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Mobile bodies: train travel and practices of movement

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December 2007

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This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Geography.

1 5 MAY 2008

Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis investigates experiences of railway travel from a passenger perspective by looking at how passengers move through and dwell within spaces of the railway journey. It responds to a lack of attention to diverse processual enactments and theorisations of processes and practices that constitute these flows. Challenging both the theory that this particular 'space of flows' constitutes a non-place that is characterised by placelessness, and theories that rely on aggregate models of movement that serve to pacify the body, this thesis speaks to the neglected transient experience that acknowledges how the railway journey is continually brought into being by passengers through practice rather than given a-priori. It is based on in-depth empirical research that focuses on long-distance, intercity journeys as a particular space of flows. It develops a descriptive, multi-method approach to investigate what a travelling body is and how a body becomes a travelling body; how and to what extent travel-time is planned, organised, used and valued; and how the experience of time and space transform over the duration of a journey. For many, and contrary to economically-productivist studies, the railway journey is not a wasted time, but is valued and put to use in a variety of different ways that fold through and are integrally-linked to the commitments, motivations and obligations of other time-spaces. The resulting heterogeneity of practices within the confined space of the railway carriage also has significant implications for the sociality and forms of responsibility that develop. However, certain parts of the journey are more valuable than others and within this space of flows are many durations of immobility and passivity. Nevertheless, and contrary to other practice-based studies that privilege the body-in-action, passivity does not necessarily constitute a weak form of inhabiting the world. This research demonstrates how multiple configurations of passivity come into play at different points during the railway journey to assist in making the process of travel easier. In sum, this thesis mobilises new ways of looking at transient spaces which attempt to move beyond a sedentary metaphysics of space.

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Parts of chapter 3 have been presented at the RGS-IBG Annual Conference, 2006. Parts of chapter 4 have been presented at the UK Rail Stations 2007 Conference, London, 22 November 2007. Parts of chapter 6 have been published in *Mobilities* and *Environment and Planning A*.

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Abbreviations

3G	Third generation, fast wireless access to Internet services through mobile devices.
ECML	Stands for 'East Coast Mainline'. The railway line that runs between London King's Cross and Edinburgh.
GNER	Stands for 'Great North Eastern Railway'. The train operating company that run trains along the East Coast Mainline.
GPRS	A wireless mobile data service used to access the Internet on mobile devices.
iPod	A brand of portable digital media players designed and marketed by Apple.
MP3	A specific digital audio format. An MP3 player refers to a portable handheld device for listening to music in this format.
PAX	Generic passengers with no identifying marks. Used by transport planners, architects and designers to conceptualise movements of passengers and render them legible.
PDA	A small pocket or palmtop computer. Stands for 'Personal digital assistant'.
WAP	Wireless connectivity to access the Internet from a mobile phone or PDA through a simplified web browser.
Wi-Fi	A form of wireless technology that enables a wireless connection between a Wi-Fi enabled device and the Internet.

Chapter 1

Spaces of flow in context: introducing the railway journey

Introduction

I love trains. Trains have always been a part of me. One of my most poignant memories of childhood was visiting my grandparents in the West Midlands during school holidays. The back of their house on Rufford Road overlooks the railway lines that emerge from Stourbridge Junction station. I spent endless afternoons standing on a chair looking out of the back bedroom window with a timetable and my grandad's watch just waiting for a train to pass. I can feel that sense of anticipation now. It was just so exciting. On some days, my grandparents would take my brother and I on the train from Stourbridge into Birmingham for a day out. I knew all the stations along the way by heart, every bend in the track, every object out of the window. Mum and Dad would be watching from the back bedroom window and would wave a towel out of the window for us to see. We would wave back. Whenever they had the chance, my parents would take me to stations. They were where I felt happiest. Hours spent at Wareham station: content with just seeing the tracks, absence of trains was never a disappointment. The gleaming silver rails and glowing coloured lights promised excitement, far-away places and limitless possibility. Fast-forward a decade or so, whilst at university, trains became a way of escaping from the claustrophobia that undergraduate life often induced. Cambridge station promised freedom and took me outside a bubble that was often so full of anxiety. It put me in touch with the rest of the world. During my first few weeks of starting out at Durham, if I felt lonely, I would often wander up to the station in the evening: not to catch a train, but just to feel closer to those family, friends and places that now seemed so distant.

This thesis presented me with a wonderful opportunity to research something that I am genuinely passionate about. I dislike flying and I do not own a car. Transcending the various contexts and academic rationales detailed below lies a personal passion for and celebration of railway travel that has always been folded through the contours of my life. When I return to Stourbridge now, I still know all the stations, the bends, the places. My grandmother waves a towel from the window. I wave back. It feels like home.

These autobiographical antecedents echo a general affection for railway travel that is evident more broadly in various contexts within the UK. Perhaps most recently, this is demonstrated through the retailer Marks and Spencer's Autumn 2007 advertising campaign which capitalised on the elegance of the steam age through imagery of the Orient Express. This romance of the rails and the spark of affection that it ignites is also reflected in the multitude of volunteer-run railways around the country together with ubiquitous railway enthusiasts and train-spotters that have become synonymous with the railway landscapes. Whilst for some people, railways might form a central part of their sense of belonging (Marchant, 2004), this research moves beyond romanticised discourses of railway travel and instead explores some of the more routine and everyday encounters with railway journeys that passengers experience. In this first chapter I outline the themes that inform this research. Firstly, I detail the thematic context, before considering the policy context, geographical context and theoretical context. Secondly, I outline the aims and objectives of this thesis. Thirdly, I provide a brief outline of the thesis structure.

1.1 Thematic context

Theorisations of 'spaces of flows' have been prevalent in recent popular and academic literature (Blatter, 2004; Castells, 1996; Massey, 1993). Much geographical research on these flows has tended to treat objects and bodies in flow through space as discrete, mutually exclusive entities where spaces are conceptualised as fixed, black-boxes. This division between space and bodies has tended to privilege quantitative and numerical apprehensions of people and objects caught up in these 'flows' where bodily movements are played out over spaces that are rendered static and inert. There has been a proliferation of studies which have taken the movement of objects and people through space as their focus: from Hägerstrandian time-geographies of investigations of individuals' daily travel patterns (Timmermans et al., 2003), to more aggregate studies which focus on the movements of bodies *en masse* through space (Hillier, 1999; Peponis, 2000). Whilst bodily movement is conceptualised differently in these studies; as agentive and free-flowing in the former, and more predictable and conditioned in the latter; space for both is viewed as discrete and bounded. Whilst the movement of bodies is at the heart of many recent studies, attention is often focused on disembodied notions of spaces of destination or origin, only *hinting* at the possibility of ways of being through the spaces of the journey (see Chen, 1998; Young, 1999; Zeppel, 2002). Consequently, when considering these

spaces of flows themselves, theorising has tended to privilege 'event ontologies': spaces as somehow arbitrarily determined and shaped by discrete and bounded events or abstract hierarchical and structural phenomena (see Doel, 1999). This mode of theorising views things in movement as separate from and opposed to their place-based contexts.

Parallel to such a quantitative emphasis on the movement of bodies and objects through space has been a consideration of how space and time can be understood as mutually integrative *qualitative* dimensions. Importantly, from this perspective space becomes less rigid and bounded and instead becomes more plastic. Here, the movement of bodies and objects through space have the capacity to distort, compress, speed up, warp and even abolish space and time altogether (Virilio, 1997; Vidler, 2002). This thesis builds on this work by considering some of the *actual processes and practices that constitute these flows* and how they are enacted through diverse sets of embodiments. Whilst much research has focused on charting the various *spaces* of flows; from quantitative modelling at a large spatial scale, or architectural perspectives at a smaller scale; comparatively little has been said about how these flows are experienced *through the body*, leaving questions such as: is time-space compression mirrored in a 'speed-up' of experiences for people caught up in these flows? Do journeys allow for time and space to slow these flows, to contemplate, add depth and perspective? How do senses of freedom and constraint balance? This project is distinct from most work connected with mobilities since it speaks to this neglected transient experience. This project attempts to advance thinking on spaces of flows from such a pointillist geographical perspective, where space is conceptualised as a container within which events happen, and instead attend to the notable lack of attention within the geographical literature to theorisations of the *actual processes and practices of flows* and how they are enacted through a diverse set of relational embodiments that transcend discrete spaces and bring places into being in particular ways. This project argues that in order to comprehend better these spaces of flows, spaces that we instinctively seem to know yet are perhaps hard to pin down (Crang, 2002a), it is necessary to focus on creating more process-based, relational and surficial accounts of *place*, as mediated and brought into continual becoming through sensual and affective sensibilities.

This thesis focuses on long-distance train travel as an example of a particular public, mechanical space of flows. First, it retains and develops ideas around movement as an *embodied experience* not just an allegory or metaphor for a modern condition by looking at how a variety of people experience, come to know, make sense of, and move through these spaces of flows. Second, it moves beyond a sedentarist characterisation of place where particular places are accorded importance over movement. This thesis explores some of the various relationalities that emerge and cohere between bodies and movement during the course of a journey through the railway assemblage. In doing so, this research charts the practical doings of railway travellers through the various embodied knowledges required to travel, the objects implicated in travel and the various subjectivities that emerge through the process of travel. Crucially, through this thesis I move away from conceptualising the journey in a linear sense with

beginning and end, although such thresholds are of course implicated in constituting the travelling body. I also move away from thinking through the travelling body as a stable and unshifting whole: a model often reinforced through the depiction of ideal passenger types such as 'leisure', 'business' and 'commuter'. Instead this thesis attempts to chart some of the shifting and processual *subjectivities* that emerge through the enactment of various practices and ways of being during the course of a journey, where subjectivities are understood as particular qualities of experience.

1.2 Public transport context

So aside from an interest conditioned by personal biography, why choose train travel as a particular example of a space of flows? Environmental consciousness is at the forefront of current governmental transport policy, particularly in light of current policy debates surrounding climatic change that is exacerbated through increased carbon emissions. The increased role of public transportation, particularly long-distance railway travel, is viewed by the government as an important way of reducing reliance on car travel which will cut carbon emissions. Indeed, the government White Paper '*A New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone*' represented a fundamental shift from the previous Conservative administrations' pro-road approach (Shaw et al., 2003). Within the last ten years, improvements in long-distance service frequency and reduction of journey times on many flagship routes, such as the East and West Coast Mainlines, have resulted in a marked contraction of the UK domestic air travel market between certain locations. For example, owing to large-scale infrastructure improvements of the West Coast Mainline together with vigourous marketing campaigns, rail has now captured 90% of the London-Manchester market, previously a lucrative air corridor. In addition to environmental concerns, the UK railway network has experienced a huge passenger growth in the last decade. This is partly symptomatic of a favourable economic situation which has resulted in an increase in commuter flows together with massive increases in long-distance travel for multiple rationales. However, this overall revival of passenger numbers has been punctuated by several dents, perhaps most significantly through the loss of passenger confidence in the wake of the Hatfield rail accident in 2002 and the London terror attacks during the summer of 2005. Most recently the high-speed rail crash at Grayrigg in Cumbria in February 2007 again cast aspersions on the safety of the maintenance of the system. However, despite these notable events, many argue that the railway network is experiencing a period of sustained success in terms of passenger numbers (Shaw et al., 2003). This thesis therefore builds on this imperative for the necessity of modal shift from private to public modes of transport. Through its focus on the railway transportation, this thesis is situated within the context of sustained passenger growth. It attempts to understand and come to know how passengers experience the event of railway travel and therefore speaks to wider debates on the subjectivities generated through these *public* transports as opposed to private transport which has been the focus of many

recent geographical engagements with mobility (see Laurier, 2004; Beckmann, 2001; Edensor, 2004; Featherstone et al., 2005; Sheller and Urry, 2000; Merriman, 2004).

The contemporary passenger experience must also be situated within the wider political context of the railway network. The state-owned *British Rail* owned and operated the network for the majority of the second half of the twentieth century. It it was privatised by the Conservative government in 1996, a move driven primarily by political ideology: chiefly neoliberal values aimed at reducing the public sector involvement in industry by removing the high cost of railway provision from government spending (Shaw et al, 1998; Wolmar, 2005). Since privatisation, separate train operating companies run the passenger services whilst track and station infrastructure is now owned and operated by Network Rail, a not-for-dividend company limited by guarantee[1]. Through the process of franchising passenger operations to private companies it was hoped that competition would be stimulated between rival operators thus providing good returns to both investors, passengers and the treasury (Knowles, 2004). In practice though, the touted financial benefits of privatisation have not come to fruition, with the current system costing approximately five times as much as it did under British Rail (Wolmar, 2005). The structure of this system, particularly the separation of the management of track from trains and resultant widespread fragmentation in the industry, has contributed to spiralling costs, increase in accidents and the deferral of responsibility when things go wrong (Law, 2003). For the treasury, ultimate financial risk remains with the government since some operators who have not been able to deliver the high premium payments demanded by their franchise agreements have had their franchises revoked and transferred back to the government[2]. For the passenger, walk-up fares have increased dramatically whilst the fragmentation of services and information provision has increased potential travel confusion.

Nevertheless, privatisation has also provided many positive benefits for passengers including the procurement of brand new rolling-stock for many lines together with the availability of cheaper advance-purchase tickets. Furthermore, many of the individual train operating companies have sought to create strong brand identities and ideologies as a way of generating increased passenger demand through brand loyalty. This has resulted in the establishment of strong regional identities and reputations. Virgin Trains' West Coast service, for example, relies on a sleek, space-age, modern brand through a distinctive red and silver livery, new rolling stock, improved on-train facilities such as a shop and personal entertainment facilities, and eye-

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[1] Although between 1996 and 2002 Railtrack plc. owned and managed the physical railway infrastructure. During this period, the effect of fragmentation of railway network on safety and maintenance procedures was revealed in a series of catastrophic accidents. In part, this was blamed on a loss of skilled staff after the takeover from British Rail which resulted in inadequate knowledge of the condition of their assets. However, the most vehement critique relates to its 'tendency to prioritise the interests of its shareholders over and above its duty to renew, maintain and improve the railway infrastructure' (Whitehouse, 2003, 218).

