boats making the most of the last of the fine summer weather we'd been having. And the others... as I said, a few in a similar situation: those who just hired a boat for that week and were governed by, you know, what time they could get off work or time constraints like that. But I would tell you, the majority of the people there [on the canal] were retirees, just having a nice, peaceful way of life (Darren, 42).

This is further reinforced by the fact that taking a canal boat holiday is not cheap: prices for even a small self-drive boat that sleeps two people start at around 500 pounds for a 'midweek break' (Monday to Friday rental) during the low season; the price for the same

boat would be around £800 in the summer. Hotel and hostel boats with crews are even more expensive. For example, a berth on a fully catered five night cruise on the hotel narrowboats Duke and Duchess starts at £700. There are also shared ownership and time-share schemes, where a boat is usually shared between 12 people, requiring yearly payments towards the maintenance of the boat after the initial investment. Private boat owners similarly have to bear yearly maintenance and mooring costs, which in the case of the holiday boaters is additional to the upkeep of their primary residences:

> Maarja: So you mentioned maybe not having so many younger people involved. Who are the people who usually tend to take the boating holidays?
>
> Barry (66): Oh, certainly we did when we were younger, you do see young people and families. But most of the people I know who take holidays or own boats are older people. Whether that's something that... they've got to that stage of their life that the families are gone and now they have a disposable income and that's because of the semi- or permanent retirement. But there are people who grow up and their parents had boats or they hired boats and they got the opportunity to purchase. So they do that and take their families.
>
> Maarja: Yeah, because it's not very cheap to hire a boat.
>
> Barry: It's not. Especially school holidays. As I said, our time of hiring was outside [of school holidays] so if you've got children preschool age or children who've just finished their exams, so can technically leave school, then that is the best time to hire. If you own a boat, you face the mooring charges, unless it's a land at the bottom of your own property where you can keep it. You have a boat, then keeping your boat moored on the canal has an expense. You have to have that disposable income.

This, however, does not mean that the retired, relatively affluent middle class canal enthusiast is in the majority everywhere on the canal network. Canals are spaces where a variety of people meet and there is another big group active on the canals besides the holiday boaters, namely liveaboards, for whom boats are their primary residences. Here the diversity is much greater than among the leisure and holiday boaters. 'What do you think of the boaters here? Are they very different from your northern ones?' a CRT employee asked me, smirking, when we were walking along the Regent's Canal in London after a run-down narrowboat had passed us, with two rather dishevelled liveaboards at the stern. I agreed that indeed they were different from the holidaymakers I usually saw. In fact, over three quarters of the boat owners in the Manchester and Pennines area use their boats for leisure or as a second or holiday home, compared to only 44% in London in 2017 (CRT, 2017c). The canals thus vary regionally with regard to what kind of boating they are used for.

The social and financial status of the boaters varies; nevertheless, social class is not the most important factor determining how a boater is perceived by others on the canals (Bowles, 2015). There are certain hierarchies on the canal, but these depend primarily on who is doing the categorising. One of the basic distinctions I learned early on is between 'liveaboards' and 'hireboaters'. Bowles's study confirms this, as apparently the liveaboards differentiate between 'snobby day boaters', 'part-time boaters, holiday boaters and renters' and 'continuous cruisers, liveaboards' or alternatively between 'those who live on the river and those who are part of the leisure industry' (2015: 94). In the first stages of my fieldwork, a particular hierarchy developed in my mind: at the top were the continuous cruisers: those without home moorings, permanently moving around on the canal system. After them came the liveaboards with residential moorings, then the holiday boaters who own their boats, and at the bottom were the 'hireboaters': those who do not own boats, but rent them from the boat companies, considered the lowest of the canal hierarchy except for the 'dayboaters': those hiring a boat for a day. This hierarchy, admittedly developed mainly from my initial discussions with the liveaboards, was clearly not class based but strongly rooted in certain territorial and residential commitments and claims to the canals, the ownership of boats and certain place-attachments, but also family histories.

Central to Bourdieu's understanding of taste is that it is expressed in cultural consumption and symbolic goods, conveyed through and structured around the interactions with material culture (Bourdieu, 1984). The boat is visually the strongest basis for differentiation on the canal, with different groups boating on, and valuing, particular types of vessels, and as such the boat forms a central materiality and expression of boaters' tastes and preferences. According to Attfield (2000: 238), 'much of the negotiation in respect of the interrelation between the individual and others is carried on through material things at the most mundane level of everyday life through bodily concerns defined by means of dress, alimentation, dwelling, technological appliances for work and leisure.' The types of boats and a variety of other everyday items form key criteria for how boaters relate to each other and how the social space of the canals therefore begins to form.

The boaters I studied boat on narrowboats, the most popular type of boat on the canal network, owned by 82% of England and Wales inland waterways boat owners in 2017 (CRT, 2017c). The narrowboat is a type of boat designed especially for the narrow canals of the UK,

with dimensions of a maximum width of 6 feet 10 inches (2.08 m) and a maximum length of 72 feet (21.95 m) (see Figure 2). The first important thing that any novice on the canals learns is differentiating between a narrowboat and a barge: the 6ft10 beam boats cannot be called 'barges' under any circumstances and this knowledge of vocabulary is an easy way to distinguish complete outsiders of the boating community. Narrowboats differ among themselves, with one basic distinction made between traditional and modern boats. The old, traditional wooden 'working boats' have been restored and often the boat's hull, originally used for carrying cargo, has been turned into a living area (see Figure 3), although it is also possible to see unconverted working boats on the canal: some used for leisure, but some still carrying cargo, for example selling coal and fuel to other boaters. Canal and boating enthusiasts interested in history and heritage value these old boats highly as they represent the physical embodiment of the link that they feel exists between them and canal communities from the past (see further discussion in 6.2). Ownership of an old working boat, therefore, transmits a powerful statement about the values and interests of the boater, as well as his or her membership in the boaters' community; sometimes to the point of being perceived as arrogant by other boaters: 'those on the old so-called "traditional" boats who think they own the waterways' (Redway, 2017).

Newer narrowboats are made of steel and purposely designed for dwelling. These are further differentiated by the type of stern: the traditional stern ('trad stern') is characterised by the least external space (2-3 feet or 60-90 cm in length) a maximum for only two people to stand on (which in turn means more space in the cabin). Most hire-boats feature a cruiser stern, which has a large back deck area (up to 8 feet, or 2.4 m, in length) for many people to stand or sit at the stern simultaneously (see Figure 2). Semi traditional ('semi-trad') sterns are a cross between the cruiser and traditional, with a rear deck sitting area that can be closed with doors. These modern, mostly steel craft were built from the 1960s/1970s onwards. New boats can be viewed for purchase at boat shows such as the Crick Boat Show, or are custom-built in boatyards. The differences in price between the newer boats are due to the combination of the boat's age and condition. The new fully fitted 'shiny boats' or 'flash-boats' that can cost around £100,000 and more, are sometimes referred to as 'hearses', in a derogatory manner, alluding to certain gentrified touches, such as flowers being placed on the cabin roof. Another derogatory name, 'brass polishers' for the owners of these boats,

comes from their custom of placing traditional-looking 'Castles and Roses' decorative style of painted water cans, jugs and buckets, as well as traditional-looking copperware, on display on their boats' roofs or in the bows. Since the copperware need polishing, it is inferred that this is how the 'shiny boaters' spend all their weekends, and that they mainly reside or moor in comfortable marinas and do not venture on to the canals, unlike 'real' boaters.

Figure 3. Traditional working boat converted into a holiday boat in a lock on the Ashton Canal. Photo: Author, 2015.

This confirms that 'those with lesser cultural capital resources are dismissive of, or antagonistic towards, the objects and practices of those with greater cultural capital resources' (Holt, 1997: 95) if we consider the economic resources of owners of new boats, as well as the symbolic capital the traditional boats provide. The 'shiny' boats together with carefully restored traditional working boats are indeed most often seen at canal festivals and gatherings, with some live-aboard attendees reporting that they felt ashamed of and somehow out of place with their ordinary looking boats at those events. Furthermore, this does not necessarily result in the boaters wanting to copy the 'shiny' boaters: to the contrary, they uphold their 'defiant tastes [---] while maintaining the ideology that tastes are elective and socially inconsequential' (Holt, 1997: 95), pointing out that space on a roof is better used for firewood, bikes and other practical items. In addition, they also differentiate themselves from the 'scruffy boaters', with their boats needing paintwork, lots of items heaped on the

roofs, and sometimes moored in one place (sometimes overstaying in the mooring space) for years since the engine has long stopped working (if the boat had one to begin with).

Hire-boats are also clearly distinct, with the boats visibly carrying the names, phone numbers and websites of the hire companies (as opposed to the regular private boats, which only have the name of the boat and its hometown). Hire-boats can often be distinguished from an even longer distance by the knowledgeable eye, as the whole fleet of a hire company is often painted in a recognisable colour scheme, such as the blue and red of Shire Cruises, or the green and red of Chas Hardern's. They have usually cruiser or semi-traditional sterns and sometimes can have several bumps and scratches on them. Hireboaters might possess the economic capital to hire the boat but due to their (sometimes perceived) lack of boating habitus (disposition to act, feel and move in a particular manner (Bourdieu, 1977) are perceived to be lacking the skills necessary for navigating the canals:

> I think there's one thing I did notice when we were on a holiday. I can't remember if it was a first one or second one, it could have been both, is that there's a little bit of prejudice against the holiday-boat-makers versus the people that own their own canal boats. And they know you're a holidaymaker because that's emblazoned with, you know, hireboat, all over it. And they know it! And these [hire]boats are always very scuffed because it's full of people who can't steer them, like me, and so there are always bumps and scruffs and... (Kirsten, 32)

In addition to the narrowboats, there are also small fibreglass river cruisers on the canals, often derogatorily called 'plastic boats', 'Tupperware' or 'yoghurt pots' by the narrowboaters. The latter sometimes look down on these significantly cheaper boats and make jokes about them 'breaking like eggshells' should they collide with a steel narrowboat. Big and expensive fibreglass river boats on the other hand are called 'gin palaces', thought to be owned by people who rarely do any cruising and only use them to have drinks at weekends. There are also several wide-beam boats on the canals: Dutch barges and traditional working barges (such as Leeds and Liverpool shortboats) with beams of 10-14ft (3-4.2m), as well as 'wide-beam narrowboats' with 8-12ft (2.4-3.6m) beams.

These distinctions made by different boaters regarding various boats are by no means definitive in shaping how members of the canal boating community comprehend their environment. Even though the categories described above are useful for better understanding the community and its diverse values, neither membership nor position in the

community necessarily depends on the type of boat. The distinctions described are not actually so clear-cut and depend far more on other factors, including boaters' self-identification. Furthermore, the inclusion in the community is mainly contingent on other, more important elements, such as knowledge of certain practices and etiquette, as I will now discuss.

4.1.2 The boating community

When talking about boaters on the UK canals, I use the term 'community' loosely and do not mean a *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1957 [1887]), the 'human togetherness formed through the biological, the geographical, the sociological and the psychological – blood, place, everyday interaction and sensibility' (Neal and Walters, 2008: 281), although at times it shares some of these elements. The UK canal network is indeed a physical and geographical entity, and the people on canals are united through their activity of canal boating, which sometimes becomes a family tradition or a hobby. Likewise, this is not just an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983), a socially constructed collective based on shared narratives, representations and (media) discourses, although it has elements of this as well. Certainly the boaters, even though they could never hope to meet all of the other boaters on the UK's canals, share a certain group identity (that of the canal boater) and 'in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson, 1983: 6).

This concept of imagined community, however, marks an important shift from seeing communities as necessarily small-scale and characterised by direct interaction to the importance of the emotional, interactional and identities-based, creating a feeling of belonging, which is often (but not necessarily) perceived as rewarding (Dervin and Korpela, 2013). Communities can be anchored in a number of common key markers, such as territory, identity or politics (and combinations of those), but 'if anything unites these very diverse conceptions of community it is the idea that community concerns belonging' (Delanty, 2003: 4). Belonging, for the canal boaters, is expressed in their chosen activity of canal boating.

Therefore, an important aspect of membership in the community is that it is voluntary: in order to become a member, the person needs to choose to partake in the activity.

Bowles describes the liveaboard boaters in London as a 'boating community, a community that has adopted an "alternative" (but by no means new) lifestyle, and which has made its members somewhat marginal or liminal from the purview of agents of the UK state and the sedentary neighbourhoods through which they pass' (Bowles, 2015: 21). An important characteristic of this community is their political mindedness and consciously resisting a number of aspects of the neoliberal state (Bowles, 2015). For Bowles it is these politically minded liveaboards, often continuous cruisers, who make up the 'boating community', even though he admits that 'there was no easy way of defining the borders of the community, which has a periphery that includes marina dwellers, holidaymakers and enthusiasts' (2015: 285). Indeed, the key drawback of this somewhat selective approach is that limiting the boating community to the liveaboards, with their particular political commitments and values, is rather partial. Therefore, Bowles is actually discussing a live-aboard or, more specifically, continuous cruiser community. I intend to demonstrate that the canal boating community cannot be defined by boat ownership, political views or whether one lives on the boat or not, but rather through the commitment to the canals and possession of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) of canal boating. While from the liveaboard perspective the leisure boaters are seen as in the fringes of the boating community, from the leisure boater's perspective, the opposite can be true.

The boaters share a habitus, where certain 'domains of practice' (Bourdieu, 1977: 20) and dispositions develop through being part of a particular social and material environment. The habitus is 'that which one has acquired, but which has become durably incorporated in the body in the form of permanent dispositions, [---] a product of conditionings which tends to reproduce the objective logic of those conditionings while transforming it' (Bourdieu, 1993: 87). In a way, habitus is invisible, as it only becomes evident when one does not possess it: 'I didn't know about the kind of the rules of the river, both the written down rules and also the more unwritten type of rules as well; you know, the norms and values,' said Tom (35). Indeed, in order to successfully navigate the canalscape, the boaters share a set of values, expressed in a number of boating rules, codifications and etiquette as well as a lock-side and towpath code of conduct and behaviour practised on the canal.

The main rules of canal boating can be found in the Canal and River Trust's and Environment Agency's *The Boater's Handbook. Basic Boathandling and Safety for Powered Boats* (CRT, 2014b). The sixty-page handbook for boat handling also contains two pages of written rules providing 'a mental code or script that exists prior to and independent of human activities, a recipe for action (a pre*scription*) analogous to a book of grammar or a dictionary' (Pálsson, 1994: 903, original italics). These rules organise and direct the mobility of the vessels on the canal and river network, such as sticking to the channel markers and keeping clear of weirs on rivers, as well as spelling out the rules for overtaking, giving way, speed limits, passing dredgers or works, sound signals and navigation lights, both on rivers and canals.

The main rule governing boatmobility, which applies to all waterways, is to keep to the right, which is counter-intuitive to those used to the British left-hand traffic rules. Another important rule is the speed limit, a maximum of 4mph (6.44kph) on all the narrow canals (5mph (8.05kph) on the non-tidal Thames and 5.75mph (9.25kph) on the River Medway). It is customary to keep the speed of the boat at or below the speed limit when approaching bridges, locks, bends or junctions, and when passing moored boats or anglers, the boater needs to slow down even more. A lack of knowledge of this rule can (in addition to damaging the canal walls with the wash a boat moving too fast creates) physically affect other boaters on the canal and thus be a potential source of conflict with other boaters or with anglers:

> There are certain things, like you don't go at any massive speed. To slow down as you pass the moored boats, which I appreciate because I also have had people go past and the boat is banging around, swaying around. They're probably just going a few miles per hour but it can really kick the boat about. [---] Definitely, the key one I think, a lot of people don't realise at first is to go really slow past the other boats. Because you could take them out of their moorings. I think we had that once, we'd just put a pin in and tied a rope up and somebody went past and it just kind of yanked it out. If that happened and you were fast asleep, you'd end up with your boat out, completely blocking the canal. So I think that's really important. Definitely (Kirsten, 32).

It is also expected for the people on two boats passing each other to acknowledge each other's presence by a wave and/or a greeting: 'it's common practice to say hello as you go past someone on the boat. [---] It's almost like different rules' (Kirsten, 32). The minimum is acknowledging each other by waving, nodding or saying hello, which can also apply to the passers-by on the towpath. This applies to the interaction between towpath users in most areas, with the exception of bigger city centres, such as Manchester. When I started my

fieldwork in the autumn of 2014, I was quite surprised to find that everyone said hello to me when I was walking on the towpath to and from the CRT office in Rochdale.

Boating rules include following the proper lock etiquette: when a boat approaches the lock and wants to get in, the first thing a boater needs to do is to see whether there are other boats wanting to go through the lock as well. If another boat is going the same direction, and the lock is wide enough, the boats can go into the lock together, side by side (see Figure 4). Sharing the locks is considered a good practice by boaters since it saves water as well as time. If there is another boat coming from a different direction, the right to go in first is had by the boater for whom the lock is 'in their favour': the one who does not have to fill or empty the lock has the right to go in first. In addition, when waiting to enter the lock, the boat is moored near it (there are usually mooring bollards for that) so that they and/or their crew may operate the locks. An important convention is to avoid mooring by a lock at other times (for example to have lunch or tea) as this space is meant only for those passing through the locks. However, I have seen very experienced boaters who actually do not always keep to this rule. They may claim that they know that the traffic is not very busy on this lock and are sure that no one is coming, basing their authority to break the rules on their experience and knowledge. They would, however, frown upon other boaters doing the same.

Broad locks have two lock gates that can be opened and closed as necessary. During one of my early trips on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal with Rohan in 2015, he was steering his boat and I was working the locks. When I had opened one of the lock gates, I headed to the offside to open the other gate, when Rohan said, 'Are you making a comment on my steering ability?' It turned out that opening both gates meant that I did not think he would be able to steer into the lock through just one. Later that day, when I was steering the boat, I asked, cautious of damaging his boat or the lock, whether he could open both gates for me, to which he commented that it was what hire-boaters usually did and that I needed to practice steering into the lock through just one gate. The hireboater can therefore be recognised by particular body movements and sequences of movements performed at the locks, as well as a certain apprehensive way of doing things. The experienced boater, possessing the boating habitus, can go into a lock through one gate without any problems, and opening just one gate saves the person doing the locks the time and energy of winding the paddles and pushing the lock gates.

Figure 4. Sharing a lock on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. Photo: Author, 2015.

Over time, I became more proficient and confident at steering and did not need both gates to be opened for me any more. A year later, we were boating once again on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. I was steering, and a CRT volunteer lockkeeper was on duty at one of the locks near Gargrave. The lockkeeper opened both gates and as I drove into the lock, I thanked him and quipped, 'So you must have seen me going into the previous locks!', and we both laughed. I did not remember Ro's comments from a year before when I joked with the lockkeeper nor when I wrote about it in my fieldwork diary later that night. Apparently I had absorbed the ways things are done (and talked about) on the canal, entered the community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Bowles, 2015) of boating and only noticed that I had once required having both gates open in order to go into a lock when rereading my field notes for analysis. Therefore, it is not only the things that the hire-boaters do or do not do, but also their ways of doing things that show the skills and bodily practices of 'doing' boating, in collaboration with various boating materialities from the (built) canal environment, the boat and various boating artefacts (as I will discuss in the next chapter.)

In addition to the rules and etiquette that guide the manoeuvring of the boat, there are also some other customs that boaters follow, and which mainly apply to boat owners. For example, some follow the custom of not coming further inside another person's boat than

sitting on the steps. Since the boat is someone else's home, not going beyond the steps is a sign of consideration for the other person's privacy. In addition, there is an unspoken rule on the canal that effectively prescribes controlling your bodily functions somewhat differently than on land. Using the toilet on someone else's boat (effectively filling it) is regarded as quite impolite, since it is the boat owner who has to deal with the pump-out or emptying the cassette (further discussed in 7.2.2). This means that canal boating often includes a certain amount of pre-planning your passage (Peters et al., 2010) with regards to bodily functions.

For example, when I went to see Rohan in Garstang and as we passed the CRT sanitary station before reaching his boat, I went to use the toilet there, which he commented on approvingly, it being a sign of a proper boater. Another day, after having gone to the bathroom just after we had arrived from the pub, I heard several times during the evening about the incredulousness of me not having used the loo there. Similarly, even though I really needed the bathroom, I knew better than to use a 'bucket and chuck-it' toilet on John's boat, one that he would later have to manually empty and rinse. Therefore, this etiquette means sometimes controlling your intake of liquids and makes boaters plan and organise their bathroom use according to the CRT sanitation stations or public bathrooms available near the canal. Their locations become part of the boaters' mind-map, and trajectories and passages are planned accordingly. There are therefore certain codes of conduct, which form 'mobility cultures' linked to legal sanctions and logistical guidelines and parameters and the boaters learn them as they encounter an unfamiliar mobility network (Jensen, 2006) such as the canals. The cultural practices and social interactions form a particular culture of mobility on the canals where the multitude of norms and regulations are determined by particular social contexts in mobile situations.

Hiring boats is popular among canal enthusiasts but, as mentioned above, the status of 'hire-boater' can also be contested. Talking with live-aboard boaters and visiting the boaters' online forums, I discovered that it is the hire-boater who is considered to have most of the problematic behaviour on the canal. This means mainly failing to follow the proper canal etiquette and rules I have just discussed, but sometimes also showing a lack of the embodied boating skills required to see those rules through (further discussed in 5.1). This view is especially pronounced in Bowles's work, according to whom live-aboards associate breaches of etiquette on the canals mainly with 'inexperienced boaters and boat tourists

(those who are not legitimate members of the community of practice)' (Bowles, 2016: 105), equating inexperience directly with cruising on a hired boat as well as with the exclusion from the community. The visual clues based on identifying hired boats described previously by Kirsten (p. 139) may therefore be incidental, since key means of recognising the beginner is that he or she does not possess the embodied skills of experienced boaters:

> The hireboats tended to be... you could tell it was their first time or they hadn't done it for a while. They were really concentrating on everything. And particularly around marina where you just picked up a boat, that's where you tend to see people in hireboats because that's where they congregate. The people tend to be very focused (Tom, 35).

Hire-boaters, often perceived as inexperienced and neglectful by boat owners, are criticised for a number of breaches of etiquette, sometimes even before they actually do anything wrong. Such violations include not slowing down when passing moored boats, going too fast, 'stealing' the locks (not following the correct order of going into the locks), leaving the paddles up, and forcing the lock gates open with the boat's bow. This attitude does not go unnoticed by the hireboaters themselves:

> Tom (35): We had a couple of run-ins with people who live on boats. They were a bit obnoxious about a few things and seemed to imply that people who hire boats didn't know what they were doing, which is probably quite true. Because most hire-boaters, for the first time, don't know what they are doing. But, yeah, we did have a run-in with couple of... certainly one quite obnoxious woman, who just wasn't very pleasant.
>
> Maarja: What happened? What was the problem?
>
> Tom: It was a problem with a lock. She shouted at, I didn't know about this, but she shouted at Kirsten, because she opened a paddle at a wrong speed or something like that; it wasn't anything that serious. But I think then the woman actually said that there are too many people on hireboats who don't know what they're doing.

The behaviour that is regarded as most problematic by live-aboards and holiday boaters is being a potential danger to oneself and others:

> [A friend] hired a boat for the day. It was to celebrate getting a divorce. Heh-heh. But she wanted to make it into, like a party boat, so she took along loads of drink and things. So, she wanted to drink and I don't think it's a very safe place, on the canals, to do that. Yeah, hiring a boat and going off drinking – it's really the wrong thing. [---] Actually, just last year, when we hired the boat for the day for the whole family to come on, there were some men, young lads, that had hired a boat as well. And they'd gone out, they

couldn't... although there weren't any locks, they couldn't steer it. All they wanted to do was drink. Although there were no locks around, they couldn't master steering it. [---] They see it as something different and fun and they don't realise and don't think of the dangers, the danger of it (Linda, 66).

From the perspective of liveaboard boaters, the holiday and leisure boaters – actually an extremely diverse group with varying motivations, backgrounds, lifestyles and values – can appear to be on the 'periphery' (Bowles 2015: 285) or perhaps even outside of the group. However, limiting the boating community only to continuous cruiser liveaboards, does not reflect many of my interviewed holiday boaters' sense of personhood, identity and self-perception, or the ways in which they experience the canals. I argue that current and former holiday boaters, live-aboards, and those on board the hotel- and hostel boats, as well as the work-boats, with their different levels of experience, knowledge and interest in the canals, are all members of the boating community. This 'cocoon community' of canal boating emphasises 'the personal trajectories of individuals through communities, weaving individuals into communities and communities into the subjective fabric of individuals' (Dervin and Korpela, 2013: 146). All of the boaters on the canal, regardless of the type of boat or their temporal commitment, share a certain togetherness, 'seeking refuge and also undergoing transformation' (Dervin and Korpela, 2013: 144). This community is above all characterised by their emotional attachments to the canals and boating, but also by a number of quotidian practices related to attending to things and the world (Ingold, 2015) of boating. The boating community is an affectual form of sociation, a mobile neo-tribe, 'characterized by fluidity, occasional gatherings and dispersal' (Maffesoli, 1995: 76), as well as the 'sentiment, feeling and shared experience' (Hetherington, 1998: 52) of canal boating.

This is why basing inclusions and exclusions within the boating community on private versus hire-boat oppositions does not depict the membership accurately, since it is quite common for experienced boaters to boat for years on hire-boats, or for boat-owners to sell their boats and then start hiring. A good example is Richard, a very experienced and knowledgeable boater and canal enthusiast, who first went on a hire-boat holiday and liked it so much that he then bought a narrowboat. He owned it for five or six years before selling it; he went on a couple of hire-boat holidays again, bought a second boat, but later sold that as well:

The reason why we ended up selling it again after only about four years is that we like doing lots of other things. [---] We like hill walking. My wife is a teacher so she gets longish holidays. And then we need to decide should we boat or should we go walking. And we go walking. And they're expensive things to maintain, if you're not using them all the time. You've got mooring costs, the annual licence, the boat safety certificate, and then general maintenance (Richard, 67).

Richard's identity as a boater does not depend on the specifics and the ownership of the boat that he is on, but rather on his genuine interest in the canals and boating, boating skills and knowledge, as well as his commitment as a canal volunteer. Similarly, I consider myself a boater and thus a member of the wider boating community, even though I have never owned a boat. My identity, similarly to Richard's, is based on the skills, knowledge, interest, feeling of acceptance by the boaters and my contribution to the canals. Many boaters are skilled and experienced, but for various reasons (e.g. personal preference, other commitments or money) hire boats instead of buying their own. Nevertheless, the stereotype of the inexperienced and inconsiderate hireboater is still very much alive; for example, when I boated on Bridgewater Canal on a hired day boat, a liveaboard boater thanked me for slowing down when I went past him and mentioned that he had not expected me to be aware of the rule. Additionally, several experienced boaters have told me a story of trying to (sometimes arrogantly or condescendingly) help someone at the locks only to discover that they have decades of boating experience. Kirsten (32), who does not steer, but is proficient with the locks, having learned as a child when boating with her father, explains:

There is definitely a kind of 'Oh, you don't know what you're doing' and ... a few times, I knew that people sort of made comments about me. Like 'Do you want us to go ahead at the lock' or something, like, 'We know what we are doing'. And I was like 'No-no, I'm fine, I know how to do this, thank you!' And they were quite surprised that we then did know what we were doing. So, I think there is a little bit of prejudice there. People just hire these boats and they bump them around, they don't really know what they are doing. They go too fast and whatever. Because that's another thing, isn't it, the locks sometimes have to be left in a particular direction. I mean, not always, but sometimes people don't leave them in the right way and that sort of thing.

The boundaries determining who belongs to the community and who does not are therefore extremely fluid and cannot be decided by only one element. The most important aspects in defining membership and status are technical knowledge, possession of boating

vocabulary (see glossary on p. 9 for some of those terms) and general knowledge of canal and boating history. Nevertheless, the truly critical aspects are knowledge of the boating rules and etiquette, as well as possession of the embodied skills of boating: the ability to perform the right movements in the right sequences at the locks, as well as manoeuvring the boat, developed in collaboration with the numerous canal materialities (discussed next, in Chapter 5).

In addition, those holiday boaters who are active on the canals (members of volunteer groups and charity organisations) may see themselves as rightful members of the boating community due to their contribution to canal maintenance. Some comment on the indifference of liveaboards moored close-by in the Castlefield basin in Manchester, who seldom turn up at canal clean-up events. Indeed, during my three years of volunteering on the Rochdale and Ashton Canals in Manchester twice a month, I have met only three live-aboards at these events, with the majority of volunteers being holiday boaters (and some not boaters at all). The reason why the liveaboards do not volunteer however is that they feel that the boat licence fee, which they pay to the Canal and River Trust (or other navigation authority) should cover the maintenance of the canals. Additionally, some think that the CRT is not doing enough, and takes advantage of free volunteer labour instead of paying wages to people who need jobs.

This stems from the general distrust many liveaboards feel towards the CRT (and especially its predecessor the BW), whom they tend to see as monitoring them or even actively working against them, with many conflicts arising with the CRT's enforcement of the continuous cruising rule of having to move every 14 days (Bowles, 2015). This feeling of mistrust is not entirely one-sided. When discussing the canals and their use as urban leisure spaces with a non-boating volunteer, the problems some boaters pose to the CRT (for example, overstaying at moorings, not paying the licence fees and general 'complaining') were constantly mentioned. 'Yeah, but if it weren't for the boaters…' I said, and before I could finish my sentence, they replied jokingly, 'the canals would be a much better place.' This notwithstanding, the CRT is making efforts to better collaborate with the boaters, including the live-aboards, which is also manifested on the level of organisational discourse. For example, in early 2017, the CRT's Enforcement Team, responsible for checking boat licences

and overstaying at moorings, were renamed the more user-friendly sounding Boat Licence Customer Support Team (CRT, 2016c).

A certain mild distrust also exists at times between the IWA and CRT, a remnant from the time when 'the British Waterways always held people off at arm's length' (Barry, 66). IWA members see their role as keeping an eye on CRT activities and policies and generally looking out for boaters' interests, whereas from the (London) liveaboard perspective, the IWA is seen as 'a deeply conservative leisure boating organisation closely allied to CaRT' (Bowles, 2015: 237). As is evident from my fieldwork, however, holiday boaters on privately owned boats and liveaboards actually share many of the same concerns and goals. For example, Phil's boat, which is used for holiday purposes, is continuously moving on the canal network; however the CRT continuous cruising rules state that a boat without a home mooring has to move every 14 days. Although the boat, co-owned and used by a group of friends, is constantly on the move in the canal network, the formal 14 days rule cannot always be strictly followed, especially in the winter. Therefore, Phil feels this rule is restrictive and contradicts the goals of the CRT in promoting the leisure use of the canals and that there should be another, more flexible 'roaming licence' (as he calls it) introduced in addition to the current, continuous cruiser option. When talking about the issue, he compared his boat with those that have not moved in years, and felt that he, and others like him, are being punished for using the canal for the purpose for which it was meant: boating.

For those holiday boaters who are canal enthusiasts and volunteers the canals function as a heritage commons. The commons, as theorised by Ostrom (2015) is a shared, often but not always natural resource, such as fisheries or forests, that is used collectively, is usually managed and can be owned. The canals are charity-owned heritage commons with a number of users for different activities, where 'the nature of what is shared characterizes the specific nature of a community' (González, 2014: 368): for boaters this shared resource is constituted by the canals and their infrastructure. The contribution to the upkeep and maintenance of commons and the idea of mutuality and not just sharing (Lloveras et al., 2017) are important to the leisure boaters who are also active volunteers on the canals. Different groups, therefore, perceive the commons of canals differently as they have different goals and different priorities. While for the liveaboards membership in the boating community might arise from the fact of dwelling on the canals, others assert their right based on their

extensive reading of canal history, volunteering, and membership in IWA and other, local canal societies, as well as their campaigning for the further restoration of canals.

An important aspect for successful boating is knowledge of the rules, both written and unwritten. They are straightforward and can be easily learned (especially when compared to the much more detailed and complicated Highway Code). However, their actual fulfilment, as well as their application, requires 'practical enskilment, conceived as the embodiment of capacities of awareness and response by environmentally situated agents' (Ingold, 2000b: 5), such as various canal materialities, the centrality of which to canal boating should not be underestimated and which I will discuss in Chapter 5. As follows, however, I will move on to another important aspect to consider regarding the dynamics of boaters' community: gender.

4.1.3 Gendered canals

Places and spaces often carry gender-related meanings and thus construct gender relations and roles, and 'reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood' (Massey, 1994: 156). Mobilities in these places are likewise gendered, with males historically associated with adventures, nomadism and conquest – that is, with mobility – whereas females have been associated with stillness and fixity, i.e. immobility (Massey, 1994; Mikkelsen and Cohen, 2015). Considering gender in mobilities studies is important because gender

> is never given but constructed through performative reiteration. The resultant interpretations of gender are also historically, geographically, culturally and politically different, enabling a certain slippage between the different realms in terms of how genders are 'read'. This point is central to an analysis of how mobilities enable/disable/modify gendered practices. We can use mobility both as an archive and present indicator of discourses, practices, identities, questions, conflicts and contestations to understand its gendered nuances (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008: 1-2).

Certain gender roles became evident on the canal from my very first trip and I had to position myself vis-à-vis them from quite early on. I had just finished winding the paddle and

pushing the lock gate open so that the boat could get out of the lock when a man, having a cup of tea in the garden of his lock side cottage, asked me, 'Why is it always the ladies doing the locks and men steering the boats?' I did not know how to answer the question, having only operated my first lock, but as fieldwork progressed, I realised that it was indeed the women who opened and closed the locks (quite a physical task sometimes) while men steered the boats through those locks. This was later confirmed in interviews, when interviewees would often draw parallels with driving, stating that this division of activities mirrors the fact that males tend to drive the cars in relationships and marriages, reinstating the 'long-standing association between masculinity and driving' (Cresswell and Uteng, 2008: 3). Likewise, gender plays a role in everyday tasks, such as preparing meals and drinks and washing up, as women tend to do those tasks more often. There were exceptions, as boaters would stress whenever I brought up the topic, and I observed them during the fieldwork as well:

> Maarja: On my very first boat trip, I was pushing the lock gate open and Rohan – you know, from IWA – he was steering, and then someone came out of a house and said, 'Why is it always that women do the locks and men do the steering?' So, what do you think – why? And later, I have noticed that this is quite often the case.
>
> Janet (63): It is. And yesterday, we met that couple that had hired that boat and who was dealing with a lock and I was going to set the lock for us and he was coming up, so I worked with him on his lock to get him up – and she was steering. And his comment was that she wasn't keen. I mean, they hadn't hired before, and were both new to it – but obviously, he sounded as if he got more confidence with sort of doing the steering and such. And he said that she wasn't keen. And that crossed my mind again, because it is quite often the way. [---] But we don't have that on this boat. I suppose in a way it is because I've always had a sort of like a tomboy approach to stuff. I've never been one that won't do it because I'm female. I do have my limitations – certainly in strength at time but I'm quite physically able, luckily. So, a lot of things I can do. But I think that a lot of the ladies that do come on this boat do both locks and gates and steering, because they have to. Because if you're only on it as a couple, then you've got to be able to do any task that's there. But equally, we've got within the group of friends quite a number of men that are good cooks as well. So it works quite evenly, really. [---] But I know what you mean by lots of men on the back end and, yeah, women sitting and looking as if they don't do any actions on the boat. I suppose they do, when it comes to it, but I think, to be truthful, some of the locks can be more challenging than steering.

Nevertheless, a certain rigidity with regard to gender roles is often observable on the canal. When I hired a day-boat for the first time, all of the instructions concerning steering and manoeuvring the boat were directed towards my (male) friend Marko, who on that day was seeing a narrowboat for the first time in his life. This was despite the fact that it had been

I who had booked the boat over the phone and just some minutes before I had signed the agreement and had both paid for the boat and paid the deposit. Both my and Kirsten's experience were similar in that regard:

> [The owner of the boatyard] showed how the boat works, how to start and switch off the engine, etc. All of this was also written on a laminated sheet of paper on the cabin table. The owner said that all of the instructions were there, written down on paper, but as we all know men do not read the instructions because they're too proud to do that; therefore he said that he assumed that Marko would not read them and he would go through them verbally. I then went along with this type of [sexist] joking and said that I suppose the written instructions must be meant for me then. From the start, it was very clear however, that all of the instructions about handling the boat, the engine and everything else were directed towards Marko only. When he [the owner] explained those things, he only looked at Marko, as if I was invisible. But I do have to admit that if indeed we were there just for a holiday I actually would very happily have left everything to do with steering to him (field notes, 5.03.2016).

> On the first holiday, they gave us a, like a crash course where we rented the boat. And Tom did it, and actually I don't really know if the instructor kind of directed the instructions to the man. I wonder if it's all just being reinforced that it's a man's job, I'm not sure (Kirsten, 32).

A researcher is never a neutral research 'instrument', but a gendered, raced, classed, nationed etc. individual, which influences access to groups, as well as the dynamics of the fieldwork process (Bell et al., 1993). Although this notion is well established and acknowledged in academia, the various aspects of being a female researcher in the field, such as gender relations, sometimes conflicting gender role expectations and potential miscommunication, are often not discussed in the general field research discourse, which tends to create and maintain the illusion of the 'ungendered scholar' (Babiracki, 1997: 124).

Gender roles and certain expectations related to those roles were always present during my fieldwork, sometimes less and sometimes more apparent. I was boating with a group of people once and was offered a cup of tea by a young male boater. Another, middle-aged male boater standing in the stern with us, hearing his offer, noted that actually, being a woman, it should be me making the tea, but since I had been steering the boat for the past hour, I deserved having my tea made for me. He then went on to suggest that another female boater, who had been sitting inside the cabin, should make the tea instead of the young male. This all was said in a joking manner and taken as such by the younger male, who, after the exchange proceeded to make the tea. However, this sort of playful banter is one of the

strategies used as a means of addressing such topics as social differences, gender and power disparities, and joking can be a way of 'almost flattening social and gender differences while at the same time reiterating them' (Giuffrè, 2015: 221). The joking comment was used to momentarily highlight the 'right' gender roles, after which it was acceptable to proceed according to the situation at hand. Since I had taken on a 'male' task by having been responsible for the boat (and not crashing it into bridges), in the older boater's reasoning I deserved to have the tea prepared and brought to me.