[2] Sea Containers Ltd. handed back its Great North Eastern Railway franchise to the Government in 2006 since it could not keep up with the high premium payments and is currently running under a management contract. Connex Ltd. was stripped of its South Eastern and South Central franchises in 2003 by the Strategic Rail Authority for poor financial management.

catching advertising campaigns. One of the most successful brand identities in terms of the reputation it has earned emerged in the form of Great North Eastern Railway. Now in its eleventh and final operational year, GNER runs trains along the flagship East Coast Mainline between London and Scotland[3]. It operates a modern[4] fleet of intercity-style trains that have recently been fully refurbished for increased passenger comfort. Its branding is a combination of the traditional and modern, drawing heavily from the luxury and romance of its historical predecessor, the London and North Eastern Railway (Whitehouse and Thomas, 2002), whilst also providing a range of contemporary pioneering facilities such as onboard wireless internet (Wi-Fi) connectivity. In part, this thesis seeks to explore how these practical facilities together with the identities and ideologies of train operating companies are folded through the processual experience of the railway journey.

However, and in spite of these advantages, post-privatisation popular media on railway travel has tended to focus on negative discourses of fear and anxiety. These emerged from a series of catastrophic railway accidents at Ladbroke Grove (1999), Hatfield (2000), Ufton Nervet (2004), and most recently Grayrigg (2007). The media has also been quick to expose multiple (and often extreme) cases of management profiteering (Wolmar, 2005), further reducing passenger confidence in a system that is perceived to offer less value for money. Additionally, negative reports of poor travelling experiences and overcrowding have tended to focus disproportionately on commuter routes around London and south-east England. Whilst such discourses *may* be folded through the ongoing experience of travel, through this thesis I want to move away from these often sensationalist discourses and representations and focus instead on the various everyday mundane and banal practices and performances that give rise to various travel experiences.

1.3 Geographical context

Building on this policy-based motivation, a cultural geographical engagement with this particular space of flows seems long overdue. The limited engagement with railways within contemporary human geography has been restricted to studies that emphasise the economic rationale, fiscal and logistical consequences of privatisation (Knowles, 2004; Doherty et al., 2004; Shaw et al., 2003). These studies tend to downplay the individual, agentive and bodily dimensions of railway travel and instead focus on charting the systems that enable railway travel in the first place from a more structuralist perspective. Crucially, they tend to neglect the experiential nature of being entangled in these dynamic spaces of flow. Consequently, in spite of the emphasis on public transport, this thesis is more broadly situated within contemporary cultural geography rather than transport geography since the latter has tended to privilege more

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[3] From 11 December 2007, East Coast Mainline services will be operated by National Express Group Plc. under the new brand 'NX East Coast'.

[4] Whilst refurbishment may give the impression that these are 'new' trains, the electric 225s (Class 91 and Mark IV coaching stock) date from 1988, whilst the diesel HSTs (Class 43 and Mark III coaching stock) date from 1975.

productivist renderings of these spaces of flow through its dominant concern for quantification, policy practice and analysis, and economics. Geographies of transport history have also tended to shy away from this experiential dimension in favour of more structural histories of planning and policy (Crompton, 1999; Hodgkins, 2002; Andrews, 2000), and labour history (Revill, 1991). Indeed Revill confirms that 'transport history is a rather quiet backwater largely untouched by contemporary theoretical developments. Amongst the most conservative areas of scholarship, railway studies have traditionally consisted of whiggish narrative accounts charting the development of the railway network, improvements in infrastructure and rolling stock' (2001, 291).

What these sub-disciplines tend to overlook are the multiplicity of *ways of being* in these spaces. Similar to the spatial modelling of bodies *en masse* (see Hillier and Hanson, 1984), bodies are treated as relatively homogenous and essentially rational agents, moving through landscapes that are planned in a way to facilitate or restrict flows, in a sensible and logical manner. People remain relatively passive and moulded by the surrounding space. Notable exceptions outside of geography *do* however exist, such as Schivelbusch's (1979) account of the rise of the train during the nineteenth century, Auge's (2002) ethnographic narrative of Parisian metro travel, and Maspero's (1994) account of the hidden Paris through a journey on the RER subway. Building on these accounts, through this thesis I move away from these notions of an ultimately rational body that is at the mercy of systems of control. This thesis therefore problematises and explores the notion of bodily agency by focusing on the heterogeneity and diversity of practices, undertaken at an individual rather than aggregate level, that emerge through the railway journey.

In order to achieve this, this thesis draws on current cultural geographic work that focuses on embodied experience and subjectivity through the ongoing and processual relationality of bodies and their proximate environment (see Nash, 2000; Lorimer, 2005, for example). This focus on the body and bodily practice draws on a variety of influences: from the emphasis on non-human agency and relational networks of after-Actor Network Theory together with the rhyzomatic and fragmented flows and assemblages of poststructuralist theorists Deleuze and Guattari (2001). These theoretical invitations involve taking seriously the minutiae of embodied practices and performances that people undertake, which when viewed as a processual event constitutes everyday life (Seigworth, 2000; Highmore, 2001). An emphasis on the everyday follows from a theoretical necessity to move away from a pointillist metaphysical approach to experience that seeks to identify and contain spatiality (see Doel, 1999). These reductionist impulses serve to efface dimensions of experience bound up with corporeal perception, such as memory and anticipation, which transcend discrete spaces. This thesis focuses on the importance of taking seriously the ongoing and processual nature of the patchwork of unremarkable and mundane encounters which when viewed in their multiplicity form the basis of lived, fluid and processual nature of experience. Drawing on various entanglements of performance and practice together with Bergsonian and new vitalist approaches (Fraser et al.,

2005), this theoretical standpoint of processuality aims to resist and challenge any essentialist reductionism that has typified much previous work on spaces of flows (Timmermans et al., 2003). This emphasis on practice and processuality is important since '*how* an actual entity *becomes* constitutes what that actual entity is' (Whitehead, 1985, 23, my emphasis). By taking seriously this realm of the everyday is to appreciate an ongoing encounter with lived practice and experience together with how discourses are enacted and folded into this process of becoming in a non-reductive sense. Such processes of actualisation should not only take on board the various inadequacies, habitual tendencies and distractions of human consciousness, but also must consider the way in which everyday experience is mediated by the inorganic, incorporeal, impersonal, more than representational, a-signifying and affective (Shotter, 2004) to form a radical relationality of flux, transformation and connectivity (Watson, 2003).

This commitment to geographies of everyday life also reflects much recent work within mobility studies that has focused on the various practical enactments associated with the process of travel. I want to move away from what Malkki (1992) describes as a sedentary metaphysics of space, where bodies and places that are rooted and 'authentic' are valued over those that are transient and mobile and consequently viewed with suspicion. Such a dualism between 'inauthentic' spaces of flows and 'authentic' place emerges from humanistic geography's attachment to bounded places – a dualism that is reinforced through Augé's (1995) logic of the 'non-place' which he characterises as the impersonal and asocial spaces of transit. However in dissolving this binary, it is important to recognise the problematics associated with nomadism and unrestrained mobility (Cresswell, 2003, 2006). Here, particular places and localities are subsumed within a ceaseless movement. More sensitively, many contemporary mobility studies have tended to focus on the *relative mobilities* of bodies and objects, of stillness and movement as not oppositional (Cresswell, 2001).

Air travel has long been the empirical locus of studies that focus on spaces of flows. Indeed there has been a proliferation of studies which have viewed the airport and air travel as the quintessential symbol of speed, connectedness, mobility and of modernity more broadly (Augé, 1995; Gottdiener, 2000; Pascoe, 2001; Adey, 2004a, 2004b, Dodge and Kitchen, 2004; Lloyd, 2004, Fuller and Harley, 2005). Other technologies of transit such as automobility and the spaces of car travel have also received much recent academic attention (Edensor, 2003; Delalex, 2004; Merriman, 2004; Peters, 2004; Scanlan, 2004; Sheller and Urry, 2000; Thrift, 2004a). However, such a narrow focus seems to capture only a limited dimension of the multiplicity of experiences, at the expense of many other technologies of transit, such as the bus, metro, tram or bicycle, which may illuminate other ways of being engaged in spaces of flow. Whilst airports and aeroplanes force us to reflect on the privileged mobility of some and the immobility of others, other more banal yet perhaps more inclusive technologies of transit such as train travel, which may be used on a more frequent basis, enables us to consider other ways in which mobility is experienced by a range of people travelling together; from regular commuter to one-time leisure traveller and so on. This thesis therefore builds on the nascent

body of work that has taken railway travel as its point of departure (see Letherby and Reynolds, 2005; Watts, 2006).

1.4 Epistemological context

Epistemologically, this thesis is situated at the interstices of phenomenology, post-structuralism and Science and Technology Studies drawing on the advantages of each of these modes of thinking. Eschewing the transcendentalism of phenomenology or the corporeal decentring of poststructuralism, this thesis builds on a combination of theoretical approaches. Crucially, this involves a commitment to relational ontologies that take seriously the connectedness of practices and phenomena over time. With a focus on the relational materiality of these spaces of flows and embodied experience of technology, this thesis draws out the more-than-representational and sensuous nature of experience whilst on the move (Lorimer, 2005). Relationships between objects and bodies are not confined to visual, representational or semiotic systems. The fleshiness, tactility and sensuous dimensions of these relationships push the limits of meaning, representation and narrative. From a processual and practice-based epistemological standpoint, the unfolding of human experience is *sensed* through the body. Drawing on Massumi (2002a), consciousness can therefore be conceptualised as a product of subtraction from a rich state of potential or virtuality. Things are always in the process of becoming something else, where feedback loops of movement, perception and action collapse into a general economy of movement between bodies and objects (Watson, 2003). Since consciousness lies across and between bodies and objects, it is an emergent phenomena and is dependent upon sensory data from the environment for its very existence. Emotions, understood as the linguistic and cognitive qualification of affect (McCormack, 2003), interact and stem from these material sensations that can then serve to disrupt ideal subject positions discussed and analysed through more traditional empirical encounters. The affective and processual entanglement of bodies and technologies of transit prompts us to consider the sensual expressivity and creativity of practice, of sound and memory (B. Anderson, 2004; Bull, 2004; Pinder, 2001), taste, smell and texture (Hetherington, 2002), the kinaesthetic sensations of movement (Danius, 2002), touch and hapticity (Paterson, 2006) together with involuntary memory and remembrance (Crouch, 2003). As Lorimer argues, these kinds of expression offer 'an escape from the established academic habit of striving to uncover meanings and values that apparently await our discovery, interpretation, judgement and ultimate representation' (2005, 84).

Far from idealistically arguing that spaces of flow somehow *heighten* emotional and sensual engagements (although sometimes this might be the case), attention to these aspects of experience will explore the reconfiguration of emotion and sensuality through space (see Thrift, 2004b). For instance material sensations may foster apprehensions of anxiety, anomie and fear (Bishop, 2002) perhaps stimulated by the trafficked nature of the individual (Scanlan, 2004) who lacks control or has only illusory control of their situation (Whissel, 2002). It is

necessary here to consider the complex processes of circulations of affect that cut through, across and 'which contingently reconstruct the relationality of the 'social' and the 'technical'' (Fraser et al., 2005, 8). Such affectual relationships are not only between bodies and objects but the collective feelings between bodies through these spaces of flow (Ahmed, 2004). This thesis explores how the different spaces through the railway assemblage provide new places for complex renegotiations of meanings and experiences. Heeding this epistemological rationale, one of the strengths of this thesis is its interdisciplinarity. Whilst speaking to current cultural geographic debates, this research also fits well with current debates in cultural studies, sociology, mobility studies and transport studies.

1.5 Aims and research questions

In light of these epistemological, policy-based and disciplinary contexts, this thesis develops a multi-method approach to explore how people move through and dwell within spaces of the railway journey. In doing so, this thesis aims to move away from discourses and representations of railway travel, both academic and media-based, to instead focus on the practical embodied nature of the experience of railway travel. By focusing on embodied practice this research enhances our understanding of the complexities between stasis and movement that passengers experience through the railway journey. In turn, this serves to reveal the changeability and unpredictability of practice. This thesis aims to:

- increase our knowledge of how bodies *deal* with travel-time and bodily *demands* during the course of a railway journey.
- enhance our understanding of the relationship between individual and collective experience during the course of a railway journey.
- problematise the usefulness of idealised passenger types through travel motivation such as 'business' or 'leisure' and instead develops other more responsive ways of considering subject formation whilst on the move through attention to practice.
- problematise the dualism that many studies on travelling places have made between passive, rational bodies and agentive, powerful bodies by considering some of the complex subjectivities that emerge through the course of railway travel.
- demonstrate how the fluid nature of both engagement *and* disengagement are key to understanding the lived experience of a railway journey, giving rise to both intensified and attenuated experiences.
- illuminate how agency whilst on the move is distributed between bodies, objects and the proximate environment and gives rise to particular freedoms and constraints.
- reveal how spaces of the railway journey are engineered to give rise to and facilitate particular structures of feeling, but that this interaction is often unpredictable.

- enhance our understanding of the ontological status of the travelling body by considering what a body *is* and *can do* during different stages of the railway journey.

In sum, this thesis aims to remedy the lack of attention accorded to the diverse processual enactments and theorisations of processes and practices of flow through spaces of the railway journey. In relation to these research aims, the following questions will be addressed:

1. *What* is a travelling body and how does a body *become* a travelling body?

This question interrogates the ontological status of the travelling body by prompting a consideration of corporeal boundaries, degrees of freedom and restraint, vulnerability and security, and how agency is distributed between bodies and objects at different times and in different spaces of the railway journey. It asks us to examine the assemblage of objects, practices, movements and knowledges that are *required* to become a travelling body.

2. *How* and *to what extent* is travel-time planned, organised, used and valued?

This question prompts us to consider how and to what extent travel-time is utilised for practical tasks, and, more broadly, how spaces of the railway journey are brought into being in different ways to different ends. It asks us to consider the various ways in which the time of the journey is organised and managed by different individuals travelling for different purposes. It prompts us to consider the relationship between active and engaged, and more passive and disengaged experiences of travel-time and how these experiential states can be both desirable and undesirable.

3. How does the experience of time and space *transform* over the duration of a journey and how do bodies *respond* to these transformations?

This question prompts us to consider how temporality and spatiality are qualitatively experienced through the body over the course of the journey. It asks us to reflect on the experience of and relationships between different forms of movement. With regard to changing journey situations, it prompts us to examine the relationship between individuality and collectivity whilst on the move together with the demands and obligations to the self and others.

1.6 Thesis outline

Chapter 2 explores the principle theoretical themes that inform the thesis and is organised into three sections. The first section interrogates the time-spaces of movement of the railway journey and considers what the experience of a railway journey does to conceptions of place. Moving away from theorisations that have considered these spaces of flow as 'non-places', I argue for the necessity to develop a more mobile conception of place that takes seriously the multiple tensions between transience and being-in-the-world and how these relate to mobility

and immobility. The second section argues that many studies of mobile places rely on aggregate models that serve to pacify the body. In response, I advocate a focus on practices of movement whereby the body in motion is practically involved in the ongoing creation of the railway journey. This conception is useful in that it enables us to appreciate the relations that bodies travelling by train develop with other bodies, objects and their proximate environment. This enables us explore the affective and experiential aspects of the railway journey that are often absent from studies that treat bodies in an aggregate manner. Attention to differential performances also enables us to develop an understanding of the multiple and complex relationships between different types of mobility and immobility experienced during a railway journey. Building on these theories of practice, section three considers the engagements of movement. Here I argue that theories of practice tend to overemphasise the animated and performing body at the expense of more passive experiences. Unlike the passivity engendered through the reduction of bodies to mobile vectors, I develop a phenomenology of existential passivity that attends to the various degrees and desirabilities of engagement and disengagement from practical activity.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological strategy that underlies the empirical practices used to research the experience of mobile bodies. In response to recent calls for social scientists to work more closely with their objects of study (Latour, 2000), this research develops a multi-method approach to explore how people move through and dwell within the time-spaces of the railway journey. First, I outline the epistemological rationale for the particular set of methods developed. Drawing on studies that have championed the use of more 'mobile methodologies', the methods here aim to present a sense of liveliness and through the movement of objects and bodies. Second, I outline each of the methods in turn: autoethnographic participant observation; visual methodologies; go-along; semi-structured interviews; and discourse analysis. The diversity of techniques developed ensures that this research remains responsive to a large number of different affectivities and experiences. The production of different types of knowledge; visual, verbal and tactile; provides a multi-vocal conduit for exploring a range of different travelling sensibilities. Third, I discuss the processes of analysis.

Chapter 4 enhances our understanding of *how people move through the railway station* by looking at some of the practices that are undertaken in order to accomplish the railway journey and where and when these practices take place. It investigates the character of these movements and how these movements are achieved by different bodies. It critiques the notion of efficient and rational bodily movement through these spaces that more aggregate studies sometimes imply, by illuminating some of the complex object and knowledge entanglements bound up with these movements. These ideas are developed through three sections. Firstly and focusing on the body itself, I look at how the *capacities for movement of the physical body* are transformed by the presence of other objects carried with the body. Exploring the material reconfigurations of the travelling body problematises how we conceptualise the boundaries of

the body. In turn, I investigate how the presence and absence of other objects affords or restricts movement. Secondly, and considering the railway station as a place of physical bodily movement, I look at how *different spaces of the railway station are differentiated*. I investigate how this affects the character of bodily movement, particularly with regard to speed. This section considers how best to think about these different movements, for example, where and when changes in bodily movement occur. Here I look at the various demands that different spaces place on the travelling body and the relationship between control and freedom that these spaces implicate. Following this, I illuminate some of the relations between active engagement and passive submission when moving through these spaces. Thirdly, and illustrating the heterogeneity of bodies, I look at the *knowledges and information* that are required by bodies to move through these spaces. Here, I consider some of the differences between the routine and experienced traveller and the first-time traveller. I look at how these knowledges are developed and when they might be reconfigured.

Chapter 5 adds depth of knowledge to what people actually do whilst on the move. In contrast to many studies that focus only on the spaces of arrival and departure, and those studies that see journey time as wasted time, I look at what passengers do with their time during the in-between durations of the railway journey. Looking at a range of multi-sensual practices, this chapter complements studies that have taken the embodiment of car travel as their focus. It also problematises the distinction commonly made between 'business' and 'leisure' travellers by looking at how an investment in particular activities shifts over time to reveal a patchwork of engagement and disengagement. These ideas are developed through three sections. Firstly, I look at how bodies put time and space to productive use to *work whilst on the move*. I investigate how these working practices complement and relate to other everyday working practices. More practically I examine what objects and technologies are required to work on the move and how they are used. Overall, this section investigates how spaces are transformed, materially, by these working practices, individually and with others. Secondly, I look at the *types of entertaining practices* that passengers engage in whilst on the move. Here, I investigate how the duration of the train journey can be experienced as a time and place for entertainment and how practices of conversation, travelling with children and engaging in reading or listening activities can transform the experience of time and space of the journey. Thirdly, I look at how these practical dimensions of travelling relate to *visual practices* during the course of a journey. I investigate some of the different types of visuality that are experienced and how they relate to each other. Here I consider how the visual folds through other dimensions of materiality such as dimensions of the proximate environment and memory, together with the extent to which these practices of vision are attentive or passive.

Chapter 6 critiques the figure of the always-active passenger and enhances our understanding of how the event of railway travel *impacts on the body itself*. Here I explore a series of spaces where bodies are not engaged in active and productive practices. In doing so, through this chapter I consider some of the unthought and unreflexive dimensions of railway

travel and the extent to which these dimensions alter our lived experiences of duration and place whilst on the move. Paying close attention to temporality, I look at the relation between wakefulness and sleepfulness on the move and how the relationship between them shifts over time. These ideas are developed through two sections. Firstly, I consider the event of *waiting* as an undesirable experience. I investigate some of the different modalities of waiting that can be experienced during a railway journey. I look at how waiting impacts on the body, through both bringing the body into contact with itself and through withdrawal. With regard to different forms of waiting, I consider what different forms of waiting do to our experiences of time and space and how different spaces of waiting have the capacity to induce patience or impatience. Secondly, I look at how practices of *relaxation* bring about more desirable forms of withdrawal. I ask whether these desirable forms of withdrawal can be willed through the body and, if so, how they can be achieved. I look at how particular spaces are designed to make the body withdraw as opposed to promote activity and consequently ask what these experiences do to our experience of time and space. I consider how this changes the body and its relation to other bodies, for example by inducing particular feelings of vulnerability. By focusing more closely on forms of passivity and its relationship to activity, this chapter illuminates how the fluid nature of both engagement *and* disengagement are key to understanding the lived experience of the railway journey, giving rise to both intensified and attenuated experiences.

Chapter 7 considers the extent to which the travelling body is also a social body that is bound up with being with others on the move. This relationship between individuality and collectivity and the kinds of belonging that emerge folds back to the considerations of the previous chapters in that it helps us to consider what passengers can do during the railway journey, how space is perceived, and how experiences shift over time. First, I look at how the spatiality of the railway carriage is brought into being in complex ways. I examine how the particular public dimension of being-with-others impacts on how this space is perceived and used. I consider how both the uniformity of the carriage environment together with the experience of being with unknown others gives rise to particular atmospheres of anonymity that have the capacity to induce particular feelings of vulnerability. I look at a variety of strategies that are enacted to overcome this anonymity through the personalisation of space. Here, I consider how this process of the individual privatisation of space is calculated, performed, negotiated and maintained in a variety of spatial and audial ways with other passengers. Second, I look at what happens when the space of the carriage cannot be controlled or used in a way that passengers had originally anticipated. As such, through this section I illuminate not only the fragility of the railway journey in terms of the susceptibility to multiple unanticipated events but also how these unanticipated events make the passenger more vulnerable. I describe some events of conflict when sociality breaks down and ruptures together with particular events of cohesion that emerge when there is a disruption to the train service. This section highlights not only the significance of passivity as a strategy to cope with both events of irritation and disruption but also, similar to the stilling explored in chapter 6, how both these

events reduce the potential range of activities that passengers can undertake. Third, and following from this, I look at how more responsible forms of being with others in the space of the railway journey can potentially develop. Rather than durations that are characterised by the individualistic privatisation of space, or where sociality emerges only through events of conflict or cohesion, important here is a recognition that particular dispositions of civility are required to make these spaces more pleasant for the variety of passengers that these spaces accommodate. I explore how forms of 'railway citizenship' emerge through particular acts of responsibility towards other passengers. I then look at how brief, light-touch relations can bring about more pleasant, transient relations between passengers.

Chapter 8 provides an overview and evaluation of the research project as a whole and is divided into three sections. The first section emphasises the value of the conceptual and methodological approach and how it enables us to expand on current understandings of the railway journey. Rather than re-summarising the findings of each individual chapter, the second section outlines and summarises the significance of the *major themes* that emerge through this research in line with the research aims and questions outlined in chapter 1. These themes relate to: choice, travel-time and productivity; heterogeneity and responsibility; immobilities and dwelling; and ease and passivity. The third and final section provides some final thoughts on the limitations and possibilities that this research offers.

Chapter 2

Theorising movement: engaging the railway journey

Introduction

Conceptually, this thesis straddles disciplinary boundaries and is situated at the nexus of mobility studies, cultural studies and human geography but is also influenced by themes within contemporary continental philosophy and cognitive psychology. As such, and in response, this chapter provides a conceptual overview of the thesis, setting up the key theoretical debates that inform the empirical material. In turn, this chapter serves to locate the specific empirical study of the railway journey within a wider social scientific context. This chapter builds on and develops three related strands of theory which are explored in three sections.

The first section interrogates the *time-spaces of movement* of the railway journey and considers more broadly what the experience of a railway journey does to conceptions of place. Charting a route through some of the multiple geographic conceptions of place during the latter part of the twentieth century and its relationship with mobility, I discuss how reconfigured time-spaces as a consequence of increased mobility have transformed understandings of place. Rather than apprehending the spaces of a railway journey as liminal, transient non-places, through this section I argue for the need to develop a more mobile conception of place that apprehends the multiple tensions between transience and being-in-the-world that is perhaps one of the hallmarks of railway travel. Such an understanding needs to be responsive to the complexity and fractured nature of the railway journey as a set of liminal spaces that are neither static and rooted nor free flowing and unrestrained.

Whilst holding onto this mobile notion of place, in section two I argue that many theorisations of mobile places rely on aggregate models that serve to pacify the body, thereby reducing it to a mobile vector[1]. In response, I advocate a focus on the *practices of movement* where the body in motion is practically involved in the ongoing creation of the railway journey. Informed by strands of phenomenology and poststructuralist thought through theories of performance and affect, I argue that far from inevitable or predictable, the event of the railway journey is in part constituted through the multiple active and practical performances undertaken by bodies travelling through these spaces. This conception is useful in that it enables us to appreciate the relations that bodies travelling by train develop with other bodies, objects and their proximate environment. In doing so it allows us to consider the differential performances that a variety of bodies undertake during a railway journey in order to critique the notion of an unencumbered 'heroic' traveller that is often apparent in many studies of mobility and will be discussed below. This theoretical lens enables us to attend to the affective and experiential aspects of the railway journey that are often absent from studies that treat bodies in an aggregate manner. Attention to the differential performances of bodies also allows us to develop an understanding of the multiple and complex relationships between different types of mobility and immobility experienced during a railway journey.

Building on these theories of practice, section three considers the *engagements of movement* focusing on the style and character of engagements that bodies experience during the course of a railway journey. Specifically, I argue that these theories of practice tend to overemphasise the animated and performing body at the expense of more passive experiences and phenomena that are perhaps more difficult to narrate but are no less fundamental to the experience of a railway journey. Unlike the passivity engendered through the reduction of bodies to mobile vectors, through the lexicon of intensity I develop a phenomenology of existential passivity that attends to the various degrees and desirabilities of engagement and disengagement from practical activity. Ultimately what is at stake here is the status and agency of the body in transit. This section develops existential theorisations of the body that are more responsive to the various agents that move bodies, both physically and affectually whilst undertaking a railway journey through an apprehension of the complex relationships between practice and agency.

Through this chapter I explore each of these theoretical themes in turn, reviewing the current literature and developing the theoretical arguments that set up the empirical study.

2.1 Time-spaces of movement

Undertaking a railway journey involves traversing a number of different spaces over a certain duration of time. Moving through some of the multiple spaces of the railway station through to the space of the railway carriage which itself moves through the landscape, the

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[1] The term 'vector' is used here to imply that within these conceptualisations, bodies are reduced to mathematical phenomena that have only direction and speed.

traveller experiences a multitude of different places, often simultaneously. But how should this relationship between place and mobility be conceptualised? In this section, firstly, I consider this relationship in more detail, examining the changing ways through which mobility has been theorised during the latter half of the twentieth century. Secondly, I outline how the increased scale of different mobilities and a parallel transformation of the nature of place have challenged more sedentarist ideologies, replacing them with a more fluid and nomadic apprehension of mobility. Thirdly, I consider the effect that such theorising has on understanding the place of the railway journey. As opposed to the proliferation of transient places that are somehow separate from the realm of dwelling, I argue for the need to conceptualise the space of the railway journey as a complex and fragmented space that is neither rooted nor free-flowing.