Similar gender performances (Butler, 1988) came up every now and again during my fieldwork. Male boaters would often assume that I would not be able to steer (or would be uncomfortable steering alone without anyone else in the stern with me). They also presumed I would be hesitant about going past moored boats, other boats coming towards us or steering a boat through a lock (all tasks often avoided by females on boats) and they would then offer to take over the steering from me in those situations. These somewhat rigid gender roles remained in place even if the empirical evidence suggested otherwise. I once asked a boater, a man in his sixties, about this labour division that I had noticed on board. He replied that although there were exceptions, that was indeed the case, and when I asked why that might be, he said 'men are better at spatial awareness' than women, which makes them better at steering. At the exact time he was explaining this, our boat, steered by a man, crashed several times heavily into a bridge, until another boater, a woman, took the helm from him; all the while this irony went unnoticed and uncommented upon.

These gender narratives of 'everyday sexism' of how gender is 'done' (Ronai et al., 2013) during holiday boating were present and persistent even when there was very little factual evidence supporting it. One early morning, when we had to go through a manned lock, a male boater and I went to look for the lockkeeper to guarantee our passage. After knocking on the door of the lockkeeper's cottage several times, we had almost given up and were ready to leave, when a very grumpy lock-keeper finally opened the door. I did not participate in the following interaction – the exchange of the information of details for going through the lock – more than greeting and thanking him. After we returned to the boat, we recounted the story of the grumpy lock-keeper, who had obviously been sleeping when we arrived, to our fellow boaters. One of the other male boaters said, 'Certainly, Maarja had to bat her eyelashes at the lockkeeper' in order for us to be allowed through, and that should we need anything

else they should send me to talk to the lockkeeper in order to guarantee success. Over the course of the day and to my discomfort, the story was re-told several times and, regardless of my initial denial, came to be presented as factual. My field diary of the day reflects my unease with the incident, but also my conscious choice not to protest too much, so that I would not be perceived as 'unreasonable', so I went along with the story. 'The whole deal was a bit sexist, but it was a joke, the purpose of which was to bring attention to the fact that I am a woman and younger than the rest (perhaps this is their way of addressing this difference)' (field notes, 27.10.2016).

Most of the active members (those attending meetings) of the IWA Manchester Branch are male and middle-aged or older and even if their wives take canal holidays, the men seem to be slightly more active in regards to both boating and volunteering. It has been noted that in the research context it is sometimes easier for women to gain access to more male dominated groups than vice versa (Dewalt et al., 1998), and during my research I seldom encountered any actual obstacles due to my gender. This fact, however, was brought up from time to time. 'I thought this was a gentlemen's club,' Matt said when I arrived at my first committee meeting of the IWA Manchester Branch in January 2016, at that time consisting of a group of white British males mainly in their 60s and 70s, the youngest of whom was in his late 40s. 'Not anymore!' I replied, and we both laughed about it. Joking again was the main strategy for the boaters to address my obvious differences.

Gender-related obstacles also had sometimes more to do with my own pre-conceived ideas about gender roles and less with the boaters' perceptions of me. For example, being a non-driver and, according to my own self-image, not technical-minded, I would never have taken an active role in learning to operate the boat beyond occasional steering, such as mooring, manoeuvring, going through locks, including single-handedly, if not for the research. Similarly, I hesitated for a long time before building up the courage to ask to take part in the power tools training the IWA Manchester Branch held for learning how to use and operate the power drill and power barrow for the project of installing new mooring rings on the Ashton Canal. I was not alone in my doubts: another female IWA member joined in the drilling session only after seeing me able to handle a tool. We nevertheless operated within a space of activities filled with particular gender ideologies, which the males had to 'normalise' for themselves by bringing in gendered discourses: when I was filling the holes in the concrete

using a sealant gun before the ring could be installed, one of the instructors said, 'See, it's just like decorating a cake!' The reasoning for joining in all those activities was that this was all for research, which gave me an 'excuse'. Doing this research therefore not only allowed me to ask questions, sometimes over and over again, it also made me push my own boundaries regarding my abilities and pre-conceived ideas about gender.

The canal boaters form a community that gathers 'around a specific purpose, around imaginaries or for contextual reasons, predominantly on a short-term basis [but] may experience also long-term togetherness' (Dervin and Korpela, 2013: 4). This community is somewhat temporally and spatially defined, with the boaters spending time on the canal, the duration of which can be shorter (day boaters and holiday boaters) or longer (live-aboards), but they all still belong to the same community and identifying with the group does not necessarily depend on spatio-temporal restrictions. The membership of the community centres on the practice of boating, with particular boats and adhering to certain rules, norms and values, which in turn are expressed in a variety of (sometimes gendered) practices. This community is furthermore essentially sociable and convivial, which I will discuss next.

4.2 Sociabilities of canal leisure and tourism

Paying attention to the mundane and quotidian makes it possible to reveal the importance of social interaction in tourism situations. I concur with Larsen et al. (2007: 245) who contend that 'tourism often involves connections with, rather that escape from, social relations and the multiple obligations of everyday social life.' The canals evoke a number of sensorially and materially conditioned sociabilities that emerge from connections between people and their particular environments. Sociabilities on the canal take place mainly on two levels: between those boating together on board the same boat (family members, significant others, friends, companion animals) and general sociabilities with other boaters and people boaters meet on tow-paths. Everyday tourism and leisure convivialities on the canal emerge from the intersections of these interactions, which I will examine next.

4.2.1 Convivialities on board

Tourism settings are often important venues for familial interactions and spending time with significant others (Obrador, 2012). All of the holiday boaters I met on the canals, except for one, were travelling with other people: with their partners, families and friends (or new friends they had made on a hotel or a hostel boat). As Larsen (2008: 28) claims, such collective tourism engagements constitute 'an emotional geography of sociability, of being together with close friends and family members from home. While travelling together, couples, families and friends are actually together, not separated by work, institutions, homework, leisure activities and geographical distances. They are in a sense most at "home" when away-from-the-home'.

When boating, people have to spend a lot of time together in a small space; withdrawing and spending time on your own is not really an option due to the layout of the boat, which makes canal boating quite an intense, inherently collective experience. As Larsen (2008) notes, people who travel do not perceive the world via a solitary and heroic romantic gaze or via the collective gaze of mass tourism (Urry, 1990), but in the company of family members, partners and friends: 'Tourists not only bring their own bodies but travel and perform with other bodies too. Most tourism performances are performed collectively, and this sociality is in part what makes them pleasurable' (Larsen, 2008: 28). Boating therefore means having to collectively (re)adjust to the restricted space of even the longest of narrowboats, which limits movement considerably. As Richard (67) puts it: 'I think a newcomer, going into a narrowboat, compared with a broad beam boat, would think, this is low, this is narrow. But you get used to it!'

This means developing and subsequently practising specific choreographies and body movements specific to the boatspace. Thus, a number of collective and social practices – such as having meals – have to be achieved in limited space. For example, in order to fit more than ten people around the table on a boat, there is usually a system of fold-up chairs and removable table-plates. One interviewed boater described the experience as being 'trapped' if you happened to sit in the middle. Indeed, leaving the table of a boat lounge (effectively the only indoor space where boaters spend their time) for a short while means several people standing up, letting the person pass, sitting down again, and repeating the whole procedure

in reverse once the person comes back. This means that once seated, it's important to limit your movements as much as possible. The result of this is an assemblage consisting of human bodies sitting around the table, the consumed food, pets wandering about on the boat, and materialities, such as cooking dishes or utensils, all being important parts of 'the affectivity and conviviality of collective consumption' (Hamilakis, 2017: 178). This layout also coerces people into performing a ritualistic meal, with everyone gathered round the table and having lively conversations: an image that embodies an ideal family life (Byrne, 2016).

This configuration is almost compulsory when the weather is bad and standing in the stern, sitting on the bow or walking on the tow-path are not attractive options, as there is literally nowhere else to be on the boat except for the (bunk) beds. This induces a somewhat forced socialisation as opting out of the conversation or socialisation is not really a possibility:

> I think there is a moment when everyone is talking and you're tired and you kind of think this would be a nice moment for me to go and lay down on the bed and read. So in those moments you think, okay, this is a really good conversation, [but] I'm not super interested, and I'd kind of like to read a book. It's the combination of maybe not being so interested in one thing and also missing something else that you would actually be doing with that time. [---] I think there were one or two moments [during the trip] when, okay, it would be nice to be doing something like reading a book or listening to music [in private] (Katie, 24).

The confined space and somewhat compulsory socialisation therefore can at times feel too intense or also create the feeling of being constantly monitored: one boater described feeling uneasy when asking other people sitting around the table to step aside when she needed to go out for a cigarette after dinner. This made her feel self-conscious, but taking the cigarette break, was for her also a strategy for creating a short but intense space of privacy: 'One thing that has actually probably kept me from quitting smoking [---] is that it's only two or three minutes, but I just stand outside and I have, like a moment. [---] I consciously choose to do that because I'm around people 24/7, so it's nice to have those moments when it's just me.' Another research participant, who was boating solely with her partner, said, 'Being on a boat, together in close proximity, can be tough at times.'

'Habit at once provides the material grips on the world that we require to form attachments and allegiances; whilst at the same time provides the bedrock against which we can fashion new stimulations' (Bissell, 2014: 483). Practices, such as simply moving about,

which in familiar and domestic spaces are habitual, become novel and collaborative undertakings on the boat. There are ample examples of those spatialities: for example, the success of walking from one end of a boat to the other, which may seem a straightforward task to the uninitiated, actually depends on various individual properties, such as height, weight and sense of balance. One of the boaters, a large and tall man, could not walk through the sleeping area of the boat, with bunk beds on both sides, by walking straight ahead, and always had to go sideways, a task further complicated if someone was standing in the area or going in the opposite direction. Walking through the boat thus becomes a collective undertaking that depends on the choreographies of other people. I, for example, developed a habit of sitting down on the bunk bed when someone was passing me on the boat. Alternative routes are also used, such as the gunnel, the exterior, upper edge of the boat's hull sides. Walking the gunnel requires a certain confidence in one's sense of balance as you move along the extremely narrow edge holding on to the grab rail, following the basic rule that either two feet and a hand, or two hands and a foot, have to be secure at all times (see Figure 5).

The lack of space therefore brings boaters into physical contact, which would often not be acceptable to them elsewhere. 'Even if, like, two small people shimmied, you would end up rubbing bums or something like that. To try to slide past each other. But it wasn't an issue really at all!' Katie (24), explains. Certain spots are also identified, such as next to the bathroom or galley area, where there is more room so that two people can pass each other without having to touch. This occasional brief physical contact, which would not be regarded as appropriate, acceptable, or comfortable in a different environment, becomes a new norm in the boatspace as 'spaces are – at least in part – as moving bodies do' (McCormack, 2008: 1823).

Social relationships however are not just links between human actors: they include engagements with 'animals, places, things, and materials that contribute actively, through their properties and behaviours, to the formation and transformation of these relations' (Krause and Strang, 2016: 634). Indeed, relationships with animals are important to human social life, with the animals as 'companions, working partners, farmed species, tourism attractions, or participants in sporting competitions' (Dashper, 2017: 1) and the companion animals sometimes accompany their humans on their holidays as well.

Figure 5. Gordon is walking on the gunnel to get to the bow of the boat. Photo: Author, 2016.

The UK pet population in 2017 is approximately 54 million in total, and of those 8.5 million are dogs (PFMA, 2017), a companion species, 'fleshly material-semiotic presences in the body of technoscience, [---] here to live with' (Haraway, 2003: 5). Dogs are often considered family members by their human companions and the interaction with dogs can provide friendship, companionship, love and affection, with the relationship benefiting both parties (Carr and Cohen, 2009). According to the study on dogs in tourism by Carr and Cohen (2009), people consider their dogs to be equal members of the family and would like to go holidaying with them; however, this is often not possible due to the lack of dog-friendly tourism accommodations and facilities. My data supports these findings, and furthermore, as in the following case, a dog can actually be the main factor in deciding where and how his human companions holiday:

> So we tend to holiday in the UK, which is really sad; we holiday in the UK because of the dog. But it just means that he can come with us, saves us quite a bit of money, and most of the canal boats now allow dogs onto them. Whenever we first went a few years ago, we had to look hard for one that allowed or permitted the dog. So that was actually, thinking back, that was actually a big factor of why or where we went. Because there was only, I think, one company that allowed dogs. Most of them now do (Tom, 35).

Dogs thus become important actors in the space of the canals, which, as Fletcher and Platt (2016) argue, has spatial implications:

> Animals are caught up in human orderings in a number of ways. This is especially the case when animals accompany humans into shared spaces where relations extend beyond human and animal to consider more explicitly, our relationships with the land. Therefore, animals are critical to the making of places and landscapes (Fletcher and Platt, 2016: 6).

Sharing the limited boatspace with animals, for example, can mean that humans do not just have to calculate the luggage and equipment they need on the boat (which in turn has implications for the space available to move around), but also those items which serve the dog's needs and comforts. 'Believe it or not, he loves sleeping in that dog crate, and then we had to have that on the boat which was a bit of an obstacle in a narrow canal boat,' Kirsten (32) explains. Even though the bulky crate proves a hindrance in the narrow space of the boat, bringing it was non-negotiable. Furthermore, Tom contemplates the advantages of a semi-trad stern boat for the convenience of the dog:

> We usually had the dog up on the stern as well; we did sometimes look at other people's sterns that were more closed up; it was a very open stern. And a little bit of envy because then we could have… he wouldn't have been tethered, he's a bit of an idiot. He had to be tethered because otherwise he'd be on the canal, in the canal, after the swans and so on. So we did sometimes look at other people's that were much more closed. That would have been a bit easier (Tom, 35).

In addition to affecting the choice of holiday location, specific hire company and, potentially, the particular type of boat stern, dogs also have a direct bearing upon the sort of activities undertaken when on holiday, most prominently walking. As Fletcher and Platt (2016) argue, it is better to conceptualise dog walking not as an activity of walking the dogs, but as walking *for* the dogs, a cooperative effort undertaken for the enjoyment of the animal. Humans have a responsibility to take care of their dogs, and a dog walk is not just something 'experienced by the human, but is dependent on and interactive with animals' (Fletcher and Platt, 2016: 7). Kirsten describes hopping off the boat now and then and walking alongside it for the dog's benefit to give the pet something to do 'because obviously he can't go very far, just stuck on the boat', and she wanted to provide the dog with some entertainment and a

chance to spend time off the boat. Similarly, Denise describes her relative's dog in terms of the pet's perceived dislike of boating, which also ended up with the dog falling in the canal and the person jumping after him:

> The dog came out of the boat, the dog should have been inside the boat and he managed to get out of the back door. And he wasn't enjoying the boating, he had been never been boating before, the dog. And he just came off from the back deck. [A relative] was on the lockside. Fortunately the lock was full and it was a wide lock, so he was on the lockside and [another boater] was screaming, 'the dog is in the water!' (Denise, 50).

Even though the agency of a companion animal is relational and bound to the human-centric context, animals still have choices in their interaction (or non-interaction) with humans (Dashper, 2017), and when the agencies of humans, animals and the environment intersect, the animal element of the resulting assemblage can be often extremely influential. Most decisions Tom and Kirsten made during their boating holiday, such as whether to eat in pubs and how long to stay, were directly influenced by their relationship with their dog and the dog's particular personality (more precisely his reluctance to socialise with other dogs):

> Kirsten: We'd usually cook [the dinner], sometimes go to a local pub but with the dog it's difficult, because you can't really leave him in the boat for very long, so we tend to eat in the boat.
>
> Maarja: So you can't go to the pub with the dog?
>
> Kirsten: No, the dog isn't well-behaved so we have to just stay in the boat.

Tourism is very often a collective and sociable undertaking, and it is this sociality that makes it pleasurable and attractive (Larsen, 2008). The mobilities perspective is particularly useful for researching embodied encounters as it enables us 'to more radically re-think the relation between bodies, movement and space' (Sheller, 2014b: 49). As I demonstrated above, the convivialities on board the narrowboat develop from the intersections of a variety of spatial orderings and a number of everyday practices of the human and non-human bodies aboard boats. In addition, however, there are other convivialities that take place on the wider canalscape and I will discuss these interactions next.

4.2.2 Lockside and towpath sociabilities

The canal boaters interact with the people from other boats on the canal but also with other canal users on the towpath. Socialisation with other boaters usually takes place at the key sites of congregation: the locks and the mooring spaces. When passing other boats and after the customary greeting (part of the canal etiquette discussed previously in 4.1.2), boaters sometimes also chat about their boats or their route, or take the opportunity to exchange important information:

> Spoke to other boaters, most people were quite friendly, some of them were passing, some would kind of wave or say hello or, sometimes exchange information, if there's a problem, if there's a big queue for the lock for example. Bit of an exchange of information. Literally just as you pass (Tom, 35).

> As we would sit outside on the roofs so people that were passing would speak and... You know what we were doing and where we were from and where we were going (Denise, 50).

At the locks, however, there is time to chat with other boaters for a bit longer, because waiting for the lock to empty and fill to pass through can mean a stop of at least 15 minutes. As discussed previously, when two boats approach a wide lock, it is customary for those boats to share the lock – that is, go into the lock together, side by side and with their crews operating the locks together (see Figure 4). This is especially convenient in case of staircase locks and flights of locks, because the physical work of opening and closing the gates and winding the paddles can be shared between the two crews:

> We had other people that were on boats, quite often on a lock. It was actually quite good when we ended up in a pair that we could go down together. So you could share all the lock work. Because it was only two of us, it meant that Tom stayed on the boat and I did all locks, running back and forth over the bridges and all sorts. So it was quite nice if you could pair up with somebody and share the work (Kirsten, 32).

In these situations, the differences between the experienced and inexperienced boaters become obvious. During my first boat trip on the Shropshire Union Canal, Rohan was very happy when he saw another boat approaching: there were only two of us on board and

another boat meant that we could go through the Northgate staircase lock together. The people on that boat, Jane and Michael, a couple in their 70s, were experienced boaters, and my main memory of that staircase is just standing by slightly uncomfortably, unsure of what do to and worrying about doing something wrong, looking at Jane working the locks with incredible speed, strength and precision. Kirsten shared a similar experience:

> But sometimes you just meet people briefly because they're going up and you're going down. It was always at locks that I was meeting people, so they were maybe emptying the lock and I was coming up or whatever. [---] We actually met a family and they must have had like three adult children and all their partners and their mum and dad there. They were on their massive canal boat that they owned. And they'd been doing it for years and years and years and they got through the flight of locks... We joined them for a few locks and I just stood there and they were running around. Because there was so many of them! And they could do everything, like, very quickly. And I was like – god, it takes me like five times longer when it's just me! (Kirsten, 32).

Sharing the workload thus does not necessarily mean sharing it equally. The tasks are divided on a voluntary basis and depend on how many people are on board of boats, and whether they might need extra help:

> There was also a nice sociable thing, because we were four people on the boat, so we effectively had three that could work the windlass when we got to a lock. And you know, coming across a boat that was single-handed and stuff like that... so, you know, there was the social side of saying, 'it's all right, we'll do this for you', you know; because we're following. 'You get back on your boat, it's all right; we'll do it'. So that was nice as well (Darren, 42).

In addition to sharing the workload, and saving water and time, locks are also key congregation points for boaters to communicate, socialise and share information:

> Again, it's helpful if you couple up at a lock with another boat, you're saving water, you get to know these other people. What are their cruising experiences, where have they been, what have they found. Are there any issues on that particular canal. Are there any good places to stop that they recommend. So you get that, you get a certain camaraderie. You've got the time to stop and talk and share the experience with them. And that can be going up and down the canal, you don't have to stay with the same boat all the time, you look up, say, all right, we're pulling over here, you go ahead we'll catch up again. And you may never see those people again. But it's nice. And at that speed, you've got the time to talk (Barry, 66).

This socialising however, mainly applies to those actually working the locks, as the helmsman has to remain on the boat in the lock. This is why some, mainly male, boaters whose partners do not like steering, often cannot chat with others at the locks because of the steering duty:

> And also it's quite sociable being on a canal. You have to stop and you have to get off the boat and you have to do the locks or whatever. And people come along and chat you know, where are you from, where are you going, that sort of things. It actually has got a lot of things which are quite appealing about going on a canal boat holiday. [---] And I actually quite like doing the locks. [Whispering, because Tom is in the next room] But I do feel a bit bad for Tom, because he doesn't get to do them. Because we kind of don't have an option, he's the only one who can steer the boat. And maybe he'd like to... because I'm the one who's getting to chat to all the passers-by and I'm the one who's getting to, you know... be social and he's kind of quite often stuck far down into the lock [laughing]. So, I do feel bad about it sometimes (Kirsten, 32).

The exchanges of information on the canal are sometimes referred to as 'towpath telegraph' and it is an important part of many boaters' perception of the canal network as 'a linear village', as an experienced boater, Paul, described it to me. Even though on the canals nowadays the verbal exchange of information and socialisation between boaters is supplemented with very active online presence (web forums, Facebook groups and Twitter, featuring both official and informal information on the canals), verbal information sharing remains an extremely important aspect of the boating experience. While on the move, boaters exchange vital information with others: for example, after going through a bridge on a busy canal, it is a norm to inform an approaching boater whether there is someone coming right after you in order to avoid problematic situations on the bridge. Likewise, boating on 'The Narrow' on the Llangollen canal – a stretch of canal only one boat width wide with no passing space – requires extensive communication between boaters. This results in a complicated human and material choreography of boats waiting for the passage, with their steerers ready to react to the quickly changing situation and the crews running up and down the towpath checking whether there are boats coming from the other direction. The crews also need to negotiate the passage with other crews using a combination of interpersonal skills, as well as a correct appraisal of the available mooring spaces and the time it will take to go through.

Boaters also meet at mooring sites. The popular sites in the cities can be busy, with long lines of boats moored one after the other. In more congested areas, boats can sometimes be moored abreast, i.e. two boats side by side. These are the spaces where boaters meet, get to know each other, socialise and share information:

> Because there were a few other people either doing the Stourport ring or people going the same way, so when you get to a flight of locks, you know, you're in transit together. [---] But then, as we went around the ring, we encountered some of the same people. And another instance of that was – someone was doing it the other way, and when we went to Gas Street Basin, they moored up next to us. So, you know, we had a bit of chat, because moorings were tight, as the traders' market was on. It was really busy and I was on the tiller again and said, 'This is nice, all these nice shiny boats.' [---] So we had a twenty minute chat there, because we were both filling up the water and then we were off on our way again. It was just nice to exchange tales of what they'd seen on their leg of the journey, because obviously that's what we're gonna encounter when we'd pass on our side (Darren, 42).

More secluded and rural places, however, are valued for the opportunity to enjoy the countryside in private, with no one else in sight but the cows and sheep and the wild birds in the surrounding fields. However, sometimes inexperienced boaters try to moor next to other boats in those areas as well, since they perceive it to be more secure to have company nearby. This often annoys experienced boaters, who have carefully selected a spot in the countryside to enjoy in private, and do not really understand why someone would moor next to them when there are miles of empty space available.

In addition to other boaters, other users of the canal are those on the towpaths: walkers, runners, dog walkers, cyclists, anglers and others. Boaters' interactions with them usually involve acknowledging and greeting, and sometimes also having chats. There is also some potential friction here that stems from the fact that different users appropriate the canal space in different manners. Therefore, from the boaters' perspective sometimes anglers can cause them worry when they do not remove their fishing rods from the canal (fast enough) when they boat past them. Boats are supposed to slow down when passing anglers so as to not to disturb the fish and sometimes conflicts can arise when anglers feel that boaters have not slowed down enough or early enough. Likewise, conflicts can arise with cyclists on the towpath whom the boaters perceive often as going too fast (thus not subscribing to and directly confronting the canals' slow tempo that I will discuss in 6.1). An

early study in the 1980s also demonstrated that there was considerable acceptance of other towpath users, with the only exception being cyclists (Banister et al., 1992).

> Because of the speed that they [the cyclists] go along the towpath. I suppose if you're on the boat it doesn't matter but when you're in lock or you're lockwheeling in between, and fairly quiet banks if you think about it, and all of a sudden you can turn around and there can be a fast bike going past. It does upset quite a lot of people (Denise, 50).

Most of the socialisation with other canal users however is with the passers-by on the towpath, who sometimes stop to have a chat with the boaters, asking questions about the boat or how the locks work. Some watch from a distance or from bridges as boats pass by or go through locks. These observers are called 'gongoozlers' by the boaters (see Figure 6). As Bowles (2015) emphasises, there are not many original non-technical words in the boaters' vocabulary, and gongoogzler (also a verb, 'to gongoozle') is one of those rare words. This word, meaning a person observing a boat, is according to Rolt's (2014 [1944]) speculation derived from Lincolnshire words meaning to gape and to stare; however, the actual origin of the word is not clear.

Boating is a visually attractive activity and passers-by often stop to watch the colourful boats go past or through the locks. Indeed, my first activity on the canal was gongoozling (although I did not yet know the term): observing the boats as they cruised on the canal and went through the locks. The latter seemed a strange and somewhat mysterious activity, with people running around the locks, including climbing on the lock beams to get to the other side of the canal, winding the paddles up and down in non-comprehensible sequences and closing and opening the lock gates. This all happened in sequences of captivating individual 'body ballets' that then, through habitual moving patterns meeting in time and space, formed a distinctive lock-side 'place ballet' (Seamon, 1980).

When I started boating myself, I too became an object of gongoozling. Passers-by would sometimes ask questions about how the lock worked or where we were going, but more often they would just stop and silently watch from either the bridges or the towpath, and quite often within hearing distance. Bowles (2015) interprets gongoozling as intrusive surveillance and interference with the boaters' lives:

For the gongoozlers, the waterways and the boats are objects of fascination. They are also public, like the towpath and the locks themselves. The addition of benches, ice cream vans and even cafés at locks make the waterways seem like the very definition of public space. Press releases and publicity from CaRT and BW support this understanding by encouraging the 'public' to see their local canals as leisure spaces for angling, dog walking, or enjoying the sights (Bowles, 2015: 234).

Figure 6. Gongoozlers watching the boat go past on the Bridgewater Canal. Photo: Author, 2016.

While Bowles (2015) acknowledges that some boat dwellers enjoy interacting with non-boaters on the towpath, he mainly interprets these contacts in the framework of colliding notions of public and private. Furthermore, he considers that boaters often against their will perform on Goffman's (1959) 'front stage' when on the canal, where CRT largely acts as a set designer, while carefully guarding the 'back stage': the interiors of their boats. For holiday boaters, the boundaries between public and private are more fluid as they are more accepting of gongoozlers' presence, engaging and readily performing 'canal boating' for them. The perceived discomfort mostly arises not from the gongoozlers' presence on the canal, but rather from them often not following the towpath code of acknowledging others on the canal: when passers-by stop to watch the boat, but do not acknowledge the boater by waving, greeting or chatting, the boaters are dehumanised into objects for the public gaze.

Nevertheless, many holiday (and other) boaters happily interact with passers-by, answer their questions, and share the boating experience. These encounters, while often

brief, can be perceived as meaningful and canals can be conceived of as spaces of interactions for different groups and individuals, and not reserved for boaters only:

> The other thing that's quite nice sometimes is that you're perhaps going down a flight of locks and there's a family there with small children, and you can say, 'Do you want to get in the front, come down the locks?' and it means that kids are really excited (Phil, 67).

> There were also lots of people just passing by, walkers, cyclists, people's kids, they often helped out as well with the locks. Because they want to get involved, to see what you're doing, some people have no idea how a lock works, so they ask you how it works, which is a bit like blind leading the blind [laughing] (Kirsten, 32).

Canal holidays, like most other tourism activities, are social undertakings and on the canal, boaters interact with a number of people: friends and family members on the boat, and other boaters and people on the towpath. These interactions can be performed and practised in a variety of ways and express different values and preferences. Different members of the boating community may perceive canals differently, and thus the social interactions initiated on the canal that are perceived as desired by some boaters can be seen as unwanted by others. These actions, interactions and interrelations, however, are all important elements of the formation of the canal leisurescape.

4.3 Summary

There are many interactions that constitute the canals as places produced by mobilities of different boats and people both on the boats and the towpath and their social relations, forming a mobile, linear community. The canal network is perceived by many boaters as a 'linear village' and it comes to exist through diverse spatialities and mobilities of various actors: the boats cruising on the canal network, with different boaters observing (or not observing) the canal code of conduct, pets, as well as people walking, cycling or angling on the towpaths.

This mobile linear community of boating is both flexible and dynamic, and cannot be defined through geography or temporality, but rather by how the community is produced as

an intersection of various geographies, spatialities, practices and activities. Membership in this community is partly based on self-identification, the main constitutive act of which is boating, and also the approval and informal sanctioning of other community members, for which boating etiquette and skills need to be acquired. Furthermore, this community is forged by the personal trajectory of each of its member, some more at the centre, some on the fringes. There are many perceived centres, as the prerequisites for belonging can differ for different groups and individuals. The live-aboards' claim to membership is often spatio-temporal, stemming from living on the canals permanently; some holiday boaters see their identity as boaters coming from contributing to the maintenance and upkeep of the canals, and for others it is the act of boating. What is most important, however, is that for all groups' membership in the boating community means being able to enact a number of practices: acquiring knowledge of rules, following both written and unwritten regulations, obtaining a number of physical skills of boating and passing them on to other potential community members. The boating community is mobile, and it centres around the canals and the multitude of boating activities that they offer.

This loosely defined community socialises with both other community members and others they meet on the canal. Canalscape sociabilities entail interactions between people, animals and various materialities temporarily co-present. On the boats, familial and meaningful interactions can be practised through a number of social activities, shaped by both human and non-human animal boaters having to negotiate the available space. This close physical proximity in limited space, in which movement is restricted, is an important factor in shaping altered spatial practices, with a certain lack of privacy compared to that on land. The boundaries of the public and private dissolve, change and obtain new meanings. The narrow-boat, a 'floating corridor' as some boaters call it jokingly, becomes a mobile place created by the boaters' convivialities through developing certain choreographies, patterns of movement and temporal schedules that are constantly re-negotiated with regard to other boaters, animals and the material environment. In the sterns of the boats, on towpaths and at lock-sides, boaters become part of the larger social canalscape, exchanging information, acquiring skills, being socialised into the system of norms and values and navigating all this through their personal and individual trajectories, which all constitute the boating community.

Chapter 5. The materialities of canal boating

The canal network, an important transport infrastructure that became obsolete and was subsequently revived by turning or being turned into a leisurescape is comprised of a number of assemblages where we cannot necessarily 'posit a subject as the root cause of an effect' (Bennett, 2010: 32). As a 'large assemblage', consisting of numerous smaller assemblages (Edensor, 2011a: 239), the canals unite complex processes and relationships between material and non-material, human and non-human, where no single element is the primary cause of an event. Taking this position means that the reason why the canal network was built is not the Industrial Revolution or the Duke of Bridgewater's visit to France. Likewise, the reason the canals still exist is not Tom Rolt or his trip on *Cressy*, the establishment of BW or IWA, the restoration projects of WRG or the trips that contemporary holiday boaters take on the canals (cf. Mukerji, 2009). None of these elements is solely responsible for the canal leisurescape – but they are all interconnected factors that have worked and work together and cannot act alone, since their 'agency always depends on the collaboration, cooperation, or interactive interference of many bodies and forces' (Bennett, 2010: 21).

The boaters encounter, and relate to, numerous materialities – natural as well as constructed, organic and inorganic physical entities – on their journeys. Encounters with the material environment are fundamental to our experiencing the world and there are various ways of engaging with it. On the canals, materialities form certain configurations, which make boating possible. The boaters engage in 'continual tactical manoeuvring' (Ingold, 2010b: S127), interacting with different surfaces, materials and mediums, from ground to water to air while on the move. In this chapter, I will analyse the holiday boaters' encounters with those materialities on the canals, looking at how mobility is co-produced with certain substances, objects and artefacts. Following the idea of assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988) as expanded by Dant (2004; 2014) and Bennett (2010), as well as the notion of material agency (Latour, 2005), a post-humanist perspective on materialities will take centre stage in this chapter. Focusing on interactions with the various vibrant materialities (Bennett, 2010), I will concentrate on material relationships on the canal: the emergence of the boat-human in cooperation with infrastructure and everyday objects and how they in turn relate to the water, forming important, agentive canal assemblages, making boatmobility possible.

5.1 The boat and boater, built environment and everyday artefacts of boating

The canals, intricate complexes of civil engineering, form a network of locks, towpaths, aqueducts, bridges and tunnels that are part of the (industrial) landscape and built environment of the UK, 'humanly made, arranged [and] maintained' (Bartuska and Young, 1994: 5). The boats are quasi-objects that appear to us 'sometimes as a thing, sometimes as a narrative, sometimes as a social bond, without ever being reduced to a mere being' (Latour, 1993: 89) and are also vital to the (re)production of the sociabilities (Michael, 2017) I discussed in the previous chapter. The boaters, boats, the canal environment as well as the various small-scale everyday artefacts of boating are in constant interaction as they elicit different types of movements, relationships and practices. These elements are all important in the formation of boat-human assemblages, that go through the locks, under the bridges and through tunnels with the human actors steering the boats, opening and closing the lock gates and operating the moving lift- and swing bridges. Boating is therefore a complex of various bodily activities of humans as well as engagements with a multitude of artefacts, with the boat as a whole, and with various structures of built environment. In this subchapter, I will focus on the three main elements that constitute 'the ongoing enactment of networks of strategic relations within which objects and subjects are produced' (Bonham and Johnson, 2015: 9) on the canal: the boat-human, built environment of the canals and the everyday artefacts of boating.

5.1.1 Boat-human: a skilful assemblage

The canalscape is filled with various materialities constantly in motion, 'assembled and reassembled in changing configurations and rearticulated meanings' (Urry, 2007: 34). The human relationship with those materialities is rooted in sensory experiences, the affordances of materials and the human interaction with them. Canal boats are 'technics of movement' that obtain meanings through their usage and the 'techniques required to use them vary, depending on the context of use, the intentions of their users, and the qualities of the technics themselves. Once in use, over time, the technological interaction between technics and

techniques functions as a symbolic and material technocultural logic' (Vannini and Vannini, 2008: 1281). Therefore, to 'explore the role of the body in the mediation of relations between humans and the natural environment is, inevitably, to consider the part played by technology' (Michael, 2000: 107) and in regards to canal boating, this technology (or 'technics' in Vannini and Vannini's (2008) terminology) is the boat.

I discussed the different boats in the previous chapter (4.1.1), however as follows, I will explain the bodily engagement with those boats, that results in the boatmobility of a boat-human assemblage. With certain objects or tools in their possession a person has other capabilities for engaging with reality than without them (Ehn, 2011) – therefore it is the relationship between the boat and the human that makes canal boating possible. The combination of a person and an object constitutes a human-nonhuman assemblage, a boat-human, an entity that operates as a whole, possessing different capacities that surpass those of its components, but which can also at some point be disassembled into its constitutive parts (Dant, 2014).

A key element of being successfully 'mobile-with' (Edensor, 2004) a boat is being able to steer and handle it. Human and non-human mobility assemblages, for example a driver-car, come to being primarily through embodied practice that requires certain understanding, knowledge and skills obtained via the combination of institutional training and personal experience (Merriman, 2009). However, canal boat cruising, while otherwise comparable, does not require a licence to prove a person is able to handle the boat, which means that institutional training is usually not part of the forming of the assemblage. Even though it is possible to obtain an Inland Waterways Helmsman's Certificate from the RYA (Royal Yachting Association), this is not compulsory for either boat hirers or owners. Some timeshare boat schemes strongly recommend getting one, but this remains mostly voluntary. For the hire-boaters, however, this is never required and 'once you pay your money, a young man ushers you on to your boat, and teaches you to drive by tearing (well, chugging) to the nearest bridge, where he hands you the tiller and leaps ashore, leaving you to steer an unfeasibly long vessel through an unfeasibly small gap. Whatever tranquillity the canal-dwellers have found is hard-earned' (Farley and Roberts, 2011: 118-119).

The boaters therefore need a specific set of boating skills, 'capabilities of action and perception of the whole organic being (indissolubly mind and body) situated in a richly

structured environment. [---] Skills are not transmitted from generation to generation but are regrown in each, incorporated into the *modus operandi* of the developing human organism through training and experience in the performance of particular tasks' (Ingold, 2000b: 5). Moreover, skills are 'a property of the whole human organism-person, having emerged through the history of his or her involvement in an environment' (Ingold and Kurttila, 2000: 193). The skills necessary for boating are obtained through a variety of strategies: they are learned from other, more experienced boaters through copying and imitating them and then by interpreting the practices learned in particular environments through continuous refining and modification.

The ability to handle and steer a boat is established in the interaction between the temporal and experiential, depending on the length of time and frequency of occasions on which one has boated. Boaters usually receive a short induction at the hire company and are then left to their own devices:

> I knew nothing! Before we went, I knew absolutely nothing. I did get a few books on the canals, including one on the architecture of the canals. [---] So I knew a bit about some of the history of canals, particularly around Manchester, but I knew next to nothing about handling a boat. Knew nothing... had to learn how to tie the ropes for example, which took me ages, to work out how that all took place. But how it tends to work is, they give you a crash course, they give you an hour or two hours training on the locks, on how to tie up the boat, they allow you to practice a bit, they show you how windlass works, all of that sort of stuff. And then they take you out onto the boat and they give you a very crash course on how to steer it, how to get it towards the bank, how to pass other boats and so on. But it was, like I said, maybe two hours all together, maximum. Probably not even two hours. Yeah, a bit of crash course. I was pretty nervous to take a boat out for the first time. But, you know, in a few days I was able to handle the boat okay. But equally, you have to try very hard to cause a lot of damage on a canal boat, which helps. It's not like a car, the boat is... they're really robust, and these canals have been around for 300 years, and they've been bashed about a bit (Tom, 35).

The skills of boating are therefore obtained by practice, with very little formal administration and monitoring. Many boaters talk about experiencing a certain discordance between the generality of the brief inductions and the later actual responsibility of being in charge of a boat, often reporting that they paid little attention to the instructions given by the hire companies. When I rented a boat on my own for the first time – a short, 32-foot boat – I anxiously listened to the brief verbal instructions from the boatyard owner. Even though I

knew how to steer and how to work the locks, I had never brought one to the bank, turned around or moored one on my own and, more importantly, had never been fully and solely responsible for a boat. After going through the health and safety briefing and showing how the gears work, the owner of the boatyard asked whether we have any questions. 'So how do I moor the boat and how do I turn it around?' I asked, since these topics had not been covered in the induction. 'You do worry about a lot of things, don't you?' the owner laughed, and then tried to describe to me the sequences of bodily movements and tasks I would need to perform in order to turn the boat around in a large basin – something he had assumed we would just work out on our own.