2.1.1 Place, mobility and placelessness: a sedentary metaphysics

Understanding place has always been a pivotal concern for human geographers. However the relationship between place and mobility as a metaphor in both the popular and geographical imagination has changed considerably during the latter half of the twentieth century. One of the most pervasive ways of considering mobility was through the epistemological lens of 'place, rootedness and spatial order' (Cresswell, 2006, 26). This was a key concern of both spatial scientific geography and humanist geography. Spatial scientific approaches (see Haggett, 1965) were primarily concerned with the static elements of place which subsumed movement to a rational, calculative and secondary effect of place. Movement of people, goods and services was conceptualised as a logical predictable outcome of demand and supply that could be easily abstracted, mapped and modelled over space. Movement between different locations occurred in these models as a result of the balance between cost and benefit and the movements of people remain wholly abstracted from the embodied experiential aspects of mobility. As Imrie argues, the body here was 'little more than an object with fixed measurable parts; it is neutered, that is, without sex, gender, race, or physical difference. It is residual and is subordinate to the mind, or that realm of existence that is characterised by what the body is not, such as self, thought and reason. By implication the body is devalued' (2003, 47).

In response, humanistic geography put the human experience at the centre of its study. However, similar to spatial scientific approaches, mobility was again subsumed beneath place which was the dominant nexus of analysis. Humanistic geography served to re-embody the notion of place and focused on the intimate relationships between people and the particularities of the landscapes they experienced. Influenced by the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger's devotion to place as 'the good life' through the investment of 'being-in-the-world', Relph focused on the way in which humans ascribe meanings to particular places, arguing 'to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place' (1976, 1). Following Heidegger (1978), the domestic realm is commonly at the centre of this place-based epistemology where the home represents the centre of meaning

(Tuan, 1977). Humanistic thought's valorisation of place therefore focuses on how people create place-based identities, where a sense of belonging is bound up with a social, political, economic and cultural attachment to particular places. This creates a 'pointillist' unrelational sense of place, in the sense that place is rendered as a container, both fixed and discrete[2] (see Doel, 1999). Place attachment in this sense is the culmination of affective, cognitive and behavioural bonds between individuals, groups and places (Altman and Low, 1992).

In this humanistic schema the attachment of existential insiders to place is characterised as being 'authentic' (Cresswell, 2001). Valorisation of this attachment is, however, threatened by processes that have resulted in increased mobility, particularly the development of particular modes of global capitalism. For Relph, the development of multi-national business and tourism contributes to an encroaching sense of 'placelessness', through the erosion and weakening of attachments to place. Similarly for Harvey (1989), mobility more broadly is viewed as the detrimental force of global capitalism. Mobility features as a deviation from place-based attachments and is represented as a social pathology[3] (Cresswell, 2006). Following this line of thought, the place of the railway journey could be viewed as superficial and destructive. On the scale of this destruction, Relph states that 'roads, railways, airports, cutting across or imposed on the landscape rather than developing with it, are not only features of placelessness in their own right, but by making possible the mass movement of people with all their fashions and habits, have encouraged the spread of placelessness well beyond their immediate impacts' (1976, 90). Such exclusionary notions of place which rely on some form of rooted authenticity denigrate the place of mobility to something which is meaningless and destructive which produces a divisive and politically charged ideal of cultural ownership of particular places (Duncan and Duncan, 2004). For people to be considered to be insiders they must work to cultivate an involved and essentially parochial relation to the specific place. Using this dualistic logic, it follows that an outsider has a more detached relation to place. This theoretical rendering of place that takes on a bounded and static character can be defined as enacting a sedentary metaphysics. For Malkki (1992), the ideology of a sedentary metaphysics of place that draws on rooted, authentic and crucially territorialised definitions of culture and identity works to denigrate mobile people in ways that assume a moral and logical primacy of fixity in space. Whilst Malkki focuses on the example of the refugee as a mobile threat, other mobile groups such as tramps (Cresswell, 1997), migrants (Kraut, 1995) and gypsies (Sibley, 1981) have at various points in time similarly been characterised as a threat to the sanctity, authority and stability of place and met with hostility as groups to be controlled. As Sheller and Urry argue, a sedentary metaphysics 'rests on forms of territorial nationalism and their associated

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[2] Doel and Hubbard (2002) discuss how this description of place relies on the juxtaposition of elements that gives rise to a structural effect or structuralist impression of place.

[3] Cresswell describes how the mobility of the tramp, as a particularly disadvantaged and marginal group in the United States during the twentieth century, was viewed with unease and suspicion. Here, 'the tramp's mobility was seen as a clear indicator of the threat that he, or she, posed to respectable society' (2002, 14).

technologies of mapping and visualisation which emerged out of the Enlightenment 'cosmic view' of the world' (2006a, 209; see also Kaplan, 1996, 2006).

At the heart of these epistemologies is therefore a powerful ideological and often paranoiac valuation of place that is always under threat from mobility. The threat to place here emerges especially from the mobility of subaltern groups together with processes that perpetuate increased mobility, particularly infrastructure, that facilitates the spread of placelessness. Railways as both technologies of transportation and complex infrastructural assemblages that dissect the landscape are, from this perspective, considered to be a facilitator of placelessness. Such anxieties as expressed by Relph are particularly evident during the early years of railway development and are not limited to urban areas. Vocal critics of the spread of the railway, such as Wordsworth, argued that railway development in rural areas such as the Lake District would do irreparable damage, both physically and socially, to its beautiful and sublime landscapes. Similarly inter-urban routes that cut through other rural landscapes were perceived to pose a threat to rural life by certain landowners who sought to protect the privacy of their estates from influxes of strangers (Turnock, 1998). Indeed since the mid-nineteenth century, railways have played a central part in the transportation of groups of people that have been viewed as a moral and physical threat to the perceived stability of place (see Cresswell, 1997). Through the transportation of certain suspect groups of people, particularly migrants, railways challenged the maintenance of borders and processes of place-centric, territorial exclusion[4] (Davidson, 2003). Similarly, the place of the railway station itself has often been populated by underprivileged groups of people viewed by many as undesirable, such as tramps, beggars and the homeless. As Harrington puts it with reference to railways in the Victorian era, 'railways were typically associated with pollution, destruction, disaster and danger, threatening the destabilisation and corruption of the social order, the vulgarisation of culture, the despoliation of rural beauty, the violence, destruction and terror of the accident' (1999, 229). Within this conceptual framework therefore, a moral economy of movement emerges where mobility is viewed as detrimental to place.

2.1.2 Reconfigured time-spaces: a nomadic metaphysics

Whilst humanistic geographical approaches tended to subsume movement beneath the importance accorded to place-based attachments and relationships, more contemporary epistemologies have challenged this dualistic ideology by viewing mobility more broadly in terms of wider shifts within global social and economic networks. Whilst the increased scale of different forms of movements over longer distances have challenged the notion of authentic places, postcolonial critics have vociferously demonstrated how the ideology of rooted places is a product of a western colonial imagination (see Kincaid, 1988; Clifford, 1997). Studies of

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[4] See Presner (2007), for example, on the complex interrelationships between Germans, Jews, migrants and trains during the development of the German railway network.

transnational citizenship and migration have also provided strong critiques of the notion of rooted cultures, places, and people (see Ong, 1999; Gilroy, 1993; Cohen, 1997). Anthropologists have demonstrated the value of thinking the production of space in terms of travel and translation rather than rooted or bounded cultures (Clifford, 1992). Similarly, sociologists are increasingly concerned with the mobility of societies at global scale rather than the study of bounded and fixed structures of groups of people restricted to particular localities (Urry, 2000). The latter half of the twentieth century has witnessed an exponential increase in processes of mobility at a global scale (see Massey 1993). As Urry states, 'the scale of contemporary travelling is immense' (2003b, 157). From the movement of people through the processes of mass-migration (both forced and voluntary), displacement, tourism and through business travel, the number of bodies on the move is ever-increasing (see Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1996; Pries, 1999; Rojek and Urry, 1997). These processes parallel and are often assisted by a massive rise in virtual mobility through communication and information technologies and more flexible working practices. An increasingly networked society has reconfigured the relationships between near and far, resulting in a time-space that is increasingly plastic which produces different forms of proximity (see Virilio, 1997; Green 2002). Such increases in movement at a range of scales have fragmented the notion of rooted places by reconfiguring the relationship of time and space, what Harvey calls 'time-space compression' (1989). Whilst this reconfiguration is spatially, temporally and socially differentiated (Stein, 2001; Massey, 1993; Cresswell, 2001; Castells, 1996; Amin and Thrift, 2002), for those caught up in these flows, increased movement heralds an implosion of the time-space axis (Weinstock, 2004), a 'contraction of the present' (Rosa, 2003, 8) and an attunement to 'real-time' ontologies (Virilio, 2005) which necessitates an acceleration in the pace of life.

As Cresswell points out, 'as the world has appeared to become more mobile, so thinking about the world has become nomadic thought' (2006, 43) which is more willing to transgress disciplinary boundaries. Sheller and Urry (2006a) argue that rather than portraying a totalising and reductive grand narrative of mobility and fluidity, the rise of what they call the 'new mobilities paradigm' presents a series of 'questions, theories, and methodologies' for how we should attend to the question of movement (Sheller and Urry, 2006a, 210). Thinking across this paradigm has been heavily influenced by strands of postmodern thought where partial, incomplete, fractured and temporary knowledges take precedent over holistic metanarratives that serve to erase the messiness and complex relations between people, place and movement. Rather than being static and sedentary, mobile knowledges typify this 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000). This nomadic style of thought, where mobility brings about a particular 'structure of feeling[5]' to use William's (1973) words, in part follows from Deleuze and

[5] Williams used the term 'structure of feeling' to designate the emotional bonding generated by values and practices shared by a specific group, class, or culture. (1973, 64). This term is also invoked by Thrift (1999) to describe the various cultural, bodily and emotional experiences of global changes that are at the very 'edge of semantic availability' (Williams, 1973, 23).

Guattari's (1986) writings on nomadology where it is the ever-multiplying lines of movement rather than discrete places of stasis that distribute people in space.

Whilst I would concur with Sheller and Urry that mobilities 'need to be examined in their fluid interdependence and not in their separate spheres' (2006a, 212), social scientific research that incorporates railway travel has often been limited to studies that are concerned with economic and productivist aspects of journeying. Railway travel is reduced to the categories of 'leisure', 'business' and 'commuting' without attending to the complex processual aspects of people's journeys. This is all the more surprising since railway travel within Britain has experienced a massive growth in the past decade (Shaw et al., 2003) relative to car and air travel. In this thesis, I draw on aspects of nomadic thought in order to more adequately attend to the complex interrelated aspects of mobility that emerge during the course of the railway journey, rather than looking solely at a number of discrete places that are only tangentially connected by implication. However, I also contend that to develop postmodern nomadic thought uncritically risks reducing all matter, both human and object to forms of unrestrained and undifferentiated movement across a relatively uniform space. A nomadic metaphysics that celebrates movement erases place-specificity and historical contingency and views the mobile body or metaphorical nomad in ways that are more akin to Orientalist discourses as objects of desire and romance (Cresswell, 2006). It ignores the fact that mobility is experienced differently by different bodies on the move and reduces the importance of place to mere combinations of velocity where different movements momentarily cohere and combine in the absence of historical and political contexts. In the next section I demonstrate the necessity to go beyond both sedentary and nomadic metaphysics to arrive at a theoretical rendering of mobile places that are attentive to both place-specificity *and* movement.

2.1.3 Fractured transient spaces: non-places and the place of the railway journey

As a result of this increased mobility, with people travelling more frequently and over greater distances, the proliferation of a particular kind of place has emerged. These are landscapes that are not only based around movement but are *required* in order for these movements to occur. Echoing humanist descriptions of the binary between place and placelessness, Marc Augé terms these spaces 'non-places'. He argues that central to their discernment is the relationship between the individual and the space. Whereas anthropological 'places' promote meaningful and close relationships between people and space, non-places 'are the spaces of circulation, communication and consumption, where solitudes coexist without creating any social bond or even a social emotion' (Augé, 1996, 178). Whilst he argues that many contemporary spaces such as motorways, theme parks, hotels, department stores, and shopping centres exhibit features of the non-place[6], the airport is the most exemplary

[6] Although contra Augé, see Didion (1990) on the communal dimension of the freeway. Also see Baudrillard (1989) on freeway driving and experiences of the hyperreal and nostalgia.

where bodies experience an increased sense of isolation and individuation (Augé, 1995). In the non-place, there is an excess of space resulting from time-space compression and an increased tendency to be a witness rather than an actor in contemporary life. They are the realm of transit as opposed to dwelling. Whilst Augé has been critiqued for failing to adequately historicise his argument, overemphasising the newness of experience (Merriman, 2004), perhaps the strength of this thesis is that we instinctively know what these kinds of places are (Crang, 2002a).