Knowledge was attempted to be transmitted 'from head to head, but the heads themselves – and the bodies to which the heads belong – [were] fixed in place' (Ingold, 2015: 137), and this is why it was difficult for me to follow these verbal instructions of how to manoeuvre. Boating, like many other physical endeavours, cannot be learned by verbal explanations alone. As Pink (2015: 43) argues, the transmission of knowledge is not just a process of learning a template for action through a repetition, but 'self and agency, intentionality and creativity are pivotal to the transmission process.' Boating is an embodied undertaking and the boater has to learn it by trying to work things out, with repetition and practice of the bodily movements:

> Maarja: Now, coming back to steering – do you remember when you learned how to steer?
>
> Linda (66): Well, it's just trial and error. You know, you get let loose with this boat. You've got to learn quickly, I would say. Yeah, you just got to get the hang of it.

Boating is 'an embodied and multisensorial way of knowing that is inextricable from our sensorial and material engagements with the environment and is as such an emplaced knowing' (Pink, 2015: 40). The beginner has to stay alert and involved (Ehn, 2011) at all times since it is relatively easy to be lulled into a false security thinking you know what you are doing but then discovering, that, when having to act quickly, you are pushing the tiller in the wrong direction:

> I still haven't really learned to steer, but... over time, I've thought about it and what you're doing really, is like driving a car in reverse, but going forward. And... it's OK, if I have plenty of time to think, 'the rudder is going this way, so then it will go that way'

and, you know... But when I get in zigzags and panic, then I can't work that out anymore, so I do like someone up there, when I'm steering – even now, you know. I've had plenty of chances, but I haven't really learned how to steer yet. I've been through some bridges. I've never driven into a lock, because I haven't got the confidence to do that. And that's just me – I'm too old to learn! (Sue, 70).

As a beginner boater, I, too, often found myself in a relative sense of ease and calm only to start panicking when seeing other boats either moored or coming towards me. This would result in me confusing and mixing up the directions to push the tiller to and therefore, like Sue, I was extremely reluctant to steer a boat if no one else was at the stern with me. Rohan left me alone in the stern early on my very first boat trip, to go to the cabin to make tea and being alone and responsible for the boat was a truly terrifying experience for me. As the time went on, however, I got more confident with steering the boat, passing other boats as well as steering through bridges and locks and I would routinely offer the other boaters to take a break from the steering or for them to go and have a breakfast together (when we were in a hurry and had to keep moving).

Therefore, central to the forming of a boat-human are the boating skills, as the boaters have to be able to successfully use and interact with the multiple materialities affording boatmobility. Skills are learned and the experience developed in cooperation with different materialities in the process of enskilment, which means attending to 'the task at hand, actively engaged with a social and natural environment' while being immersed 'in the practical world [and] being caught up in the incessant flow of everyday life' (Pálsson, 1994: 901). Specifically, the mobility of boat-human is mediated through the tiller, a lever in the stern of the boat, which the person steering the boat is moving in order to direct the movement of the boat. The tiller itself is attached to, and is directing, the rudder, a metal blade underwater at the stern that enables manoeuvring. The steerer is usually standing (sometimes sitting) on the left from the tiller, holding the it with the right hand (or being physically in contact with it at all times) and using it to manoeuvre the boat under bridges, through tunnels, past the moored boats, in and out of locks and past boats coming from the other direction. Steering a narrowboat, furthermore, is counter-intuitive in the cognitive sense, especially for those habituated to driving a car. In order for the boat to move right, the tiller has to be moved to the left and vice versa:

Hannah (34): So none of us had...
Maarja: ...done it [boated] before?
Hannah: No. And it showed!
Maarja: How?
Hannah: I mean, I found it really difficult to get my head around how to steer the canal boat. Because I always wanted to push it... the... kind of... the...
Maarja: ...tiller?
Hannah: Yeah, tiller is that word, thank you. Yeah, in wrong direction, so I was always moving where I should not be.

This involves mastering certain techniques of the body (Mauss, 1992 [1934]) such as the human standing or sitting in the stern holding the tiller with the right hand and moving it slightly from time to time in order to adjust the boat's position, which leaves the left hand free to attend to the gears. Experienced boaters may keep both hands free on long and boat-free stretches of canal by holding the tiller still and moving it just with their hip: 'I tend to steer, as you may have noticed, with my bottom, and put my hands in my pockets, so they stay warm', Phil (67) explained after our day of boating together. Both knowing and learning these body techniques are multi-sensorial: 'to "know" as others do, we need to engage in practices with them, making participation central to this task' (Pink, 2015: 40). Indeed, I had noticed these particular bodily movements and strategies as well as those practiced by other boaters before and since this looked upon as a sign of an advanced boater, I started copying this practice as soon as I became more confident and proficient in steering. The physical contact with the tiller is of utmost importance here; yet instead of your hand you are feeling the movements of the tiller with your body, though the hand has to be ready at all times to grab the tiller if necessary. Nevertheless, even when holding the tiller with the hand, some boaters mentioned that standing tightly next to it, feeling the tiller and therefore the boat with the whole body, made it easier to steer. When the engine is running, the tiller is also slightly pulsating and vibrating together with the whole boat, adding to the physicality of the experience as 'vibrations combine and coalesce to generate [an] affective and embodied experience of mobility' (Bissell, 2010: 485).

It is also important to remember the right sequences of movement of the body, while simultaneously directing the movement of various materialities while cruising. Bringing the boat into the lock, for example, means that the steerer has to engage with the tiller in order to control how the boat moves in the water, and change gear in order to control how fast or

slow the boat is moving. When approaching the lock, the boat has to slow down (or stop entirely) and then enter the lock without colliding with the lock gates. The latter is slightly more difficult in case of the narrow locks or when just one lock gate is opened of a broad lock, which is what experienced boaters do, aiming to save time and energy. When the boat is about two thirds into the lock, the helmsman brings the boat to a halt by putting the reverse gear on.

After the boat has stopped in the lock, the gear has to be switched to neutral and the tiller turned all the way to one side. This is especially important with longer boats, which fill the whole lock and wherein the fender in the stern of the boat is often almost pushing against the closed lock gates. Turning the tiller makes sure that the rudder is turned to the side and cannot be caught in the lock gate. These tasks however cannot really be achieved through a 'mechanistic internalization and application of a mental script, a stock of knowledge or a "cultural model"'. (Pálsson, 1994: 901). Remembering this particular sequence of actions is crucial, and while experienced boaters 'do a lot of things without thinking consciously' (Ehn, 2011: 54), for me steering a boat into a lock meant having to think through and repeat the right sequences in my mind. For example, on one of the first occasions I was in a lock alone, I suddenly discovered that I was not able to move the tiller. I called for help and Rohan climbed back on board (there is a ladder on the side for getting in and out of the empty lock). It turned out that the rudder had got caught in the lock gate (because I had either not been far enough from the gate or had not pushed the tiller to the side as I was supposed to) and after some struggling, Rohan managed to get it unstuck. However, if he had not been able to, this incident could have had very serious consequences, including the boat sinking. These skills therefore need to become habitual, be integrated into the patterns of everyday life of the boater and thus become, via repetition, 'effortless activities and gradually descend into the unconcious' (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010: 83) – the skills are an essential part of the boat-human. This also highlights another important aspect of acquiring the skills – informal learning with the help of a mentor who mediates the necessary skills, and with whom the learner can develop a master-apprentice relationship (cf. Bowles, 2015).

In addition to the steering, the human element of the boat-human is, through their motor capacities, also responsible for the engine and the gears: the equipment of the assemblage, which allows the steerer to realise their intentionality (Dant, 2014) of various

mobilities. The engine, commonly a diesel engine, is located either under the floor in the stern (in the cruiser-stern and semi-traditional stern boats) or in the engine room (in the traditional-stern boats). The boat is controlled via three gears: forward (which also allows changing the speed), neutral and reverse (the latter is also used for bringing the boat to halt, since the boats do not have breaks). The boat steers harder when in reverse and thus manoeuvring sometimes means also giving quick forward boosts in order to gain better control over the boat even when reversing. Furthermore, the boat is not steerable in neutral and all the manoeuvring has to be done in gear. The amount of direct interaction with the engine also depends on the particular boater as more experienced boaters start almost every morning by checking the engine whereas less experienced ones see no need for this (I, as many other hirers, would not even know what to check).

It is also important to note that the relationship that develops with the boat in the course of these activities and practices is far from instrumental. A vital aspect of entering into the boat-human assemblage is that from the boaters' perspective, the boat is also an active agent in the assemblage. Even though according to Dant (2014) the intentionality that motivates the mobility as well as directs it is a property of the human element of the assemblage, many boaters do not see it that way. When I was discussing my inability to sometimes control the boat properly, James, after discussing the differences in steerability in various boats, reassured me that I should not focus on my perceived shortcomings too much because 'the boat has a mind of its own.' Another boater, Mike, reflected similar sentiment: 'This boat has a will of its own,' he reasoned, after unsuccessfully trying to turn a boat around in a relatively small space. The steerer and boat need to work together, collaborate, and have an understanding between them in order to achieve the desired result. However, 'the boat, in short, is not a mechanical *thing* onto which one acts; it is the shell that surrounds the Boater, *through* and *within* which they act. It is an ongoing project that engages and is part of the entire acting person' (Bowles, 2015: 109, original italics). Jalas, who studied Finnish wooden sailboats, has also noted this almost animistic approach:

> It comes, then, as no surprise that boats are often thought to be alive. Ownership is described as a relationship or form of companionship; like pets, boats are thought to deserve good and constant maintenance and, at point of sale, dedicated new owners. Boats are described as carrying the features of their designers and owners. And to take such animism further, boats are thought to be able to sense their environment (Jalas, 2009: 212).

The boating skills, the definitive way of relating to the boats, are 'the constitutive acts which transform a person into both a Boater and a member of the boating community' (Bowles, 2015: 102). Thus, once acquired (as well as *while* being acquired and endlessly perfected), these embodied skills form the taskscape (Ingold, 2000b) of boating, an array of related activities and practices on the canal. The skills of boat-handling are vital elements of the successful boat-human assemblage, which consequently could be called a skilful assemblage. The boaters learn necessary tasks and activities, the regulations and procedures, as well as informal rules and boating etiquette by doing, as well as from more experienced boaters:

> These tasks are not mastered by individuals from instructional textbooks. Rather, their mastery is learnt from others in the social setting of the waterways. [---] Some tips are picked up by observation and repetition, some by being directly told. Others are gleaned by a process of trial and error within a safe environment, when making mistakes becomes less risky and possible by the presence of others. Whatever the method of transmission of knowledge, it is always supported by practice, repetition, and the slow gaining of competency over time (Bowles, 2015: 102).

Becoming a member of that community includes processes that afford and generate the capacity and a space for the boat's mobility as well as for social interaction (Dewsbury, 2011). Drawing on Lave and Wenger, (1991), Bowles (2015) discusses the liveaboard boaters as a 'community of practice' that enables outsiders – unskilled, new boaters – to learn the skills necessary to move from the margins of the community to its centre. However, it is not just the knowledge and the skills of boating that are important, but also the willingness to learn: the beginners in the fringes of the boating community are not expected to know everything, but they are expected to want to know and learn from the more experienced boaters:

> Today, a boat came up. It was leaving the top gates open and the top paddles open when we got down to them. He was winding up the paddle, with having taken the rack – the pawl – off. Which is actually quite dangerous, because if you let go of the windlass for whatever reason, it would fly off, whereas if you had the rack on, the pawl on it has more chance of catching, so it doesn't do you... I put it on, and he took it off again. So I said, 'No, you should have it on!' He said, 'Oh, thank you...' and, you know, understood why he had been told (Phil, 67).

The objects, artefacts, machines and technologies enhance the body and enable it to perform activities as well as sense actualities they otherwise would not be capable of. Boating

skills develop when a human and artefact physically interact with each other. In the case of surfing, for instance, 'making a surfboard performable requires detailed sense-derived knowledge of local wave conditions [and] extensive embodied and practical knowledge of what can be done with the board' (Haldrup and Larsen, 2006: 285). Similarly, the boat as a material object requires the boater knowing how to handle it, and it requires a competence embedded in the humans and material things simultaneously. In order to accomplish this, one needs a certain tacit knowledge that resides in the body of the boater, something that tells you when to move the tiller and how far, when one should start reversing when in lock or start pushing the lock gates to open them. The combination of the person and a boat therefore constitutes a skilful human-material assemblage where abilities, expertise and knowledge develop through practice and in interaction with the wider canalscape materialities.

Handling the boat requires performing particular sequences of choreographed movements that have to follow certain patterns and for which the end goal is to move the boat to a necessary direction, position or destination. For this to happen, the human has to collaborate with the boat so that it becomes their extension, which is achieved by mediating artefacts such as the tiller. Moreover, the skilful assemblage of the boat-human (just as the boat is an incessant process and an endless project (cf. Bowles, 2015: 106-109)), is never complete and, due to the constant learning, practicing and perfecting the skills always in a state of 'becoming' (Deleuze, 1997: 6), therefore constituting a skilful becoming-boat-human, 'surrounded by so many relationalities and potentialities that it can never constitute a seamless whole' (Edensor, 2011a: 239). The boat-human however, cannot fully operate and therefore realise itself without the co-operation of a number of other materialities of boating, as well as other humans, which is what I am going to discuss next.

5.1.2 Built environment

'Mobilities cannot be described without attention to the necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings that configure and enable mobilities' (Hannam et al., 2006: 3) and in

the boating context, these are the built canal environment. For the boaters, the primary materialities of built environment of the canals that they interact with in order to enable the boatmobility are the locks: chambers with gates at both ends that manage and control the water in the canal. Canal locks, as Mukerji (2009) describes them are large, noisy and impressive, as water rushes in and out in large quantities, sometimes crashing down with deafening noise from gaps in the lock gates. Water, human muscle, stone of the lock chamber walls, wood and iron of the lock gates all come together in order to make it possible for the boat pass through. The interaction of those heterogeneous elements shapes and assimilates the canals into a network (Law, 1987), one which is spatially somewhat stretched: a boat-human generally in cooperation with other humans (with the exception of single-handed boaters), opening and closing the locks for the boat to move through.

Locks differ by their size: there are narrow locks and broad locks, each affording particular mobilities to particular boats: narrow locks fit one boat at a time (see Figure 7), whereas broad locks can accommodate two narrowboats of up to 72ft (21.9m) long and 7ft (2.1m) beam (i.e. wide). Some were specifically designed for barges up to 65ft (19.8m) long and with 14ft (4.3m) beam, as, for example, the Leeds and Liverpool canal where the 'Leeds and Liverpool shortboats' used to operate. The design and construction of the locks can therefore create friction (Wilson and Hannam, 2017) or immobility (Hannam et al., 2006) for boats with particular dimensions. This in turn means that a maximum size, 72ft narrowboat, cannot travel the whole canal network of the UK as the sizes of the locks will restrict the boatmobility. In order to mitigate those frictions and immobilities, 57ft (17.4m) boats are highly sought after as, according to experienced boaters, these enable travel along almost the entire canal network.

In the case of canals, 'the social and the natural cannot be severed, but are intertwined and perpetually changing ways in the production processes of both society and the physical environment' (Swyngedouw, 1999: 445) as the canals are unvaryingly linked to the landscape they are part of, following the changes in the landscape. There are some canals with no locks at all (e.g. the Bridgewater Canal), some with only a few locks (e.g. the Llangollen Canal) and some with many locks in succession owing to elevation in the landscape (e.g. the Ashton Canal). In case of an especially pronounced elevation there can be staircase locks in which one lock's top gate becomes the higher lock's bottom gate (e.g. Northgate Staircase on the

Shropshire Union Canal), or lock flights, a series of locks in very close proximity to each other (e.g. Wigan Flight on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal). There are also double (duplicate) locks with two parallel locks constructed to enable more boats to simultaneously pass through (remnants of the busy traffic of the Industrial Revolution), and stop locks with a very small fall in the joining points of two canals to keep the water separate. The contours of the landscape have also demanded building tunnels in order to take a canal under a hill, as well as boatlifts, such as Anderton Boat Lift, that raises boats from the River Weaver 50ft (15.2m) up to the Trent and Mersey Canal. All these 'bits and pieces do not exist in and of themselves. They are constituted in the networks of which they form a part. Objects, entities, actors, processes – all are [---] sets of relations; or they are sets of relations between relations' (Law and Mol, 1995: 277).

The locks require a cooperation from different human and non-human actors, since both materiality and sociality are produced in collaboration on the canal: 'When we look at the social, we are also looking at the production of materiality. And when we look at materials, we are witnessing the production of the social' (Law and Mol, 1995: 274). Boaters operate the vast majority of the locks on the canal network themselves. In addition, professional lock keepers operate some (such as Tuel Lane Lock on the Rochdale Canal, the UK's deepest at 19 feet and 8.5 inches (6m)) as well as those on the rivers. On some locks (especially lock flights), there are also voluntary lock keepers assisting the boaters who might need help. Going through the lock therefore, means the collaboration between the canal water, lock, the boat and the humans. The human part of this collaboration, 'working the lock', is frequently one of the first tasks to learn for a beginner boater – often before learning how to manoeuver a boat. The sense of bodily comfort and easiness experienced in the various social situations (which are also simultaneously physical) link Bourdieu's notions of habitus and field: people feel comfortable when the two correspond and discomfort when they do not (Savage et al., 2004). In order to feel at ease on the field of the canalscape, in addition to being aware of the etiquette of the boating community discussed previously in subchapter 4.1.2, the boater also needs to be able to physically achieve these tasks. This means having to possess the embodied habitus, the ways the body inhabits the social world and the social world inhabits the body (Reay, 2004) in the canal boating context, achieved through acquiring the physical skills of boating.

Figure 7. Boater in Lock 6 on the Ashton Canal, chatting with IWA volunteers. Photo: Author, 2017.

Some hire companies show how to work the lock on a model, whereas others accompany the boaters through their first lock, but either way, the actual enskilment process (Brown, 2016) happens via repetition and practice:

Maarja: So when you hired the boat, did they teach you at the marina?

Linda (66): They give you about half an hour instruction. And then it leaves! I mean... [laughing].

Maarja: So, how do you learn [working the locks]? Do you learn by...

Linda: By doing it, yeah. They tell you, you know, the basics – show you how the locks work on a model.

Maarja: On a model?

Linda: Yeah, on a little model, they showed us how... so, you know, as long as you have that in your head. And, as you [referring to me] found out, some of the locks are very different. You just have to work it out, really.

Beginners sometimes conclude that since there are so little instructions given, there must be a reason for it, and that canal boating therefore must be quite easy and self-evident. This can also mean that some boat hirers go onto the canal not being fully able to handle the boat, as well as not knowing the general rules of the community (some, but not all, will learn them as they go along).

'All mobile practices require training so that those enacting them may become attuned to bodies, vehicles and spaces' (Edensor et al. 2017: 12) and going through the lock is one of the activities where numerous canal materialities need to come together in order for the boatmobility to emerge as a result. It is also a bodily, corporeal activity and presupposes certain skills from the human actor, who works in cooperation with certain artefacts such as windlass (discussed further in 5.1.3). If the boat is going up the lock, the paddle(s) need to be wound up with the windlass, after which the boater needs to wait for the lock to empty. Once emptied, the lock gates can be pushed open; this is something virtually impossible when the water is not exactly the same level. Determining the right moment is both a tactile and visual as well as a skilful activity – the boater first checks visually whether the water levels are equal – but it has to be equal by the exact millimetre. Boaters therefore tend to lean on the lock beams or nudge them with their bodies in order to feel whether the beams are starting to move – if not, the water is not yet even and they have to wait. Once the water is even, pushing the seemingly massive lock gates open is quite easy. This, however, also depends on the particular lock; for example, those known as the Rochdale 9 on the Rochdale canal are notoriously physically heavy to handle. I have worked those locks many times, and after half a day of opening and closing the locks for the first time, all my muscles were hurting the following day. As Barry (66) cheerfully declared, 'Working the locks rejuvenates your body, refreshes the muscles that other exercises don't reach and you feel better for it! Okay, you just get shattered at the end of the day, you have a nice hot shower and you could fall asleep. But it's a good sleep, it's a deep sleep!'

Once the gates are open, the boat can be steered into the lock by the helmsman and the gates are pushed to close. It is either now (or right before closing the gates) when the paddles can be wound down. Once the bottom paddles are down and the boat is in the lock, the crew member operating the lock walks up to the top gate and opens the paddles. Sometimes the top gate can have up to four paddles – if this is the case, the ground paddles are opened first. Boaters should then wait until the lock is almost half-full before opening the gate paddles (the paddles actually positioned on the gates). In case of a lock with only gate paddles, these have to be opened rather slowly whilst continually checking the water level, since filling the lock too quickly could in the worst-case scenario cause the boat to sink in the

lock. What is more, the crew members working the lock also become essential, extensions of the boat human assemblage as boating is effectively a collective effort:

> When you're working the locks together – if you look at the way in which we worked the first lock at Dukes 92 and how we were doing it yesterday afternoon – it's become a bit of an old machine, because everybody has learned something, everybody now kind of knows what to do. Everybody, I think, can do every aspect of it. Entering the gates, using the windlass, closing the lock gates and so on (Lloyd, 60).

The lock side can also be quite slippery, especially with rain. This means that the boater must be careful when working the locks and always pay attention to what she or he is doing. When on Ashton and Rochdale canals in the summer of 2016, I had a couple of incidents of slipping on the wet towpath, falling to the ground and almost falling into the lock due to not having paid appropriate attention to the proper lock side sequences of movement. Once I jumped from the lock beam to the wet, slippery towpath, fell over on my back and could well have ended up in the lock. On another instance, I was not paying attention to the direction of the heavy moving lock beam and it could have pushed me into the canal. When performing these operations, the boater has to stay alert all the time to avoid such mishaps. This is what Ehn (2011) calls 'involvement', the state of being fully present and involved in a certain task at hand, which is:

> a reminder of the significant difference between learning and routine, in doing something the first time and doing it again for the second, third and fourth time and so on. As a beginner, you are insecure the first time, you don't know if you are doing the right things and if the result will be good enough. You must think and think again, and perhaps ask someone who is more experienced (Ehn, 2011: 57–58).

These lock side sequences have to be performed with concentration and follow established choreographies, sequences and patterns of bodily movement. The above described mishaps happened to me since I had acquired the basic skills of working the locks and felt confident operating them, which diminished my involvement in the process. However, it also had a lot to do with wanting to appear an experienced boater, a member of the boating community, and to be perceived as such by other boaters (but also the gongoozlers); it was the embodied habitus of boating, inscribed in the body (Adams, 2006) that I was after:

> When seeing a Boater at a lock, it is obvious who is new and or holidaying and who is experienced. The newer Boaters will tentatively step to and from the boat as if unsure

where the bank is, rise the paddle slowly and haltingly, and nervously watch the filling lock, keeping their ropes tight in their hands. This contrasts with the fluid movements of the obviously experienced Boater, jumping off onto the bankside, cranking the paddles and then reclining, idly and with no obvious interest (sometimes, one suspects, this disinterest is put on), atop the lock gate's beam as the lock chamber fills. The habitus is, indeed, impossible to fake, and now, after more than two years' experience on [narrowboat] *Me*, I never doubt that people will assume me to be a Boater when I'm engaged in the act(s) of navigating the waterways (Bowles, 2015: 110).

In addition to the locks, there are also a number of bridges on the canal network, for pedestrians and/or traffic to be able to cross the canal. Some of them can have a very low headroom; for example, the Lumb Lane Bridge 21 on the Ashton Canal is extremely low. Experienced boaters know the locations of bridges like these and when boating on Ashton Canal, most reminded me well before Bridge 21 was in sight not to sit on the roof and to duck when approaching it. The width of the canal under bridges can also be rather narrow, which means that two boats generally cannot pass simultaneously. When boating with Mike on Ashton Canal, I asked whether I could steer, and was allowed to do so, but only if I managed to go through the bridge holes without scratching the hull, otherwise he jokingly threatened to throw me off the boat. I managed this and was rather proud of my achievement. I later recounted the story to Phil and Gordon who then decided to continue with this rule. As I then discovered, steering a 70ft boat through the narrow bridges sometimes located on the bends was much more difficult than with the short 32ft boat. This is quite common – navigating through the narrow bridges can be quite daunting an experience for beginner boaters:

> I was steering one time and we came onto a narrow bridge. Oh, this is so embarrassing. We came to a bridge. And there was this curve, like it was on a curve, and I misjudged it completely and I went ploughing into the edge of this bridge. Which was probably from the Industrial Revolution! And I'm so glad that they're not like, these hireboats are made of metal, because it literally just... there were chunks of brick lying on the boat, and I was just... And Tom was like 'what the bloody hell are you doing!' Aaaaah... panic! [laughing] Yeah. I think we even kept a bit of brick as a bit of a memento of me taking a chunk out of this industrial bridge. And when we had to go back, I was like, I can't look at that bridge, what I did to it. So yeah, there were the bricks that had dents in them and... And that then totally put me off, I was like, I don't want to do that again. Because that's what happened! And it sort of put me off a bit. That was a disaster and then you've got to get yourself out and you're panicking and the boat's going the wrong way because you start panicking (Kirsten, 32)

The boaters also operate lift and swing bridges that can be either manual or mechanised (operated via a windlass or if electronic, they can be lowered and raised by pushing a button instead of having to physically wind or push them open or closed). These bridges are for either foot or vehicular traffic, which means that when the boaters operate these bridges, all other traffic stops until the boat goes through and the bridge is put back in place. Boating therefore can also function as a source of friction (Wilson and Hannam, 2017) for the car drivers and pedestrians. Thus, in addition to boatmobility, these bridges also effectively manage the automobility as well as the mobility of people on the towpath.

The built environment of the canals demand a certain attunement to it, as well as the collaboration of the boaters as well as the boat. These practices of 'skilled movement' therefore shape participant-environment interactions (Mullins, 2009: 247) and result in meaningful mobilities for the boaters. Operating the locks and negotiating the bridges, tunnels and lifts is therefore a practice that boaters 'move along with' (Hui, 2013: 903) – and in order to be successful they need to possess particular boating skills. These are acquired by multisensory emplaced learning, 'embedded both in specific environments and in the embodied activities of learners' (Fors et al., 2013: 182): sheer extensive repetition, placing yourself into the intensive environment of canal boating. The skills come gradually and through endless repetition, through watching other boaters perform the task, from asking questions and getting instructions, all of which slowly seeps into the boaters and culminates in their ability to perform necessary tasks through instinct and automation, without really having to concentrate on remembering the right sequence of movements. In addition however, the boat 'is a thing but it is made up of things' (Dant, 2014: 371), some of which (such as tiller and engine) have already been discussed. Next, I will focus on other everyday artefacts of boating, which are also imperative to the mobility of the boat-human.

5.1.3 Everyday objects of boating

There are a number of material everyday objects which are vital in accomplishing the everyday activities of canal boating. Even though these objects also carry symbolic meanings

and act as conveyers of either collective or individual identity, they are first and foremost 'useful, or perhaps even have agency, in enabling and shaping action' (Shove et al., 2007: 4). These everyday objects of boating – windlasses, handcuff keys, CRT keys, ropes, pins, hooks, and guidebooks – are all important elements of the boat-human assemblages that need to form for successful canal boating as 'local exchanges between humans and environment are fundamentally heterogeneously mediated by mundane technologies' (Michael, 2000: 108).

The most central mundane technology of canal boating is a windlass: a removable L-shaped iron or aluminium rod with one or two square sockets at one end for fitting onto the spindle on the lock gear (see Figure 8). It is used for opening and closing the paddles on the lock gates, and by doing that the windlass has an ability to organise its users into certain postures, practices and activities (Shove et al., 2007). Most of the boats have several on board – for when someone needs it to give a hand with the locks or just as spares. I learned quite quickly to keep my eye on the windlass at all times, as in the summer it can very easily disappear in the middle of the hay growing by the lock side. During my first trip, Rohan taught me to put the windlass on the lock beam when I was not holding it in hand in order not to lose it. However, when Michael, another boater we met on the canal, saw me doing it, he instantly warned me not to, since the windlass could easily fall into the canal with the momentum of closing the gates. Michael said that he uses magnets on strings trying to fish the iron windlasses out of the canal, and sometimes succeeds, but most remain in the canal. Some boats have signs 'windlasses for sale' on them: these are usually those fished out of the canal from the lock sides. While the windlass is effectively an important equipment of the mobility assemblage, something that, when propelled by human intentionality allows the boat to move (Dant, 2014), this usefulness is not its only property. The boater needs to make sure not to leave the windlass on the spindle when working the lock: should something happen with the safety catch, the relational agency (Shove et al., 2007) formed by the combination of human error, rotating spindle and the windlass could cause serious injuries, and the windlass can thus also be a source for danger.

Furthermore, the windlass also serves as a very clear material expression, as well as a visual symbol of one's status (Bourdieu, 1984) as a boater. Some boaters have a special loop on their belts where they can stick the windlass so they may keep their hands free. I developed a habit of putting the windlass through the front belt loop of my jeans when I wanted to walk

around with my hands free, walked on the gunnel or had to climb to the other side of the lock and wanted to grab the handrails with both hands to make sure I did not fall in. This could also sometimes be quite uncomfortable depending on the windlass, as the ones made of iron are quite heavy compared to those made of aluminium. Possession a windlass, however, is the surest sign of identifying other boaters on the towpath, and it is usually possible to notice them from far away, as they hold windlasses in hand.

In many urban areas, especially in northern England, the lock mechanisms are protected with 'handcuffs' that have to be opened with a handcuff key. Opening lock gates and emptying stretches of the canal can be carried out as acts of vandalism and in order to avoid this, the lock gears on the Rochdale and Ashton Canals in Manchester are locked. The handcuff key, also known as an 'anti-vandal key', is a simple metal tube, approximately 5 cm long, that opens the said handcuffs (see Figure 8). Winding the paddles without the handcuff key is impossible; the key is therefore a small artefact that effectively manages the access to the waterways system. The key is obtainable only from designated CRT shops (and also online), and at the time of writing costs five pounds. It is therefore one of the effective strategies for managing boatmobilities as well as creating the boaters' community. For someone unfamiliar with boating, the handcuff key would prove unrecognizable; but for boaters, it is an important guiding materiality of urban boating in northern England.

In addition to managing and restricting access, the key effectively separates the boaters and non-boaters via the ownership of an important material object that enables boaters to control and direct the water in the lock. Experienced boaters usually own several keys, and they often carry them on their person whenever near the canal, even when not boating, perhaps whilst volunteering. When operating city centre locks, the key needs to be always at hand because of the constant need to use it again. When boating I always kept the handcuff key in a pocket sealed with a zipper, but still regularly and nervously checked to make sure it was still in my pocket – for losing it would have rendered the boat immobile until another key is acquired.

Figure 8. Anti-vandal keys (above) and windlasses on NB Olympic. *Photo: Author, 2016.*

Another object controlling the boaters' movement both on the water and on land is a CRT key (also 'Canal and River Trust key', 'BW key', 'British Waterways key', 'watermate key'). This is a simple Yale type door key that gives the boater access to all customer service facilities on the canal network, as well as some bridges and other structures on the canal. The facilities include water points as well as rubbish, recycling and sewage disposal points (allowing the boaters to empty their toilet cassettes). They can also include toilet (and sometimes shower and laundry) facilities. The key also opens some swing and lift bridges and gives access to some mooring spaces in towns. The key can be purchased (like the handcuff key) from the CRT online shop or designated selling places (marinas, hire boat companies, etc.) on the canal and in 2017 it cost seven pounds. Boaters usually carry this key with them at all times (including when not boating) and use it, for example, for accessing toilets when they walk around.

The CRT key is also an embodiment of an unspoken contract between the boater and the Canal and River Trust, giving boaters access to parts of the canal infrastructure that is reserved only for the members of the boating community. When the key that should work does not, this contract, and the trust, is breached, as illustrated by this letter from two boaters to Mile Post, IWA West Riding Branch magazine, and addressed to CRT:

My family and I have just completed the Cheshire Ring starting from Preston Brook traveling in a clockwise direction. There are temporary towpath gates preventing boaters and public using the towpath between locks 91 and 84 [on the Rochdale Canal]. There was no notice of this to boaters entering Lock 92 or 84 or how to escape from the canal in an emergency. Last Monday we were stuck in Lock 90 as there was insufficient water in the pound above to enable our boat to get over the cill. The bottom gates were in poor condition and leaking water. In addition we had 2 boats following us. To bring water down from the next lock 89 we got out our BW key to open the towpath gate between the two locks. A local builder in the meantime called his supervisor and appeared with their private key as the BW key would not fit. It seems this issue at lock 90 and lack of water has been a regular problem with the past couple of weeks. If a BW key is not going to be used then there must [be] some public information to the boater. This arrangement between yourselves [the CRT] and the building company is not acceptable. In addition, support from your volunteer lock keepers would be very beneficial as suggested 3 years ago in „Waterways World" [a canal boating magazine]. We did not need your volunteers at other sites on the ring (Mile Post, 2016: 29).

When mooring the boat, the boater also has to interact with various objects such as ropes, mooring pins, bollards, mooring rings and hooks. The boater has to make sure that the space chosen is suitable as well as a permissible site at which to moor – as indicated by mooring rings or bollards in place, for instance. Metal mooring rings are attached to the towpath and boaters can tie their ropes there. However, especially in the rural areas, there are no designated rings and in which case special pins (stakes) are hammered into the towpath and ropes tied to them. In addition, there are also mooring hooks, G-shaped metal aids that can be fastened onto the metal piling sheets on some canal banks. The hooks are quite practical as they cannot be pulled out by other boats as mooring pins can:

Took me a long time to work out how to bring the boat into mooring. And how you get the front of the boat pointed towards the bank and you almost hit the bank and then you would put it into reverse and you'd do the counter-steering and so on. That took me a while to get used to but the second week that we went, last year, even that I was kind of a beginning to get reasonably good at. Ropes, I struggled with ropes I have to say. And also with really securing mooring the boat as well, in the first couple of days we went, we'd get up in the morning and the boat would maybe be a foot, a foot and a half into the canal. [---] Using the various pins took a little while, to get the angles of the pins. We were really told about the angles of the pins, makes sense but, really the 45-degree angle away from the boat gives it that significantly more strength (Tom, 35).

Boaters 'live and act with objects, and feel, understand and appreciate them' (Jalas, 2009: 204) and another important guiding materiality of the boatmobility is the physical guidebook. The boaters often plan their routes using the websites, but for the actual accomplishment of those routes, the physical handbook is necessary. The guidebook is therefore a physical representation of the journey at hand and an extremely important point of consultation for beginners and seasoned boaters alike. The book is spiral bound, so that it can be easily kept open on the cabin roof ready for checking. The main use of the guidebook is for orientating around the lock numbers and bridge numbers, which are taken into account in order to calculate the time required to reach the particular destinations.

The book is used for its symbolic representations of the canal, but it is also the material engagement with the physical book that is important in co-producing the canalscape. The guidebook is a fixture on every boat, whether private or hireboat, referred to in shorthand as 'Nicholson's' or 'Pearson's'. Some boaters use the travel planning websites before their journey and find them useful, but during the actual journey the physical handbook was the more practical (none I met had used the canal map applications). Tom, for example, had consulted the website on his first journey; however, for the second one he discovered the physical guidebook to have more advantages:

> A small, kind of A5 guidebook, which had a map, which was actually more representative, because it wasn't one of the schematic maps and you could almost tell just by looking at it where there would be turns. ... [A]nd what's really good about them is that each two pages have a map, and it also gives you a bit of a history. (Tom, 35).

Moreover, the material properties, textures and aesthetics of objects such as books change and transform as the time goes by (Jensen et al., 2016), with guidebooks stained and worn through extensive use. The material appearance of the guidebook can thus also reinforce the authority of an experienced boater. The information the guidebook provides is realised via physical interaction with it: its placement on the cabin roof (with windlass or other heavy objects placed on top of it so that cannot fly away with a sudden gust of wind), the boaters' more or less regular consultation with it, sharing it with others on the boat and using it for retracing the past days' journeys as well as planning the day ahead.

The windlass and the handcuff key are the mediators between the human and the lock, they are essential objects facilitating the opening and closing of the locks and therefore controlling the amount of water in them. This means that they are crucial elements of the boat's mobility, as without them the boat would remain immobile. There are a lot of situations however, when it is exactly immobility that is desired, and these constitute a complex system of mobilities and 'the multiple fixities or moorings' (Hannam et al., 2006: 3) of various scales – and in the boating context, the idea of mooring is both literal and theoretical. The hooks and pins (that the boater carries with them) and bollards and mooring rings (attached to the towpath) and the rope that ties the boat to them, are the mediators between the human and the towpath, between mobility and mooring. Using them also means having to possess certain knowledge and skills, which come with practice and repetition. The boater would have to know how much pressure to apply, which direction to turn the key or windlass and what precautions to take so that the windlass would not harm or injure them or others.

The windlass and handcuff key allow the boater to control the boats' and therefore boaters' mobility on the canal and pins, hooks, and rings in cooperation with ropes allow for the necessary immobility. In addition to this, the CRT key gives the boaters access to the facilities on the towpath, effectively allowing them to move in spaces meant only for boaters, thus creating real, though at the first glance invisible, boundaries between the worlds of boater and non-boater. Therefore these artefacts are not only the embodied materialities for allowing mobility on the canalscape, but also serve as symbolic representations of being a member of the boaters' community. The windlass, handcuff key and CRT key open more than doors and locks on the canal – they 'unlock certain aspects of self and ways of thinking, [---] remembered pasts and imagined futures' (Nippert-Eng, 2008: 48) as they allow the boaters to complete their passages.

The boatmobility ultimately comes into being via interaction and collaboration between the boaters and a number of vital everyday objects of boating, as discussed above. The material guidebook allows the boaters to realise the potentialities symbolised and represented in the guidebook. In addition, the boaters' interaction and collaboration with the windlasses, keys, pins and ropes helps to both fulfil and (re)produce their goals of mobility as well as immobility: covering a certain number of miles per day, turning the boat around,

reaching various destinations, opening and closing the locks, mooring in certain places, and accessing the facilities. The boaters' itineraries are determined by the routes made possible by the capacities and affordances of various materialities of boating – the 'technologies, infrastructures and artefacts "script" future users, affecting movement and behaviour, and sometimes also configuring goals and aspirations' (Shove et al., 2007: 7). It is therefore via the collaboration of the combination of these material artefacts of boating that boatmobility becomes possible. All these activities, however, would be impossible without the water as an actor on the canalscape, which I will discuss in the next sub-chapter.

5.2 Watery mobilities

'Our bodies are made up of water, and we gravitate towards bodies of water' (Clarke, 2010: 116). Water is 'simultaneously an element, a flow, a means of transport, a life-sustaining substance, a life-threatening force, the subject, object, and often the very means of social and cultural activity' (Krause and Strang, 2016: 633), it is the center of everyday life (Clarke, 2010). Furthermore, its recreational use has been long lasting and cross-cultural with various activities on lakes, rivers, canals as well as at the seaside and on the oceans. People spend time near water, in water or on water on various vessels, celebrating the specific sensory and aesthetic experiences leisure on water allows (Strang, 2009). Moreover, 'water figures in notions of hygiene, health, the sacred, the sublime, all of which play a role in the practice of leisure as a social activity' (Anderson and Tabb, 2002: 1, cit. Strang 2009: 194). Simultaneously, however, water can represent contamination, pollution and decay, but its dangers can also lie in its 'elemental' force and potential to cause damage (Strang, 2004).

The inland waterways network in the UK includes canals and tidal and non-tidal rivers, regulated by the lock and weir systems and their associated infrastructure. This network is comprised from both navigable and non-navigable waterways, forming a complex system involving numerous human, non-human and material actors and agencies. The waterways serve various purposes including tourism, transport, flood management and water supply, as

well as providing telecommunications routes (TCPA, 2009) and their draw is largely based on the need for 'the sense of being apart, being close to water' (Fallon, 2012: 149). In this subchapter, I will concentrate on the agency of water and discuss how the holiday boaters' relationship with the canal water enables (and disables), as well as directs and manages boatmobility, focusing on water as the facilitator of mobility and immobility, water as a source of danger and the boaters' sensory engagement with the watery canalscape.

5.2.1 Mobility, immobility and danger

At the Waterways Research Network meeting in Birmingham, in December 2016, CRT Honorary Research Fellow Jodie Matthews asked the people present to reflect on 'the canal matter and why the canals matter'. John Benson from the National Waterways Museum in Ellesmere Port instantly replied that the most important canal matter is water as everything on the canals depends and centres on it. Indeed, its fluid qualities are what make water mobility possible overall (Matthews, 2016) as on the most general level, the boat's mobility depends on the amount of water in the canal, a supply that comes from reservoirs, rivers and streams as well as pumping stations retrieving water from underground (CRT, 2015). At the high points of the canals, usually near the topmost (summit) pounds, there are usually lakes and reservoirs providing the water needed to fill the locks, but it can also come from brooks and streams that have been diverted to flow into the canals (Body, 1975). Canal water can be a dangerous flood or stay still; it can be murky as in Rochdale Canal, orange as in Bridgewater or transparent as in Chesterfield. It can be a life-giving environment for countless flora and fauna but also dangerous and polluting to humans; it moves the boat along but can also freeze it and make it immobile (cf. Strang, 2004).

Every time a boat goes through a lock, thousands of litres of water are used. Water also evaporates from the canal due to warm and sunny weather, use by vegetation, and leakage through the canal bed. Both surplus and lack of water can cause problems for the boater, as the issue of water level becomes most evident when there is too much of it due to flooding, or not enough during summer droughts. The water level is routinely monitored by the CRT at 600 stations across the UK and which also record lock usage in real time as well as

the number of boats passing through certain determined points (CRT, 2016b). Water is one of the key factors that allows for boatmobility as well as directs and moulds it.

'What is the first thing to do when you fall overboard?' a boater asked me quite early on during my fieldwork, and while I was contemplating an answer, he continued, pointing to his waist: 'Stand up. The water is probably about this high.' I would hear this later many times from different boaters as well as volunteer canal enthusiasts, as well as recount it myself whenever I was asked the question. Most canals are indeed quite shallow, some surprisingly so. This means that the boaters are constantly keeping an eye on the water levels since not having enough water might pose a danger of running aground. When boating on the Chesterfield Canal, I would stare at the water in a mesmerised manner, truly amazed that we did not run aground. Because of its uncharacteristically (at least for Northern canals) clear water the actual depth of the canal, complete with its vegetation, stones and fish, was clearly visible. While the CRT depend on monitoring technology, the boaters rely on their own visual perception by keeping an eye on the water level. In addition, the boaters also depend on their 'feel' for determining whether the water level is sufficient: by 'how the boat behaves', meaning the steerability, an embodied practice requiring knowledge, skill and experience (Merriman, 2009) of boating.

These different strategies can at times provide diametrically different outcomes, notably when 'local knowledge' (Geertz, 1983) clashes with the official measurements. At one of the CRT Manchester and Pennines Customer Forums, where boaters and other interested parties meet with CRT representatives, a boater complained about the insufficient water levels in the Macclesfield and Peak Forest canals, stating that they were too low for boating. An engineer disagreed with the statement, maintaining that according to his data the water levels had been within the accepted limits, except for a 'few times', and showed a corresponding graph. Both argued from their own standpoint, with the engineer showing the measurements data and the boater sharing his ontological experience based on visual observations and 'feel', which was not resolved as both parties kept their opinions throughout the debate.

Whereas with drought the biggest risk is for the boat to run aground, surplus water provides a differently crucial factor. For example, heavy rains can raise the water level in the canal, potentially causing overflowing in the locks, making them much more difficult to

handle. More seriously, intensive rain can cause flooding, as happened during Christmas 2015 when, due to the heavy rains in the area for several days, the River Calder merged with the Rochdale Canal, and the water assemblage (Müller and Schurr, 2016) thus formed effectively became one very fast moving waterway in the Calder Valley that then started realising its destructive potentialities. According to the estimate by the CRT, the Boxing Day Floods affected over 100 boats that were either displaced, damaged, beached on the towpath or bank, or drowned. The flood also caused landslips, breaches, failing culverts, moving embankments, and damaged bridges and towpaths, as CRT waterways manager David Baldacchino explained at his talk to IWA Manchester Branch in January, 2016. As a consequence, the Rochdale Canal was partly closed to navigation and eventually reopened in October 2016. The flood, therefore, had fulfilled one of water's potentialities to encourage disorder, induce anxiety and sense of danger to the boating and wider communities (Strang, 2004).

Flood events create multiple simultaneously social and hydrological relations (Krause, 2016). Shire Cruises, one of the biggest boat hire companies in Yorkshire, arranging over 500 boating holidays a year, was greatly affected in having to change the routes due to the navigation closures. The company is based in Sowerby Bridge, the junction of Rochdale Canal and Calder and Hebble Navigation, two of the canals most affected by the floods. They therefore had to cancel their one-way trips between Barnoldswick and Sowerby Bridge, changing the route to Huddersfield instead. The trips taken from Sowerby Bridge had to remain shorter due to the closures and they also physically relocated some of their fleet to Ashton-under-Lyne via trailers, running one-way trips between Ashton and Huddersfield. In such circumstances, the company and the boaters hiring from them had to negotiate external environmental factors, such as the increased water levels and subsequent altered routes and trajectories, where the (limited) human agency had no choice but to follow that of the canal/river assemblage.

The issue of water levels, however, is not relevant only in the exceptional situations like the flood event described before. Many issues related to water level also emerge from the everyday network of relations between the canal and the boaters, as the actions of boaters (as well as other people) have a direct influence on the water level in the canals. For example, if a boater leaves paddles open due to inconsideration, lack of knowledge of boating

rules or forgetfulness, a whole pound (section of canal) will drain. As experienced boaters stress, it is imperative to leave the lock exactly as it is found, with the lock gates closed and the paddles down. The failure of beginners to do so is a much discussed topic amongst more experienced boaters:

> Remembering to put the lock paddles back down, before you open the gates and things like that, because that is a mistake that you can make. And hearing about canals being drained, because people are not putting lock paddles down and everything. You are just... yeah, very wary at the beginning as to how you have to do things and what are you going to do (Denise, 50).

Water is not just an object that the boaters act upon, and via changing its levels with the help of the locks, it becomes 'a generative and agentive co-constituent of relationships and meanings' (Krause and Strang, 2016: 633). The water has a potentiality to be extremely disruptive, and in certain configurations in which a careless or inexperienced boater does not perform necessary actions, it can limit and influence the mobility of all boaters within a certain stretch of canal. Experienced boaters are very conscious of the need to save the water in the canal. For Barry, this was the most important theme throughout the interview, as he always came back to it. The general rule of boating to share the wide locks – for the two boats to enter the lock together – is motivated by the need to avoid wasting water in addition to allowing the boats speedier passage. The need to save water is therefore one of the main underlying principles that conditions the boatmobility on the canals. This is a concern shared with the CRT who instigated a code for saving the water on Leeds and Liverpool Canal in the summer of 2017. They are calling the boaters to save the water by sharing locks, closing the paddles, reporting any leaks, letting the oncoming boaters into the lock first as well as also exploring other, lesser-used parts of the canal system as well as canals with fewer locks (CRT, 2017d).

Water can be perceived as dangerous not only to the person, but also to the boat, as there is the danger of the boat sinking in the lock. Therefore, the person operating the locks up on the towpath has to always pay simultaneous attention to what is happening in the lock, as there might be a need to quickly close the paddles to stop the water coming in and, for this, effective communication with the helmsman is essential. The locks can be deep, and the rushing water creates a lot of noise, therefore those at the helm and up at the lock cannot

usually hear each other. Therefore, a simple set of hand signals need to be in place for effective communication. There are no official hand signals to use on the canals (as opposed to the sound signals that can be found in the boaters' handbook), so each group of boaters needs to work out some signals for the crew and helm to communicate between themselves. The most common signals include one for closing the paddles, a vertical hand pointing downwards; thumbs up is used often for indicating that the helmsman is ready for the paddles to be opened fully; and Rohan would often mimic winding the paddle when I would stand idly by the lock having forgotten what to do. The importance of keeping the boat safe in the lock cannot be overstated since should the water get into the narrowboat, it could sink extremely fast – sometimes within 30 seconds.

> And just winding a lock, opening a lock, and seeing the water coming out is like... it's quite thrilling really to see all that... There is a lot of water, where is it going! But then it also can be quite scary, watching it hit the front of a boat and worrying that it's going to get inside. So it's [about] making sure that the boat is in the right place in the lock, and learning that takes a while. Is to realise where the boat should be. Our boat was the 70ft boat so it tended to fill the lock from end to end unless we were in very big locks, so watching that is always a problem, making sure that everything is safe and dry, [that] you are not going to catch upon the lock. [---] If you're in a lock it's things like getting the front of the boat getting stuck on the lock gate, so that it... the water keeps coming in and out whichever way and the boat ends up going like that [tilted] and then sinks. So you can flood your boat, you can break your boat, people can fall in locks (Denise, 50).

> We had... we did brilliantly, but we had one scary moment that... Because there's only two of us, you know, my daughter was... the boat was in the lock and my daughter was letting the water out at the front and there was a lip running along the side of the lock – about this wide. And the side of the boat got caught in it. So, the boat started to tip like that. So I had to shout to her to stop – you know how noisy it is at the locks! I had to shout to her to stop letting the water out, because I had visions of it going just... pssssh! And then this man heard me shouting, so he came and helped. But as luck should have it – I mean, she did stop the water going out – but as luck should have it, the weight of the boat then took off the ledge, so it went into the water. Yeah, that was one scary moment, but after... you know, everything else was fine, yeah (Linda, 66).

In addition to the locks, the dangerous nature of the water becomes especially clear when boating on rivers. Steering the boat on the tidal Trent in October 2016, for example, was quite a different experience from the one I had on the canals, as steering was physically

much harder due to the flow and current of the river combined with the wind. I had to make sure to stay at all times in the middle of the river in order to not get too close to the bank and run aground. The sense of danger was further amplified by the width of the river as well as the knowledge of its depth. On the river, the big, 70ft narrowboat suddenly felt somehow fragile and slender, which created an imminent sense of the danger further enhanced by the approaching nightfall.

In addition to facilitating mobility, canal water can also be an active agent for immobility – canals may freeze in winter and this altered state of water can cause boats to become stuck, and can also mean being cut off from necessary facilities, such as drinking water or sanitation points. Besides this, the CRT has the power to impose stoppages for regular maintenance work or to close certain flights of locks at certain times of days, thus controlling and managing the mobilities of boaters. Another potential reason for immobility is the debris in the canal water: for example, a plastic bag, tire, or rope thrown into the canal can catch onto the propeller, which can then render the boat immobile for shorter or longer periods of time.

It is the water (and not the will of the boater) that carries the boat on the canals: people open and close the lock gates, and navigate the boats, but these activities would be futile without water (Mukerji, 2009). Canal water possesses an affordance (Gibson, 2015 [1986]) for action, making boatmobility possible overall. People are compelled to act in a way that is solicited by the environment: inviting an activity results in people experiencing various affordances by doing, or feeling moved to do what they invite them to do (Siegel, 2014). Water is thus an independent nonhuman actor, both demanding and attracting human attention and the agency of the canalscape lies both in natural forces and human will. It possesses diverse affordances that compel people to act in ways solicited by the (built) environment (Siegel, 2014). Boating, therefore, means managing, controlling and negotiating water, but also being controlled by it: water has the power to influence the boater and their mobility. It has the potential to modify the canalscape, as it becomes the means through which the agency is exercised in various interpersonal situations.

5.2.2 Sensory engagement with canal water

'Humans are always in composition with nonhumanity, never outside of a sticky web of connections or an ecology' (Bennett, 2004: 365) and the water is not just a matter that affords and directs boatmobility – it enters into direct relation with the boaters bodies through their contacts with the canal water, often involving close embodied and sensory interaction. The canal water, enabler of boatmobility, can offer the boaters for example a visual stimuli, since 'like the hypnotist's flickering candle or swirling optical images, the visual qualities of water are indeed mesmerising' (Strang, 2004: 51-52).

Sitting in the bow and sensorially consuming the surroundings is a very common activity. When Steve (68) is talking about what he likes about boating he mentions 'gorgeous countryside, and the water lapping on the boat' where the experience is formed through the combination of visual and aural stimuli where the water plays central role. The water of different canals possesses different colours and an experienced boater could determine his or her location on some canals just by the water's appearance. Bridgewater Canal in Worsley, as well as the Trent and Mersey Canal near Harecastle, for example, have a very specific rusty orange colour due to the iron ore from the abandoned mines nearby. Some canals, for example the Rochdale and Ashton Canal in Manchester city centre, have an opaque, mud-coloured water, whereas, as mentioned previously, in the Chesterfield Canal the water is particularly clear, like in a stream. The colour of the canal can be a point of visual enjoyment, sometimes a geographical reference point, and can also signify a particular temporal modality (Adam, 2008), in this instance the present as well as the imagined future:

> The Bridgewater Canal is orange. This is one of the key facts about canals learned by any north-west schoolchild for more than two centuries. Its distinctive colour comes not from modern pollution, but from ancient iron salts in the local rock. This canal was completed in 1776 to take coal from the Duke of Bridgewater's mines into the growing industrial furnace that was Manchester. Some local guidebooks described it as 'ochre', which is probably more correct, but for a schoolchild this was the orange canal. [---] Imagine then, our horror, as we learned of a £2.5 million scheme to 'clean up' the Bridgewater Canal. Apparently, the 'ochre' deposits inhibit the growth of flora and fauna. We are sure that this will lead to a wealth of fish leading happy lives in the waters of this beautiful canal, and that future reluctant children forced on walks will admire those fish in the crystal-clear waters, as well as looking for footballers' houses. But it won't be the same. It won't be orange, and we will not be going back (Farley and Roberts, 2011: 119-120).

On the other hand, however, the water is also experienced haptically, as 'touch, in a word, confirms the materiality of the visible' (Ingold, 2000: 259). In regards of canal water, this presents a certain contradiction: whereas consuming the canal water visually and aurally is perceived by the boaters as extremely pleasurable, physical contact evokes considerably different feelings. While Strang's (2004) analysis of the sensory experiences of water focuses almost exclusively on its almost universal enjoyability, still canal water can be perceived as a matter of contamination and a pollutant when it comes into direct contact with the human body. Embodied experiences are both culturally and materially conditioned, emerging from relations between people as perceiving subjects, and the environments they interact with in particular embodied actions (Edensor, 2006). Canal water can therefore stimulate aversion, corresponding with one of the public narratives of the canals as dangerous (as discussed in 1.1.4). This is mainly related to notions connected to hygiene and based on our knowledge of the transmission of pathogenic organisms (Douglas, 1966). Recent study by Pitt and Northern (2017) indeed confirms that canals are often perceived as 'dirty and messy' and the fear of falling into the canal or even drowning is often mentioned by general population as a reason for not wanting to spend time on the waterways.

Most direct bodily contact with the polluted water would be if a boater fell overboard, which merges the human body fully in the canal water and could, in an extreme case, expose the human body to leptospirosis (Weil's disease). Leptospirosis is a bacterial infection carried by animals, mostly rats and cattle. Humans can be infected via contact with the animal urine, which most commonly occurs via contact with contaminated (still) water. The illness is very rare, with usually less than 40 cases reported per year in England and Wales (Health and Safety Executive, 2012), but people who come into contact with canal and river water, such as boaters, are potentially at risk. Canal water can therefore at times temporarily become 'a matter out of place' (Douglas, 1966: 36) – when in direct physical contact with the human bodies. This can occasionally happen and several boaters have a story about either falling into the canal or seeing it happen to someone else:

> Phil (67): There is an odd incident that I remember, these Dean's boats [an early hire company operating in 1970s] were fairly light boats. One of the Dean's hirers had got stuck in the mud at the side of the canal, pushing the boat out. They did not quite get it right. He pushed and he pushed until he went face down into the water.
>
> Maarja: Really?

Phil: One of the images I can remember of that.

Maarja: But that did not put you off canal travel.

Phil: No, no! It amused me! [Both laughing]

Falling into the water is not perceived as something especially dangerous or worrisome by the boaters since the potential risks are mitigated by joking about the exceptional occurrence, as well as taking steps such as showering right after falling into the canal.

> When we went down to Llangollen with the kids, we took a niece of mine – she was of similar age. We were moored up in Llangollen or getting there and we asked Claire – that's the niece – to throw the rope. I was on the bank. So, she threw the rope and as I caught it and made it tight, she was stood on it! She was stood on it! What happened was, as I pulled it tight, she got hold of it; because it threw her up in the air, she got hold of it. And then with the weight, she went in the water! [laughter] She went in the water! I'm on the bank, trying to lift it with her weight and she comes out again and she went down again. I mean... she was fine. We said, go inside and get all your clothes off quick; shower and put clean clothes on... (Linda, 66)

Whereas falling in is an exceptional occasion, the boaters also come into physical contact with canal water in the everyday course of boating, such as when handling the ropes, or during general boat maintenance like checking the weed hatch:

> Barry: And you have what's called the weed hatch. [---] You have to reach down and feel about the propeller shaft. And even in the summer the water can be cold and you lie flat on the deck so you are not the most comfortable...
>
> Maarja: Do you have to do that every day?
>
> Barry: You do it every day, and that's to make sure there's no obstructions on your propeller shaft whether it be vegetation, or whether it be human detritus: plastic bags especially, but cables, wires, and all that sort of thing. They would wind around the propeller, and they actually stop you moving. In fact, last year, when we had only been on the move for an hour, we got a car tyre round the propeller. Got underneath a bridge, somebody had thrown it off. And it picked up, stopped the boat moving altogether. And we were actually forced to tow the boat back to a point where we could access, get close to it. And take the tyre off. Very difficult.

Another boater also described checking the weed hatch as an uncomfortable but necessary activity and mused about planning to buy a veterinarian's glove to protect the hand from the undesirable contact with the water. Canal water is cold, usually opaque, and the

boater has to feel around the propeller not really knowing what might have caught on it echoing the dangers associated with canal water: as Turner (1967, cit. Strang, 2004: 65) contends, 'the unclear is the unclean'. Physical contact with the canal water, therefore, is not dangerous *per se*; however it has a potential to be dangerous: the boaters know that usually nothing happens should they fall overboard, yet they also know that it *could* happen. Strategies mitigating those dangers are washing the hands every time after coming in direct contact with the canal water (touching the ropes or via the maintenance activities) or, in case of falling overboard, showering as soon as possible. The boaters are also advised to visit a doctor should they develop flu-like symptoms (high fever, headache, muscle pains, chills, vomiting) as well as to cover all cuts and abrasions with waterproof dressing and wear protective clothes and gloves when possible.

However, water can pose a much bigger threat when forming particular assemblages with other materialities of the canal – such as the boat and canal bank. When someone falls overboard, the boat's engine needs to be switched off immediately as being caught on the boat's propeller could have fatal consequences. Being caught between the canal bank and the boat could also cause serious injuries or fatalities. The chance for injuries or drowning when falling into the water is greatest when in the locks, which are quite deep (on average between 6 and 10 feet (1.8 to 3 m)). For example, Denise recounted a story where a man and a dog had fallen into a lock and his relative had to jump in in order to save them both. The lock happened to be full which meant that the fall was not very long. The correct procedure, however, according to the boating guidelines, would be not to jump into the water yourself, but throw a lifeline or lifebuoy to the person in the canal.

The boaters' relationship with canal water is twofold: it is the enabler of boatmobility (and immobility) but it also represents the main dangers connected to canal boating. Water poses a threat of drowning if a boater fell into a lock, and can sink the boat of a careless boater. Canal water, when it comes into contact with the human body, can be perceived as unhygienic, even dangerous, and in order to mitigate these threats certain bodily practices have to be exercised. The water is thus a source for both enjoyment and amusement, affording the experience of tranquillity, as well as provoking emotions of anxiety and worry.

5.3 Summary

Physical travel includes being co-present and interacting with various materialities and water is one of the most important. The mobilities of boaters' on the watery canalscape comprise of mundane practices achieved with the aid of various materialities. These mobile-material aspects of their lifeworlds described above influence and direct the boaters' journeys, and the patterns of social action are made up of interrelated elements that determine how they move not only with boats but also practices (Hui, 2013). On the canal, materialities, such as the boats, water and a number of everyday objects, direct, afford and overall guard the boatmobility. The main material prerequisite for mobility on the canals is water, which can be directed in and out of the locks, filling and emptying them, and it moves the boats making it possible for the boats to complete their passages. The water is therefore central in the practice of canal boating: it facilitates the mobility and immobility of boats, it is central to boating, but can also be dangerous and a 'matter-out-of-place' (Douglas, 1966).

Central to boatmobility is the boat-human: an assemblage that forms through the coming together and cooperation of the human and technological component (the boat). On the boat, the human being transforms into a new entity, one that can cruise on the canal (water). In order to do that sucessfully, the human component of the boat-human needs a set of embodied skills, 'both practical knowledge and knowledgeable practice' (Ingold, 1990: 8), which are acquired with consistent creative and dynamic repetition, until they become part of the boaters taskscape. These skills include steering the boat, working the locks and bridges and manoeuvring the boat, which are all achieved in relationship with a variety of canalscape materialities from the water to the built environment to various small-scale artefacts; in order for the assemblage to function properly, it needs to be skilful. Acquiring these skills is, however, a continuous, open-ended process of becoming, 'always "between" or "among"' (Deleuze, 1997: 2).

In the previous chapter, I discussed membership of the boating community as defined by following the boating rules, the canal etiquette and, for many, also contributing to the canals as a heritage commons. However, this cognitive knowledge about the canal code of conduct can only be realised by the skilful becoming-boat-human assemblage. This also means that whereas there can be no definite delineation for membership in the boating

community, the will to learn from the other boaters is imperative. It is the interest and commitment to boating and canals, and situating yourself in the continuous process of learning the skills, in the complex of interactions between the humans, boats, water, built environment as well as everyday artefacts that constitute the boat-human. That boat-human, however moves in and determined by a particular temporal environment, which I will discuss next.

Chapter 6. Slowscape: canal temporalities

'Tourism as a product and an experience is constituted by multifarious approaches to time and to the modern discipline of time management [and] much tourism entails the desire to enter diverse temporal frames and become immersed in spatial difference, a search for rhythmic variation that moves away from normative temporal experience' (Edensor, 2012: 70). Canals are generally perceived as slow by the boaters, which is central to the experience of boating and a constitutive element of the canal temporality. This slowness is understood as a certain counter-temporality to the perceived speedy tempo of work, home and sometimes other holidays. The boaters move in and through canal temporalities, the slowscape, where the incessant movement and the ways of engaging with and inhabiting the world is characterised by temporary adoption of a particular temporal complex. This simultaneously slow and unpredictable 'boat time' (Bowles, 2016) is further combined with (embodied) experiences of the past, present and future. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of planning and maintaining the slow tempo and the ways how temporal modalities are thought about and experienced on the canals.

6.1 Planning and maintaining the (embodied) experience of slow

Tempo concerns the speed, pace and intensity of various activities that changes and is changed in various social situations (Adam, 2008). One of the most distinctive and defining characteristics of a boating holiday lies in its unique tempo, which is dictated by the width and depth of the canals. Namely, canal boating is an extremely slow undertaking for engine-powered vessels and vehicles, as the maximum speed on the narrow UK canals is 4 mph (6.4 km/h), equivalent to a steady walking pace. 'Everything slows down on the canal,' as Eamon told me. The *Considerate Boater Manual* (CBM, 2009: 15)*,* compiled by a waterways training centre and aimed at explaining the boating etiquette to beginners on the UK canals, explains:

There are times when a bit of speed is essential but most of the time the slowest speed possible is the order of the day. After all, why did you buy a boat? For many, the idea of owning a boat is to get away from the high-speed motorway driving and slow down to a pace that is relaxing and gives you time to think and look at your surroundings.

The speed limit is a starting point of a kind, a way of installing a particular 'temporal regime' (Eriksen, 2001) of a canal and turning it into a slowscape. The quote from the manual above describes the general ideology on the canals, that it places slowness and the idea of relaxation at the heart of the experience, whether on the boat or on the towpath. Regardless of this ideal, however, there are a multiplicity of different paces and tempos on the canal, which can also sometimes cause conflicts and tensions. As Shove (2009: 17) argues, 'temporal arrangements arise from the effective reproduction of everyday life, or, to put it more strongly, practices *make* time' (original emphasis). As follows, I will examine these practices and strategies utilised for slowing down, planning for the slow passages and the embodied experiences that emerge as a result.

6.1.1 Changing the temporal regime

The acceleration theorists (Eriksen, 2001; Virilio, 2012) discuss an existence as well as a programmatic need for a variety of counter-temporalities to the dominant speed culture of contemporary societies. Eriksen (2001: 157), for example, proposes switching consciously between fast and slow time, which can be achieved via 'the logic of the wood cabin.' Wood cabins, common in Scandinavia and Finland, are small cottages located in as remote places as possible, such as the mountains, woods and isolated coastlines, where 'the temporality of slowness takes over [and] it is not the pressure of the clock that regulates activities, but the activities that regulate the organisation of time.' Eriksen (2001: 158) suggests, half-jokingly, that 'in this area, it seems as if Northerners have a comparative advantage in handling the time tyranny: the closest equivalent in Britain seems to be cricket, and it is really not the same thing.' As I will show in this subchapter, cricket might not be the only option, as the canals are perceived by the holiday boaters as a distinctive temporal space, a slowscape, characterised by slow pace and particular practices, which in order to function properly has to be actively

upheld and maintained by the boaters. Whereas the rhythm and pace of liveaboards are more or less constantly characterised by the 'boat time' that is 'resistant, intensely political and ultimately utopian' (Bowles, 2016: 102), the holiday and leisure boaters have to possess the skills of consciously switching between different temporal regimes.

Discussing the main discourses in slow tourism, Guiver and McGrath (2016) identify contrast with both working life, as well as with conventional holidays, as one of the important themes. The boaters confirm this, describing other holidays, as characterised by a constant rush and a certain inevitability of trying to see as much as possible, brought about by the easy access to faster means of transport. Boating can then be a deliberate way of altering these tempos, by putting yourself into certain situations where the mobility is governed by different rules and codes compared to other types of mobilities and other environments:

> So it's definitely a very slow pace of life. Particularly whenever you're passing, for example going underneath the M1 motorway, you can see cars and lorries 50, 60, 70 plus miles per hour. And you're kind of paddling along at three or four miles an hour. And on the second week we probably went even slower because at that point it wasn't about the destination it was all about the getting there. We probably spent more time cruising on the second week but we did it slower. You know, saw the scenery (Tom, 35).

> It is slow way of... slow means of transport. So if you get two weeks holiday in a year, [if you] bring your car, you might want to rush around. Go several hundred miles and see all the tourist spots. York, Chester, Oxford, London, you might rush around doing a day each. You can't do that on a boat unless you take months. You need to be prepared to take the slower time, and that's to get off the boat, and go for a walk and see what's up the hill. Then you see some more of the country. It's another thing about planning your itinerary, where you're going, setting off the day. But you're going 4 miles an hour and you've got locks ahead of you. It's easy for somebody to get off the boat, go to a local shop, get your day's food, and walk up the canal and catch you up when you're still moving (Barry, 66).

Some boaters also compare holidays on the boat not just to work or the more conventional sightseeing type of holiday, but also with their everyday life at home, which they feel is characterised by a considerably faster tempo. The canal boat can thus become space for activities that the boaters feel they cannot necessarily undertake at home and thus provide them with the means to cope with 'the pressures of the time-pressed present' (Fallon, 2012: 149):

Well, just watching the world go by, it's just sort of like chilling out, isn't it? You never get the chance just to sit and stare and look at things and drink a cup of tea. So it's an ultimate stress buster really, going on a canal boat. Apart from when you get stuck in industrial Birmingham (Kirsten, 32).

'I think perhaps [what I like about boating is] the peace and quiet and just being away from the general hustle-bustle, "I got to do this, I got to do that" at home,' Derek (75) similarly explains. This is despite that he, being retired, should (just as the unemployed, children and homemakers) represent the population living outside of the 'fast time' (Mertena, 2015: 245-253; Parkins, 2004: 366). Regardless of retirement, Derek's time at home is filled with various activities such as volunteering for a local heritage group for preserving pipe organs, working backstage at an amateur theatrical group and being an avid planespotter. Furthermore, since he lives alone he has to do the chores of shopping, cooking and washing up at home, whereas on the boat these tasks are divided between the members of the group, which he particularly enjoys. Therefore, even though it can be argued that the seniors' lifestyle 'is more relaxed, laid-back and constructed around interests' (Mertena, 2015: 252), they still find the boating slowscape considerably different from their everyday life, and therefore attractive.

This is because the boating holiday provides 'mundane freedom' (Mikkelsen and Cohen, 2015), exercised in de-exoticised, everyday and routine activities such as cooking, washing up or shopping, which on the slow canal boat are relaxing and non-obligatory, hassle-free and social activities. Various rules develop on different boats: for example, Phil and Janet tend to do most of the cooking on NB *Olympic* whilst others are responsible for washing up; when Barry is boating, the group alternates the cooking (sometimes as couples and sometimes women and then men are responsible for dinner) and washing up duties. Some boaters would mainly visit the canal side pubs:

A lot of canal people, you know, a lot of people stop at the pubs. They're always quite busy. Depends if they can be bothered cooking on board – it's like people who go caravanning, a lot of them never cook. They always go out for the main meal in a pub and I would imagine a lot of people canalling do exactly the same. They have their main meal of the day in the pub and just have, you know, a toast or boiled egg or you know whatever [on the boat]. That's a thing that the pubs could definitely encourage – you know, they could do breakfasts as well as lunch and dinner. There is a lot of scope for canal-side businesses to tap into people's idleness, really. (Sue, 70).

Reacting to the continuous perceived acceleration of modern everyday life, many authors have started calling for strategies for a conscious slowing down, both on the individual as well as the societal level (Eriksen, 2001; Agger, 2015). Boating holidays are a way of achieving this since, as Katie (24) notes, 'There's this calmness and peacefulness [on the canal]. Even if you wanted to be in a rush you really couldn't be in a rush.' Fallon (2012: 149) confirms that 'slowness is synonymous with canals, in fact, canal boaters are seen to be people who have *chosen* to slow down' (my italics). Therefore, the conscious effort of getting to a certain state of mind has to be made in order to slow down and produce a certain counter-scape of the perceived accelerated everyday and work life.

An important feature of this can include some form of conscious abstaining from information and communication devices (Agger, 2015). Even though an increasing number of hire companies now offer wireless internet on board of the boats, this cannot be guaranteed as it depends on the mobile 3G or 4G internet connections that can be extremely unreliable depending on the particular location. Some holiday boaters therefore make a further conscious effort to slow down, with their strategies including leaving behind anything that could distract them from achieving the desired state of relaxedness:

> It seems like you've got a lot of time [on the boat]. Seems like you've got lot of time. And I think that's because everything's at slower pace, having not done a long canal journey for a while, I don't know, whether... When we went boating, I never had things like my Kindle and my laptop, iPad and things like that. So I don't know whether people leave all that at home or not, I imagine it's very different experience not having all your bits and pieces with you (Denise, 50).

> When I wasn't driving – I sat in the front of the boat and just, you know, was fascinated by all this. I just sat there, watching the world go by. I didn't take any distractions – didn't take a phone, didn't take a book, so, you know... it was just... nothing to distract, switched off. The idea was that we were supposed to be relaxing until home (Darren, 42).

However, this sudden temporal change can also be perceived as a negative or constricting aspect of boating for some. Symes (2012) shows that when the 'temporal regimen' suddenly changes and people find themselves in an environment with a lot of free time, the resulting 'chronological void' can be discomforting and upsetting. In his auto-ethnographic study of the 'slow community' of container ship passengers, Symes describes

how some, himself included, found it difficult and disconcerting not having any commitments and obligations that come with their normal everyday life and feared the perceived tedium and monotony of the trip. Other passengers, however, 'regarded the ship's temporal vacuity as invigorating [and] the temporal mentalities of the passengers varied' (2012: 61). Likewise, whilst many boaters strive for the slowing down, the temporal qualities combined with the spatial limitations of canal boating can also be perceived as constricting:

> I did [like the canal trip]. Although I haven't been on another canal boat trip since and I don't know if I'm in a particular rush to do it again. [---] I like walking. When I go on holiday, I like to feel... one of the things that I enjoy to do is explore places on foot and I don't think I'd realised how much I would miss that if your mode of transport is a fairly slow-moving canal boat. I mean, I really enjoyed the absolutely different views that you get if you're sitting on, laying on your back, looking up when you're going through some densely overgrown parts of towpath and things like that. But I guess I like to set my own itinerary as well (Hannah, 34).

Likewise, the considerably diminished use of mobile phones and tablets on the boats, and the resulting perceived slower tempo of life, is not always the boaters' conscious choice or indeed perceived as something positive. It can also grow out of particular materialities such as the power and electricity on the boat (which depends on the running engine) and wider technological assemblages, such as those providing 3G or 4G coverage. 'You couldn't plug your phone in overnight, you had to charge your phone during the day. So I'd quickly check my messages [before going to sleep]. Half the time there wasn't signal anyway,' Katie (24) explained.

At the beginning of the boating holiday, there is therefore a certain period of adjustment where temporalities change, the slower pace of life is acquiesced, and the boaters effectively change from one 'temporal regime' (Eriksen, 2001) or 'temporal regimen' (Symes, 2012) into another:

> What I found first with the children – when we first got on [the boat] – if you were stuck in a queue at a lock, I'd get quite aggravated and tense, because I was so used to rushing. But after a certain length of time, that goes away and you become more relaxed. I used to get annoyed. 'We're first, we're next, not them!' – that type of thing, you know. But then you get more relaxed about it all, as time goes on, because you're only travelling very slowly (Linda, 66).

This means that the boaters have to adapt to the 'temporal ethos' (Symes, 2012) of canal boating, which includes consciously accepting and adapting to the slower pace and rhythm of life on board:

> The minus obviously is that it's just so slow. So you have to, like, have the time, you're not going to use it to get anywhere. I think because I kind of saw that [boating] as a transport but then it's not, it's like a cruise (Katie, 24).

The leisure boaters move between various temporal regimes, and for many of them the slow temporality of the boating holiday is a conscious choice of creating a particular counter-temporality, further reinforced by leaving any technological communication devices behind. The slow tempo of the canal holiday thus created however does not just happen by itself, but has to be consciously maintained and managed, which I am going to discuss next.

6.1.2 Planning slow passages. Trajectories and routes on the canal

Slow canal journeys are the result of the 'ordinary and everyday achievement of planning and organising co-presence with other people and with material objects' (Peters et al., 2010: 349). There are certain spatio-temporal 'projects' (Hägerstrand, 1970), some more and some less routine, some recurring, that people want to realise and they are the outcome of both materialities (such as maps or windlasses) and immaterialities (such as values, habits or tastes). For those projects to become realised, however, people need to complete certain 'passages' which Peters et al. (2010: 354) define as 'the ordering of heterogeneous entities in such a way that a situated relation between time and space is produced.' Passage, therefore, is the convergence between mobility, materiality, temporality and sociability:

> As heterogeneous orderings, passages assume both material and discursive elements. As planned yet contingent orderings, they must be 'repaired' continuously in real time. [---] This relationality underlines the process-character of a journey; the idea that every journey evolves in space and time, but also creates its own specific spatio-temporal order. All elements in a passage have to come together in a continuous, choreographed movement, otherwise it is disrupted (Peters, 2012: 99).

The key element of making the passages on the canals is deciding which particular route to take. The most common itinerary for holiday boaters (especially on hired boats) is to start and end the journey at the same place, normally the marina or boatyard from which the boat is rented (or where it is moored). The canal and river network also allows for various circular routes or 'rings', a sequence of canals for making a complete circle. IWA members, who started promoting the circular route when fighting against the closure of the Rochdale Canal, first used the term 'ring' in 1965 (Shead, 2004); the term 'Cheshire Ring' was coined, and this is now one of the most important circular routes in northern England, composed of the Macclesfield, Peak Forest, Ashton, Rochdale, Bridgewater and Trent and Mersey Canals. The ring is 97 miles (156km) long and has 92 locks in total, taking approximately 50 to 55 hours of cruising time, which generally means around 10 days. Some boaters also attempt to 'do' the ring in a week, therefore bringing the daily cruising hours up to 7 or 8 hours a day, which in canal terms, would mean rushing. I would often have conversations with the boaters on the Rochdale or Ashton Canals asking about their destinations and frequently getting the reply that they were 'doing the ring', which is generally considered a rather prestigious undertaking as it consists of many different canals with various locks, and environments from rural to urban. The CRT features 12 cruising rings on their website[16], with travel times taking between two days to three weeks to complete.