For many authors, it is the airport that is the quintessential figure of this non-place and it has been used as both example and metaphor to illuminate and describe the contemporary globalised (and possibly postmodern) mobile experience (see Gottdiener, 2000; Lloyd, 2004; Chambers, 1990; Pascoe, 2001). The airport in these accounts features as a liminal space which is marked by transience. Both the architectural design, the similar configuration of spaces that most airports share together with the intense organisation, management and surveillance of people facilitates this sense of placelessness (Adey, 2004a; Dodge and Kitchen, 2004). Furthermore, the particular iconography of signs helps to foster a sense of suspension and timelessness (Fuller and Harley, 2005; Rowley and Slack, 1999). For passengers, airports are the spaces of departure and arrival as opposed to dwelling: they are interstitial spaces of social life. Indeed, contrary to Augé's non-place and considering all the discourses and ideologies bound up with air travel, Adey (2006b) argues that with airports and air travel comes a form of 'air-mindedness', a moral discourse linked to identity-formation and a sense of belonging. Here airports emerge as exemplary of a special and particular kind of place. However, for all the critique that Augé's non-place metaphor invites – a lack of differentiation between multiple passenger types (Crang, 2002; Lassen, 2006); and an inattention to their social, historical and cultural embeddedness within their surrounding locality (Cresswell, 2006) – when focusing on the experience of the journey, airports form only one particular place, one particular node within the overall journey. This is perhaps all the more surprising considering that, for many passengers, the majority of the overall journey duration is not spent in the space of the airport, but rather on a plane, in a seat[7]: a place that rarely features in these accounts of interstitial spaces. Whilst airports are important in that they permit these technologies of transit to take flight, what are overlooked are the multitude of other spaces that are just as much a part of the fabric of the overall journey. This thesis aims to redress this balance by considering the relations between different spaces during the journey: not only the spaces of departure and arrival, but also the spaces that emerge during the event of passage itself. Looking at the spaces of the technology of transit provides an insight into a whole range of other places that are overlooked in studies that have over-privileged transport terminals.

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[7] Although this is arguable for short-haul journeys where a greater proportion of travel-time is spent in the terminal. However this duration of time spent at the airport tends to be effaced from the marketing of such journeys.

Some studies have focused their attention on other transient spaces that are not concerned with destination or arrival but the places that are *passed through* such as petrol stations (Normark, 2006) and motels (Jakle et al., 2002). Others have interrogated the space of the automobile as a particular mobile place that shifts and changes its relations with the proximate environment during the course of the journey depending on its purpose (see Edensor, 2003; Laurier, 2004). However, little academic attention has been paid to investigating the particular place of the railway journey: both the spaces of the railway station and the train. Whilst sharing some similarities of function and design, the place of the railway station is, in many ways, unlike that of the airport. On the whole, passengers generally spend less time passing through railway stations. Furthermore these places have often been characterised as presenting a microcosm of the urban life since the modern station as an example is 'a place where tourists, commuters, salesmen, retailers, train-spotters and the homeless converge' (Edwards, 1996, 21). Indeed perhaps railway stations, far more than airports, are more fully integrated into the wider fabric of the city, particularly in light of their increasingly commercial activities (Letherby and Reynolds, 2005; Bertolini and Spit, 1998). Or as Gaultier puts it slightly more romantically, these '[c]athedrals of the new humanity are the meeting points of nations, the centre where all converges, the nucleus of the huge stars whose iron rays stretch out to the ends of the earth' (Gaultier in Dethier, 1981, 6). Importantly therefore, this thesis investigates the place of the railway journey through an appreciation of the complex variety of *different* places that are encountered. Rather than equating the place of the railway journey with the station, this thesis looks at the relations between the space of the station and the space of the railway carriage and how these different spaces are interwoven or differentiated at different times during the course of the railway journey. Rather than the simplicity implied through the metaphysics of sedentarism or nomadism, the place of the railway journey is more fractured and relational.

2.2 Practices of movement

Thus far, we have a definition that describes the place of the railway journey as neither a rooted and bounded entity, as in the case of a sedentary metaphysics, or a free flowing placeless realm, as in the case of a nomadic metaphysics. In this section, first I argue that the particular way in which bodies have often been conceptualised in both these schemas as passive and relatively inert undermines how place is created from an experiential perspective. This renders the place of mobility to be predictable and already known. Second, I outline how insights from performative and non-representational geographies can assist in producing a more lively account of bodily action that is more attentive to the experiential nature of the place of the railway journey. Thirdly, I reconsider the multitude of places passed through and brought into being during the railway journey and how theories of practice can assist in developing an understanding of the multiple and complex relationships between corporeal mobility and incarcereal mobility experienced during a railway journey. I demonstrate how embodied practices and corporeal performances bring spaces of the railway journey into being in multiple

ways for different people, thus revealing the differences and similarities of experience that individuals have of railway travel.

2.2.1 Aggregate mobilities: passivity, regulationism and symbolism

Many accounts of mobility that focus on the movements of bodies through various spaces of flow invoke an essentially passive model of human behaviour. In these models, the movement of bodies is reduced to predictable and knowable sequences of patterns that can be traced and designed for. Bodies within this framework are therefore viewed as aggregates. Space syntax theorists follow this mode of theorising to analyse spatial configuration in terms of movement, connectivity and integration (Hillier and Hanson, 1984; Hillier, 1999). Principally, it is a set of theories to describe the level of accesibility of different locations in space through which bodies can move through. These theories also pay attention to the various choices that need to be made along the way and as such are particularly relevant through spaces like transport interchanges where wayfinding is highly significant (Batty and Rana, 2004). From this topological perspective, bodies move through places such as railway stations in predictable but indeterminate ways according to the function of the different spaces within the station (see Annesley et al., 1989). These topological representations of movement can then be combined with other visual mapping representations such as GIS to produce more powerful knowledge tools (see Jiang et al., 2000). Such models rely on a probabalistic rendering of human agency, one in which there is a high probability that people will enact particular movements for functional ends. Similar techniques that homogenise bodily agency are commonplace throughout transport studies, where focus is again often directed towards quantitative modelling of passenger flows. Here, multiple bodies through spaces of transit are reduced to generic passengers with no identifying mark. As Cresswell states, these generic passengers 'are a symptom of a synoptic perspective on space that enacts a transformation of mobile bodies into a legible record that can be analyzed by the panoptic gaze of the architect, planner and engineer' (2006, 238-9). Similar to Goss's account of bodies in shopping malls, the movements of bodies can be conditioned to some extent. In Goss's words, the body 'is characterised as an object to be mechanistically manipulated – to be drawn, pulled, pushed, and led to flow magnets, anchors, generators, and attractions; or as naïve dupe to be deceived, persuaded, induced, tempted, and seduced by ploys, ruses, tricks, strategies, and games of the design' (Goss 1993, 30). Whilst these models enhance our understanding of the relationships between bodies and place, they tell us very little about how different bodies relate to space in different ways.

In other accounts of movement through these spaces, attention is paid to the *differentiation* between bodies. Knowledges of the movements of bodies through these spaces gained from space syntax forms of representation provide important information to those managing these spaces. Designers and engineers might require such information to establish surveillance regimes to differentiate bodies according to a variety of factors and intentions. In

these models, individualisation of these flows through identification between different bodies is key to the regulation of conduct (see Müller and Boos, 2004). For example, trusted, regular business-class travellers at airports are not subject to the same long and laborious surveillance strategies that other unknown and therefore potentially risky bodies may pose (Graham, 2002; Crang, 2002a; Adey, 2004a; Cresswell, 2006). The movement of one set of bodies in these cases tends to be at the expense of the immobility of others (see Kaplan, 1996). These sorting processes are increasingly automated relying on the computation of massive amounts of digital data (Wood and Graham, 2006). Through these modelling and spatial engineering techniques, movement is disembodied, 'abstracted and standardised through the removal of the clumsy fleshiness of real bodies' (Cresswell, 2006, 239). The emphases are less on the embodied experiences of the movements themselves, but rather on the control of movement through these spaces. Many studies are therefore highly regulationist in that their dominant focus is directed towards the various constraints and freedoms available to different bodies. How these qualitatively differential movements are *actually experienced* by individual bodies and are played out over time remains relatively underplayed.

Within this aggregate account of movement through these transient places, movements are entrenched within power relations. Similar to the metaphors of both a sedentarist metaphysics – where movement is negative and detrimental, and a nomadic metaphysics where movement is celebrated – the movement of bodies through space within this aggregate model are bound up with forms of meaning. Focus tends towards the political, cultural and social ideologies that condition particular movement events. Where space syntax models tend to be descriptive, regulationist approaches tend to emphasise the meanings that different movements through space are given. These regimes draw on a particular moral economy of movement where, for example, the repression or exclusion of movements by subaltern groups are brought to light. Focus is therefore on forms of representation and discourses of mobility. These studies remind us that movements of people are rooted in particular power relations whilst mobile places are also intertwined with particular political ideologies and motivations. More broadly, we could step back and consider how flows of disparate groups such as migrants, refugees, business travellers and tourists, are all implicated within particular power assemblages and imbued with different levels of control over their movements. Whilst I would not refute the importance of power and how power saturates many of these processes of mobility, this focus illuminates only one aspect of how these differential mobilities can be understood. Crucially, these ideologies are abstracted from the everyday, prosaic experiences of mobilities for a multitude of different people. As Merriman argues, 'the experiences, practices and socialities of particular travellers, and the complex work that goes into facilitating and managing the transactions and movements of users are not necessarily apparent to the anthropologist passenger, who seems to overlook the ways in which virtual or highly mediated social relations...can construct a familiar sociality' (2004, 151). In the remainder of this chapter, I want to move away from topological symbolic apprehensions of movement that pacify the body

and instead focus on how these various movements are experienced *practically* by bodies on the ground. In the following section, I look more closely at the body itself in terms of how a less passive and more animate passenger can be constructed and what that means for our understanding of the place of the railway journey.

2.2.2 Animated mobilities: bodies and performance

The passivity constructed through the modelling of aggregate and disembodied passengers leaves little room for thinking through the embodied and experiential nature of the railway journey. This results in a mono-directional model of agency which resides with the planners, architects and controllers of these spaces who have the ultimate agency to manipulate the movements of these bodies. Bodies here have little agency over their own movement, propelled through these spaces by the power and external logics engineered into the built form. Analyses that treat passengers as relatively homogenous and passive objects and that are subjected to the authority of those who control the particular space overlook the agency that individual bodies have. In doing so, they fail to consider how individual bodies have the capacity to both break away from and also subvert these dominant power structures. It is therefore important to consider how forms of spatial control are experienced and felt through the heterogeneous bodies. As Crang reminds us with regard to air travel 'it is vital to keep a sense of the occasional as well as the frequent flyer' (2002a, 573) both of whom will have different apprehensions of the same space. Personal histories, life-stage and biographical contexts are subservient to the agency of the space itself. Passive models of passengers serve to deny the feelings, expressions and sensations that are experienced by bodies as they journey through these spaces. Put simply, those sensate dimensions of experience that make us most human are denied.

To remedy this lacuna, this thesis sets out to present the body travelling through the place of the railway journey in a more lively and animate way by focusing on what bodies themselves *actually do* through these spaces of transit. Instead of focusing attention towards the meanings, ideologies and discourses that are often assigned to particular mobilities, I focus on the practices of bodies in order to provide a more experiential account of these transient places. In this way, we can consider how, rather than pre-ordered and defined, these places of the train journey can be thought of as mobile effects whereby they are continually ordered and brought into being through particular practices (Hetherington, 1997). To gain a more experiential and active account of how bodies make these places, throughout this thesis I draw on some strands of contemporary cultural geographic thought that revolve around the performative and non-representational (Nash, 2000; Harrison, 2000; Thrift, 1996; Dewsbury et al., 2002). These theories, influenced in part by strands of post-structuralist theory and phenomenology, elevate practice and bodily action over other more static forms of representation. Rather than focusing on meaning and representation, this form of conceptualisation focuses on the 'performative presentations, showings and manifestations of everyday life' (Thrift, 1997, 126–127). Instead of

attempting to uncover bold metanarratives that somehow await discovery, theories of practice emphasise the more mundane, banal and often unthought bodily undertakings that when put together constitute our experience of everyday life. Whilst meanings and wider discourses are sometimes woven into the particular practices in question, Lorimer emphasises how such practices may seem remarkable 'only by their apparent insignificance' (2005, 84). Following this epistemology, this thesis focuses on a description of some of the many practices that go into making a railway journey. A descriptive account of these practices helps us to get to grips with how journeys take shape and 'gain expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions' (Lorimer, 2005, 84). Therefore instead of focusing on the various meanings and ideologies attributed to mobility, a focus on practice and description encourages us to consider how the railway journey actually *happens*.

Through this focus on practical description emerges a very different definition of the human body. Instead of existing as a passive actant devoid of instrumental capacity and acquiescing to the rational logic of these transient spaces, the body becomes multiple, alive and agentive. Rather than viewing passengers *en masse*, an epistemology of practice recognises how different bodies have the capacity to do different things at different times. This helps to unsettle any pre-given definitions of the passenger who throughout much academic travel research has been prefigured through the construction of an overtly masculine and heroic identity (Pratt, 1992; Wolff, 1993; Van den Abbeele, 1991). A focus on embodied practice – where the event of travel is brought into being through particular performances – allows us to develop a relational definition of bodies that are not defined in terms of a fixed identity or an essence, as is often the case of studies of passengers that focus on aggregate mobilities. Instead, bodies are considered in terms of their capacities for connection or becoming. Throughout this thesis, I mobilise two key dimensions of this theory of practice which assists charting the experiential dimension of travel:

Firstly, I consider the centrality of *affect* to bodily experience and the comprehension of subjectivity. This takes seriously the trans-human entities that fold through and circulate through and between bodies during the course of the journey. Drawing on Spinoza's metaphysics, rather than a set of individualised, personal emotions, affect emerges as pre-personal capacities for action. Here, bodies and objects are processually defined by their relational capacities to become. As Massumi states, 'affect is autonomous to the degree to which it escapes confinement in the particular body whose vitality, or potential for interaction, it is' (2002a, 35). It is a trans-personal sense of life, the 'perception of one's own vitality, one's sense of aliveness, of changeability' (Massumi, 2002a, 36). Many have focused on tracing corporeal expressions of affect as demonstrated through the emergence of particular bodily feelings such as anger (Katz, 1999), shame (Probyn, 2005), boredom (B. Anderson, 2004) and hypnotic excess (Nealson, 2002). Feelings rather than emotions here can be described as the various shifting corporeal

postures and habits of a body. Whilst there is no fixed definition of affect, all definitions of affect tend to 'depend on a sense of push in the world' (Thrift, 2004b, 64): of forward momentum through activity.