The particular route or, at the minimum, direction, is decided beforehand, with the help of travel guidebooks, planning websites, routes suggested by the hire companies or a combination of all of them. For example, Shire Cruises describe a 7-night trip route suggestion from Sowerby Bridge to Wigan on their webpage as follows:

> This is not a mainstream trip. It appeals to very serious boaters, perhaps groups of lads, who are used to making long journeys with long days, and know how to plan. For such crews, this is an unequalled challenge, with lots to see including the Barton Tank (swing aqueduct) and Wigan Flight. More sensible people can do it in a glorious fortnight.[17]

Planning the route therefore means having to calculate several factors: the physical length of the stretch of canal, the number of days planned for the holiday, number of locks, number of

---

[16] https://canalrivertrust.org.uk/enjoy-the-waterways/boating/cruising-rings (07.10.2017).
[17] http://www.shirecruisers.co.uk/routes/one-way-wigan.php (09.10.2017).

people on board, as well as their experience at boating. In practice, of course, this might always not be the case, especially with less experienced boaters:

> We didn't plan, we didn't plan at all. We had an idea; we looked at the canal maps. But obviously the canal maps, as you might know, are a complete abstraction, [---] there were abstractions, almost kind of schematic diagrams of the canals. (Tom, 35)

The abstract canal map that Tom is discussing is the universal representation on canal websites (see Figure 9), and consists of a linear line representing the canal and marking the bridges, locks, tunnels, aqueducts, junctions and other structures. It gives a general idea of the number of locks and possible lift- and swing bridges on the route; however, it does not follow the actual contours of the canals. The website, however, is well-used by many boaters as it helps to calculate the exact amount of cruising necessary for the day (taking the amount of locks on the route into account):

> And we've always had a plan, even when we went to Chester and to the little ones, we've always had a plan to be somewhere by a certain day. Internet is fantastic, there's a website called Canal Planner so you put in your days when you're travelling, that will tell you where to moor up so we've always had something to aim for. [---] You can do various things on there, so that helps, have a plan of attack. Yeah, we've been pretty regimented as far as that goes at the moment, because we've always wanted to achieve something as in doing the ring or going somewhere. But you seem to get an idea of how far can you go in a day. Locks are an equivalent to a mile really, the time it takes you to do a lock, 15–20 minutes. So for every lock that you come across, that's like a mile, so that restricts what you can do (Mike, 48).

The planning thus allows the boater to successfully maintain the slow 'temporal regime' (Eriksen, 2001) of canal boating boating:

> You're not trying to beat the clock. You spend the time before… again, part of the fun of the canal is planning the route, where would we like to go, what would we like to see, what's feasible, which route should we take. Once we hired a boat in Midlands, we got down to the River Severn, now we could have gone fast downstream and picked up on the Avon, or pick up in Birmingham, all depends which route, what do you want to do in the time. How many locks are there? You allow 15 minutes for a mile, you go four miles an hour, 15 minutes to travel a mile, allow 15 minutes for a lock. How many miles is that route, how many locks, is it feasible or are you just going to be have to be up six o'clock and cruise till ten with no break every day to do it? You look at what's available in the area. There could be stately homes, there could be museums you want to see, points of interest. Might be a particular hill you want to climb, just to go and get the view from that particular hill. So you factor all that in. The planning is the great thing (Barry, 66).
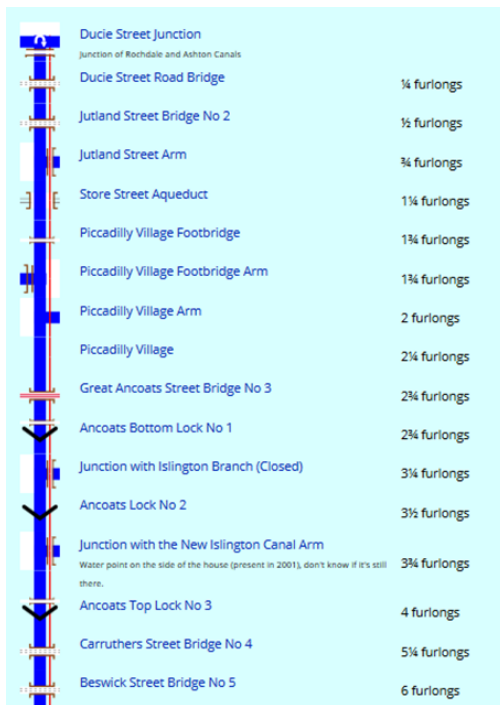
Figure 9. The beginning of the Ashton Canal, as represented on a route-planning website canalplan.org.uk

Planning can be a rather complicated process: for example, NB *Olympic* does not have a permanent mooring and the boat is incessantly cruising the network with new people coming on board where the others have finished their trip. This necessitates a complicated network of communication and careful planning:

> I use the Nicholson. I have a full set of those. And of course with this boat, you don't know where are you going to start your trip necessarily. This time we did, because it was after its winter work. Winter layoff. Gordon will have to contact [another member of the co-operative] and say, 'the boat is at bridge... whatever of the Trent and Mersey canal' and they'll start their trip there. And then they'll tell the next person. If the next person is going to take it immediately after them, they'll be given an idea where they're heading – they ring them up a day before and say, 'We'll be leaving it at this bridge'. So, you... it's quite nice in the sense that you plan your trip on the hoof (Phil, 67).

All the locks are numbered and the lock number is one of the most important reference points for orientation and wayfinding when on the canal. The numbers are marked in the guidebooks and other canal maps, and checking the lock number is the way of navigating on the canal and reaching the planned destination. While the lock numbers usually run from 1 upwards, there are also canals that use different systems, such as the Huddersfield Narrow Canal, that starts with Lock 1E (East) until 42E and continues after the Standedge

Tunnel with 32W (West) to 1W. The lock numbers are not just important during the boating journeys – they are always important points of orientation. When I first started volunteering with IWA, I was initially confused as the information regarding the meeting points was given in a format such as 'Rochdale Canal in Chadderton, specifically the Grimshaw Lane/Foxdenton Lane lift bridge below Lock 64' or 'Ashton Canal Lock 10 on Clayton Lane, Manchester, M11', with dominating signifiers I was not familiar with: locks and bridges. In these situations, my strategy would be to refer to the street name, which I would then locate on the map, try to find a postcode of a house near the canal and use that as a reference point. For the experienced canal enthusiasts the lock numbers were the main reference points, since the locks were part of their mental maps for orientating on the cityscape or landscape whereas for me, initially, they made a little sense. In the summer of 2015, I had a following exchange with Rohan who had texted me from the Leeds and Liverpool canal:

> Rohan: Plan to reach the bottom of the 21 at around 11.30 am. So let's meet there.
>
> Maarja: I'm slow, so a little clarification please. :) So, where exactly should I come? Do you maybe know a street or postcode…?
>
> Rohan: Not made a boater of you yet, I see! Post code?! I'll get coordinates…
>
> Maarja: GoogleMaps doesn't recognise lock numbers for some strange reason!

The navigation point that Rohan gave me here, 'bottom of the 21', is Wigan Lock 21/No 85 of the Wigan flight of 21 locks running on the Leeds and Liverpool Canal. For an experienced boater, this is quite self-explanatory, whereas for me, dependent mostly on Google Maps for navigating in and around Manchester, it provided few details. As time passed, I also started relying on the lock numbers more and more when navigating around the canals and it became a natural reference point when talking about certain locations. For example, a frequent meeting point on the Rochdale Canal for volunteering with the FoR9 in Manchester city centre is Lock 89. For those not familiar with boating and canals, we would explain it as 'next to Rain Bar and Jury's Inn'. Nevertheless, for me the lock numbers as location points only make sense on certain stretches on the Rochdale and Ashton canals – those with which I am most familiar. However, as opposed to before, I now have a habit of always making a point of examining the lock numbers when passing them, whereas beforehand they would not mean anything to me. The bridges, like locks, are also numbered,

and the bridge numbers are important to the boaters in navigating as well. The boaters cannot rely on lock numbers alone because there can be long stretches without any locks or even no locks at all on a canal.

After the route is selected, boaters need to work out how many hours of cruising are necessary each day in order to reach the selected destination and to determine the point where to turn around in order to return to the marina on time. This is especially important on hire boats because returning the boat late would incur penalties. The map therefore provides a guideline via which to follow one's route and reach the desired destination at the right time. Topographical information of the cities, towns and villages, practical information about shops and amenities, boating-specific information (such as the position and number of locks and bridges) and also additional layers of information regarding the history or nature of particular places, all come together so that the boaters could complete their passages.

These strategies help boaters to achieve their planned hours of cruising for each day; however, these could also be adjusted according to the specific situation, as there can always be disruptions in the planned passages. For example, the number of hours of cruising could be reduced or cruising cancelled altogether, and the boaters could decide to moor up instead, spending the day either in the cabin or visiting nearby villages and attractions instead. Leisure boating therefore involves high levels of 'self-management of rhythm, routine, and other temporal conventions' (Edensor, 2012: 70). Certain 'multisensorial awareness of the environment' (Ingold and Kurttila, 2000: 189) is crucial for the ways of how the boaters both orientate spatially as well as coordinate their rhythmic activities:

> Actually, the weather, which is probably more important than I really think about, you know. So if we know it's going to be a really, really heavy rain and we know we're not going to get as far and whatever. Or it's windy or whatever, we're not going to get as far as quickly. So it's important to kind of give it some consideration (Kirsten, 32).

These passages result in the perceiving of the canals through certain slow rhythmicity, which is definitely not static: even though the dominant tempo on the canal is slow, the boats on the canal move in rhythms punctuated with moments of temporary speediness. The various canal structures (locks, bridges and tunnels, discussed previously in 5.1.2) are the material elements that possess affordances (Gibson, 2015 [1986]) that condition the experience of boating and therefore contribute to dimensions of boatmobility. The rhythm of

canal boating includes the moving boat stopping when encountering a lock and going through it, which takes at least 15 minutes or more (if there are other boats in front of you in the queue). Working the lock, similarly, means that at times the boater has to move extremely fast, for example if something goes wrong and the paddles have to be wound up or down quickly to change the amount of water in the lock. Longer periods of slow relative continuity (cruising on a long lock-free stretch of canal) therefore alternate with various discontinuities caused by having to stop for navigating a lock or for operating a lift- or swing bridge. The temporal scaffolding of boating is therefore determined by the 'stop-start' (Edensor, 2010; Bowles, 2016) nature of the boat's mobility combined with the other interactions, routines and schedules developed and performed on the boat. The coordinating, scheduling and synchronising that takes place on the canals is thus an important factor determining the tempo and rhythms of boatmobility. These result in particular embodied experiences of the slow pace, which I will discuss next.

6.1.3 Embodied experience of the slow

Slow tourism values embodied experiences of time, exemplified in the qualities of 'rhythm, pace, tempo and velocity that are produced in the sensory and affective relationship between the traveller and the world' (Fullagar et al., 2012: 3). The embodied experience of slowess on the canals centres around and grows out of, the 4mph maximum speed limit (with an actual cruising on average of 3 mph or less) and from the other rules and norms of boating (discussed previously in 4.1.2), such as slowing down when passing moored boats or anglers. In order to 'slow' in the correct and socially accepted manner on the canals, the boaters have to achieve and manage a number of bodily, technical and material alignments. These mobile practices are both embodied as well as social, and the various ways of corporeal movement involve a number of bodily practices that attune the body to the slow tempo of the canalscape.

To make sure the speed is right (that is, not too fast) the person steering the boat has to look back every now and then to visually check the wash – the movement of water behind the boat as it moves along the canal. A general rule a conscientious boater has to follow is

that if she or he can see the waves in the canal or the wash hitting the canal banks, they need to slow down (Fallon, 2012), making the successful slowing the interplay between the visual sense and the subsequent adjusting speed of the boat-human. Heavy wash can damage the canal banks, move debris into the water, as well as bring up debris already in the water, which could then catch around the boat's propeller (and thus immobilise the vessel). The speed also has to be kept at minimum when passing anglers on the towpath as well as approaching bridges, locks, bends and junctions – especially when you cannot really see around the bend or behind the bridge, and there may be other boats heading your way.

When the speed limit and other codes of conduct concerning the canal tempo are followed, a successful change in the temporal regime is achieved and the slow tempo of movement affords a relaxing multisensory experience. As Fallon (2012: 149) contends, canals offer their visitors the experience of time for reflection, which 'allows joy because it is only when you have time to think that you can really experience the joy that is being felt, [---] be aware of what is happening and what is being felt.' Elsrud (1998: 322) discusses the time creation of the long term backpackers, and similarly argues that the travellers, who largely reject the 'clock-time', start feeling 'being in the present.' This is also what the boaters experience:

> Sitting on a boat, gorgeous countryside, and the water lapping on the boat, going out to the various places, stop somewhere to have lunch, nice lunch, sat on the back, sandwiches out, looking around, talking to people (Steve, 68)

> It [boating] is very relaxing. And in general, I'm an unrelaxed person. I'm always dashing here, dashing there. But when I'm on a boat, I can just sit and do nothing. I can't do it anywhere else (Linda, 66).

> I'm quite happy to sit and watch the world go by. So, if we were on a long stretch where there wasn't very much happening, when I wasn't steering or anything like that, I would generally be quite happy to sit (Denise, 50).

This 'doing nothing' however does not mean the 'empty' time Ehn and Löfgren (2010: 55) describe when discussing boredom, where the 'absence of variation creates a thick blanket of sameness that covers meaning and suffocates interest [and] time is then experienced as an oppressive void'. On the canal, on the contrary, the perceived abundance

of time is a form of 'producing time, other than clock-time, through bodily sensations and engaging in routines' (Elsrud, 1998: 323). The boaters use the opportunity to engage in daydreaming, which is a multisensory activity evoked by particular environments, and 'all the senses are involved in this complex activity; sights, sounds, smells, and tastes trigger fantasies' (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010: 127).

Slow mobilities (just like other mobilities) are just as much about immobility as they are about moving, as 'stillness punctuates the flow of all things' and numerous 'stillnesses pulse through multiple ecologies with multiple effects' (Bissell and Fuller, 2011: 3). When boating, stillness is not seen as problematic or 'empty' by many boaters. Rather, it becomes an opportunity, a potential where 'movements between settings, images, and activities – away and back again, forward and backward in time – describe how the imagination is set in motion' (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010: 137):

> They [the canals] give you time to appreciate. You can be sat on the bow of the boat, even if it's only 40 foot long, the longer it is the better it is, because it's much quieter at the bow than the stern, because you've always got the engine noise. And you can just be sat there and it's so tranquil. And you've got this opening before you as the canal twists and turns, the trees, you've got wildlife, birds. You might have fish jumping ahead of you. And you just get the chance to appreciate it, because you're not moving at 30 or 70 mile an hour. You can actually look at what's ahead of you and take it in. And you've got an advancing point being above the water level, few feet above, you can look out over valley side, look down valleys... You have the time to focus on half hidden structures. And you can appreciate as you come round the interesting building, you get to see it from three sides. You've got that time. And the weather, as it changes. You can watch the clouds, you can watch them getting closer and wetter [laughs]. It's just nice to sit and talk (Barry, 66).

The boat then becomes a 'place of retreat' where the boaters can experience stillness as 'a subjectively experienced state of consciousness characterised by calmer mental rhythms and a shift in attention [---] towards the present moment' (Conradson, 2011: 72), which therefore could be conceptualised as mobile stillness. As Conradson argues, 'the subjective experience of stillness is not dependent upon physical inactivity or stasis. And neither does it require auditory silence' (2011: 72). The same activities – standing on the stern, sitting in the bow, sitting in the kitchen, lying on the bunk – that some experience as constricting stillness, 'an aberration and thus a problem to be dealt with. A moment of emptiness or missed productivity, producing a hobbled subjectivity without active agency' (Bissell and Fuller, 2011:

3), are perceived as engaged and engaging by others, depending on their personal interests or habits.

'Doing nothing' can therefore be practiced in active, engaged and embodied ways where the slow pace acts as an amplifier of the multisensoriality and which affords a multitude of movements and activities. In addition, should tranquillity 'turn into restlessness, it may become necessary to get up and start walking' (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010: 139):

> Well, there's lots of nice things about the canals. It's really slow, and that's quite appealing. Because obviously it's quite relaxing to be kind of lulling along the canals, not worry about the speed. [---] Well, you're not going at any particular speed. And so you can take things in. [---] I'd jump off with the dog, and I'd walk alongside, you know you've going at less than... well, I was probably walking a bit faster, you're actually going slower than the walking pace. And it forces you to unwind really. Because everything is happening quite slowly. And it takes you time to get through the locks, it can take you a best part of a day to get through these flights of locks. So it's kind of good to unwind, the pace is good for unwinding (Kirsten, 32).

The slowscape is therefore produced by a conscious deceleration of everyday activities, realised in a variety of embodied experiences, activities and practices that form the basis for new routines and practices of this temporal community. 'All sensorial modalities are multi-temporal' (Hamilakis, 2017: 179), with the memories of past trips also feeding into and affecting the present ones. However, the slow pace and tempo and the sensory experiences afforded by it are just one aspect of the temporal experience of boating. Another important aspect of slowscape is that the boaters are perceiving it as an amalgamation of different coexisting temporal modalities in regards to the ideas of past, present and future, experienced in sensory ways, which I will discuss next.

6.2 Entangled temporal modalities: past, present and future

'Not only does a mobilities perspective lead us to discard our usual notions of spatiality and scale, but it also undermines existing linear assumptions about temporality and timing, which often assume that actors are able to do only one thing at a time, and that events follow each

other in a linear order' (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 214). On and near the canal, specific temporalities emerge and are enacted, and these activities are 'not just embedded in a socio-historical past but also project into a socio-environmental future' (Adam, 2008: 5). Holiday boaters move through the canal slowscape as creative and reflexive subjects, perceiving this temporal space in a variety of ways. Their bodies are interacting with the environment and (re)producing various understandings of their surroundings including imaginaries of history, heritage, urban and rural, all perceived as lived, and bodily experiences on the canals. The slow tempo of travel, discussed previously, is also closely connected to the holiday boaters' orientations towards past, present and future, that creates a particular past/future interface (Palang and Fry, 2003), where the boaters look both forwards and backwards at the same time. I will next discuss these entangled notions about nostalgia, industrial heritage, history, rurality and being closer to 'nature'.

6.2.1   Nostalgia: imagining the past

In his book *Narrow Boat*, L. T. C. Rolt (2014 [1944]) wrote that the canals represent a lost time, a place to reconnect with the past and an opportunity to relive it, and his writings have been criticised for sentimentalising and romanticising life on the canals, including amongst others by his fellow IWA-founder Charles Hadfield (Fallon, 2012). Rolt's books were instrumental in how the canals came to be seen in later discourses: as romantic landscapes for leisure affording opportunities to (re)connect with England's (industrial) past and 'the worth attributed to the canals became less about their intrinsic merit but rather more about a complex array of contemporary values, demands and even moralities' (Fallon, 2012: 147).

Cole suggests that the canals are seen mostly as idyllic and beautiful rural spaces by the British public, a result of 'the exertion of a wilful nostalgia: because the comparatively slow-moving canals can appear pre-industrial, we choose to think of them that way' (Cole, 2013: 172). Bowles (2016: 104) too, mentions that boating 'creates a rhetorical nostalgia for a rural idyll (obviously fictive), located somewhere in England's pre-industrial past.' In his travelogue *Narrowboat Dreams*, an avid canal enthusiast, writer, and well-known figure in the boating communities, Steve Haywood on the one hand rejects the 'nostalgia [that] is said

to be the basis for a sanitised version, not of history but of a commodified and instantaneous heritage' (Urry, 1994: 139). At the same time, however, he is still longing the 'way it really was' (Haywood, 2008: 128) with his focus on 'future pasts' (Adam, 2008: 6):

> [The canals] were built as industrial arteries to carry goods from one place to another. They were a key part of a national economy based on manufacturing. It's us – now – today – who've idealised them and made them into Disneyworld UK. We've done a lot of this sort of thing recently with our past, taking our history and making heritage of it, reducing it to a series of folk tales and emasculated adventure stories. Fine, as far as it goes. It sells to the tourists better this way, that's for sure. But we shouldn't lose touch with the way it really was. Sanitising the past for others, we run the risk of deceiving ourselves (Haywood, 2008: 127-128).

In 1968, the waterways had been classified into three groups: commercial, cruising and remainder, which meant essentially derelict (Transport Act, 1968). Since 1970, the Inland Waterways Association has co-ordinated the projects of the Waterway Recovery Group, volunteers who have tirelessly campaigned for the restoration of as many canals as possible, in order to reclassify them from remainder to cruising, and at the same time providing the volunteer labour necessary to physically restore the canals.

> In the IWA, it's been principally committee work, fundraising, and putting the political pressure onto what was then British Waterways Board, now the Canal and River Trust. We worked with councils within the Greater Manchester area, worked with other bodies, and with MPs to drum up parliamentary support to make the case for restoration, not losing the heritage, to fight against the abandonment of canals (Barry, 66).

For the canal enthusiasts, 'not losing' canal heritage and history means prolonging it into their present and projecting it into the future. Although the canals were no longer going to be used for the transportation of goods or services – indeed, the once important transportation link had become an obsolete infrastructure – they were now going to be revived and re-purposed. Therefore, 'in the case of canals, the decline of the transportation industry life cycle can be understood not as the end of the canal, but the initiation or beginning of a tourism life cycle. In other words, tourism development could be viewed as an innovative re-use of the canalscapes or an extension of the transportation life cycle' (Tang & Jang 2010: 439).

According to CRT (2016a: 5), canal heritage (49 scheduled monuments, 2,701 listed buildings, 317 conservation areas as well as the historic waterways themselves) 'provides an everyday, local connection to our past'. Indeed, for some boaters the canal does function almost as a time-machine, a means to transport them to the past; it is an immediate aid and prompt for the backdrop of their historical imaginaries:

The industrial heritage is also something that we both enjoy. There was a junction actually, and I can't remember the name... it was a junction that we went to where the Grand Union Canal meets Stratford-upon-Avon Canal. And that was an incredible piece of engineering and an incredible piece of history. All the bridges, you know, which they must have taken the horses over and things. It was really amazing. And in the middle of this junction, which effectively was an island, because it had all sorts of canals all round about it, they had all the lockkeeper cottages and things like that. (Kirsten, 32).

I'm quite into the industrial heritage. I quite like the way they connect. Industrial part is very... what some people would describe as ugly, not very aesthetic parts of the country, but yet some of the most beautiful countryside. But this is, as it were, an industrial ribbon that stretches through... so I quite like imagining how busy it would have been in the industrial revolution. Particularly around the junctions and the locks (Tom, 35).

Well, as we are sitting here [Ashton Canal, Lock 1] now, you can look, there's lock here. This canal, I don't know the exact date, but it's 150 year old, with all the fantastic brickwork, the way the lock works, it's just... I always liked history, I always liked engineering, and it just brings it all together. In a way it was productive at the time, people should remember. Manchester especially, it was supplied by good coal from Worsley; it could get the trade in and out from that. I mean people don't really realise that the motorways as today, that's what the canals used to be. So you've got this arterial network, fast easy way to shifting your goods around, exporting and importing. [---] It made such a huge difference to the country as a whole. Because I mean the alternative at that time was a rutted old turnpike track with a sort of carriage, six horses, banging around all day long, in a, like a pub, turnpike house at night, then back on again, with just your luggage. Whereas this, I mean, you could take 25 tonnes at a time, it made a huge difference to the people (Steve, 68).

Imaginaries of the industrial past therefore play an important role in the boating experience, as the canals with their locks, bridges, aqueducts and other heritage structures as well as the old lock beams, paddles and bollards form a distinct temporal space. The boat

is literally sliding past various historical structures, both rural and urban, as the boaters gaze at them, producing and constructing a particular nostalgic view of the canals:

> There are times I'm at the tiller when I'm so lost in my own fanciful musings that I could pass through a city the size of Leeds without even knowing it was there. On such occasions when the hypnotic sound of the engine has lulled me into a trance, it's as if I'm in a different world, a world where the present merges into the past, and where different pasts themselves merge into a single dreamscape. It's a place of barely remembered kings, and battles whose names are forgotten, a place of ploughmen, engineers and navvies, of a thousand boatmen and a hundred thousand journeys, each of them strange and different, but each of them familiar too. Narrowboat dreams, narrowboat dreaming. The tiller trembling under my touch at the flow of the water across the rudder (Haywood, 2008: 86).

These nostalgic imaginations, however, can also be about the more personal history:

> And also growing up round here, I spent a lot of time, when I was little, coming along and walking along the canal and cycling along the canal. When I was four or five. There are lots of photographs of me as a child, walking along the canal and playing along here. So it felt like a part of my history as well. [Boating] was something that I'd always wanted to do (Angela, 41).

For the boaters, the canals can be 'the space for reflection' (Fallon, 2012: 149), and they go boating in order to connect to the industrial history or in order to realise the imaginations connected with their personal histories. In addition, as important as these imaginations are, there is also the tactile bodily experience of the heritage that forms the centre of the experience for the boater. For these 'narrowboat dreams' Haywood (2008: 86) described above to be evoked and fully realised, the boater's whole body has to be engaged, which I will discuss next.

6.2.2 Embodying the past, present and future

'Canal environs often provide a strong sense of the history of the place visited and offer opportunities to connect with and explore the past' (Fallon, 2012: 148). This past, however, is not just dreamed about, thought about or narrated – it is also physically experienced as it materialises in bodies, artefacts, buildings and places and is felt and expressed through a

variety of objects (Macdonald, 2013). By using this historic infrastructure, the boaters are passing through 200-year-old working heritage assemblies that allows them 'a closeness to the past' (Fallon, 2012: 149). For example, the vast majority of locks work in the same way as they did when first built, and the physical experience of operating a lock has not changed at all. The contemporary boaters still use a windlass to wind the paddles up and down, as well as close and open the lock gates to fill and empty the locks. In all of my trips on the canals, more experienced boaters have always shown me the exact spots on the stone bridges and bollards that have been slowly worn away by the continual use of ropes for well over more than a hundred years, as well as the spots on the lock worn by the boaters' feet pushing the lock gates. These material signs from the past, invisible to all those uninitiated into the boating community, serve as the physical proofs of their perceived connection with the boaters' communities of the past (cf. Bowles, 2016).

Therefore, the bodily experience of boating becomes a journey of physically reliving and participating in a shared heritage:

> And just a general interest in... I'm a mechanical engineer by trade and I just love Victorian engineering and the principles of how they work – and that side of it; the mechanical side of it. So I just want to be involved in the actual doing of closing the paddles and the gates and everything else (Darren, 42).

> Richard (67): When I'm working with the construction people, you know, Mark's people, you're actually getting into the heart of the canal, if you like. You know, you're taking a lock apart. If you're taking the gates out you can see... When you've been a boater you've probably thought, I wonder how... you know you've got a big heavy gate and you've got a pole going down and it's rotating and you think, well, I wonder what's in the bottom. How does that fit into that you know? And when you've got a stoppage and you drain the lock and take it apart...

> Maarja and Richard [in unison]: Then you can actually see!

> Richard: And being a mechanical engineer myself, I'm interested in that sort of thing. How did they build them in 1780 like that? How can they still be working in 2016? That's what really sort of interests me I think.

Some boaters further enhance this connection with history by boating on traditional working boats, and many boaters have wistfully mentioned the specific 'plop-plop-plop' sound a vintage Bolinder engine makes, even suggesting to me I find videos of it on YouTube to learn how it sounds in case I should encounter it on the canals. A user on the canalworld.net

forum writes, 'Once you've heard a Bolinder's uneven cough, you'll always recognise it again… We're not up to it yet, but some guys can tell you whether it's a Kelvin, Lister, Gardner or whatever, when the boat's still half a mile away…' This particular sound, then, can be one of the ways the boaters can connect with the past; however, it only works for those familiar with the acoustic reference system. Another poster on the same thread on the forum writes:

> We were standing on the bridge at the entrance to Braunston Marina watching the parade of vintage boats a few years ago. As a boat came slowly past with a lovely Bolinder in it, a woman standing near to me turned to her companion and said in a very loud and highly upper-class voice 'I'm surprised they let that old boat take part in the parade when its engine is misfiring so badly.'[18]

Engaging physically with the heritage structures on the canals creates an immediate sense of continuity with the past and 'the presence of the distinctly manual and analogue canal in the midst of the technologically modern city means that to step onto the towpath can also seem like stepping back in time' (Bowles, 2016: 108). The past is experienced as a projection, or imagination, when the layer of boaters' previous historical knowledge is projected onto the canal environment and invokes images of England's industrial past. These images and imaginations then intermingle with the individuals' physical usage as well as the sensory and embodied experience of the old infrastructure. This, however, does not mean that the boaters are necessarily orientated only towards the past, overcome with 'sanitised, introverted obsessions with "heritage"' (Massey, 1993: 64), consuming 'history as a commodity' where 'nostalgia is everywhere, engulfing almost every experience and artefact from the past, even the "dark satanic mills" of the industrial revolution' (Urry, 1994: 138).

On the one hand, the boaters' engagement with the past and some of their narratives do fit into the nostalgic discourse as exemplified in Steve Haywood's book quoted above (p. 228). However, many boaters interested in canal history know that the lives of the 'navvies' and 'canal (or boat) people' were difficult, with long hours and almost excluded from general society and who treated them mostly with suspicion as perpetual 'others' (Matthews, 2015). The canal also was a place for industry and not for leisure, with the towpaths being closed off

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[18] http://canalworld.net/forums/index.php?/topic/17864-bolinder-engines/ (27.04.2017)

by gates in the cities, and the boaters know that their use of the canals is very different from the transport purposes they were originally meant for:

> Canal towpaths, yes, they are generally isolated areas. In the days when they were commercial concerns, in most cities you could not access canal towpaths. There were gates to them, access was through them, simply because they were commodities, there were firms, factories right onto the canal and they didn't want people coming in to steal from them. It was a working environment, it was dangerous, you kept people out (Barry, 66).

Just as the inhabitants of a small formerly industrial town in northern England, studied by Edwards (1998) who actively devise 'the links and connections which endure over time and override the present' (Edwards, 1998: 167), the boaters feel the connection with the past. However, this does not mean wanting to go backwards in time, nor necessarily wanting to stop the canals changing and developing. They recognise that the industrial buildings, for example, have to be repurposed for them to be maintained as essential part of the canal environment they so appreciate:

> You pass sights. You've got the engineering, which is the aqueducts, you've got the overbridges, you have the roving bridges where the canal towpath changes from one side to the other. Each canal was built in accordance with the local available materials, so they have a uniqueness in that, let it be bricks, stone or metal. [---] We're now said to be post-industrial nation, and yet there's all the heritage from these things to show. [---] You have the canal side buildings, it's good to see they are brought back into the use, even if it was another function, rather than buildings just being demolished. And to me the landscape of a canal is not necessarily the countryside, but within the city. [---] So, the countryside is beautiful, but you've got to remember that the canals were built as commercial concerns. And so, serving mines, power stations, mills. That is sadly something that is just disappearing (Barry, 66).

The liveaboard boaters Bowles (2016: 109) studied feel an 'almost millenarian sense of "the end of days"' because of the privatising of land around the canals, restrictions of the free movement of people and their strained relationship with the state. Barry, while appreciating the industrial heritage, is actually happy to see it brought back to use in other capacities. He belongs to the generation that was campaigning for the canals to be restored and be used for holidays among other purposes. He uses the term 'leisure generation' when discussing his contemporaries, which in academic literature refers to the baby boomer generation which is now retiring having better health, more wealth, better pensions and

interest in travelling than any of their predecessors (Roberts, 2013). 'It was perhaps the leisure generation from the 60s, they were campaigning, wanting to go out and use the canals. They managed to prevent more closures,' Barry explained.

The canals are therefore a 'sphere of a multiplicity of trajectories' (Massey, 2005: 119) where the boats and people move across and through a variety of ongoing stories. The importance of the history and heritage and the fact that the boaters know of it, appreciate it and engage with it, does not mean that they travel from the present day Manchester to the Industrial Revolution and back when on the canal – and neither do they want to. The canalscape, like any other temporal space humans perceive and inhabit, is not a collage of static moments in history, 'a kind of composite of instants of different times, an angle of the imagination which is a-historical, working in opposition to a sense of temporal development' (Massey, 2005: 19). The canal continues its history as the people pass through, contributing to the multiplicity of the stories, and changing them as they go along. The holiday boaters engage with the past, but they do not want to 'go back' in time, nor do they deny or refuse 'the histories which are ongoing through the present' (Massey, 2005: 120):

> Barry (66): I like industrial landscapes. Yes.
>
> Maarja: Why?
>
> Barry: Much of it is... I don't know, because that was the era I was brought up in, there was much more industry. But again, just seeing the past being revealed, industrial archaeology is a big thing. And it's interesting to see the changed nature of the canals: they were built for one purpose, they're serving another purpose. You still have the artefacts there. And you can appreciate some of it going... modern architecture on the sides of the canal.

However, it is not just the time of the industrial revolution that the boaters refer to and relate to and dialogue with, but also the much more recent past, narrated, for example, in the guidebooks. The slow canal temporality (as discussed in 6.1), does not necessitate receiving the most up to date information at all times, and thus boaters (especially on private boats) don't feel a particular need to replace older editions of guidebooks with a newer version. The fact that the neighbourhoods the boat passes through might have changed significantly, the stores and pubs described in the book might be closed or the phone numbers no longer valid, does not provide sufficient reason to purchase a new guidebook. Indeed, they might find it mildly amusing that the realities of the guidebook and that experienced on the

canal diverge significantly, potentially adding another layer of temporality to the experience, since the time and place the boater experiences, versus that described in the guidebook, provide different historical realities.

Furthermore, the guidebooks combined with the boaters' narrations also create a particular version of a temporal reality by reproducing certain narratives about places that might or might not correspond to the boaters' contemporary lived experience. For example, certain urban areas of the canals have earned a particular reputation for the antisocial behaviour of the local residents. These stories most often include the boats being vandalised at night, untied from the moorings and stones thrown at the boats. One of these is Ashton Canal, which runs from Piccadilly basin in Manchester to Portland basin in Ashton-under-Lyne. I have boated on this canal several times without any of the incidents described above – something that the boaters have told me were common about 15-20 years ago in the area, however some boaters reported antisocial behaviour on the canal in the summer of 2017. These, mainly isolated incidents, reinforce the common depictions reproduced in a number of canal guides, and become factors influencing how the canal as a place is perceived. The second edition of *Canals of Britain* still reads that 'despite [the Ashton Canal's] background of the Pennines, it has a high proportion of derelict buildings along its route. Glass on walls, barbed wire, spiked railings, burglar alarms, razor wire and video cameras all emphasise the depressed nature of the area' (Fisher, 2012: 244). In this process of iterative negative interpellation (Platt, 2016), the negativity regarding certain stretches of the canal is co-produced by the guidebook narrations, media discourse on canals as dangerous (see pp. 24-25) and subsequently recognised and reproduced by the boaters either by confirming or opposing to these narratives.

On the canals, 'the material and sedimented accumulation of "past" [---] is very much alive in the present' (van Wyck, 2013: 257), which in turn is also included in the imaginations about the future. The past, present and future are, on the one hand, imagined but on the other hand, these imaginations are realised through the activities of boating, which then create an embodied connection with the past. Another important aspect of this past/future interface (Palang and Fry, 2003), however, is engaging and negotiating with the environment where the relationship with the 'outdoors' comes to the foreground, which I will consider next.

6.2.3 Temporality of canal landscape

The history of human beings, extended over a long period, has resulted in the construction of particular landscapes, which both humans and animals have inhabited and where they have left behind various records of themselves. This landscape is neither nature nor culture, an external world or one of the mind, land or space (Ingold, 1993), it is temporal and emerges rhythmically from various activities, from dwelling within it. This temporal and emergent human dwelling in the landscape (Hicks and McAtackney, 2016), an array of related activities unfolding over time, is what Ingold (2000b) calls a taskscape.

Knight (2010: 219) argues that 'with their industries gone, industrial waterways take on a marketable romantic character, which plugs into the urban desire for "nature" and tranquillity in the city'. This is true to a certain extent. The canal landscape is a palimpsest (Palang and Fry, 2003) that consists of elements of different periods of time over the history discussed above, featuring remnants of its various periods since their construction. Canals are 'hybrid, part social/part natural – yet deeply historical and thus produced – objects/subjects are indermediaries that embody and express nature and society and weave networks of infinite liminal spaces' (Swyngedouw, 1999: 445). Visentin et al. (2014) refer to them as 'constructed nature', where both natural factors and social processes play an important role. As follows, I will discuss the ways the boaters perceive the canal environment and the way it relates to their understanding of temporality.

As Bowles (2015) demonstrates convincingly, the liveaboards' complex and complicated relationship with the idea of 'nature' and their narratives of living more in harmony with it than the sedentary house-dwellers, has developed from the immediacy of their environment – simply put, spending a lot of time outdoors. The London boaters, even though they live in an urban environment, still consider their way of living as 'closer to the nature' and perceive it as more sustainable. Bowles questions this somewhat conflicting notion, pointing out the obvious fact that narrowboats run on diesel engines and often have wood burners on-board. There is indeed doubt in their carbon efficiency; however, the actual extent of their carbon footprint in a tourism context is not yet clear, as there are no studies on it. Taking this into consideration, Dickinson and Lumsdon (2010), while including smaller

motorised pleasure craft within their concept of slow tourism, also stress that it is a topic for future debate and possible reconsideration.

For the holiday canal boaters, the ideas connected to the natural environment are also important. Comparable to the liveaboards, they are constantly negotiating the outdoors, and interactions with the weather and non-human animals while boating, form an important part of the boating experience. The canals, the material result of the industrialisation and human participation in nature, are 'repetitive systems' through which the 'natural world [was] "mastered" and made secure, regulated, and relatively risk free' (Urry, 2007: 13). However, through becoming obsolete and being taken up for uses that allow for new mobilities, such as leisure boating, the canals, while still representing Britain's industrial past and the feats of civil engineering, are at the same time also considered spaces for engaging with the natural environment: 'I think that when they were first constructed, they were seen as manmade waterways. As the canals aged, they became more natural, especially in the countryside. Personally, I see them as industrial heritage – because of the history and the industry and the mills et cetera,' Eamon explained to me. His daughter, Sarah, added, 'A canal is a place where you can relax, especially because of the wildlife. It's not used for industrial purposes anymore.' Here the artificiality and analytic uselessness of the idea of the nature-culture dualism becomes especially evident, and I agree with Visentin et al. (2014) that canals are an embodiment of transcending this dialectic.

When British Waterways was reorganised into the Canal and River Trust in 2012, it announced 'a radical, modern approach to the care of our national heritage' (CRT, 2011: 1), stressing the importance of the past, but also promising a brand new future. The CRT's initial slogan, 'Keeping people, history and nature connected', adds another important layer to the boaters' notion of temporality and of natural environment, by expressing 'the material continuity both of the people who participate in [the place-making] process and of any natural and humanly made objects employed in time-space specific practices' (Pred, 1984: 280). On the canal, the ideas of experiencing the 'outdoors' and the 'nature' are therefore important elements of the slowscape:

Maarja: So, you said that you did most of the steering of the boat – why was that?

Darren (42): Eh, two reasons, I suppose. One, I'm the early riser and I'm mechanically minded, so when we were getting the talk through on the boat, it was all directed at me – so it made sense that I got the thing started and we got it moving. Two – I enjoyed it.

I like being out there, because, you know, you're just watching the world go by; the nature and all the herons, kingfishers; all the water snakes and everything else; talking to boaters coming your way...

Generally, you're in the countryside, aren't you? And I think the weather's nice. It's lovely in the morning, because it's so peaceful and you can hear the birds and you can see the wildlife and... I think that's really, really nice and I think generally, we've lost touch with nature. You know, we're all leading busy lives – it's all dash here, dash there. And you know, we live in areas where it's really all houses. Sometimes, I think – well, especially when I walk, as well – I think that you need that. You need that space, mentally. I think the countryside is really lovely and you get that on a canal boat (Linda, 66).

According to Massey, places related to the 'wilderness' and 'nature' and juxtaposed to the urban environments, are often used to 'situate ourselves, to convince ourselves that there is indeed a grounding' and a place could be seen as 'a temporary constellation, as a time-space event, in relation to this "other" arena, "the natural world"' (Massey, 2005: 131). The canals are spaces of entanglement, connecting the rural and urban, natural and man-made, organic and inorganic. The boaters move through the pastoral 'farmscapes', the natural 'wildscapes' and the playful 'adventurescapes' (Bell, 2006) of the rural canals, but also the 'heritagescapes' (Garden, 2006) of industrialisation (that I discussed above), as well as the modern 'urbanscapes' (Wang, 2005) of contemporary cities:

I also quite like this kind of weird, I suppose this almost tension, in that you have this thoroughfare of industrial revolution, you've got this thoroughfare that was used to transport goods right up until reasonably recently. You know, a part of industry that cuts its way through the countryside as well. And I quite like that kind of juxtaposition – geographer, you see! This was an industrial thoroughfare. But yet first time in my life I saw kingfishers. We saw the birdlife. I think that they've been described in the past and by various authors as the blue and green ribbons through the industrial areas, through cities as well. That's definitely part of the experience, [that] and the changing countryside (Tom, 35).

In the context of the simultaneously natural and unnatural (Kasemets et al., 2015) canals, the question of the degree to which the canals can be perceived as part of nature is less important than the point that the ideas about rurality, nature and wildlife, for the canal boaters, are valued, important, and meaningful. As Strang (2009: 199) demonstrates in her analysis of water and recreation, 'water embodies nature itself, and even places that are

plainly human artefacts (such as reservoir lakes) are rapidly reconfigured as "natural" environments.' Such is the case also on the canals, as the boaters enjoy the simultaneous urbanity and rurality of them, joined by, and expressed in, the movement of water. Furthermore, 'nature' as an emic concept is an important factor that draws people to the canals and thus 'is a concept that has practical utility. It does work in the world and facilitates the social imaginary, the dream of a better future [and] although we might dispense with nature because we realize that it does not exist, we actually require nature to perform practical work in the world' (Tilley and Cameron-Daum, 2017: 289).

These different temporal modalities on the canal are entangled and the future is not only preceded by the different pasts as perceived as well as imagined by different boaters, but also informed and continuously made and constituted by them (Adam, 2008) in various combinations. Canal landscapes are 'emergent and embodied entities that bind together past, present and future' (Hicks and McAtackney, 2016: 17) where bodily interaction with the canal heritage – that invokes particular imaginations of the past of industrial heritage and working boatmen – is part of the boaters' everyday life. However, these imaginations co-exist with those of the more recent pasts of the personal histories of the previous trips, and are also projected into the future, their changing nature and usage celebrated and enjoyed.

6.3 Summary

The canals are spaces where various agencies meet, affording manifold new opportunities for recreational (but also other) activities. Boating is characterised by particular temporalities the boaters perceive as they move along the canals. These temporalities differ significantly from the boaters' experience of elsewhere, and therefore form a distinctive attribute of the canal holiday. The two main elements of the temporal perception of the canal environment centre on the slow tempo of canal boating and the boaters' perception of the past, present and future. The leisure boaters do not live permanently on the canals, and taking a boating holiday therefore means making a conscious shift in their habitual temporal regime. The perceived slow tempo of the canals, as compared to their everyday lives, is one of the main attractions

for some of the canal enthusiasts, whereas others – those not as enamoured with the attraction of boating – can also perceive the canal holidays as too slow, and therefore constricting. Mundane mobilities are not just about movement but also about moving from one place to another in the necessary timeframe, in cooperation with a range of materialities. The slowscape, emerging from the material and technological practicalities of the canals (such as the width of canals and the engines of the canal boats) has to be maintained, managed and sometimes policed in large part by the active canal-boating community. This means that the boaters have to make a fundamental conscious effort to engage with a number of formal and informal practices developed through a longstanding interaction with all aspects of a functioning canal community, as well as the infrastructure.

Many boaters also experience a particular temporality on the canals, which stems from their interest in canal history and heritage, and they experience, indeed revel in, a certain degree of continuity and affinity with the previous generations of canal users, creating a link with the past. This link is maintained and experienced through the continued use and embodied engagement with the historical canal technologies. However, the boaters are not only orientated towards the past, or do not necessarily idealise it, since they project the tangible canal infrastructure into the future in a somewhat changed capacity. These ideas of past, history, industrial heritage, present and future are mingled with the notions about the natural environment, wildlife, the outdoors and the rural idyll, all of which find their place in the canal boaters' imaginations. Nature and heritage, industrial and recreational, meet in the canalscapes, and the complex ways in which land and water connect become interdependent and mutually constitutive. The natural (water, vegetation, non-human animals, etc.) and the built or constructed are intertwined on the canal and form larger entanglements (Ingold, 2008). The temporal canalscape is therefore an amalgamation of the physical sensation and experience of both the perceived slow tempo and canal heritage, as well as the co-presence of past, present and future.

Chapter 7. The mundane rhythms of leisure boating

Everyday activities are an integral and substantial, yet under-researched, aspect of the tourist experience. Indeed, the tourist experience can have a transformative power in the lives of individuals as well as on society (Ryan, 2002; Uriely, 2005). Nevertheless, leisure time consists of more than meaningful moments and amplified emotions: in practice, non-reflexive, mundane activities and experiences intertwine with unusual ones and create a complex tourist experience (Edensor, 2007; Binnie et al., 2007; Larsen, 2008; Löfgren, 2015).

According to Lefebvre, it is important to study the rhythms of everyday life, because 'everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm' (Lefebvre, 2004 [1992]: 15). 'Space and place are [---] replete with rhythms, flows, and becomings, seething and full of life, contrary to appearances glanced at on the move or represented in tourist guidebooks' (Edensor, 2012: 57). These rhythms can be deducted via the theory and method of rhythmanalysis, which allows us to see how space is produced (Lefebvre, 1991), which is an essential element of the study of everyday life (Elden, 2004).

I will therefore examine the rhythms of everyday activities on the canal that are often thought of as unimportant and insignificant, but in fact function as structuring devices for leisure boaters' experiences. Paying attention to the intersections of natural, bodily and social rhythms is a key element here, because 'in the collision of natural biological and social timescales, the rhythms of our bodies and society, the analysis of rhythms provides a privileged insight into the question of everyday life' (Elden, 2004: viii). Through bringing the studies on mundane in tourism together with rhythmanalytic perspectives, I will look at 'what happens in all the in-betweens of tourist life that too often are described as a pilgrimage where tourists move from one satisfying event to another, from sight to sight' (Löfgren, 2008a: 87). I will identify the canal boaters' everyday rhythms (Edensor, 2012) and, via exploring the interface between everyday life and tourism, uncover the embodied everyday rhythms through which the canal network as a place for leisure comes to being.

7.1 Socio-natural rhythms of the weatherworld

Boating is largely an outdoor activity: whether steering the boat, opening and closing the lock gates or walking on the towpath, the holiday boaters are exposed to the elements and have to take into account the rhythmical altering of light and dark; in short, they spend a lot of their time 'in the open' (Ingold, 2010a: 115). This means they are acutely aware of the 'immediacy of the environment' (Bowles, 2015: 126) surrounding them: the changing seasons, along with the changing weather as well as the diurnal changes. The boaters 'dwell within a weather-world in which every being is destined to combine wind, rain, sunshine and earth in the continuation of its own existence' (Ingold, 2010a: 115) and continuously move between the outdoor and indoor (cabin) spaces which means constant negotiations with seasonality, weather and the rhythmical altering between day and night.

These rhythms are multi-sensory, embedded in personal lives but also dependent on particular tasks, as well as modes of movement, and they are important in the spatial orientation, as well as the organisation of various periodic activities (Ingold and Kurttila, 2000). The seasonal and diurnal rhythms associated with particular weather, and the amount of light affect everything from the boaters' choice of clothing to the activities undertaken whilst on the trip, including the routes taken and passages (Hui, 2013) completed. The boats and boaters move through the 'landscape ephemera' (Brassley, 1998) of particular weather conditions, seasonal and circadian changes and variations. In this subchapter, I will unpack the rhythms of these ephemera, discussing the two key aspects of the canal weatherworld: the seasonality and diurnality.

7.1.1 Seasonal rhythms

While the Earth is making a full circle around the Sun, the southern hemisphere receives more solar radiation from October to March (winter) and the northern hemisphere between April and September (summer); spring and autumn are transitional seasons between them (Ahas et al., 2005). Seasonal phenomena, with their particular climatic features, are characterised by rhythm and repetition, although the amplitude of the repetition can also vary to a certain

extent (as recordings of earlier Springs and delayed Autumns show (Sparks and Menzel, 2002)). The rhythms delineating from the natural phenomena then influence and entangle with manifold social and cultural rhythms and meanings including the calendar year with its particular activities, rituals, festivities and practices associated with the different seasons (Strauss and Orlove, 2003). The cycle of seasons is therefore crucial to the ways people experience weather. As a climatological phenomenon, seasonality can be described with annual changes in temperature, precipitation and the hours of daylight; however, 'as a phenomenon of weather, seasonality inheres in the relations between concurrent rhythms of growth and movement of plants and animals, and of human social life' (Ingold and Kurttila, 2000: 190).

These rhythms are observable on various levels. Canal boaters' take on the meteorological seasons of the northern hemisphere grows out of the particularities of their activity – boating – as they divide the cycle of year into two broad seasons: the boating season (also called cruising season) and winter. This duality echoes that of the river dwellers in northern Finland, who also recognise two main seasons: cold dark winter and warm light summer (Krause, 2013). Boating season, demarcated by a mixture of the ritual, and meteorological, year, largely corresponds to the period, which is warmer, less rainy, and lighter. For those more familiar with boating traditions and lore, the season lasts from Easter (in April) to Bonfire Night (in November). Furthermore, since in the modern period, natural and commercial rhythms have evolved together and often complement each other (Shove et al., 2009), for hire companies the season lasts roughly from March to October, reflecting the main seasonal time frame with better weather when boats are usually hired and also includes school holidays. This is also evident in pricing, as well as the number of hours a boat can be hired for (which directly depends on the number of daylight hours). The boaters' winter therefore lasts from November to either the March or April, and is characterized by a mixture of natural (seasonal and weather) phenomena and human activity: colder weather, more rain, darker days, sometimes snow and ice, as well as CRT maintenance works on the canal, which often also means stoppages, and the commercial interests of the hireboat companies.

This of course does not mean that the boaters only see the course of the year in a dualistic manner (of summer and winter) – all the meteorological seasons are still a very important part of the formation of the rhythms on both the canal and on land. The seasons

are perceived as a process and on the canals, just as on the river, 'the dynamic transformation inherent in the interplay of different rhythms is more important than the different phases on their own' (Krause, 2013: 35). These rhythms form on the canal by a combination of various natural and social elements. Summer, especially July, which is considered the high season by hire-boat companies and boaters alike, is distinguished by increased traffic on the canals, which can sometimes result in queues on popular attractions such as at Pontcysyllte Aqueduct on the Llangollen Canal. This has an effect on how the canal is perceived by the more experienced boaters, who can then make a point of not visiting during the high season, preferring the romantic tourist gaze to that of the collective gaze (Urry, 1990):

> Maarja: So which are your favourite canals? Do you have any favourite canals?
>
> Phil (67): I like the variety of the canals, really. Caldon Canal is really nice. Obviously Llangollen – but Llangollen in winter, when there's nobody else or very few other people on it. Because it gets very busy in summer. Flocks of people, lots of other boats, queues at the locks like Grindley Brook staircase.
>
> Maarja: Really?
>
> Phil: Very-very busy. We just don't want that.
>
> Maarja: So why is it so popular – Llangollen?
>
> Phil: Because it's a very beautiful rural canal; it's got features like the Pontcysyllte aqueduct.

Winter, on the other hand, is characterised by much less boat traffic when mainly live-aboards, especially continuous cruisers, move on the canal. Nevertheless, many hire companies still rent out boats during the winter with reduced prices and some boat owners still opt to go for boating holidays. Phil, for example, usually spends Christmas on the boat with his friends and their families and this means dealing with the seasonal particularities of winter boating, such as making sure the boat does not freeze in when the temperature drops below zero degrees Celsius. This could cause a number of problems, including running out of water or not being able to get to the pump out station or sanitation point (see also 7.2.2). The boaters' winter is also characterised by stoppages initiated by CRT to carry out maintenance work on the canal. Scheduled bigger maintenance and repair works, such as replacing or repairing the lock gates, repair and reconstruction works within lock chambers, are all carried out then. These works mean that a stretch of canal is drained of water and the boats' mobility is therefore affected, as they cannot complete the same passages as during the season:

Very often in November, you can't take it [the boat] anywhere, because of the stoppages for the canal maintenance. You might be able to do short trips. Or if you're careful about where you leave it [the boat], you can still do it until Christmas. They usually open the canals over Christmas and New Year, [when] the stoppage is off, so we cruise then (Phil, 67).

Seasonality is also delineated by particular festivities: for example, some boaters celebrate the end of the boating season with a party at Bonfire Night (I attended one such party at the Bedford Basin on the Bridgewater Canal in Leigh in 2015). The end of the season is also marked by 'winterising' the boat: the tasks that need to be undertaken before the boat can be left to moor in the winter (such as draining the hot water system, filling up the tank with diesel to prevent condensation contamination, lagging the water pipes, and greasing the stern tube). The beginning of the season is similarly marked by the reversal of many of these procedures, as part of what is called 'de-winterising' the boat (refilling the water tanks, checking for leaks, closing taps and changing the oil filters).

The defining characteristic of the changing seasons and the rhythms of boating, however, is weather. It is important to note that, 'the weather and the climate are not phenomena "in" which we live at all – where climate would be some natural backdrop to our separate human dramas – but are rather of us, in us, through us' (Neimanis and Walker, 2014: 559). All the sensory modalities are thus entangled and function closely together: we only see what the weather is like because of our ability to also smell, hear and feel it at the same time (Ingold, 2005). For the boaters, this multisensorial perception of their environment is central to the boating experience and the ability to negotiate the weather forms an important part of the boaters' practice.

The weather that the boaters hope for when going on the canal during the boating season (spring, summer and autumn) is generally dry and warm(ish), thereby affording particular activities such as long stretches of cruising on the canal, walks both on towpath and to nearby villages, or sitting outside in the stern or bow of the boat and enjoying the surroundings. The seasons are also experienced through a number of place specific (such as rural) sensory markers providing distinctive olfactory seasonal rhythms:

The passage of boats during summer stops sediment building up and you've got some methane gases but it's... And it can be nice, you get well tended lock sides and the flowers [smell] superb (Barry, 66).

Yeah, the smells are great, you know passing the field of crops, we tended to go quite early in the year, so you know the smells of the crops are always quite nice. The smell of a farm, of the countryside (Tom, 35).

The boater might also feel the smell of the 'dank woodland after heavy rain' (Barry, 66) and the experience is therefore dependent on the multisensory perception of weather. This can be simultaneously tactile, olfactory, visual, gustatory and auditory: 'in all normal circumstances these sensory modalities cooperate so closely that it is quite impossible to separate out their respective contributions to the totality of weather-related experience. One perceives, in effect, with the whole body' (Ingold and Kurttila, 2000: 189). 'When it rains the whole day, of course the cruising is not a lot of fun, but when it's a sunny day – that is why I do it,' John (83) explained. Another important role of the weather is demarking seasonal rhythms. During the boating holiday, all the various experiences amalgamate into a combination of various senses perceiving the surrounding environment where the visual experience intermingles with other bodily sensations:

But just you know, being completely by ourselves and there was no-one, so that was quite nice as well, being able to... look at the stars and all those things you don't see from Stockport. I think it's very active, well, it's not *very* active, but it can be an active holiday. Because you're out in the fresh air, you're exposed to the elements. Last year was actually very dry but... you know, three years ago, when we first went, was really wet some days. And because we wanted to experience the boating, rather than kind of just moor up, we went through the rain a little bit and just got wet. Oh well, it's part of the experience, I suppose (Tom, 35).

'The experience of weather lies at the root of our moods and motivations: indeed it is the very temperament of our being. It is therefore critical to the relation between bodily movement and the formation of knowledge' (Ingold, 2010b: S122). A number of senses, then, work together forming a sensorium (Ehn et al., 2016) with a number of entangled elements – such as the view of the surroundings, the time of the day, and warmth of the sun, as well as the bodily exercise of working the locks:

As you're [---] passing the little villages on southern suburbs of Birmingham, you have the Tardebigge lock flight, 30 locks in one flight. Working those on a summer morning,

with a view of the Avon Valley, the Severn and Avon valleys before you, the mowed hills and the sun coming up – that is fantastic (Barry, 66).

This of course can be the ideal; however, since Britain is an island and meteorologically heavily influenced by the Gulf Stream, its weather is exceptionally varied, as well as unpredictable, throughout the year (Harley, 2003). This means that the boating season is often characterised by more adverse weather conditions than expected and, most importantly, by rain. As Ingold and Kurttila (2000: 190) argue, 'it is consistent with [---] understanding of seasonality as a system of rhythmic interrelationships that in recounting their more memorable experiences of the weather, people [---] focus on rhythmic dislocations and the anomalous conjunctions.' Weather that the boaters most vividly remember and narrate tends to be exceptional or particularly adverse (or perceived as such):

> There's nothing worse than trying to do a set of locks in the rain. And if it is a very rainy day, it tends to be that you get one person on the back of the boat, stuck on the back of the boat, steering, while everybody else is inside, so it can be quite lonely. So it's nice to have weather that's dry and warm and to be honest we only used to ever go away in summertime really anyway so... yeah, we've always had that. But there have been times when it has rained and rained and rained and everybody's been... we'd take turns to steer for an hour and then come and get dry and somebody else is steering. But it's not the best. And it must be horrible when you've got children for instance. Or if you're on a hire boat and you've only got a week's holiday and you get a wet week. And I can see that that could put some people off who have not been on [a canal boat] before (Denise, 50).

Weather therefore gets associated with particular occurrences and events, which means that it can provide a framework for memories and consequently has a metacognitive role in organising them (Harley, 2003). For example, rain and sleet are one of my most important memories of a boating holiday on the Macclesfield Canal in April 2016. When I asked Derek (75) what did he remember about his very first boat trip, he replied: 'It was cold on the boat. I don't like being cold. [---] I enjoyed it [the trip] very much, but didn't like the cold.' For Kirsten, too, rain and the memory of becoming soaking wet, is the focus of her narration of the very beginning of her first boating holiday, taken in early spring:

> The first time we were on a boat I remember we got caught in horrendous downpour. Wearing glasses, we couldn't see where we were going. So I remember pulling... I remember mooring up and just being absolutely soaked through, everything I had on was soaking wet. We got completely soaked (Kirsten, 32).

The weather, in these instances, could amplify the sense of danger associated with the canal water (see 5.2.1), especially for a beginner or someone unused to the conditions, when handling the locks:

> There's a sense of danger, I suppose, to stretch the definition of senses perhaps. Yeah, the sense of danger. That actually you really wouldn't want to [fall into the canal]… okay, that's probably not that deep, but it might be. Certainly the locks can be pretty dangerous, very slippery. Walking alongside the locks, particularly if it had just rained and if it was wet, there's very much the sense that you can tumble into a lock, which wouldn't be very nice. Crack your head on a cill or whatever (Tom, 35).

This means that successful boating also means negotiating with the weather. Rantala, Valtonen and Markuksela (2011) for example identify anticipating and coping with the weather as the main types of weather related tourism practices for wilderness guides in northern Finland. Similarly, particular 'weather-wise skills' (Rantala et al., 2011: 285) are needed when boating. Anticipating the weather means having skills to read the weather conditions and therefore attend to the restrictions as well as potentialities these conditions offer (Rantala et al., 2011). Studies (Buckley, 2003; 2006) have indicated that an important part of outdoor tourism situations is both knowledge and ownership of particular types of clothes and an appropriate response to reading the weather correctly is choosing the right clothing:

> You do need to take, especially in this country where the weather is so unpredictable, you've got to have good waterproof clothing. And in winter, warm clothing. It's a great thing about most hireboats, these days you have some form of heating, so in the spring evening or morning, or the autumn... you can cruise longer and be comfortable. There isn't any point in going to the basics and being cold and miserable. So having a right clothing just makes a difference (Barry, 66).

Therefore, the main weather events and conditions boaters have to plan and prepare for are rain and cold. Experienced boaters always bring waterproof clothing with them on the boat, which includes a raincoat or jacket, waterproof trousers and a hat. The boaters wear sturdy, waterproof and non-slip boots when outdoors, in order not to slip and trip when stepping from the boat to the towpath and vice versa, standing in the stern, and walking on the gunnel or on towpath. The clothing essentials also include many layers and changes of clothes should these items get wet. During severe rain, skilled boaters are easily detectable

from the inexperienced holiday boaters by the clothes they wear. Gordon, for example, owns a suit of waterproof trousers and a coat suitable for use during steering hours in heavy rain, which he had to do for several days when we were boating on Macclesfield Canal in April 2016. Canal boaters share the ideology of 'dressing down' with the caravanners (Mikkelsen and Cohen, 2015) and value functionality, like sailing enthusiasts. However, particular brands of clothing do not play any role for canal boaters as long as the items fulfil their purpose – unlike the more brand-conscious sailors, surfers or snowboarders studied by Buckley (2003; 2006). Successful boating means negotiating with the conditions of the environment and wearing the appropriate clothing is therefore one of the most important aspects of weather-wise skills.

The seasonal rhythms on the canals are a product of the interaction between cyclical climatological occurrences of the calendar year, the short-term occurrences and manifestations of both the weather and human activity, the meanings that the boaters attach to them, as well as the activities practiced and performed by the boaters. The smaller number of boaters on the canals during winter is the result of not only the change in temperature and light, but also maintenance stoppages and the availability of hire boats. Likewise, the popularity of July for boating comes from the expectation of certain weather at a certain time of year, the number of daylight hours, as well as the tradition of summer vacations and the schedules for school holidays.

Jones (2004) distinguishes between 'ephemeral landscapes', consisting of temporary and irregular features like clouds, weather, colours, floods (but also passing vehicles); and 'seasonal landscapes' characterised by repeating, recurring, cyclical rhythms and patterns (meteorological seasons) on an annual basis. As I have demonstrated in this subchapter, the seasonality and the particular weather occurrences cannot be separated, even analytically, because one always presupposes the other, as they are both part of the lived weatherscape. The seasonality of canals is an amalgamation of various socio-natural rhythms, that come together, intersect and entwine and it is via those rhythms that the weatherscape comes into being on the canals. However, in addition to the seasonal rhythms, another important rhythmicity, namely that of the cyclical altering of day and night, influences the boaters' everyday patterns, as I discuss next.

7.1.2 Diurnal rhythms: boating in light and dark

As demonstrated above, seasonal and weather related rhythms are important factors in how the boaters perceive their environment. Ingold (2005: 101) argues that 'to see the sky is to *be* the sky, since the sky *is* luminosity and the visual perception of the sky is an *experience of light*' (original italics). Boating is likewise an experience of, and negotiation with, the light – as well as with the dark. Although the 'perception of luminous and gloomy space is a key existential dimension of living in the world, of the experience of space and time' (Edensor, 2017: vii), these perceptions have rarely been researched, especially in a tourism context. As follows, I will analyse the circadian rhythms and how the holiday boaters experience light and dark. My analysis, theoretically largely based on Edensor's (2017) account of light, dark and illumination, will focus on how the rhythmical circadian alterations between light and dark influence, affect and play into the boating experience and what kind of practices are thus formed and created.

Biological rhythms are often synchronised and influenced by a variety of external inputs. For example, both human and animals, as well as plants, operate in a circadian rhythm of a 24-hour period, determined by the cycle of light and dark, which, in the case of animals, also entrains intrinsic bodily rhythms (Glass, 2001). Boatmobility on the canals is directly influenced and directed by the diurnal rhythms, as most of the cruising on the canals is done during the daytime – directly depending on the amount of daylight. This is a matter of both convenience and practicality: it is easier to handle the boat and the locks during the daylight when everything is clearly visible, and the amount of cruising hours therefore directly depends on the number of daylight hours of the day. During the boating season, when the days are longer with the sun rising earlier and setting later, the boaters can do more hours of cruising in a day and plan their trajectories accordingly. This is especially important for the hire-boaters, who need to accomplish particular routes before the boat has to be returned on the specific day and hour stated in the hiring agreement. The hireboaters therefore usually plan the last stop on their route to be either at the marina, or nearby, the night before the boat has to be returned.

Due to the utilisation of electrical lights, the natural rhythms of the alteration of daylight with darkness now have less influence on human activities in the contemporary

world. Since the end of the 19th century, electricity has had a significant impact on both rural and urban space, and has in effect contributed to the formation of the modern sense of space by altering both the city's appearances, as well as the rhythms of socialising (McQuire, 2005). The introduction of electrical lights has significantly altered human practices that used to follow the changes in daylight, as exemplified by the discontinued practice of 'keeping the dusk' in Northern countries – quietly sitting in the fading daylight before it goes absolutely dark and it's time to light an artificial light (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010). The vast majority of narrowboats (and all the hire-boats) are also part of these modern configurations, with their electric lights that extend and regulate the waking hours of those on board, as well as the external headlights that enable boating in the dark.

However, unlike city-dwellers, an important part of the boaters' everyday is following, monitoring and taking into the consideration the number of daylight hours and being very aware of the different parts of the day concerning the daylight: dawn (sunrise), daytime (daylight), dusk (sunset) and night-time (darkness), which all directly influence the boaters' everyday rhythms. 'We sense rhythms through our bodies rather than standing objectively outside rhythm' (Edensor, 2012: 63) and the multisensorial boating rhythms are created via a multitude of sensory combinations. For example, 'at daybreak and at dusk, smells are especially apparent' (Porteous, 1990: 35), and particular times of days are characterised by specific sounds:

> Well, the birds, that's in the morning because there's no other noise as well. I think that's what it is. [---] I'd always woken up before that [the alarm], around when the light came up and the sun came up because the... Especially on the last one, because it was more moorable where we were. The whole chorus with the birds is incredible (Kirsten, 32).

Boating as an activity and practice 'depends on the light really and the weather as well. Because you're dictated by the light. As soon as the light starts to go, you need to pull over, because you can't safely moor up and jump off and everything if there isn't a good light' (Kirsten, 32). Indeed the boaters are following the rhythms of the natural alterations of light and dark – often waking up with the sunset and mooring up when it goes dark, also being forced to adjust their habitual rhythms with the ones dictated with the rhythmical changes of the day and night:

My friend wasn't really a morning person, but since you're only allowed to cruise on the boat during daylight hours, we couldn't go with his normal, nocturnal habit. So I'd have to get him up early. That was my first task. And make him a cup of tea so that he was ready (Angela, 41).

These natural rhythms, however, influence, and are further connected with, a number of administrative rhythms. Cruising during daylight only is not just a practicality or convenience – for the hireboaters it is also an institutional rule. The CRT boaters' handbook advises the boaters to 'moor up before it gets dark and avoid using locks at night' and reminds them that 'cruising after dark is not permitted by the hire boat companies' (CRT, 2014b: 53). This means that the earliest boaters can start cruising in the mornings is at dawn and, more importantly, that each boating day is characterised by the moment of approaching sunset, when the boaters need to start looking for a place to moor. Similarly, one of the day-boats that I hired had to be returned to the marina 'by 5pm or sunset if earlier on the same day' (personal communication with the hire company).

Just as important as the 'weather-wise skills' (Rantala et al., 2011) that are needed for successful negotiations with the weather, the boater similarly needs diurnal skills in order to cope and negotiate with the light and dark. These include being able to take into account the sunset and time of darkness (determined by the visual clues) and combine them with the information about the surrounding canal environment. Potential availability, and distance from, suitable mooring spaces, the anticipated time needed to reach those spaces, as well as the number and location of locks and winding holes on the canal, are all important elements of the knowledge needed for a successful boater. Not possessing the diurnal skills or the failure to exercise them properly can result in arrhythmia (Edensor, 2010a), or disruptions in the boating rhythm: undesirable activities of having to keep on cruising and looking for a mooring space in the dark which, especially for inexperienced boaters, can be quite daunting. It can also mean having to spend time in places perceived as unsafe, the sense of which is further amplified by the darkness for a variety of cultural as well as sociological reasons. The following interview excerpt describes the only time Kirsten (32) has felt unsafe during her boating trips, a result of miscalculated trajectory and the feelings amplified by the environment characterised by diminishing daylight:

We did once get caught out. On our last trip, we turned off from the Stratford-upon-Avon Canal, which was such a stupid thing to do, and went off to Grand Union canal towards Birmingham. And it was getting darker and darker and we were getting more and more into the depths of Birmingham and it's an industrial part of Birmingham. And it started to get like, the kind of, people along the towpath started to change as well, so we were getting lots of people shouting "Ooh, can I have a ride!" And I was like, "Tom, I really don't like this" – "I know, neither do I, but keep on going, be brave!" [laughing] Then somebody shouted, "Mind the boat! Further up!" and we were like "What?!" And they were, "The burned out boat!" I'm so glad they told us, because there was a barge that we found out later, that had only recently been burned, stolen and burned. It was right across the canal. I don't know how we managed to get past it. We knew we could see these... windlass [winding] holes [for turning the boat around]. We could see them on our little canal map. But we couldn't see them [on the actual canal] because they were so overgrown. So we couldn't... by the time we got there, I think that one, because it wasn't obvious, it was so overgrown so you would pass it before we've got chance to do anything and use it [for turning the boat around]. And eventually [---] it was getting so dark, and we were like, we have got to pull over and we had to stay in this little industrial estate in Birmingham. And it was so creepy. We found one [winding hole] and I actually jumped off the boat and ran up, actually ran up the towpath trying to find one so I could tell Tom there's one here. We did find one and we moored up. I think we moored up just before it and we were like, right, we have to [turn around] first thing in the morning. So this was the only time when all went to pot, the day. [---] We were completely the only ones there and it was not nice at all. And I think we managed to... there was like a metal thing that was sort of like nailed onto the side of the canal. So we managed like hook some ropes on that, I think we put another rope in because Tom was convinced someone would come and untie us in the middle of the night and stuff, so... We ended up putting in all the pins as well but neither of us slept very well that night. Because that wasn't like your usual rural spot. It felt quite creepy and we actually bumped onto, like a floodlight... We moored under a floodlight in an industrial estate – at least then there's some form of light. But it was very creepy because you were kind of committed to going down that bit of the canal and then we just couldn't find anywhere to turn the boat. So yeah, we ended up stuck in Birmingham and that was the only day we set up our alarm... Tom never gets up early, ever. I mean never gets up early and he must have been up 5 o'clock in the morning. He woke up and he went "Morning!" and put the engine on and he was, like, let's go! All those rules I've just talked about, about not going too fast, he was like, full speed. Let's go! And that was the only time that broke that pattern of pulling up about six thirty, having dinner, having nice dinner (Kirsten, 32).

As evident from this narration, Kirsten, a novice boater, perceives the darkness as dangerous and unwanted, and the little security she found was derived from mooring under a floodlight during the night. This corresponds to the dominant fear of the dark in the Western

world, with the associations with folk beliefs of various spirits and creatures inhabiting the darkness, as well as Christian ideas associating night-time with the devil (Edensor, 2017). The aversion to darkness is also linked with the negative understanding of a particular setting – in this case an industrial estate of Birmingham – as Kirsten's fear is connected with the notion that particular urban areas are dangerous specifically during the nighttime. 'These concerns are often filtered through the pervasive lens of race and class' with especially women expressing 'fears of homeless people, minority gangs, and young people drinking' due to their socialisation of having to be cautious of strangers (Wesely and Gaarder, 2004: 657). The account by Kirsten's partner of the same incident in a separate interview depicts the people met on the towpath in a more positive light than Kirsten's; however, the sense of danger and worry about safety (probably also related to his white middle class status) connected with the dark is still pervasive:

> We had some problems, especially the second week when we couldn't find a proper place to moor up because we were in the suburbs of Birmingham. The part of the canal where we happened to be on, because we missed the winding hole, the part of the canal we were on, was just coming into Birmingham. And there were loads of young people drinking on the canal side. Which is fine. Actually, we conversed with them, they took it with pleasure and told us to watch out for the burned down boat half a mile further. And sure enough, there was a boat which had suffered an arson attack the week before. That was probably... you know, it was beginning to get dark, there was nowhere really that we could turn, to go back, so we stayed on an industrial estate all night. It wasn't ideal, we hadn't passed a boat probably several miles. It was getting dark, if we'd take this further into Birmingham we didn't know what the areas would be like, how safe the areas would be. So actually we ended up, you know, mooring up as far away from a bridge as possible. Took decision to moor far away from a bridge. And just we didn't feel fantastically safe, we definitely didn't feel safe. So it wasn't one of my better nights of sleep, it has to be said. So we did get that wrong. We wouldn't have had that problem if we were on the road for example, you'd just drive on somewhere where you did feel more comfortable. In a boat, you can't be cruising around Birmingham on a boat at night. Just doesn't make any... just isn't safe (Tom, 35).

However, this does not mean that the darkness necessarily always signifies a break in the movement of boats on the canal. The proper administration of the diurnal skills of boating also includes the physical abilities of handling the boat (as well as the locks) in the dusk, as well as in the darkness, should it be necessary. There are several reasons for the need to boat

in the dark in addition to the search for a suitable mooring space, but one of the main ones is mooring up at sunset would mean a very small amount of cruising during the short days of winter. When the diurnal rhythms meet seasonal ones, the rhythms of boating change: during the darker months of November, December and January, boaters do cruise in the darkness in order to accomplish their chosen routes or in order to get past a stoppage on time.

On the tidal rivers, this can also happen due to the timings of the tidal passage. For example, the River Trent becomes tidal (known as 'aegir') below Cromwell Lock in North Muskham, as I experienced during a trip in October 2016, meaning we had to arrive on time before we were allowed into the West Stockwith Lock between the river and Chesterfield Canal – failure to do so would have meant a delay and impacted the completing of the entire trip. The rhythms of the canal and canal boaters intersected with those of the river, as tidal rhythms influence human temporal patterns and rhythms, and hybrid lunisolar temporality takes over, 'driven by the interlocking rhythms of day-night (solar rhythm) and tidal rise and fall (lunar rhythm)' (Jones, 2010: 190). In our case, our arrival at the lock was well calculated beforehand by Gordon, and had we not made it in time, our boating rhythms would have been disrupted by having to moor at the lock and wait for three days before the next passage. The broad river with its flow is quite a contrast to the tranquil and still water of the canals, which is why navigating the river is only recommended for experienced boaters. It was afternoon when we got through the lock and, while on the river, it started getting darker and darker. By the time we reached our destination, the Torksey Lock, it was pitch-black outside and Gordon and Phil had to rely on a combination of torches, the boat's front light and their embodied knowledge, memory and skills of boating in order to successfully moor up for the night.

Boating in the darkness means enhancing the surrounding environment with artificial illumination in order to secure better visibility for the boaters and to be visible by others. On the simplest level, this means that the spatial practices that have been learned during the day have to be renegotiated at night when the boater has to carry a torch in order to navigate the un-illuminated towpaths and the boat itself in sometimes complete darkness. It also means equipping the boats with lights. 'Illumination always materializes power' (Edensor, 2017: 81), and the boat lights are there not only for the better visibility but legally required by the navigation authorities, with their power of governmobility (Bærenholdt, 2013) manifested in

the specific illumination codes for boats on rivers. The general rule is to feature white lights on the bow (front) and stern (back) while on the canals. For boating on rivers, an additional green light on the right, and red light on the left, have to be installed. This provides other boaters with a number of visual cues, and the ability to read these codes is another important part of the diurnal skills of boating. For example, seeing a white light above a red one whilst in the dark on the river means a boat crossing from your right to left; white above green means a boat crossing from left to right; and white above green and red that a boat is coming straight towards you.

Illuminations, however, are not merely used for practical or regulations-related purposes – the boats can also become venues where the experience of boating and the canals is enhanced through the conduit of non-instrumental illumination, leading to 'the production of distinctively festive atmospheres in domestic spaces [---] informed by forms of tacit knowledge, shared tastes, and moral conventions' (Edensor, 2017: 157). Combining the non-instrumental lights with the ones afforded by the natural environment can then become a means of further enhancing the holiday experience:

> Just moor up in the countryside, watch the moon come up, we had that one night, beautiful. And they [the friends] had taken fairy lights and we just pulled in to the canal side, we had the moon rising over the Pennines, the sun setting over Winter Hill in the distance, the stars coming out. It's a warm night, put the fairy lights on the boat, and we had a barbecue on the canal side (Barry, 66).

This vernacular illumination on the canals can be practiced in a number of ways, from decorating the boat with fairy lights to a showerhead with changing multi-coloured lights that Phil and Gordon installed on NB *Olympic*, an expression of their ever-continuing home improvements and various technical and engineering experiments on the boat.