Secondly, and related to affect, I consider how *intensity* as qualitative degree of affective engagement has the potential to enhance or deplete living space-times of the railway journey. Thinking through intensity therefore helps us to evaluate the relative potency of affect throughout the duration of the journey, through both amplification and dampening. Deleuze suggests that it is intensity 'that gives all the qualities with which we make experience' (1991, 92). Similarly, Bergson's (2001) writings on the intensity of conscious states demonstrates this qualitative nature of intensity relative to duration and the capacity of things to differ in intensity. To borrow from Massumi, we can think of intensity as 'the *strength or duration* of the image's effect' (2002b, 24, my emphasis). As Massumi suggests 'our degree of freedom at any one time corresponds to how much of our 'experiential 'depth' we can access towards a next step – how intensely we are living and moving' (2002a, 215). In this sense living intensity is a kind of openness contributing to a heightened sense of belonging. Consequently, intensified affect promotes a stronger sense of embeddedness in a larger field of life.

This way of thinking through bodily experience from an affective perspective is particularly useful when considering and describing the qualitative nature of the relationship that bodies have with spaces, objects and other bodies during the journey. Rather than apprehending the movements of passengers in a way that views them as gliding, unimpeded and without friction through spaces of the railway journey, attending to these relationships focuses attention on the embodied dimension of travel. The extent to which relationships are fleeting or prolonged, meaningful or superficial, significant or inconsequential all influence how the journey is felt through the body. Rather than a simple uneventful matter of being transported from point to point, these relationships reveal the sometimes-frustrating, sometimes-uplifting and often-messy business that forms the event of the railway journey. In doing so, this research is concerned with how the railway journey is formed through practical ways of being and becoming and how it is an event that is often imbued with the passions and the force of aesthetic practices. This practical ontology asks us to disband any pre-figured notion of subject-object distinction and instead prompts us to attend to the translocal movements and circulations of particular affects and feelings. This requires a fleshy and expressive materiality that pays greater attention to these relations between bodies and objects that in turn forces us to reconsider what a body is and can do through these spaces (see Whatmore, 2002). Rather than propagating the dualism of an active body and inert proximate environment, an attention to the material relations between things enables us to consider how different parts of the railway assemblage – the passengers, objects, architecture and so on – are mutually constituted and *act on and through each other* in complex and often-unexpected ways.

2.2.3 Variegated movements

With this more lively apprehension of the relationship between bodily performance and proximate environment, whereby bodies bring spaces of the railway journey into being through particular practices, a more complex and less predictable account of the railway journey begins to take shape. In this account, instead of viewing all bodies as moving through these spaces in the same way, a more heterogeneous story emerges where different individual bodies who undertake different practices must have different experiences of what it is to travel by train. Indeed within performative and non-representational accounts of the body, and drawing on the poststructuralist philosophy of Deleuze, is a commitment to difference and becoming. Therefore, rather than static or predictable, performative accounts of the body are dedicated to differentiation and the creation of different modes of experience. Far from the implied homogeneity of the mobile experience, as implied through aggregate and rational models of passenger behaviour, attention to particular practices serves to differentiate not only between passengers themselves but also between different spaces through the course of the railway journey.

This thesis attends to the variety of different movements that bodies experience during the course of a journey. Rather than continuous and unrestrained movement through spaces of transience, perhaps one of the defining aspects of a railway journey is the *variety* of movements that are experienced. In this sense, we can consider how the experiential texture of the journey is mediated by different speeds of movement. Sometimes the body is moving fast and at other times slow, or is even immobile. Indeed following Urry (2000), it is increasingly accepted that mobilities are contingently relational. In short, and drawing on Urry's 'mobilities/moorings' dialectic, faster mobilities in the dynamic sense are only faster in relation to slower forms of mobility. Similarly, Adey (2006a) charts a relational politics of (im)mobilities, demonstrating the ambivalence between mobilities and immobilities through the space of the airport that can be comprehended through 'shifting combinations of immutable mobiles and mutable mobiles' (2006a, 90), to use Law and Mol's (2001) terms[8]. Whilst the politics of relative mobilities and immobilities between different groups have been a central feature of much of the 'new mobilities literature' (see Kaplan, 1996 and Ahmed, 2004, for example), where the mobility of one group occurs at the expense of others, these distinctions again rely on aggregate groupings of different and generalised ideal types of people, where the embodied experience of people is subsumed within the assignment of particular socio-economic categorisations. Put simply, it is the *relative degrees of movement* that are focused upon rather than the qualitative embodied experiences of these movements.

Whilst the political relatedness of different mobilities is important, in this thesis I want to move away from a focus on aggregate groupings to instead focus on how differential mobilities

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[8] Indeed we could push this further and consider the various immobile mutables and immobile immutables that are also implicated in these complex spaces.

that occur at a smaller spatial scale are enacted through the experience of the train journey. For example, we can conceive of how the body moves at different speeds through different parts of the journey. Far from a 'perpetual mobile space' (Thrift, 2004a, 592), different parts of the railway journey are subject to different forms of mobility. Here we could consider how the movements of bodies through different parts of the station produce a complex patchwork effect: from the slowness of queuing in a line for a ticket or waiting for the train on the platform, through to the faster movements that are involved in rushing to a platform or finding a seat on a train. Different relations to movement therefore occur at different moments during the railway journey. The embodied experience of each of these different mobilities is further mediated by the relationship to the proximate environment. At times, objects within the railway station or train prevent or hinder particular forms of movement, whereas at other times, the architecture of the space assists in propelling the body forward. Here, flow and mobility are engineered into the spatial design, resulting in a complex relationality between body and environment (see Tschumi, 1994).

In order to present these differences, such relations could be grouped around those which are corporeal, incarcereal and virtual. In this schema, *corporeal mobilities* are enacted when the body is actively moving through space under its own speed. These forms of mobility, such as walking, dominate in particular places of the railway journey, such as in the station. In contrast, the experience of *incarcereal mobilities*[9] focuses attention on a different relationship between the body and movement, where the body itself is held in a particular place that is simultaneously on the move. Being held in a seat in a train carriage is exemplary of this form of mobility where the body is relatively inert but also travelling at speed. These two apprehensions of mobilities can also be mediated through *virtual mobilities*, not in the Deleuzian sense, but rather those aspects of information technology and communication that facilitate or impede movement at different stages of the journey. Here we could consider how collecting a ticket from a machine involves activating various virtual mobilities in order to accomplish the railway journey, or how the use of real-time information services helps particular incarcereal mobilities to take place (Jain, 2006). Virtual mobility could also include those aspects of movement that are imagined, anticipated or remembered and form an important part of the experiential fabric of the journey and reconfigures our understandings of proximity (see de Botton, 2002; Watts, 2006). Throughout this thesis, I aim to chart the complex relational contingencies between these different forms of mobility in order to illuminate some of the variegated sensual apprehensions of what it is to experience mobility.

It is pertinent at this point to ask why this experiential and sensate dimension is important, particularly in light of the immense political significance accorded to the more aggregate

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[9] Incarcereal mobilities refer to those mobilities that involve physically incarcerated moving bodies such as the spaces of the train carriage.

variation in access to particular mobilities (see Hyndman, 1997; Graham and Marvin, 2001; Spark, 2006 for example). Investigating the differential access that various groups of people have to railway travel is a very important political question and one that many transport researchers have grappled with (Kenyon, et al., 2002; Lucas, et al., 2001). Indeed the provision of public transport is a key element in tackling social exclusion by providing increased access to participate in civic life (DETR, 2000; Torrance, 1992; Preston and Rajé, 2007). Whilst important, I would argue that what these studies tend to subsume is attention to the sensuous experiential dimension of how these various mobilities are practically enacted by different bodies. This is pertinent since it emphasises how embodied practices and corporeal performances bring the spaces of the railway journey into being in multiple and sometimes diverse ways. An appreciation of differential bodily capacity has long been a central focus of much performance and disability literature (Kuppers, 2003; Moss and Dyck, 1999; Parr, 1997), demonstrating how space is not experienced uniformly but brought into being in different ways by differently-able bodies. However such an appreciation of differential bodily experiences when moving through spaces of the railway rarely features in contemporary social scientific accounts. This does not mean that this particular approach is somehow less politically charged (see Thrift, 2004b). Indeed the types of relations that cohere between bodies and objects through the spaces of the railway journey are an inherently political issue. The coexistence of a large number of people who are unfamiliar to each other demands all manner of often-subtle micropolitical negotiations, from access to particular spaces to the manner in which interactions are conducted. Many of the choices that have to be made, for example, deciding what activity to undertake whilst on the train, are in part political since they open up different types of intensities and 'regimes of feeling'. In doing so, this acknowledges 'that there is more than there' (Thrift, 2004b, 68–9).

2.3 Engagements of movement

So far in this chapter I have described the type of epistemological framing that this thesis takes with the railway journey, first as a particular type of place, and second, one that is brought into being through a variety of embodied performative practices. In doing so, and drawing on performative and non-representational geographies, the way that the body is conceptualised critiques accounts of aggregate movements that serve to pacify the body, reducing the multitude of embodied experiences, choices and practices to the logic of a rational, easily traversable and fairly homogenous (non-)space. I have argued that a focus on the performative and embodied subject that activates the body provides a more lively and animate account of subjectivity that takes seriously the body's capacity for action. Through this conceptualisation, the railway journey is brought into being through the relations that this active body has with its proximate environment, the choices it makes and the practices that it enacts. However, there is a problem here in that to view the passenger from a wholly animated perspective actually overlooks a whole host of experiences that fall outside of this performative lens, but are equally integral to the experience of a railway journey.

Therefore, in this final section I want to pull back slightly to problematise this rendering of an active, performing body by arguing that the passivity engendered through the previously-critiqued models of passenger movement might actually be extremely useful in getting to grips with accounting for the experiential aspect of the journey. In short, I want to focus on the particular *modes of engagement* that passengers have with the railway journey at different times and in different places. In this section, first I outline some of the problems and limitations that performative and practice-based ontologies pose when considering the experiential aspect of the railway journey. I argue that they can potentially serve to overanimate the body by privileging only a very particular relationship between the body and movement that responds only to those aspects of experience that are methodologically accountable. Second, I outline how an appreciation of existential passivity can respond to a range of phenomena where the passenger is less engaged in active, intentional and agentive practices. This is important since it enables us to explore the varying degrees to which bodies are actively and consciously engaged in movement-making during the course of the railway journey. Third, I argue how an appreciation of a dynamic sense of temporality is key to comprehending the complex relationalities between practice and mode of engagement through the waning, or intensifying, of particular affective relationships over the course of the journey. I demonstrate the need to identify particular triggers that precipitate particular structures of feeling and the multiplicity of bodily responses. Doing so enhances our understandings of the changing relationships *between* bodies at different stages of the railway journey.

2.3.1 Critique of performance: animation, productivism and methodologies

Through a focus on bodily movements, gestures, placings, tactics, feelings and emotions, conceptually, bodies have been endowed with a renewed sense of agency, prompting accounts that emphasise the 'felt, touched and embodied constitution of knowledge' (Crang, 2003, 501). This emphasis on the more-than-representational (Lorimer, 2005) nature of relations and phenomena increases the attention devoted to corporeal sensuality of certain mobile practices: how bodies are folded through and shaped by landscapes during the course of mobile events (see Wylie, 2002, 2006). However this commitment to liveliness, excitement and the enlivening of matter also poses a problem. In the act of making subjects dance (Latham, 2003), such performative renderings of mobile bodies arguably have the effect of creating an overanimated form of subjectivity. This potential for movement and connection focuses on the body-in-action, as active and agentive (see McCormack, 2002, 2003) and is therefore overanimated in the sense that this agentive movement neglects other less-active corporeal subjectivities. An overemphasis on these performing bodies may be short-sighted when considering the multiplicity of different spaces experienced through during the railway journey since the insights offered by such performative works tend to privilege a specific form corporeal mobility based on auto-affective, practical, muscular mobilities such as walking (J. Anderson, 2004; Kusenbach, 2003; Wylie, 2002, 2005; Fenton, 2005; Pinder, 2001) where the body is

moving through the exertion of its own energy. Such an intense relation to movement is perhaps foregrounded on what Loughenbury (2007) terms 'deep-tissue awareness': an attentive and dynamic consciousness directed specifically at muscular and chemical changes in body properties through the enactment of the practice. What emerges here is a very particular relationship between the body and intentional movement. Indeed there is almost a determinism inherent through these works that focus on the sensory dimension of physical pursuits in that these muscular forms of movement will always result in an high-intensity corporeal sensation such as exhilaration or pain. Emphasis on these forms of corporeal animation also has the effect of privileging certain spaces of the railway journey over others: specifically, the spaces where bodies must navigate typically through their own pedestrian mobility. Whilst not downplaying those studies that chart the fine-grained interactions between body and built environment (Fuller, 2002) or the complex affective engineering that these particular places can induce (Adey, 2007a), it is still these *intentional corporeal movements* that are their focus. Whilst transportational mobility systems are complex, multiple and diffuse, these works that focus on the relations between bodies and movement through transport terminals and modal interchanges themselves tend to produce very specific geographical engagements. Put simply perhaps it is because this is where tangible, mappable and narratable events actually *happen*.