The darkness on the canal however is not diurnal only. Canal tunnels are spaces of perpetual darkness where the only light sources are those of the boat itself (see Figure 10). Going through a tunnel is multisensory experience, as the scarcity of light heightens other senses, and, for the able-bodied, a multitude of senses work together, such as vision and hearing which are 'virtually indistinguishable: vision *is* a kind of hearing, and vice versa' (Ingold, 2000b: 245, original italics). While Ingold focuses his analysis of multisensoriality on the visual and aural, the sensory experience of boating through a tunnel includes other senses as well. When boating through Standedge Tunnel, I acutely noticed the dampness alternating

with relative dryness as well as the wind blowing through the adits. There was water dripping through the tunnel walls, and there were a couple of spots where we needed an umbrella, because water comes pouring down the ventilation shaft. As the trip went on, it got colder and colder when standing still. You can sometimes hear the water lapping against the tunnel wall, but mostly the steady sound of the engine accompanies the boater throughout the trip. A compulsory element to this is the one long blast of the horn when the boat enters the tunnel, communicating with other boats that might be waiting at the other end. However, there can also be more creative additions of enhancing the tunnel sensescape. When going through the Chirk Tunnel in the summer of 2017, in another boat coming after us, an accordion player sat in the bow playing folk tunes throughout the passage, something that the player later said they always did when going through tunnels as they provide a suitable acoustic backdrop for him. Likewise, in October 2017, cellist and composer Maja Bugge, who performed in Standedge Tunnel during the Marsden Jazz festival, explained: 'I just fell in love with the sound here and with the roughness of it [the tunnel]. I have been thinking about it for a couple of months, which kind of soundscapes I wanted to merge. I am really trying to involve the sounds that are already here and the history of it' (ITV, 2017a).

The darkness of the tunnels is not perceived the same way as dangerous or threatening darkness of the unilluminated urban areas. Nevertheless, the passage through the dark and shadowy tunnel, artificially illuminated by the boat, offers a rich multisensorial experience (cf. Cook and Edensor, 2017). Spending up to two hours in the dark and narrow space of the tunnel (with few opportunities to call for help should anything happen) does create a certain atmosphere of risk and eeriness. Nevertheless, boating through the dark tunnels can still be considered a 'a temporary experience of sensual alterity or enlivenment' (Edensor and Falconer, 2015: 602), part of seeking the thrill of sensory experience of a radically different environment:

> Going through the [Harecastle] tunnel is a very particular embodied experience. First of all the darkness, total darkness, with just two new headlights Gordon had installed specifically for this trip. These cast a purple glow on the tunnel walls, which made the whole experience somehow mystical, as Sue noted. The cold, cool and dark of the tunnel; water, that at some spots flowed, leaked, or dripped (I don't know where it came from because there are no ventilation shafts in the tunnel as it is ventilated by the ventilators). Moving in the darkness [on board] just by feeling around with your hands. It was rather eerie. Phil told me the story of a ghost who jumps onto the boaters' backs when they go through this tunnel (Field diary, 1.05.2016).

I had heard about the story of the ghost, the 'Kidsgrove boggart', from boaters before: as the tale goes a woman was murdered on a canal boat during Victorian times and her corpse was thrown into the canal and now haunts the canal tunnel as either a headless body, a white horse or a banshee. This folk story is thought to be based on the actual story of Christina Collins, a woman murdered on a canal boat on the Trent and Mersey canal at Rugeley, Staffordshire in 1839 (Leese, 1989). The summer before, while boating in Manchester, I had also heard twice of a recent story of a man boating through the tunnel, with his wife sitting in the cabin of the boat. The man had hit his head on the low tunnel ceiling and fallen into the canal, and the wife had only realised that something was wrong when the boat exited the tunnel with no-one at the stern. (In reality, there were two of his family members on board at the time of the accident, who tried to search for the boater for two hours before they got out of the tunnel and raised the alarm (Spillett, 2014).) Narratives and imaginaries like this add to the physical experience of the particular atmosphere of boating through the tunnels.

In addition, tunnels are spaces of intense regulation as going through a canal tunnel requires following certain rules and performing a sequence of prescribed actions. In the case of a shorter tunnel (such as Drakeholes Tunnel on the Chester Canal I passed through in October 2016), the sign at the entrance reads that boaters must 'extinguish all flames except pilot lights, keep well behind other boats, turn off your engine if you have to stop [and] stay

within the profile of the boat'. Passing through longer tunnels is also mediated by a variety of technologies, 'things that extend and condition apprehension' (Cook and Edensor, 2017: 2), such as a set of headlights. Additionally, the passages require certain practices, for example switching on certain interior lights on the boat, with the others off, in order to achieve the desired balance of illumination in the tunnel that best suits the steerer of the boat.

The rules for longer tunnels are further complicated with some (such as Standedge Tunnel on the Huddersfield Narrow Canal, the longest, as well as highest and deepest, canal tunnel in the UK with its 3.25 miles (5 km)) needing to book a passage with the CRT a minimum of 3 days in advance. Even though the levels of the darkness stay the same throughout the 24-hour day (with the exception that during the night there is literally no light at the end of the tunnel), the acquisition of a permit depends on the working rhythms of the CRT and the availability of staff, as the tunnel is open for passage only three days a week. Passage through the Harecastle tunnel on the Trent and Mersey Canal needs to be booked at least 48 hours in advance during the winter, yet during the spring and summer season this is not necessary. The tunnel opens at 8am in the morning and the last arrival guaranteed passage through is 3pm in the spring and autumn, and 4pm in the summer. In addition, Standedge tunnel also involves an added layer of institutional mediation, as boats are not allowed to enter the tunnel without designated CRT 'chaperones' both on board, and accompanying the boat by car in a parallel tunnel, for health and safety reasons. This makes the passage of this tunnel essentially a collective effort between the boater, boat, CRT officials and their vehicles.

The diurnal rhythms, the alterations between light and dark, are important aspects of canal boating, as the amount of daylight is the main determiner for the duration of cruising each day. If these rhythmicities are interrupted, the boaters must use their specific diurnal skills to deal with the situation at hand. The natural darkness however is enhanced with the electrical lighting which serves an institutional purpose of signalling and conveying particular information, functionally facilitating passage in the dark (at night) or in perpetually dark spaces, such as tunnels. The artificial illuminations on the boat also create certain atmospheres and the illumination or music could be used for enhancing the tunnel sensorium (Ehn et al., 2016). These diurnal rhythms also determine, and are related to, other rhythms, such as, for example, boaters' sleeping patterns, and I will discuss the various socio-bodily rhythms of boating next.

7.2 Socio-bodily rhythms

As discussed in the previous subchapter, seasonal and diurnal rhythms are often experienced in sensory, bodily ways. However, there are also a number of rhythms of 'the lived, the carnal' (Lefebvre, 2004: 9) human body and its functions that also form the part of the tourist rhythmscape. These bodily functions are apprehended and realised through a number of 'techniques of the body' (Mauss, 1992 [1934]) that include a number of ways specific to a society and culture of moving the body, taking care of it, as well as managing it. '[T]he bodily rhythms of the heart, breathing, digestion and excretion, sleep and wakefulness, and longer biorhythms and bodily processes such as menstruation and growth patterns intersect with rhythms of work, play, and relaxation. These somatic rhythms may be accommodated with and attuned to the particular rhythms of specific tourist spaces, or they may be disrupted and made irregular, producing bodily arrhythmia and a consequent discomfort' (Edensor, 2012: 64). As follows, I will discuss how bodily functions are managed and practiced in the boating tourism context: the rhythms of eating, hygiene practices and sleeping.

7.2.1 Gastronomic experiences: rhythms of food and drink

Larsen asks tourism scholars to pay attention to the everyday practices of the holiday in order to determine 'what tourists do when vacationing' (Larsen, 2008: 31), which is why I asked:

> Maarja: You mentioned that you don't steer, that Tom does all the steering. So when you are cruising, and he's steering, what do you do?
>
> Kirsten (32): I tend to... this is going to sound terrible. I tend to make the tea. I honestly tend to make tea.

Food and drink play an important role in producing the everyday rhythms of holiday boating. Making tea, in particular, is one of the most frequent and important activities – and a device for creating a sense of homeliness and belonging – on the boat. When an elderly leisure boater, John, invited me onto his boat after half a day of helping him with the 'Rochdale 9', a particularly difficult set of locks in central Manchester, he first offered me a cup of tea, which we drank while chatting. Later, when travelling along the canal, John asked me to 'make a

brew' (cup of tea) since he was steering his boat. Under his directions, given from the stern of the boat, I tried to navigate the unfamiliar galley, and although I spilt some water and hastily tried to wipe it up so that no-one would notice (they did), I finally presented him and Mike, another boater helping him with the locks, with a cup of tea, a bit of milk, no sugar. John took a sip and said, 'First thing that a boater needs to learn is how to make a proper tea and she's got that down pretty nicely.' As apparent from this 'rite of passage' (Van Gennep, 1960 [1909]) into that particular boatspace, food and drink are extremely important aspects of making the narrowboat spaces homely and familiar.

Food can be 'the extension of the ontological comfort of home' (Quan and Wang, 2004: 301) in tourism settings and regular tea (or, to a lesser extent, coffee) breaks serve as structuring elements of British everyday life, on the boat just as on land. Preparing, as well as consuming, hot drinks gives the boating day its rhythm. The smell of coffee signifies the morning, and waiting for the time to start preparing tea or anticipating it being brought to you to the stern is another way of punctuating the day. Tea (and coffee) are the substances that trigger contemplation and create 'a moment of meta-commentary in which the entire scenography of present and past social landscapes are arrayed before [the person's] consciousness' (Seremetakis, 1994: 13).

In order to make the hot drinks, drinking water is needed and the potable water effectively controls the trajectories and moving patterns of the boats. Although holiday boaters' discourses often include the idea of 'simple' living, that is 'closer to nature' (as discussed in the previous chapter), in regards to drinking water they are dependent on the public water utility infrastructures that are often invisible in people's daily considerations, as the water pipes are literally located underground. The way particular 'technonatural assemblages come into being at specific sites and times is linked to broader networks of power' (Sultana, 2013: 343) and the power over boaters' access to drinking water is largely exercised by the CRT. The boaters depend on their designated water points across the canal network and this power directly influences the mobile patterns, as well as practices, of the boaters.

A water tank on a narrowboat (that holds 110 gallons (500 litres) on average) is a significant factor in shaping how boaters plan their routes. They are managing a number of heterogeneous elements such as the water points (and knowledge of them obtained via

physical guidebook, a canal route planner website or experience), the number of people on the boat and an estimate of how much water is required for washing up and cooking etc. Some of this knowledge can only be obtained from experience, as the water tanks do not have gauges on them, which is why there is no means of telling exactly how much water is left in the tank and the (sometimes imagined) threat of running out of water troubles the more inexperienced boaters. Water, therefore, serves as a structuring device both for boatmobility as well as the boaters lives on board.

Mealtimes provide the most important points of structure to canal boating through both their regular (and routinised) rhythm of occurrence, as well as their impact on the boat's mobility. A typical day for the holiday boaters starts with putting on a kettle to make tea or coffee (just like at home). They then have breakfast (cereal, porridge or toast with jam, peanut butter, syrup, honey or Marmite) and after some hours of cruising moor up for lunch, usually prepared and eaten on the boat. Depending on the number of people and the division of various tasks, the boat usually keeps moving whilst the lunch – sandwiches, baked potatoes, salad, full English 'breakfast' or soup (the latter is especially common when travelling in colder weather) – is being prepared. Cooking food, making tea or coffee and doing the washing up also gives those not steering the boat something to do. Due to the limited space, however, there is usually room for no more than two people cooking together in the galley, and preparing the food often means performing a carefully coordinated and well-practiced series of movements.

While for many boaters the slow pace is a desirable part of the boating experience (as discussed previously in Chapter 6), for some people, mostly those not steering, this can also evoke feelings of dullness and monotony. For them, and more often than not these are women, cruising on the canal can be experienced as what Löfgren and Ehn (2010: 5) call the 'non-event': 'mundane activities that are generally considered inconspicuous and unimportant – not worth paying attention to – or pursuits that remain unnoticed by others such as, for example, waiting.' On boats this often transforms into waiting for mealtimes (and waiting for the time to start preparing a meal), which becomes one of the main structuring elements of the boating day. The boredom sometimes experienced by the non-steering party or parties on the boat has to find an expression and, quite often, it is transformed into making tea and coffee and preparing food. Mealtimes therefore provide one of the strongest

temporal structures and the anticipation connected to it becomes an important emotion associated with boating, as 'food breaks up the day and provides temporal goals' (Edensor, 2012: 65).

Moreover, since the spatial act of cruising is central to boating holidays, boatmobility has to be negotiated so that mealtimes and the need to keep moving do not conflict with each other. Boaters usually have to return the boat (or end their holiday due to other commitments, e.g. work) on a certain date and this means a set number of fixed hours cruising for each day of the holiday in order to either reach the destination or to get back to where the trip started. This means that mealtimes may sometimes have to be creatively planned around and during the cruising: 'When we know we've got a busy day, we'll set off and I'll get my breakfast in like a wrap, and eat it while I'm going along, with a cup of tea' (Mike, 48). After lunch, boaters often visit nearby attractions or museums, go shopping or for a walk, or continue cruising, before mooring up again for dinner at sunset. Evening meals are again either cooked on board or boaters visit canal-side pubs, of which there are many. The pubs are usually listed in waterways guides, such as 'Nicholson's' (Mosse et al., 2013), where boaters can have fish and chips, pies and hamburgers with local ales, sometimes followed by a pub quiz, providing further homely and familiar elements.

However, all this familiarity is also mixed with a level of unfamiliarity, and food can also be perceived as transformative, with the elements of everyday life magnified in tourism settings (McCabe, 2002). The boaters bring their domestic habits and routines with them to the canal with the consumption of homely and familiar food. But it would be 'simply not credible to say that holiday destinations are the same as home places' (McCabe, 2002: 71) and consuming the familiar food in an unfamiliar setting, that is, the canal boat, can also become one of the means for how the ordinary is transformed into the extraordinary.

Food is an essential part of the tourist everyday, and since it is consumed daily and with regularity, becomes a temporal structuring device as well as source of 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1984) and comfort. Mealtimes provide an anticipated break in the boating day and mooring up for lunch or dinner creates a safe and homely space, a nice 'bubble' as one research participant called it. Everyday cooking (as well as grocery shopping or locating the nearest pub) influences both the boatmobility as well as the mobile patterns of those on board, which creates a specific rhythmicity, structured around food and drink.

7.2.2 Bodily excretions and hygiene practices

Toilets and bathrooms are spaces where people can engage with the 'techniques of care for the body' as well as the 'hygiene in the needs of nature' (Mauss, 1992 [1934]: 472). The materialities and embodied experiences of toilet and bathroom use (such as when and where, what kinds of spaces and places, what times, what movements of the body, what sanitation techniques and waste disposal systems etc.) are so ingrained in us that it is 'in particular through travelling, that we become aware of the existence of these routines, that the "excrementitious" style to which we adhere is deeply different from those we come across in other societies' (Leone, 2012: 253). These routines create rhythms that grow out of the biological bodily functions as well as the socially conditioned hygiene practices.

The toilets on modern narrowboats differ from their counterparts on land in one main way: their contents need to be stored for a period on the boat for later disposal. Disposal of waste 'is not primarily about waste but about placing' (Hetherington, 2004: 159) and the human waste becomes mobile with the boat and, furthermore, due to its containment and storage on the vessel it means that boaters may have to re-encounter it. The toilets themselves usually look more or less like the customary ones, with either a button for flushing, or a train or plane like system with a lever, that opens and closes the valve in the toilet bowl. One of the differences is that, depending on the particular toilet, some hire companies ask the boaters not to 'put anything down the toilet unless you have eaten it first' (as signs in the bathrooms can read). Most of the modern boats have either the cassette (which has to be manually removed and emptied at the designated station) or the pump-out system that lasts longer (where the waste is pumped out in the station). Hire-boats tend to be equipped with the latter and the pump-out is not usually an issue for small groups of hire-boaters on shorter trips (a week or less) because it is done by the hire company. Thus the holidaymakers' contact with their bodily waste is often kept at a minimum and the boat's facilities could almost be perceived as ordinary as those regularly used on land.

Direct exposition to (the topic of) human waste and its management can evoke some uneasiness and awkwardness in less experienced boaters and, accordingly, is discussed using euphemistic expressions such as 'dealing with [---] the nasty bits', as one boater expressed it. For boat owners and experienced boaters, however, emptying the cassette or pumping the

waste tank is a part of their mundane boating rhythms and some male boaters reduce the need for this by using bottles and emptying them outside, or urinating on the towpath or into the canal. Some of the older boats feature 'bucket and chuck it' type portable toilets, which one of the research participants recollected with great nostalgia, as for him this uncomfortable aspect of boating seemed to be a testament to the boater's way of living that is more 'close to nature'. On the other hand, another boater, when seeing the 'bucket' being carried to the designated sewage disposal station, made gagging noises and demonstrated both verbally and with his body language his aversion to the sight, illustrating Douglas's (1966) argument that dirt is a 'matter out-of-place'.

As apparent from Falconer's (2012) study, the tourist narratives of bodily excretions usually deemed 'worthy' of recounting are incidents that are perceived as out of the ordinary and very different from the everyday bathroom practices at home. Holiday boaters, likewise, tell stories about boat toilets for pure amusement and 'shock value': embarrassing incidents that concern the specificities of the boat toilets that could not happen on land. These incidents create an arrhythmia (Edensor, 2012) connected to the rhythms of excretion and subsequent waste management. They include full waste tanks while having guests on board while the boat is frozen in the canal and therefore cannot move to the sewage disposal point; full cassettes falling on the ground and breaking with its contents all over the towpath; having to dig a hole and bury the contents of the cassette; or having to deal with the smell for long periods of time due to either misuse or the breaking down of the toilet. On one particular trip, an after dinner story was recounted that received many laughs (and quite obviously not for the first time) about an earlier trip on a converted traditional workboat with a simple portable toilet located in the bow of the boat. An inexperienced helmsman had crashed into a bridge causing the cover on the bow to fall off, revealing another boater (who had been using the toilet) knocked onto the floor with his trousers down and the contents of the toilet spilt all over him.

Most of the time, however, holiday boaters deal with more non-exceptional bathroom and toilet use. These include negotiating the small space of the bathrooms and walk-in showers where taller people can find themselves 'crouching' and where the movements of the arms would have to be limited so that the body would take up as little space as possible. In the mornings, bathroom schedules develop between people; there is a need to wait for the

water to heat on some boats and the thin bathroom walls provide little privacy. Having to share one or two bathrooms (on the bigger boats there are usually two toilets and one shower) between up to 12 people also needs to be negotiated. For this, everyone needs to play their part in this wordless developing of carefully coordinated rhythmic choreographies of using the bathrooms and shower, which includes trying to not get in the others' way, as well as keeping an eye on bathroom availability (in order to also not to disturb someone who is already using the bathroom).

> So, [I] wake up, I tend to wake up fairly early-sh, naturally, and I think most of us did that, we were all kind of up between 7 and 8. And then, I think, the first thing you do is to try to figure out, is anyone in the shower? Can I get there first? And if there is someone in the shower, then usually I would go for a cigarette, because that's another first thing I do in the morning. Then I come back and sit around and maybe grab a coffee. But pretty much waiting for the shower. And then take the shower. That was always quite fun, because you'd have to have everything ready as well, from your bag, because there's not a lot of room to manoeuvre when people are still in their beds and in their sleeping area. So I tried to get all my stuff out the night before and I can just take it straight in (Katie, 24).

These mundane rhythms of bathroom use give little room for heroic or shocking narratives. The boaters go about these practices having to adjust to various material and social conditions, in addition to limitations brought about by social and gender relations, as well as different routines and habits, to the foreground. Sometimes the bodily rhythms 'may be disrupted and made irregular, producing bodily arrhythmia and consequent discomfort' (Edensor, 2012: 64), also influencing the boatmobility. For example, if there are just two people on a boat (often a couple), one of them has to steer while the other uses the bathroom. This means that human bodily functions can influence the mobile rhythms of the boat, as well as rearrange the individual micro-mobile patterns on board as a boater explains:

> We'd stop and have a break. The thing with... the more [liquid] you take in, the obvious thing for that is – take it out. My wife does not like steering the boat so we have to wait for a long run, straight run, with no one in sight for me to disappear and go and 'spend a penny' [go to the toilet]. So you're conscious that when she keeps asking me that do you want a brew, it's like, I'd love a brew but not really because I'm going to have to go to the loo. So yes, you get used to using the toilet quickly as well...

The water used in the showers, and for washing up, goes back into the canal; the water flushed in the toilets is stored in the waste tank on the boat along with the bodily waste. These practices also reflect the changing ideas about sustainability and environment – the boaters are advised to use eco-friendly washing up liquids, shower gels and shampoos (whereas in the 1960s many boats would have toilets that were emptied straight into the canal.) The need to save water can affect both cooking and washing up rhythms, as well as personal hygiene routines:

> You do tend to have quick showers, because you haven't got much room anyway. But your water tank, you've got to keep filling that up if you have plenty, two or three showers a day. I know people that have families on board, they're constantly stopping for water. And that's a slow process, you can wait for an hour just filling up your water tank so you learn to have quick showers (Mike, 48).

> I tend to use the shower like an on-off, so you might have to wash your hair and then just wash yourself down and... So, I wouldn't use it like a conventional shower – I wouldn't stand in there for five minutes just soaking myself, because, for one, you're wasting valuable water, so, you learn to have shower differently. [---] Because the tank is of a limited size and you don't want to be stopping every other day to fill it up with water. On a canal like this [Chesterfield Canal], you don't have those facilities, so... you need to be careful (David, 68).

These rhythms develop from a combination of various values and standards, as well as the group dynamics. For example, when boating with a group where there were several women on board who took longish showers every morning, I, even when slightly worried about the amount of water used, followed suit in order not to be perceived as someone who does not care about personal hygiene. Similarly, when boating with a group of mostly men who were all conscious of saving the water, I limited my showering to one quick shower every other day so as not to be perceived as someone bringing their wasteful land-based habits onto a boat.

The bathrooms are spaces, where bodily boundaries are broken and then fixed again, where bodies hide, and are hidden from public view and a variety of bodily fluids are managed and mediated (Longhurst, 2000). They are also places for daydreaming 'in the seclusion and privacy of a small, confined space, the warm water of the shower, and the silence' (Ehn and Löfgren, 2010: 149). Due to their layout, narrowboats rarely have separate cabins where doors can be closed and there is therefore very little privacy on-board. This makes the

bathroom effectively the only place on the canal boat where one could actually be alone – for example when boating with a group of people, there would be nowhere else but the bathroom to change clothes if one wanted to do that in private.

The toilets and bathrooms are spaces where the material meets the embodied: where the bodily boundaries are broken and then fixed again, bodies are hidden from public inspection and a variety of bodily fluids are managed and mediated (Longhurst, 2000). In the limited space of the boat, the physicality of the human bodies is often brought to the momentary centre of attention through everyday encounters and thus serves as a reminder of the normative bodily boundaries. As rather bluntly put by Appadurai (2001: 37), 'the "politics of shit" [---] presents a node at which concerns of the human body, dignity and technology meet' and on the boats the rhythms of bodily excretions and hygiene become more visible. The functions of the human body are restricted to the designated spaces of bathrooms that enable privacy and are mitigated through use of either simpler or more complicated technologies, but also a number of practices developed to enable other boaters the needed privacy, as they adapt and develop new rhythms that suit to boating environment. Various bathroom-related practices become part of the cluster of activities and processes that co-create the socio-bodily rhythms where bodily, social and cultural experiences and ideas come together. The boaters experience the boat bathrooms both as familiar and unfamiliar, and they domesticate these spaces via various mundane spatialities and practices.

7.2.3 Sleeping bodies

Sleep is a physiological need, and the rhythms of being asleep and awake are usually synchronized with the cycle of light and dark (see 7.1.2) in human beings (Glass, 2001). However, the 'sleeping body is not simply a biological body governed by a need for sleep set by the body's own internal clock or circadian rhythms' (Blackman, 2008: 34) and its rhythms therefore need to be examined in the particular cultural contexts in which sleeping is practised. Valtonen and Veijola (2011) differentiate between sleep as a state (a physiological activity) and as practice (a culturally conditioned activity), which correspond to 'being asleep'

and 'doing sleeping' (Taylor, 1993: 464) respectively. As such, sleep thus means 'a large number of practices that are both techniques of the body and that also have profound biological echoes and effects' (Mauss, 1992 [1934]: 468). The rhythm of touristic sleep on the canal boats, is a result of an amalgamation of a number of materialities, sensations, preferences and practices.

Sleep is one of the techniques of the body requiring 'instrumental assistance' (Mauss, 1992 [1934]: 468) – a variation of material artefacts such as beds, mats, mattresses, pillows, duvets, blankets, coverings, clothing items etc. On the boat, these can differ considerably from the ones boaters are used to on land. The boats have single or double beds and many boats also feature bunk beds in order to be able to have more people on a boat. A 70-ft boat could easily sleep 12 people with additional arrangements, such as pull-out sofas in the lounge. The single beds and bunk beds on the boats are very narrow and sleeping on them requires a range of bodily practices cooperating with a number of materialities. Hireboats provide bed linen, but private boat owners might sometimes prefer sleeping bags. On NB *Olympic,* for example, the boaters bring their own sleeping bags and pillowcases, while the pillows and woollen blankets for extra warmth are fixtures on the boat. These are needed because the heating is switched off for the night, which means that it can get quite cold. 'Doing sleeping' on the boat then would include a number of bodily techniques, such as trying to arrange the limbs so as not to fall off the bed (which, as some boaters admitted, has happened to them). Furthermore, if there are more people on the boat and especially when sleeping in the bunk beds, all those things need to be taken into account, such as in the physical act of climbing up to the bed, where the boater has to take into account of the presence and the locations of other bodies at all times:

> Then back to the boat, quite tricky if we'd had a few beers in terms of getting into the bunk quietly. Because some people had gone home before. I was on the top bunk so I really had to push off as well, from both sides, and I didn't want to wake anyone up or stand on anyone's toes or anything like that. [---] I always had to lie on my back like a plank [when sleeping] because I was afraid I'm going to fall off bed (Katie, 24).

In addition to these body techniques, the boaters may need certain artefacts, such as an appropriate sleeping bag, in order to do the boat-sleeping successfully:

Maarja: So, you mentioned that you don't like cold. For example, today, did you feel cold when you slept?

Derek (75): Well, the... today... Today – that wasn't so bad. The previous trip I was cold nearly all the time. Well, they said that there are plenty of blankets, but I find that if you put the blankets on the top of the sleeping bag, unless you got some means of anchoring it down, it swishes up on the floor. And I haven't... Sue was trying to show me: 'Put this under that and put that there'... Unless you can get the blanket really well underneath the mattress, it's going to come off; and it has. And I've tried two or three schemes to try and stop it doing that.

Maarja: Heh-heh. I suppose you are fine, you are not sleeping in an upper bunk [like me], because you can at least retrieve it from the floor.

Derek: Yeah. Or you could always put strings on yours, on an upper bunk.

Maarja: Yeah. True.

Derek: But I think the real secret... The conclusion I've come to is: I need a heavier, thicker sleeping bag, no matter what the weather. Because you're covered, if it's cold. It doesn't matter, unless it's very, very hot – which is unlikely here. So, I think I need to buy a heavier sleeping bag. Then I don't have the problem. And because, you know, even in the height of summer, it gets quite cool during the night – and there's no heating on. And it [the boat] doesn't keep its heat particularly well, because it's not particularly well insulated. So, that's a lesson I've learned, I think. I've tried all sorts of schemes – of putting... folding blankets on the top; a blanket, a single, you know, the whole thing opened out on top... none of it seems to work.

One of the reasons that the studies of sleep are quite rare in social sciences is that 'sleep is often viewed as one of the most private, intimate and personal activities that we carry out. Sleep is often assumed to be asocial or non-social and therefore to be of little or no concern to sociologists and social theorists' (Blackman, 2008: 33). In many tourism contexts, however, sleep becomes a communal, almost public activity, which is also the case with boating. One of the results of limited boatspace is sleeping in close proximity to other bodies and the resulting lack of privacy. Space on a narrowboat is scarce, and the boaters have to adapt to the physical closeness of bodies of various sizes, genders and ages, further producing a particular sleeping rhythm. This rhythm needs to be coordinated with other boaters, and any animals, on board, and it intersects with other rhythms discussed previously: the sleeping patterns for example might be disrupted by the need to use the bathroom, and the time of waking up depends on when does it get light outside, which in turn depends on the seasonal rhythms.

As Mauss (1992 [1934]) indicates in his early study, there are number of culturally acceptable ways of sleeping and in contemporary Western culture 'dormant bodies typically disappear from the sight of the others' (Valtonen and Veijola, 2011). This cannot be exercised on boats: some boats feature curtains on the bunks, or curtains or doors between the compartments (of up to four beds), but these remain thin and thus more of a symbolic representations of the sleeping bodies' perceived need for privacy. This means that everyone on the boat effectively shares one big sleeping area, which also contributes to the particular soundscape of boatsleep, with people breathing heavily, moving about and snoring, all mixed with a range of sounds emanating from outside. There are a number of ways of coming to terms with this lack of privacy, such as using earplugs. In addition, the choreography of both retiring to and rising from the bed also needs to be negotiated between people on board. This is achieved with a mixture of spoken and non-spoken agreements, which sometimes result in people staying up past the point of tiredness (in order to conform to the perceived communal unspoken rules), or trying to not to use the bathroom in the middle of the night, since this will definitely wake up the others. In the mornings, the exact time of rising from bed also has to be calculated, because often the kitchen and lounge area of the boat doubles as another bedroom, resulting in the intersection of gastronomic rhythms (wanting to make coffee or tea) with sleeping rhythms (another boater sleeping in the kitchen area).

Another strategy for drawing bodily boundaries is choosing sleeping attire. In tourism contexts, the presentation of the body depends on particular spaces and places and the clothing chosen 'for both their embodied comfort and the gaze of others' (Falconer, 2012: 47). Sleeping on the narrowboat is partly a public affair and performance, as the boaters share the limited boatspace, walking around under the gaze of their fellow boaters. Conscious of this, and similar to female backpackers who dress 'in ways that downplay any overt hyper-femininity' (Falconer, 2012: 45), I adopted a sleeping attire of a pair of tights and a big T-shirt from my very first trip onwards. In this set of casual clothing, I felt comfortable sitting in the lounge area and having coffee, moving around on the boat before going to sleep, or emerging from the bed if I was still asleep in the lounge area when others woke up and came to put the kettle on. In addition, the changing process itself also needs to be as quick and effortless as possible if done in the bathroom. Katie (24) explained that she uses a maxi-dress for a nightgown, which 'makes getting changed really easy. Really quick and just super simple'. The

boatsleep therefore has to be managed by planning, making up strategies on the go and getting used to navigating in an unfamiliar space. It is also both influenced by, and also influences, the other rhythms of the boat.

7.3 Summary

The canal as a mundane leisurescape comes into being through the conglomerations and intersections of various human and non-human rhythms. The seasonality determines the boating activities and practices and the number of boats on the canal depends on the season. The importance of the seasonality of weather creates its own particular rhythms, as weather is not just a medium through which the boaters move, but an active agent that determines both their activities as well as the routes and trajectories taken, creating particular mobile everyday rhythms.

The rhythms of seasonality further intermingle with diurnal rhythms that also have a great influence on the mobility of humans, animals and materialities (i.e. the boats). The alterations between night and day, with its corresponding rhythms of dark and light, determine boatmobilities on the canal: how early can cruising start and how long can it continue. Diurnal biological rhythms shape when bodies require food, sleep and the need to deal with bodily excretions. These tasks are all essentially social; due to the limited space of the boat, not only those activities that are traditionally regarded as social in our society – such as having meals – but others including, for example, bodily functions and needs (such as bathroom use and sleeping) also become partly public and sometimes create arrhythmia. This, in turn, influences the mobile rhythms of boats as the boaters move about on board, stop to have lunch and sometimes bathroom breaks, visit sights and moor up at dusk.

These different rhythms intersect and influence each other, creating a 'mobile sense of place' (Edensor, 2014: 165) informed by the boats' journeys on the canal network as well as boaters' walks along the towpath and visits to nearby villages, towns and cities, and their rhythmical movements on board. The eurhythmic boatmobility thus encompasses numerous

rhythms, in the intersection of socio-natural and socio-bodily where the seasonal, diurnal, gastronomic, 'excrementious', and dormant rhythms, intermingle and result in the rhythm of boating. The attempt to make the boat homely and comfortable – the search for ontological comfort – is another important aspect of domesticating the boatspace. Instead of looking for unfamiliar spaces and places, some people want to produce a familiar environment that gives them ontological security and familiarity while travelling (Mikkelsen and Cohen, 2015). This is achieved via various practices, such as performing different spatial everyday tasks of purchasing, preparing and eating the familiar food. The safe and homely boatspace, however, comes into being via negotiating new and sometimes unexpected mundane elements into the equation as well: for example, being forced to think about the waste and thus having to actually acknowledge the mundane in the tourist experience and needing to use various coping strategies, such as humour or verbal and nonverbal expressions of disgust. As such, the mobile mundane becomes central in the tourist experience, as the habitual practices are renegotiated when the leisure boaters produce, and co-produce, their everyday through the rhythmic repetition, production and co-production of the tourist space.

8. Conclusion

This thesis set out to study the mundane tourism mobilities of leisure and holiday boating in Northern England and Wales. The British canals, starting from their first periods of construction in the 18th century, were both essential industrial thoroughfares as well as places for passenger travel and leisure. After their use started to decline over the 19th century when they were no longer an economical form of transport, the industrial usage gave way to an association with leisure and tourism that built steadily during the course of the 20th century. While the history of the canals in the UK is relatively well researched, especially from the transport, economic and, more recently, the social history angles, my review of academic literature revealed that there is very little research on present day canal leisure and tourism. Where it exists, research on inland water tourism mostly belongs to the line of research focusing on tourism business and management. Studies from an experiential perspective, dedicated to understanding canal boating from a phenomenological perspective, are rare and there are almost no studies based on primary data on canal holidays focusing on leisure uses as a lived experience. In the present, concluding chapter, I will revisit the aim and objectives of the thesis; summarise the key themes connecting the four analysis and discussion chapters that emerged as the result of my analysis of mundane canal tourism mobilities (time, place and practice); present the theoretical, methodological and applied contribution to knowledge; and, finally, give suggestions for future research.

The aim of the thesis (as presented in 1.3) was to investigate holiday boating as particular water mobility that forms through the interplay of the human, non-human and material and is experienced in temporal, social and embodied ways. In order to achieve this aim, I formulated the following objectives of the thesis:

1. Reviewing the theoretical boundaries and intersections regarding mobilities and everyday life practices;

2. Exploring everyday practices and social (inter)actions in canal environments;

3. Studying the embodied engagement with canal materialities;

4. Investigating the temporalities of leisure boating;

5. Developing a theoretical framework of mundane tourism mobilities for researching canals as leisurescape.

In accordance with Objective 1, I reviewed the literature on mobilities, tourism mobilities, everyday life, temporalities, sensory experiences, materialities (Chapter 2) and inland water mobilities (1.2). I realised Objectives 2 to 5 through firstly collecting primary data, the process of which is described in Chapter 3. I subsequently analysed this data, and present the results in Chapters 4 to 7. The notions and practices that constitute the boating community are analysed in Chapter 4. The boaters form a distinctive community, the membership of which is based on a combination of elements, such as different types of boats, knowledge of written and unwritten rules, and physical as well as cognitive skills needed to follow those rules and boat successfully (Objective 2). These skills develop in cooperation with a number of both small- and large-scale canal materialities that I discuss in Chapter 5: water, built environment, the boat itself and various boating artefacts (Objective 3). These, in turn, allow the boaters to feel a physical connection to the past (Objective 4) through their bodily engagement with canal history and heritage, discussed in Chapter 6. Finally, I identified the main temporal dimensions of boating: slow tempo, active engagement with the ideas of past, present and future (Chapter 6) and the mundane rhythms that frame the boating experience (Chapter 7) which also contributed towards Objective 4. These findings, presented in Chapters 4 to 7, and analysed through the theoretical lens of mobilities and everyday life practices (reviewed in Chapter 2), made it possible for me to develop a theoretical framework of mundane tourism mobilities (see 2.3 and 8.2), Objective 5.

8.1 Contribution to knowledge: The key elements of the canal leisurescape

I collected the primary data during my ethnographical research on the canals of Northern England and Wales via interviewing boaters, participant observation of boating and other canal-related activities, as well as auto-ethnographical accounts of my personal journey of becoming a boater and a canal enthusiast. As I demonstrated in the review on the extant literature on inland waterways tourism (1.2), there is a significant gap in literature in regards to the interpretivist accounts of inland water tourism, which is why I undertook this research.

In Chapter 1, I presented the historical context of the study by reviewing academic literature on canal history and identified a gap in the current research – experiences of inland water tourism. In Chapter 2, I moved on to review theoretical literature on mobilities, focusing on the theoretical frameworks of mobilities and after which I explored theoretical avenues of the ways in which everyday life practices can be apprehended by focusing on materialities, embodiment and temporalities. The philosophical framework of this study is presented in Chapter 3, where I lay out my ontological, epistemological and methodological principles guiding the research, detail the methods used to gather primary data, describe how I analysed the data and present the ethical considerations in regards to this work. I present the results of my analysis of the gathered empirical data in the analysis and discussion chapters (Chapters 5 to 7), focusing on the constituting of canal community through a number of practices, materialities, temporalities and mundane rhythms of the canals. Having analysed this data, the following key themes of holiday canal boaters' mobile experiences were revealed: namely those pertaining to time, place, and practice, thus contributing to the academic research on inland waterways tourism and leisure.

8.1.1 Time. Tempo, rhythms, temporal modalities

The three main elements of the canal timescape are tempo, temporal modalities and rhythms. The mobility of boat-humans is characterised by their specific – slow – tempo. On the one hand, this slow tempo is institutionalised, an element of the general canal governmobility (Bærenholdt, 2013), with an enforced speed limit that predetermines that the boats are not allowed to move faster than 4mph. This institutional imperative, on the other hand, blends seamlessly with the boaters' ideas about the canals as a temporally radically different place, characterised by the slow tempo and boating-specific rhythms. This slow tempo of the canals, in order to be successful, has to be consciously inscribed or instated, but it also needs to be actively guarded and maintained. This is achieved via a number of practices designed for maintaining the slowscape, that include following both written and unwritten rules as well as engaging in various embodied practices, such as navigating the boat in a manner accepted by the community. The slow as both ideological and embodied experience

is further combined with the imaginaries of history, heritage and (natural) environment that are simultaneously interdependent and mutually constitutive. The boaters both imagine and experience the history in an embodied way, and when their intangible imaginaries meet the tangible materialities of the canals, such as the physical, natural as well as the built environment, history and heritage can become lived, bodily experiences for many boaters.

This also results in a particular canal-specific rhythmscape comprised of a number of socio-natural and socio-bodily rhythms of the boating everyday. The particular rhythms of a boating holiday provide a temporal scaffolding, where the seasonal and diurnal, as well as the socio-bodily rhythms such as eating, sleeping and the hygiene and bathroom practices, intersect and come together. For example, mealtimes and tea (or coffee) breaks create a great sense of anticipation for the time to start either preparing or consuming the food and drink. These breaks are a welcome change, as well as an extremely important structuring device providing rhythm for the days spent on the canal. The routines pertaining to bathroom use also play an important role in boating rhythms, as they have to be negotiated between people on the boat and thus contribute to the individual, and consequently the collective, time maps of the boaters. Longer periods of relative continuity (for example, cruising on a long lock-free stretch of canal) alternate with various planned (stopping at the locks, stopping for lunch, taking the water, pumping out the toilet, shopping, mooring up for the night) and unplanned discontinuities (unanticipated stoppages due to broken locks, or lack of (suitable) mooring space). These all come together in a coherent rhythmic order, a eurhythmia of boating, which in the case of unplanned instances can sometimes turn into an arrhythmia (Lefebvre, 2004; Edensor, 2012). The temporal framework of canal boating is therefore determined by the rhythmic 'stop-start' (Edensor, 2010; Bowles, 2016) boatmobility, constituting of the everyday interactions, routines and schedules developed and practiced on the boat.

8.1.2 Place. Socio-natural and material canals

Canals are an assemblage of interactions that constitutes them as a place. In order to constitute the mobile assemblages that make travel on the canal possible, a whole host of many different actors come together, from the boaters themselves, to the surrounding

landscape and the very elements that make up the physical aspect of being on a canal (artefacts, water, flora, etc.). The canal network itself enables the act of canal boating, binding together various substances, objects, bodies and places. The canals are an infrastructure, the material result of industrialisation, but also a result of values and preferences pertaining to leisure: on one hand they are 'repetitive systems' permitting 'predictable and relatively risk-free repetition of the movement' (Urry, 2007: 13). On the other hand, however, they are also places where various human and non-human agencies meet and afford manifold opportunities to carry out activities from the recreational to the antisocial. Land, water, human, animal, urban, rural, organic, non-organic, material and representational connect, intertwine and become interdependent and mutually constitutive.

The most definite mobility assemblage on the canals in the holiday boating context is the boat-human, a configuration of the human in cooperation with the canal boat that enhances both parties' mobile capacities. In this composition, a shift from passive to active takes place as their internal dynamics change through their mutual cooperation and the perception of, and interaction with, the surrounding environment allows for a significantly different quality for the boat-human than for that of the human being (or the boat) alone. The boat-humans are part of the general mobility assemblage of the canals, where boaters and boats are 'actants coming together in order to become a single unit that interacts with the rest of the network of the waterways' (Bowles, 2015: 108). They are perceived by the boaters through and as lived experience, forming certain hybrids/assemblages with particular materialities at particular times, and at particular locations. Constant change and fluctuation, as well as the potential to change, are properties of both small-scale (boat-human) and large-scale mobility assemblages (Edensor, 2011a), the latter being a conglomeration of various routes, boats, boaters, schedules, canal side structures, fuel, water, but also practices allowing for (human) bodies to move in ways that alone they could not (cf. Vannini, 2012).

The mobility on the canals takes place in the 'weather world' (Ingold, 2010b) that necessitates constant direct bodily engagement with the environment. It is a medium that plays a key role, as it facilitates and (re)directs the mobilities, also exercising agency that 'guides the social, material and corporeal practices' (Rantala et al., 2011: 296). There are also numerous ideas and imaginations that play an important role in the forming of the canal leisurescape, such as those about heritage or (personal) histories. The canalscape is therefore

a place-event (Pink, 2009), that occurs (Ingold, 2008) as a result of numerous dynamics, entanglements and interrelations between the convivial, material, temporal and mundane.

8.1.3 Practice. The boating everyday

Successful canal boating practices presuppose learning certain skills, acquiring habits and honing them via repetition. In order to do this effectively, a variety of skills, complete with appropriate vocabulary, need to be acquired through a number of practices. This process of enskilment is a collective undertaking that involves individuals, social relations and practices (Pálsson, 1994) and includes the physical mastering of the boat; acquiring the values, beliefs, knowledge and vocabulary of boating; and being willing to engage in continual multisensory emplaced learning (Fors et al., 2013). These activities include different sets of physical and cognitive skills that are almost exclusively learned via the practice of doing them, often under the guidance of another, more skilled, boater, and not from handbooks or verbal descriptions.

The resulting boat-human is always in the process of changing and modifying, learning new skills, adjusting to the particularities of a certain situation or environment, continuously in a state of becoming-boat-human. The bodily interaction with surroundings is the most important method of communicating and learning when it comes to canal boating. The skillset necessary for boating 'is a property not of the individual human body as a thing-in-itself, but of the total system of relations constituted by the presence of the organism-person in a richly structured environment' (Ingold, 1996: 178) where the boater is actively engaged with her or his surroundings. These skills are developed through building a relationship with other boaters in the boating community as discussed above, and also via interacting with the various materialities (the artefacts of boating, infrastructure of the canals), environment (including the weather), as well as the larger power structures (the CRT) producing boating governmobility. Only through a boater's enskilment in a continuous process is she or he finally accepted as a member of the boating community.

On the one hand, boatmobility is determined by the slow tempo of the boat, while on the other it entails various rhythmic embodied choreographies on board of the boat, which

become the means of creating the familiar and comfortable boatspace and eurhythmic boatmobility. This means constant renegotiations though numerous mundane practices: whether eating, sleeping or using the bathroom as well as renegotiating the relationship with your own body and its relationship with other bodies. The mundane mobility of the boat is therefore co-created by simultaneous movement of the vessel and the practices of the bodies on board, co-performed with various material objects, and humans and non-human animals. The holiday boaters adapt to the confined spaces in embodied ways that become a form of everyday mobility and an important part of creating the boatspace. Just like a caravan in Crouch's study, the narrowboat too 'provides a means of mobility and of temporary dwelling, convenience and romance' (Crouch, 2001: 64).

To conclude this section, canal leisurescape is a dynamic and lively (Bennett, 2010) complex of numerous small-scale and large-scale assemblages, 'a collection of relations between heterogeneous entities that work together for some time' (Müller and Schurr, 2016: 219) that consists of various human, non-human, mechanical and biological objects and subjects. These objects and subjects include the vibrant matter of water, the boat-humans, canal structures (the locks, bridges, tunnels) as well as artefacts like guidebooks, windlasses and lock keys interacting with each other, and thus effectively controlling and managing the routes, trajectories, rhythms, strategies and practices of boating. Engaging with the material in embodied ways is how a canal holiday, as a project, is constituted: by the co-presence and (co)mobility of people and materialities in time.

I have identified the various mundane practices the holidaymakers carry out in order to create the everyday boatspace on the canals whilst on narrowboating holidays. The links between everyday life, watery mobilities and tourist practices all demonstrate that mundane and everyday interactions and habits are central elements of the mobile practices of holiday boaters. The mundane tourism mobility on the canal is created through entanglements of the social, natural and bodily rhythms on the canal, boat-human mobility assemblages and other canalscape materialities. These entanglements (cf. Ingold, 2008) result in the rhythmicity of the boating, the slow tempo and the particular way of perceiving time through the bodily engagement with heritage structures as well as the natural environment. It is through these interactions that mundane tourism mobilities of boating realise on the canal leisurescape.

With the previous literature on canal tourism only identifying some of those elements, most importantly the slow tempo and history as identified by Fallon (2012), and heritage as a potential for tourism development (e.g. McKean et al., 2017; Prideaux, 2018), no previous study has presented a comprehensive analysis of canals as a lived and embodied, as well as meaningful, place for leisure boaters. Therefore, the present analysis of the key elements of holiday boaters' lived experiences on the canals constitutes my contribution to knowledge.

8.2 Contribution to knowledge on tourism mobilities research

The contribution to knowledge of my research is the analysis of the mundane mobile practices of the holiday boaters on the canals of Northern England (and Northern Wales) based on primary research and analysed through the lens of theories on mobilities and everyday life practices, with the key findings presented above (8.1). I have therefore also made a contribution to the study of tourism mobilities through three avenues: theoretical, methodological and, to a smaller extent, applied, that I will present as follows.

8.2.1 Theoretical contribution: mundane tourism mobilities

By analysing holiday and leisure boating on the canals in the North of England (and Wales), I have demonstrated the analytical worth of the mobilities studies perspective in researching tourist experiences and practices. I examined canal boating as a leisure and holiday activity in the framework of the new mobilities paradigm and focused especially on tourism mobilities as a particular type of mobility. As I demonstrated in the literature review on mobilities, due to the blurring and blurred boundaries of 'work', 'leisure' and 'tourism', there is a growing tendency, as well as need, to study tourism as everyday life. I further reviewed the studies that focus on the mundane within new mobilities paradigm, as exemplified in the emergent

body of literature on automobilities and commuting. I then identified a gap in the theoretical literature, namely that everyday life and tourism have not yet received sufficient attention in the theoretical context of mobilities.

I therefore propose that it is vital not only to study tourism as part of everyday life, but also that routine everyday activities should be studied as part of tourism – in short, there is a need to study mundane tourism mobilities. I have done this by bringing together the phenomenogical anthropology of Ingold (2000b) on the perception of environment and Edensor's (2007; 2010b) geographies of tourism, everyday life and rhythms. I propose utilising practice theory, which is what Pink (2012) as well as de Souza Bispo (2016) have recommended for studying everyday life, yet in the tourism mobilities context this has not yet been used. Since the goal of my research was to study the lived experience of boating, three main conceptual themes emerged based on the reviewed literature: embodiment (Pink, 2012), materialities (Schatzki, 2012) and temporalities (Shove et al., 2009).

I used this theoretical framework in my analysis of the primary data, and I suggest that the results support the analytical usefulness of this approach. Mundane tourism mobilities are simultaneously material, embodied, temporal and convivial. The human and nonhuman form various co-agencies and assemblages, which are experienced and practiced in temporal, rhythmical and sensory ways. When analysing mundane tourism mobilities, the three key dimensions of time, place and practice ought to be discussed. The element of time includes both the ideas about past, present and future, tempo(s), as well as rhythms of the particular mobility in question. Place, as I understand it, ought to be seen as 'place-event' (Pink, 2012), which means that it comes together by the collaboration of materialities (and human interaction with them) on the one hand and sociabilities and convivialities on the other. The third element, practice, should be studied as a combination of skills and embodied and lived movements. Utilising this theoretical framework in the future studies on tourism would allow to account for tourism as mundane as well as identify the everyday elements of tourism, while not denying its mobile dynamics. By presenting this framework, this work has thus extended existing understanding of tourism mobilites, particularly in the ways in which they relate to everyday life practices.

8.2.2 Methodological and applied contribution

In addition to analytical and theoretical contributions, this study has also made a methodological contribution, dealing with the question of how to collect primary data when researching mundane tourism mobilities. Tourism mobilities (as demonstrated in 2.1.3) are temporal and fleeting, which means that applying the ethnographical methodology, which otherwise has proved extremely useful in gaining the emic, insider and individual perspective, can be problematic at times. As applied in socio-cultural anthropology, ethnography means extensive time commitment, which traditionally has meant spending a minimum of one year on location doing fieldwork. How then can we conciliate tourism, which is a temporary activity, with ethnography, which is an extensive commitment of time and by definition a 'slow' methodology?

In this study, I have combined three methods in order to gather the data needed to study leisure boating on canals as lived experience: participant observation combined with auto-ethnography and ethnographic interviewing of people in the field. Not only does this data collected through different methods allow for creation of a dataset that is sufficiently rich, it also functions as a tool for triangulation, allowing for a verification of the results by the data collected from different sources. I utilised the 'back and forth' (Brkovic and Hodges, 2015) research strategy of conducting fieldwork as practiced in European ethnology, which stresses the need to focus on the minutiae of the everyday as well as spending shorter amounts of time 'in the field' over a long research period. This allowed me to achieve the long-term commitment to the field throughout the course of this research, which started in 2014 and has been an iterative and recursive process in terms of data analysis, as well as reviewing the literature both for theoretical and methodological purposes. Due to the nature of this particular study, where my intention was to study canal boating as an embodied, lived experience, my personal experiences both as a researcher and also as a boater are essential for the study, which is why I needed to take a step further from the reflexive position and also collected data using the method of analytic auto-ethnography as developed by Anderson (2006). Therefore, I contend that when researching mobilities, utilising what I call reflexive mobile ethnography, results in data that is both rich and thick.

This approach has also opened avenues for considering the potential impact and

applied perspectives of my study: there is a need for greater engagement with the studied community by the researchers when conducting participant observation (put simply, they should make sure to participate and contribute more than just observe). My volunteering activities at the beginning of the fieldwork served one goal: to gain access to the studied field. However, during the course of the research, as I became more and more engaged with the studied communities, I became first a boater and then a canal enthusiast, as I have contributed my time to the studied communities by volunteering with various groups. I therefore advocate actively developing a reciprocal relationship, which results in a comparable benefit for both researcher and the research participants (or at least striving for it). As my research progressed, I have been able to use some of my research results for both disseminating the knowledge of the state of canals today (in popular publications and through running the social media accounts for canal volunteer groups) and also to help to contribute to the studied groups' goals and policies (through the committee work), which enables my research to also have a potential wider impact.

8.3 Limitations of the research and recommendations for future studies

I have presented an ethnographic study of the lived experience of leisure and holiday boating as experienced by British canal boaters in Northern England (and Wales). There are therefore limitations to this study stemming from this particular research methodology as well as focus of the study. The scope of the study is limited in terms of geography, as I have focused on Northern England and Northern Wales and have not considered canal tourism in Scotland and Southern England or Wales. Another limitation of this study is that it only analyses the issue at hand from the perspective of domestic tourists in the UK. Therefore, the generalisability of the research is subject to limitations, namely to the white, British, able-bodied, mostly middle-class and often middle-aged boater taking holidays in Northern England and North Wales, the main research participant of the study.

While I have only looked at one particular touristic way of being on the canal, this study has also opened avenues for further research. Stemming from the limitations explained above, the motivations and experiences in regards to international tourists should also be studied, as well as the experiences of holiday boaters who do not fall into the categories described above, and the reasons for their non-participation in holiday canal boating, i.e. mostly young people and the Black, Asian and other ethnic minority communities. Future studies could investigate the wider canalscape by paying attention to other stakeholders who have not received dedicated attention in this analysis: for example, a thorough analysis of the holiday boaters' interactions and relationship with various institutions. This could allow for an analysis of the wider canal politics and canal governmobility: how is power practised and realised in cooperation with various stakeholders on the canal, including navigation authorities, charities, private organisations and national bodies. I suggest that it would be especially interesting to study the material expressions of power (buildings, infrastructure, and facilities) on a canal as a mobility system, and the ways in which this affects leisure and tourism on canals.

This thesis has focused on the contemporary canal leisurescape; however, I also recommend studying canal trips from an oral history perspective in order to tap into the collective memory of early canal holidays. This would mean archival work, examining oral histories of leisure and holiday boating in the 20th century up to the 1970s, and (from the 1940s onwards) its relations with the canal restoration activism of the IWA. Likewise, a fruitful research topic would be contemporary volunteering on the canals as a leisure activity, its benefits but also the potential frictions and tensions between different individuals, groups and organisations. Moreover, numerous other people who also spend their leisure time on the canals should be studied in the future: anglers, runners, walkers, hikers, dog-walkers, cyclists and others. In addition, dedicated studies of the canals in various cultural texts and in the media (including published memoirs, novels, films, TV, art, museum exhibitions, written press and social media, etc.) would uncover both historical, as well as contemporary, narratives and discourses on canal leisure. And finally, since this study has taken the perspective of the holiday boater, future studies could identify the role of the service provider and the ways how the canal boat holidays are staged, directed and serviced by the hireboat companies.

There are, therefore, a lot more topics to research both theoretically and empirically, and I hope that I have opened some of those for further inquiry. Writing this thesis was a journey for me: a physical journey discovering the UK's canal network, guided by the people I met as I went along geographically and temporally. I have become a boater and a canal enthusiast, valuing and appreciating canals as a place in time that occur through numerous practices I have discussed in these pages. Writing this thesis has also been a journey through numerous disciplines, such as socio-cultural anthropology, human and critical geography, sociology and tourism studies, and various theories ranging from the mobilities paradigm to practice theory. Just as the network of the canals, some of which are wide and some narrow, some more and some less popular or populated, some more and some less connected with others, come together to form an entangled whole, I have joined those theoretical strands and empirical findings into this study about mundane tourism mobilities on the UK canals.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1. My boat trips on the canals of North West

Time	Location	Boat
May, 2015	Shropshire Union Canal. From Beeston to Chester.	Private boat
June, 2015	Rochdale Canal. Lock 90 (in Manchester city centre) to Portland Basin.	Private boat
August, 2015	Rochdale, Ashton and Peak Forest Canals. Castlefield Basin in Manchester to Whaley Bridge.	Hostelboat
September, 2015	Leeds and Liverpool Canal. From Wigan to Chorley.	Private boat
September, 2015	Ashton Canal. From Lock 1 to Portland Basin.	Private boat
September, 2015	Leeds and Liverpool and Bridgewater Canals. From Wigan Flight to Bedford Basin (Leigh).	Private boat
September, 2015	Bridgewater Canal. From Worsley to Castlefield Basin.	Private boat
March, 2016	Ashton Canal. From Portland Basin to Droylsden Marina and back.	Hired dayboat
March, 2016	Bridgewater Canal. From Preston Brook to Grappenhall and back.	Hired dayboat
April, 2016	Macclesfield Canal. From Poynton to Harecastle.	Private boat
June, 2016	Leeds and Liverpool Canal. From Gargrave to Skipton.	Private boat
August, 2016	Ashton and Rochdale Canals. From Portland Basin to Manchester city centre.	Hired dayboat
September, 2016	Ashton and Rochdale Canals. From Portland Basin to Manchester city centre.	Hired dayboat
October, 2016	Chesterfield Canal, River Trent and Fossdyke Navigation. From Retford to Lincoln.	Private boat
July, 2017	Llangollen Canal. From Llangollen to New Marton Locks and back to Chirk.	Hireboat

Appendix 2. The semi-structured interview protocol

2.1 First interview protocol

Full protocol: Semi-structured interview plan

<u>Introduction</u>

My name is Maarja Kaaristo and I am a doctoral student in Department of Food and Tourism Management at Manchester Metropolitan University. The purpose of my study is to find out about people's experiences of their trips on Britain's canals, whether on foot, cycling, boating, etc. In order to do that, I am talking to different people about their experiences of spending their free time at the canals. I am very grateful that you agreed to participate in the interview. The interview should last for approximately one hour. If at any time you wish to stop or do not want to answer a question, please feel free to tell me.

I am going to tape record the interview. No one will hear the recording except me – I will use it to make notes afterwards. However, if you wish not to be recorded, I will just make notes throughout the interview.

I will give you a Participant Information Sheet, describing my research, and after the interview, I will ask you to sign the Consent Form and Photo Reproduction Rights Form.

<u>The interview</u>

1. To start, could you tell me a bit about your recent holidays on the canals? How do you regularly spend your leisure time? For the last canal trip, why did you choose this particular route/canal? What activities did you engage in?
2. Could you please tell me a little about spending your free time on or near canals? (Cruises, walking or cycling on towpaths, renting a narrow boat, with own narrow boat, kayaking etc.)
3. Why these particular activities? *<Followed by specified questions depending on which activities the research participant is talking about.>*
4. Why do you choose to spend time on/near the canals? Is there anything special about the canals / waterways? (As opposed to the options of spending your leisure time elsewhere.) Do you also boat on rivers? Do you sail? (If not then why?)
5. What are your favourite canals, if you have any (why these in particular)? Why are the canals important to you? What do you like the most about the canals?
6. Please describe me your typical routine when walking/cycling on the towpath in as detailed manner as possible. How do you feel when walking/cycling? Why do you do that?
   - Or: Please describe me a recent boat cruise from start to end. What activities were undertaken? Did you like them? How did they make you feel?

- Or: Please describe me your typical day on the narrow boat in as much detail as possible.

<Followed by specified questions on the topic of everyday life and routine activities such as cooking, heating, and other everyday chores; topics of waiting, boredom, daydreaming etc.>

7. In your opinion and experience, is it safe on / near canals? Please explain.

8. Could you please describe what do you like / not like about the surroundings / views / landscapes when near / on the canals? *<The goal is to get the interviewee reflect on the visual experiences of the canalscapes.>*

9. Could you please describe other feelings when near the canals: do you remember any particular smells, sounds, tastes, physical feelings? Why are these feelings / senses important for you? *<The goal is to get the interviewee reflect on the olfactory, aural, gustatory, hapctic experiences of the canalscapes.>*

10. Please describe the physical aspects of boating - how easy or difficult is it to work the locks, to steer the boat etc.? What does it take to be a good boater? How do you become a good boater, what are the things one needs to learn if he or she wants to boat on the canals in the UK?

11. Please describe the tempo of your travel, do you go fast or slow? Why? How to you feel the time passes when spending time near the canals?

12. The everyday life / sociality on the canals. How do you spend the time, how do the days go by? What do you exactly do when spending time on the canal? How often do you socialise with other boaters?

13. How important are sites/places near the canal? Pubs, mooring places, water and sewage points?

14. To conclude, I would like to ask a few personal details about yourself. (Age, employment status, (previous) job title, place of birth / current residence).

2.2 Second, revised interview protocol

Full protocol. Semi-structured interview plan

Introduction

My name is Maarja Kaaristo and I am a doctoral student at Manchester Metropolitan University. The purpose of my study is to find out about people's experiences of their boating trips on Britain's canals, but also about walking, cycling, angling etc. In order to do that, I am talking to different people about their experiences of spending their free time at the canals. I am very grateful that you agreed to participate in the interview. The interview should last for approximately one hour. If at any time you wish to stop or do not want to answer a question, please feel free to tell me.

I am going to record the interview if you agree. No one will hear the recording except me – I will write it down afterwards and use selected quotations. However, if you wish not to be recorded, I will just make notes throughout the interview.

I will give you a Participant Information Sheet, describing my research and ask you to read it; after the interview, I will ask you to sign a Consent Form.

The interview

1. To start, could you tell me a bit about your recent holiday on the canals? Where did you go, what did you do? For the last canal trip, why did you choose this particular route/canal? What activities did you engage in? Who did you go with?
2. Why did you decide to go on a boating holiday?
3. Do you remember your first boating holiday? Could you describe it to me?
4. Please describe me one day in your recent boat trip from morning to evening in as detailed manner as possible. Let us start with the morning when you wake up. <Followed by: a) specified questions on the topic of everyday life and routine activities such as cooking, eating, showering, heating, chores, division of responsibilities. b) Specified questions about the structure of the day and other activities (walking, trips to the villages and towns. c) Specified questions to do with boating: steering, locks, time of daily cruising, division of responsibilities.>
5. Do you boat on your own boat or hired boat? (Or time-share boats, co-owned boats, friends' boats, etc.) Is there a difference?
6. What are your favourite canals, if you have any (why these in particular)? Why are the canals important to you? What do you like the most about the canals?
7. How do you plan a boating trip? What do you need to take into account? Do you have to think about water points, sanitation stations?
8. Why do you choose to spend time on/near the canals? Is there anything special about the canals / waterways? (As opposed to the options of spending your leisure time elsewhere.)
9. In your opinion and experience, is it safe to boat on canals? Are some areas or places more dangerous than others? What could happen? Has anything happened to you? To anyone you know?

10. Could you please describe what do you like / not like about the surroundings / views / landscapes when near / on the canals? Do you prefer urban canals or countryside? *<The goal is to get the interviewee reflect on the visual experiences of the canalscapes.>*

11. We talked about the views, could you please describe other sensations when near the canals: do you remember any particular smells, sounds, tastes, physical feelings? Why are these feelings / senses important for you? *<The goal is to get the interviewee reflect on the olfactory, aural, gustatory, haptic experiences of the canalscapes.>*

12. Let us talk about steering the boat – how easy or difficult is it to you? Do you remember when you first learned to steer a boat? Did you find it easy or difficult? Please describe how you learned. Was anyone teaching you?

13. How did you learn how to work the locks? Do you remember the first time you did it? Was it easy or difficult? Please describe how you learned. Was anyone teaching you?

14. What other skills would person need in when boating?

15. Can anything dangerous happen when boating? What are the main things to keep in mind when steering/manoeuvring a boat?

16. What does it take to be a good boater? How do you become a good boater, what are the things someone needs to learn if he or she wants to boat on the canals in the UK? Are there any rules you need to learn?

17. Please describe the tempo of your travel, do you go fast or slow? Why? How to you feel the time passes when spending time near the canals? Is it sometimes boring?

18. Do you also socialise with other boaters? How often do you do that? Where would you meet them? Pubs, mooring places, locks?

19. Do you also spend your free time near canal when not boating? (Walking, cycling on towpaths, volunteering, angling, dog-walking etc.)

20. Why these particular activities? *<Followed by specified questions depending on which activities the research participant is talking about. For example*: Please describe me your typical routine when walking/cycling on the towpath in as detailed manner as possible. How do you feel when walking/cycling/etc.? Why do you do that?>*

21. To conclude, I would like to ask a few personal details about yourself. Age, employment status, (previous) job title, place of birth / current residence.

Conclusion.

Thank you very much for agreeing to do this interview! This was very helpful for my research, since it is very important for me to learn about different experiences on and opinions about canals.

Please read this consent form, tick the boxes as appropriate and sign the form. If you have any questions about my research, please feel free to ask any time.

Appendix 3. List of interviewed research participants

No	Name and age	Date of interview	Place of interview	Length of int.	Boated on
1	Steve, 68	20.06.15	Manchester, near Ashton Canal Lock 1, his car	1:15	Own boat
2	John, 83	21.06.15	Ashton Canal, Ancoats, on his boat	0:18	Own boat
3	Denise, 50	28.06.15	Leigh, at her home	1:04	Own boat
4	Tom*, 35	29.06.15	Manchester, in his office	1:01	Hireboat
5	Kirsten, 32	28.07.15	Stockport, at her home	1:20	Hireboat
6	Barry, 66	03.08.15	MMU Righton Building	1:55	Hireboat, private boat
7	Linda, 66	06.08.15	Ashton canal, Wandering Duck's boat	1:01	Hireboat, private boat, hotel boat, hostel boat
8	Lloyd, 60	06.08.15	Ashton canal, Wandering Duck's boat	0:36	Hireboat, hostelboat
9	Katie, 24	09.08.15	Manchester, Ziferblat cafe	1:12	Hostelboat
10	Don, 57	16.08.15	Manchester, Ziferblat cafe	1:17	Private boat, hostelboat
11	Mike, 48	11.10.15	Manchester, Newton Heath, Rochdale canal Lock 69, his car	2:27	Hireboat, timeshare boat
12	Hannah, 34	17.02.16	MMU, Righton Building	0:52	Hireboat
13	Richard, 67	14.03.16	MMU, Righton Building	1:57	Hireboat, own boat
14	Derek, 75	29.04.16	NB Olympic on Macclesfield Canal	0:45	Private boat
15	Sue, 70	29.04.16	NB Olympic on Macclesfield Canal	0:46	Private boat
16	Phil, 67	30.04.16	NB Olympic on Macclesfield Canal	1:47	Co-owned boat
17	Angela, 41	15.09.16	The Narrowboat Tearoom on Leeds & Liverpool Canal	0:38	Hireboat
18	Darren, 42	12.10.16	MMU, Righton Building	1:20	Hireboat
19	Janet, 63	26.10.16	NB Olympic on Chesterfield Canal	1:14	Co-owned boat
20	David, 68	26.10.16	NB Olympic on Chesterfield Canal	0:08 0:16 0:12	Private boat

*Name changed

Appendix 4. Participant information sheet

Participant information sheet

Study Title

Experiencing canalscapes: sensory experiences and the everyday life of England's inland waterways

Researcher: Maarja Kaaristo

Manchester Metropolitan University

maarja.kaaristo@stu.mmu.ac.uk

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study on England's canals, tourism and leisure activities. Before you decide, you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part.

The purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to find out about your experiences of your trips on Britain's canals, whether on foot, cycling or boating.

Do I have to take part?

Taking part in the research is voluntary.

I will describe the study and go through this information sheet, which I will give to you to take home. I will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be interviewed by the researcher about your experiences and opinions on the United Kingdom's canals. The interview will last approximately 1 hour and will be audiotaped (and later transcribed by the researcher). The collected data will not be identifiable and you can choose whether your first name or a pseudonym will be used in the following publications.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

The information we get from the study will help to increase the understanding of canal tourism and the importance of canals for leisure activities in United Kingdom.

What if I need more information?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions:

- Maarja Kaaristo, mobile number 07776561527, maarja.kaaristo@stu.mmu.ac.uk
- Dr. Steven Rhoden, telephone number 01612472749, s.rhoden@mmu.ac.uk

Data collection and confidentiality

All information which is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential, and any information about you which leaves the university will have your name removed so that you cannot be recognised (unless otherwise agreed).

- The data will be collected by interviewing, the interviews will be audiotaped.

- The audiotape recordings and the transcripts of the interviews will be stored safely:

  - hard paper/taped data will be stored in a locked cabinet, within locked office, accessed only by the researcher

  - electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer known only by researcher

- The data will be used by the researcher for writing the PhD thesis and publishing academic journal articles and book chapters.

What will happen if I don't carry on with the study?

If you withdraw from the study all the information and data collected from you, to date, will be destroyed.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the study will be written up as a PhD thesis and subsequently published in academic journals and books. If you wish, the results will be made available to you by the researcher. You will not be identified in any publication unless you have given your consent.

Who is organising or sponsoring the research?

Manchester Metropolitan University.

Further information and contact details:

Maarja Kaaristo
Hollings Faculty
Manchester Metropolitan University
Righton Building, Cavendish Street, Manchester M15 6BG
maarja.kaaristo@stu.mmu.ac.uk
maarja.kaaristo@gmail.com
Telephone: 07776561527

Appendix 5. Informed consent form

Manchester Metropolitan University

Hollings Faculty

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: **Experiencing canalscapes: sensory experiences and the everyday life of England's inland waterways**.

Name of Researcher: Maarja Kaaristo

Please tick all relevant boxes

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated **[_____DATE]** for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3. I agree to the use of audio/video-taping, with possible use of verbatim quotation or use of photographs in the thesis, subsequent publications, and at conference and other public presentations.

4. I agree to the use of my first name / pseudonym [*underline as appropriate*] and my year of birth or age together with my quotations.

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

6. I would like a copy of the final report of this study.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Name of person   Date   Signature
taking consent

Appendix 6. Application for ethical approval

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

Introduction

All university activity must be reviewed for ethical approval. In particular, all undergraduate, postgraduate and staff research work, projects and taught programmes must obtain approval from the Academic Ethics committee.

Application Procedure

The form should be completed legibly (preferably typed) and, so far as possible, in a way which would enable a layperson to understand the aims and methods of the research. Every relevant section should be completed. Applicants should also include a copy of any proposed advert, information sheet, consent form and, if relevant, any questionnaire being used. The Principal Investigator should sign the application form. Supporting documents, together with one copy of the full protocol should be sent to the Faculty/Campus Research Group Officer.

Your application will require external ethical approval by an NHS Research Ethics Committee if your research involves staff, patients or premises of the NHS (see guidance notes).

Work with children and vulnerable adults. You will be required to have an Enhanced CRB Disclosure, if your work involves children or vulnerable adults.

The Academic Ethics Committee will respond as soon as possible, and where appropriate, will operate a process of expedited review.

Applications that require approval by an NHS Research Ethics Committee or a Criminal Disclosure will take longer.

Details of Applicants	
Name of applicant (Principal Investigator): Maarja Kaaristo	
Telephone Number: 07776561527	
Email address: maarja.kaaristo@stu.mmu.ac.uk	
Status:	Postgraduate Student (Research)
Department/School/Other Unit: Hollings Faculty, Department of Food and Tourism Management	
Programme of study (if applicable): MPhil (progression to PhD)	
Name of supervisor/Line manager: Dr. Steven Rhoden, Dr. Tim Edensor	
Co-Workers and their role in the project (e.g. students, external collaborators, etc): N/A	

Details of the Project

Title: **Experiencing canalscapes: sensory experiences and the everyday life of England's inland waterways**
Description of the Project: (please outline the background and the purpose of the research project, 250 words max)   The thesis concentrates on the various multi-sensory bodily experiences in tourism settings, focusing on England's canals (using the example of Rochdale Canal) and their associated lands (tow paths and banks). The main aim of the study is to identify the strategies of how the leisure tourists, as creative and reflective subjects perceive these canal sensescapes (the spatially orientated and place related arrays of related sensory experiences) whilst being 'on the move'. The study seeks to contribute to the understanding of the diverse, multi-sensory tourist experiences of canal environments and atmospheres. Consequently, it will be investigated how aural/sonic, tactile/somatic, visual, olfactory, and gustatory sensory experiences are stimulated and afforded by canalscapes and further examined how they are (re)constructed and narrated by tourists. The main aims of the study are: 1) To identify the diverse, multi-sensory tourist experiences of canal environments, 2) To analyse the mundane (the homely and familiar) aspects of canal tourism, 3) To explore the social relations hips and interactions performed on canal boats, on towpaths and at key sites of congregation.
Describe what type of study this is (e.g. qualitative or quantitative; also indicate how the data will be collected and analysed). Additional sheets may be attached.   The study is qualitative and the empirical data will be collected via ethnographical fieldwork, using mainly semi-structured both in-depth and 'go-along' interviews and participant observation (co-performed practices), supported by fieldwork diaries, photographic and video material. The interviewed research participants – 12 leisure boaters in the first stage of the study – will be selected via theoretical sampling combined with the snowballing method. The principal field site will be the Rochdale Canal running from Manchester city center to Sowerby Bridge.
Are you going to use a questionnaire?   NO
Start Date / Duration of project: 01.02.2015-23.09.2015
Location of where the project and data collection will take place: Rochdale Canal, United Kingdom.
Nature/Source of funding   Manchester Metropolitan University, Department of Food and Tourism Management
Are there any regulatory requirements?   YES (Provide details, e.g. from professional bodies) **NO**

Details of Participants

How many?   12 research participants will be interviewed.
Age: Over 18 years
Sex: Male and female
How will they be recruited? (Attach a copy of any proposed advertisement)   The participants will be recruited during the fieldwork: in the course of participant observation of leisure boating and the boat trips on the canal. The prospective research participants (the informants) will be approached by the researcher either on towpaths or mooring places (leisure boaters) or during the boat trips (people attending boat cruises). The permission to approach the participants on the cruises has been obtained from the owner of Manchester's tour company City Centre Cruises. The researcher will introduce herself and explain the study to the prospective informants. If the person agrees to be interviewed, the researcher will go over the

details of the research, using the participant information sheet, which will then be given to the participant to take home. The participants will then be asked to sign the informed consent form.

Status of participants: (e.g. students, public, colleagues, children, hospital patients, prisoners, including young offenders, participants with mental illness or learning difficulties.)
Public.

Inclusion and exclusion from the project: (indicate the criteria to be applied).
Any person over 18 years of age who does not belong to the vulnerable groups and who is using the Rochdale canal for the tourism/leisure purposes can be included to the project.

Payment to volunteers: none

Study information:
Have you provided a study information sheet for the participants?
YES (Please attach a copy)

Consent:
(A written consent form for the study participants MUST be provided in all cases, unless the research is a questionnaire.)
Have you produced a written consent form for the participants to sign for your records?
YES (Please attach a copy).

Risks and Hazards

Are there any risks to the researcher and/or participants?
(Give details of the procedures and processes to be undertaken, e.g., if the researcher is a lone-worker.)
Risks and hazards to the personal safety of the researcher:
Lone working: walking on towpaths and in mooring places in secluded areas (personal safety, i.e. possible aggression from members of public).
Towpaths, locks (danger of slipping and falling, injuries, and risk of drowning, boat accidents, contact with contaminated water: danger of leptospirosis).
Security of the valuable items (e.g. money, phone, photo camera, recorder), damage of property.

State precautions to minimise the risks and possible adverse events:
When conducting the fieldwork the researcher will meet the informants in public places and will always let someone know when they should be expected back. When working on Rochdale canal, with Canal & River Trust (CRT) employees and volunteers, the CRT lone working procedure will be followed (informing the team leader regularly about your location). The researcher will always carry a fully charged mobile phone. Secluded places will be avoided, especially when dark. The researcher will walk away from any aggressive persons.
When on workboat, life jacket will be worn at all times. During the fieldwork, sturdy footwear will be worn to avoid slipping. The researcher has watched CRT training videos "Water Safety" and "Slips, trips, falls". Direct contact with canal water and stagnant water will be avoided at all times, all cuts and abrasions will be covered with waterproof dressing before fieldwork. In case of the contact with contaminated water, wash / shower immediately. In case of flu-like symptoms after contact with

canal water, GP would be consulted and informed of the possible exposure of canal water. In case of boat accident, the standard emergency procedures will be followed.

Only the items that are absolutely necessary for the fieldwork will be taken to the field, other valuable items will be left either home or CRT lockers. The researcher will be aware of risk

from theft and exercise due caution.

<u>What discomfort (physical or psychological) danger or interference with normal activities might be suffered by the researcher and/or participant(s)? State precautions which will be taken to minimise them:</u>

The normal activities of the research participants will be slightly interfered since they will be asked to give interviews to the researcher. However, the discomforts will be minimal, since potential interviewees can decide whether or not they would like to be interviewed and they will be informed that they will have right to withdraw from the study at any point of the research (in case of which all the data collected from them will be deleted).

Ethical Issues

<u>Please describe any ethical issues raised and how you intend to address these:</u>

The research participants will remain anonymous and their confidentiality will be secured. Prior to the interviews, all the research participants will be given an information sheet explaining the main purposes of the study and the interview procedure. This will be done by the researcher who will also answer all the questions the research participant might have about the project. After that, the interviewee will be asked to sign the informed consent form. The ethical concerns and issues will be explained and discussed thoroughly in the Research ethics subchapter of the thesis (Methodology chapter).

Safeguards/Procedural Compliance

<u>Confidentiality:</u>

Indicate what steps will be taken to safeguard the confidentiality of participant records. If the data is to be computerised, it will be necessary to ensure compliance with the requirements of the Data Protection Act 1998.The computerised data (recordings and transcripts of the interviews, photos and videos) will be treated in compliance with the Data Protection Act 1988.This means that they will be:

-used fairly and lawfully, for limited, specifically stated purposes

-used in a way that is adequate and relevant

-handled according to people's data protection rights

-kept safe and secure by the researcher in password protected computers and locked cabinets

-not transferred outside the UK without adequate protection