An overemphasis on practice and performance is also problematic in that it is imbued with an implicit sense of productivism where the mobile or fast is privileged over the immobile or slow as the more desirable relation in the world. Pushed further it is culturally, economically or politically advantageous to be mobile than immobile. In part this may have emerged from associated economic, business and more generally competitive neo-liberal rationales of productivity and a concern that time needs to be utilised more productively in order to be more profitable (Harvey, 2005). Following from this rationale, chronological time as a container waiting to be filled with this profitable activity must be put to use carefully. Indeed the burgeoning literature on time-management assures us that there is therefore an optimum configuration in which activity and events can be engineered during these quantifiable bounded clock-time periods (see Konig and Kleinmann, 2005; van Eerde, 2003; Waterworth, 2003; Purser, 2002; Sabelis, 2001). Increased mobility and movement together with the neoliberal dictum of flexibility in part satisfies this demand for maximisation of productivity. Higher speeds will ultimately reduce journey times and therefore allow greater flexibility in working practices and more time at work and home (Klein, 2004). This sense of productivism extends to the space of the railway carriage itself. Lyons and Urry (2005) remind us that travel-time and activity time are increasingly blurred and therefore 'many people are using travel-time to undertake activities' (2005, 263) (see also Laurier, 2004, 2003; O'Hara et al., 2002). Similarly Jain and Lyons (2005) posit that travel-time should be increasingly viewed in Maussian terms as a 'gift' to be utilised. The central point to take from this is how the altogether seductive yet elusive notions of engaged activity and action seem to permeate these spaces of travel (see Crouch, 2001; Johnston, 2001; Featherstone et al., 2005 for further examples). Whether assisted by locative technologies to

transform travelling spaces into mobile offices (Green, 2002) or to investing in furthering social relationships and networks (Jain, 2006), much of the recent mobilities literature has privileged these performative embodied dimensions of the 'body-in-action, of the body apprehended as practically and constitutively engaged in the disclosure of the world and in the creation and maintenance of meaning and signification' (Harrison, 2007a, 3).

Lastly, practice and performance based methodologies for researching mobile subjects are also in danger of overanimating the body. Research methods that have been developed to get to grips with animated bodies have arguably expanded the range of methodological resources available to those researching mobile bodies (see Latham, 2003; Lorimer, 2005 for example). However, the styles developed tend to emphasise the creative corporeal kinaesthetics where focus is on the 'energetics of life' (Kuppers 2000, 135), of bodily movement as active, ongoing achievement. An ethnomethodological approach to the study of mobilities similarly focuses on only a narrow range of what it is to be mobile, privileging speech patterns, bodily movements, gestures and placings (see Laurier, 2004). These apprehensions of an active agentive subjectivity can act as a proxy for various affective complexes but such practices only capture a narrow presentation of what it is to experience duration through mobilities. To attend to and emphasise the sensuous and more than representational performative dimension of the mobile experience could potentially serve to reduce the rich variety of subjectivities to the various permutations of kinaesthesia: the 'reeks and jiggles' of movement (see Hutchinson, 2000). The grammar drawn on to narrate these experiences is similarly active. This is due in part to the narrow range of dissemination channels available to academics to communicate their research which tend to privilege textual material such as journal articles and books. Academic prose is only adept at capturing and narrating a certain and necessarily limited range of experiences and often has the effect of creating 'very wordy worlds' (Crang 2003, 501). As Crang (2005, 230) comments 'qualitative research, despite talking about the body and emotions, frames its enterprise in a particular way that tends to disallow other forms of knowledge'. Notwithstanding this problem of restriction, this pitfall is also related to the type of narration these words have the capacity to create. Through the messy filtration processes whereby complex practical doings are translated into linear prose by the researcher, the massive, complex, undulating and often contradictory experiences of movement are stripped and squeezed into piecemeal fragments for digestion. Whilst the limitations of verbal or text-based sources have long been recognised, it seems that no method is immune from the tendency to over-animate. Dimensions of experience through other empirical methods such as go-alongs that feature moving as an active dimension are similarly poor at being translated and narrated. Such narration tends to privilege the active dimension of corporeal experience: I walked, I ran, I watched, I talked, I remembered. 'Put simply it is easier to talk about activity than inactivity and therefore such narrations clearly capture only a restricted presentation of the mobile body' (Bissell, 2007, 292). Frustratingly, there seems to be a certain impotence when the

body is not engaged in action as Watts (2005) demonstrates well in a recent passenger autoethnography: '16:22... Nothing seems to happen. I want to write something that happens, but nothing happens. A man reads a book, reads a newspaper. A woman fidgets and sniffs. A man sleeps. A woman stares'. Experiences and sensations that cannot be reigned into the systemisation, thematisation and conceptualisation of social research are neglected (Harrison, 2007a).

2.3.2 Existential passivity: disengagement and acquiescence

So far, I have described how performative and practice-based approaches to studying mobile bodies may not be methodologically or theoretically well-adapted to get at those experiential aspects of the railway journey that are not primarily about corporeal movement or activity. Indeed to focus solely on those experiences of railway travel where active engagement does occur would result in two scenarios. Firstly, it would produce an overly-pointillist account of place whereby the journey is defined by a series of discrete place-based events where the body is moving, engaged in activity, making a decision and so on. Secondly and perhaps more importantly, it would risk presenting an account of railway travel where there is simply too much going on. To undertake a journey by train as portrayed through this approach, which actualises a high-intensity environment crammed full of choices, decisions and demands, would surely exhaust even the most hardened traveller. Whilst at times the experience of railway travel can certainly be confusing, stressful and even intense, the problem here is the level of significance that events and practices are accorded. At the inception of this research, I was conscious that I did not want to produce an overwritten account of the experience of railway travel: overwritten in the sense that it does not reflect the everyday experience of railway travel for many. Indeed some of the less-sympathetic off-the-record comments that I have received about my research highlights the lack of significance that many people who travel by train actually accord to such an undertaking. It's only a train journey, after all, and what is so significant about that? And here lies a crucial point in getting to grips with the experiential dimension of railway travel. Perhaps for many, much of the experience of the railway journey is not about making decisions and engaging in significant *or* meaningful practices.

Many experiences such as sleeping, daydreaming or dozing are perhaps an integral part of a train journey, yet they often do not constitute an active or agentive activity where some degree of intentionality on the part of the body is involved (Diski, 2004). They are unreflexive and events of the unthought that are often not willed by the body but rather descend through the *susceptible* body ('events', since 'practice' implies an overtly active dimension). These 'low-intensity' experiences are less-accountable from a practice-based perspective and therefore have often fallen outside the conceptual and methodological lens of the researcher. This does not mean though that these experiences do not matter. For many, this type of less-agentive subjectivity or 'time-out' is one of the highlights of a railway journey (Jain and Lyons, 2007; Ross, 1995), yet from a research point of view, it is often neglected. Where these periods *are*

taken into account, the experiential dimension is usually subsumed within quantitative measurements of duration of the specific event in question (Lyons, et al., 2007). In many studies, the duration that these experiences take up fulfils the fairly straightforward task of accounting for how passengers spend their time on board. However, and more interestingly, these moments of experiential passivity descend through the body at many other points during the railway journey. Events such as waiting, either in a queue or on a platform, for example, can precipitate similar forms of subjectivity where the body is not engaged in the enactment of active and intentional practices.

I approach these events of bodily passivity from an experiential and phenomenological perspective. Epistemologically, this form of bodily passivity is in stark contrast to the passivity engendered through more quantitative models of mobility that render the body passive through their homogenising and rationalistic approaches. Crucially, instead of viewing the body as an always-active entity, an appreciation of experiential passivity through the event of the railway journey helps to illuminate the diversity of bodily experiences that occurs throughout the railway journey. Experiences such as sleeping and waiting could be termed as acquiescent since they characterise those aspects of experience where the body is inert and crucially is not involved in the ongoingness of performance. Whilst it might be possible to view some forms of waiting, for example, as highly active and agentive, other suspensions 'trace a passage of withdrawal from engagement' (Harrison 2007a, 5), where the body bows out of the schema of auto-affective action.

Such a commitment to corporeal acquiescence builds on a nascent body of work within human geography that has interrogated the sensibilities of the stilled body. Harrison's (2007a, 6) recent timely intervention focusing on passionate desubjectification outlines a way of thinking through this stilled body as an event of the unwilled where 'synthetic activity does not happen, when the everyday flow and exchange of meaning stutters and abates and goes awry'. Similarly, Anderson's (2004, 744) work on boredom centres around some of the various affective states of stilling and slowing time, where the affective intensities and vitalities of life are suppressed. In a related vein, Thrift (2006) has alluded to the importance of thinking through various forms of mesmerism relating to a form of semi-conscious being or a suspension of disbelief. However, such work has tended to remain overtly theoretical with few writers advancing any clear sense of how or even if such experiences should be empirically investigated. Outside of human geography, others have been interested in charting the sociality of sleep (Williams, 2005, 2002; Williams and Boden, 2004). In spite of this, through much of this work there is a tendency to reduce corporeal acquiescence to an embodied social activity, thereby translating such experiences into active sensibilities.

In this thesis, I want to trace some of these events of disengagement through the experience of the railway journey where intensities are dulled and the body recedes. This is important since it folds back through how space and time are experienced, not as an ongoing active achievement but a rather more complex and variegated encounter that is mediated by

the relations between the body, objects and proximate spatiality. Indeed a very different account of the railway journey emerges if we begin from this premise that these passivities are an 'intrinsic rather than contingent aspects' (Harrison, 2007b, 8) of life on the move. As Harrison suggests, we should 'bear in mind that the lines and arcs of action, thought and intention are, in their significance and sense, strictly inseparable from their dissipation and collapse. One could go as far as to suggest that it is this withdrawing which lies at the heart of action' (2007b, 8).

Both physical dimensions such as architecture and spatial formation together with affective dimensions such as mood and atmosphere can facilitate or impede these structures of feeling. Indeed many architects recognise the importance of engineering particular sensibilities into the design of spaces that users can intuitively sense rather than requiring lengthy agonising over (Adey, 2007a). These acquiescent sensibilities where the mind becomes disengaged might therefore occur only if the body is relaxed and comfortable with their surroundings. This is further conditioned by the habituality of a particular practice where more regular and familiar journeys or spaces require less agentive thought to traverse. This is not to say that experiential passivity should *define* the railway journey. Indeed the desirability of these events of acquiescence depends on contextual qualitative differences between experiences[10]. At other times the absence of signification and synthetic activity whilst travelling can induce the monotony of boredom as a particular subjective malaise (Schivelbusch 1979; Fullagar, 2001).

2.3.3 Travel time-spaces: complexity, lived duration and diversity

In presenting these forms of existential passivity as a form of subjectivity that is somehow opposed to activity, action and performance is, however, an oversimplification of the matter. Bergson (2001) reminds us to attend to the *complexities* of intensity where corporeal intensities are not necessarily reduced to the linearities implied by magnitude. Following this, high intensities, for example, always already contain within them other intensities that are folded through the ongoing processual enactment of the body. In this respect, certain structures of feeling experienced during the railway journey might diminish our capacity to tolerate other intensities. Heightened annoyance at the practices of a fellow passenger might for example diminish the bodily capacity to feel excitement and uplift. Similarly, an excessively noisy environment might reduce the potential of withdrawing to sleep. Whilst these might appear to be fairly simplistic examples, they demonstrate the key point of how various materialities and immaterialities are related and influence how the railway journey is experienced through the body. Materialities here could comprise of the body, particular objects and the physicality of the space itself whilst immaterial dimensions include phenomena such as mood, atmosphere, ambience, desires, fears and imaginings. When taken together, their relatedness in different

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[10] Through much vitalist-inspired performative literature, the maximisation of intensities are imperative to experiencing a fullness of living. Not only does this reinforce a western model of subject individuation where the individual commands control and possesses ultimate agency over their own corporeal movement, but it reduces the ethical imperative and experiential value of other less-intense intensities. At times, such experiences as daydreaming may be wholly desirable, uplifting even (Diski, 2004).

configurations results in the experience of different structures of feeling at different times throughout the journey. Rather than discrete events, engagement and disengagement are therefore folded through one another always containing within them the possibility of transformation. Throughout this thesis, therefore, is a commitment to illuminating and describing some of the relations between particular practices and activities and modes of engagement, that result in particular intensities and feelings.

In order to achieve this, it is important to pay close attention to the lived nature of duration and qualitative temporality contra forms of chronological linearity – of time as rich duration. This is essential since it allows us to think through how temporality is experienced qualitatively through corporeal existence. Rather than thinking through the time of the railway journey as discrete and bounded, attention to rich duration permits us to consider how different events mediate the lived experience of time by extending or condensing it. It is common to think through the bodily experience of railway travel in relation to linear clock time since itinerancy impresses itself upon the system most visibly through the technologies of control such as watches, clocks, timetables and ticket details to name but a few. Indeed standardised clock-time emerged as a response to the itinerant needs of railway travel. However, to take apprecitate the experiential nature of the journey through various moments of dis/engagement must take seriously a non-linear apprehension of qualitative temporality – of time as perceived, felt and experienced through the body; where 'time is precisely not identical to being, [but] a process which is always in becoming' (Dastur, 2000, 179). What I am drawing on here is the distinction between Bergson's *intellectual time* as chronologically-conceived, spatialised time, for practical and organisational purposes and *intuitive duration* which is woven through psychological perception and creative spirit. It is through the process of intuition where duration – the temporal quality of the railway journey – is experienced. In this Bergsonian durée, as continuous duration, 'each moment flows with our memory of the past and appears to us as new and unrepeatable' (Vannini, 2002, 194). This is duration as real succession: the past as coexisting with present.

Within this rich duration of travel-time, comprising activity and inactivity, engagement and acquiescence, are certain moments and events that can act as triggers for precipitating different ways of feeling where the body experiences a different character of existence. De Certeau refers to such moments as 'thresholds' (2002, 114), with reference to the movement between the space of the carriage and the space of the station as the passenger alights from their train. This thesis illuminates some of these events, moments and thresholds that bring about and mediate such changes of experience. These changes do not have to be spatially-determined, although moving through and between different spaces can certainly temper experience. Indeed events as diverse as the realisation of delayed service or a disturbance in the carriage, through to pangs of hunger or a pleasant view from the window are all moments where one structure of feeling might slide into another. The spaces of the railway journey are not the 'rationalised cells' that de Certeau speaks of, where 'everything has its place in a

gridwork' (2002, 111). Instead, in appreciating the minutiae of events that occur throughout the course of the railway journey, rather than viewing it as a discrete and homogenous duration of linear time – as a singular black-box event in itself – each journey is experienced as a series of lived interrelated events and intensities, each of which can fold back through or feed into how each one is experienced.

Attending to and appreciating the diversity of these experiences can help us to get to grips with what bodies become as they travel by train. Related to this, we can also begin to appreciate the various locations of agency that are implicated in these experiences, and together with this how certain experiences are willed intentionally through the body whereas others are unintentional and outside of our control. Certain moments and events are predictable and can be anticipated, such as the arrival at our destination. Other moments and events that can change the experience of the journey are more spontaneous and unpredictable, such as a chance encounter with a fellow passenger or the realisation of the loss of an object whilst on the move. These events all bring about particular ways of feeling through the travelling body and can be attended to in different ways and to varying degrees. The demands of the body through a pang of hunger might be satiated easily through a bite to eat[11]. However in other situations such as the experience of a delay to the service or the annoying behaviour of others, the body might be powerless to respond, thereby triggering other less-desirable intensities to take hold such as anger or rage. Such a conceptualisation points to how sensations of freedom and constraint are experienced by the susceptible travelling body, not in a regulationist sense where the body might be constrained from entering specific spaces, but from an experiential perspective where different events at different points in the journey generate particular bodily sensations.

Conclusion

Through this chapter I have outlined the three main strands of theory that are woven through this research. First, I attended to the *place* of the railway journey. Through a critique of both sedentary and nomadic metaphysical ideologies I demonstrated the value of conceptualising the space of the railway journey as a set of liminal spaces that are neither wholly rooted nor free-flowing. Instead of viewing the space of the railway journey as a relatively homogenous non-place I illuminated the utility of considering the spatial diversity of the railway journey as comprising a multiplicity of different places through both the station and on board the train itself. In this way, the railway journey becomes a complex variegated space that is formed of many smaller-scale spaces. Second, I attended to how these complex spaces are brought into being through bodily practice. Drawing on theories of practice and performance I moved away from a focus on the symbolic meaning of railway travel which results in overly static apprehensions of what this particular mobility is and does. Space-syntax together with much

[11] Although of course this depends on the particular train taken.

transport geography tends to trace quantitative, aggregate passenger mobilities which results in an overly pacified body that has little to say about the embodied experience of these mobilities. Practice-based ontologies informed by poststructuralist theory and phenomenology serve to reanimate matter by taking seriously the variety of active practices that bodies engage with during the event of the railway journey. A focus on the liveliness of bodies therefore helps to reveal some of the similarities and differences that different individuals have of railway travel and thereby helps to disband the notion of the 'heroic' traveller. In this way, different embodied practices bring complex spaces of the railway into being in multiple ways. Third, I argued that to celebrate active and engaged practice uncritically can result in an over-animate sense of corporeal mobility that overwrites many less-animated aspects and disengaged dimensions of the railway journey. This results in an overly productivist sense of movement based on where particular events happen. In response, and in contrast to the passivity of aggregate pedestrian modelling, attending to existential passivity can help to illuminate particular aspects of the railway travelling experience that are not primarily concerned with the ongoing of practice and performance. Doing this contributes to our understanding of the complex cognate and affective relationships that cohere between the human body, non-human objects and the built environment during the course of a railway journey. Central to this consideration of the type of engagement that bodies have with both place and practice is travel duration itself. An appreciation of duration enhances our understanding of the changing relationships between bodies, objects and space at different stages of the railway journey together with the varying degrees to which bodies are actively and consciously engaged in movement-making.

In sum, this chapter outlines a critical performative epistemology that is the basis for the empirical research – critical in the sense that whilst embracing the insights that performative theories offer over aggregate and social constructionist analyses, such theories also should be responsive to the less-animate and more passive dimensions of experience that are commonly obscured. In order to develop this epistemology practically, the majority of the empirical research outlined in the following chapter develops non-reductionist phenomenological descriptions of practice to help illuminate the experiential dimension of place. Moving, as this chapter does, from more general issues of place, through practice and performance before finishing at a consideration of the manner of engagement and passivity from the perspective of the individual, hints at a progression away from an aggregate towards a more individualist framework, where the sensuous and expressive dimension of the embodied experience of individuals is taken seriously. Indeed the empirical research is based on individuals' accounts of railway journeys as opposed to disembodied aggregated approaches in order to account for the experiential dimension of place. However, and equally, I am conscious that the account of the individual traveller should not be romanticised as a recognition or even celebration of heterogeneity of experience in and of itself (Bishop, 2002). In this sense, it is not my intention to produce an account of isolated individuals on the move.

Drawing on a critical performative epistemology as outlined in this chapter prevents this research from being overly individualist. The trans-human aspect of performative and non-representational theory is useful in that it decentres the body by emphasising and responding to those aspects of the travelling experience where the individual does not command ultimate agency. Attention to the material relations between bodies, objects and their proximate spatiality are an important dimension of this transversality. The movements of affect throughout the spaces of the railway journey and the waning of intentional action through passivity are both important examples of where this transversality plays an important part in how the railway journey is experienced through the body. Attending to these relationalities between bodies, objects and proximate environment through practice, both agentive and passive, helps to reveal some of the more general and supra-individual considerations of the place of the railway journey that go beyond descriptive heterogeneous individual experiences. Nevertheless, and importantly, a critical performative epistemology also allows us to hang onto the notion of individual bodies within this relational framework with regard to how the experience of the railway journey fits into the wider temporal patterns and routines of individuals' everyday life. Within this project, phenomenological description therefore does not prioritise individualist *or* aggregate notions of experience but rather sees them as mutually constituted. Whilst phenomenological description does not invite causal explanation of these relationships, it does help to illuminate how spaces of the railway journey fit and work together as an assemblage (see Katz, 1999). In this way, we can get an idea of how social life within the railway journey is conducted through both active performance and acquiescent passivity.

Chapter 3

Mobile methodologies: researching the railway journey

Introduction

Qualitative methodological practices within the social sciences are undergoing somewhat of a transformation. Thanks to the establishment of a number of journals dedicated to expanding the remit of empirical practices[1], together with a broader commitment to an increasingly diverse range of epistemologies, Crang argues that there is now a 'certain maturity about qualitative methods' (2005, 225). In each sub-discipline of human geography, researchers are ever more interested in the development of specific sets of methodologies that suit and attend to their particular object(s) of study. Work on geographies of mobilities is one such area where methodological transformation is currently high on the agenda, reflected in the number of recent workshops and conference sessions dedicated to this topic (RGS-IBG, 2006; CeMoRe, 2006). In light of recent calls for social scientists to work more closely with their objects of study (Latour, 2000 in Gane, 2006), many researchers working within the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006a) argue that a new range of research practices need to be developed which attend more successfully to the experience of being on the move.

Responding to these calls, through this chapter I outline and account for the particular set of methodologies developed to carry out research for this thesis. In the first section, I outline the epistemological and philosophical rationale for the particular methods chosen. I begin by discussing some issues of methodological complexity before moving on to a discussion of how

[1] Such as *'Qualitative Research'*, *'Ethnography'*, *'International Journal of Qualitative Methods'* and *'Qualitative Research Journal'*.

the development of more 'mobile methods' might help to illuminate the experience of being on the move more responsively. In the second section, I outline the rationale for developing each method in turn, together with how each method was practically undertaken. In the third section, I briefly discuss some of the processes involved in post-research analysis and synthesis. Central to this chapter are the epistemological and practical justifications for using the methods described.

3.1 Epistemological rationale

3.1.1 Methodological complexity

The methodology developed through this research broadly follows from and is sensitive to the poststructuralist tenets outlined in chapter 2. More specifically, it is important to acknowledge how these methods create particular worlds. In short, and eschewing a realist notion of universal reality, to take the issue of methodological reflexivity seriously is to appreciate how these methods participate in the construction of multiple realities. It is the *practising* of these methods which produces worlds as well as describing them. In doing so, specific worlds condense through particular depictions (Latour and Woolgar, 1986). Rather than assumed to exist as sets of prefigured phenomena, the methods employed in this project align themselves with a more practice-based ontology, committed to the notion that multiple realities and time-spaces emerge through their practical enactment. Important here is a recognition of complexity, disorder and the excessiveness of matter. As such, this research follows calls to re-materialise social and cultural geography (see Jackson, 2000; Philo, 2000; Lees, 2002) where different materialities cross cut and form 'qualities that mark space-time, and bind space-time into wider sets of relations, [that] change according to the processual movements of matter' (Anderson and Tolia-Kelly, 2004, 669). As Law (2004) argues, apprehended in this way, the massive arrays of practices and materials that form this complex and excessive social reality can appear as 'dazzle' to the researcher. The intertwined, simultaneous and juxtaposed unfolding of processes present a challenge since there is always *too much going on*: the world is always more excessive than we can theorise. Social research requires an attentiveness to the complexity of phenomena. Therefore, the methodological practices employed in this project attempt to be modest in their outlook in the hope that they can present something of this complexity, perhaps through the fractionality of phenomena and partial connections. As Law reminds us, 'it is important to appreciate that allegory, non-coherence, and the indefinite are not necessarily signs of methodological failure' (2004, 154). Furthermore, one of the central tenets of poststructuralism is the recognition that these assemblages comprising bodies and object are never stable. However, in this flux and movement, there are also objects that are more obdurate, fixed and relatively inert. Through this project, the methodological strategy recognises that social realities are comprised of both fixity, flux and their intersection (Law, 2004).

In order to acknowledge these principles, the methods developed through this research echo some of the tenets of Science, Technology and Society studies: more specifically a commitment to the notion of the hybrid assemblage. This ontology takes seriously the mutual entanglements of a more-than-human world of bodies and objects, together with an attentiveness to their proximity and distance (see Braun and Castree, 1998; Whatmore, 2002). In order to narrate and come to know some of this complexity, the methods developed through this research are largely qualitative and use *descriptions* as their point of departure for narrating phenomena. This is opposed to the explanatory impulse that is commonly implicated through more overt quantitative research that has a greater tendency to reduce and simplify complex processes by explaining phenomena away. As such, the methods used in this research also aim to attend to the embodied and haptic over the purely cognitive. This work therefore draws on and is inspired by some of the work within contemporary cultural geography that looks at the performative aspects of experience and the kinds of 'haptic knowledges' that are generated (Crang, 2003, 499). As Latham comments 'performative practice allows the researcher to address some novel questions about the cultures of everyday urban experience that more conventional, presentationally-oriented, methods fail to address adequately' (2003, 1994). Ethnomethodologists, for example, have long studied the maintenance of everyday life as a set of accomplishments and activities rather than defined by locational proxemics or the politics of meaning or values (see Laurier, 2001). Rather than narrating and working through the more limiting scope of the representational, it is this focus on embodied practice and the production of knowledges and space-times that result, that these methods aim to develop. Whilst discursive regimes are still important in coming to understand particular meanings that emerge from practice (Nash, 2000), this research attempts to demonstrate an attentiveness to the affective and emotive over the discursive. This commitment stems from the recent interest in more-than-representational aspects of experience. The research design aims to attend to how affect and emotion as more-than-representational bodily capacities are folded through practice. To research these more-than-rational sensibilities requires methods that are more adequately attuned to grasping and condensing these experiences.

Thrift (2004b) and Pratt (2000) have argued that cultural geographers have often suffered from methodological conservatism. Similarly, Latham (2003) has argued how human geographers need to reconsider the practices through which they undertake research. As such, this research design attempts expand the remit of more traditional methodological interventions that privilege the textual to narrate the multisensory dimensions of experience. These include taking more seriously the visual and tactile realms of corporeality and involves developing a methodological design that is more experimental, innovative and insightful; methods that have the potential to 'dance a little' (Latham, 2003, 2000).

3.1.2 Mobile methodologies

Studies that have advocated more performative approaches and developed multisensory methods parallel a similar commitment to work on narrating the movements of these assemblages of bodies and objects. The geographies of mobilities is one such area where methodological transformation is currently high on the agenda, reflected in the number of recent workshops and conference sessions dedicated to this topic[2]. Many researchers working within the new mobilities paradigm argue that a new range of research practices need to be developed which attend more successfully to both the mobile dynamics of bodies and objects and the experience of being on the move. Research on mobile assemblages has therefore focused on the 'fluid interdependence' (Sheller and Urry, 2006a, 212) of corporeal mobilities, with the mobility of information and images and the relative immobility of the infrastructures that are often required to mediate spaces of flows. This emphasis on the processual necessitates that the spotlight typically falls on interrogating the relationships between the various actants that emerge from and move through such complex, emergent systems. Thinking through the various permutations and implications of movement is useful in that it can be conceptualised as an emergent performance of often disparate object relations.

Mobility studies as a paradigm may be in its infancy, however the task of narrating bodily movement is not new. The roots of such a focus on the transience and flux of mobile bodies and objects can be traced back to the time-geographies of Hägerstrand (see Pred, 1981), where the choreography of mobility and temporality were diagrammatically apprehended through the production of space-time paths. These approaches that visualise and chart the movement of individuals through spaces are also demonstrated through space-syntax methods that focus on the relationality of bodies and architectural morphology as people move through buildings (see Hillier and Hanson, 1984). Whilst these methods have provided useful avenues for architects and planners as the basis for simulations to assist with scheduling and flow management, their lack of uptake in contemporary cultural geography is due to the particular rendering of subjectification that these studies employ. The tendency here is to treat the subject as an essentially passive and rational agent, as can be exemplified through Markus's (1993) work on the effects of buildings on bodies.

These time-geography methods, as Latham (2003, 2008) argues, are often 'deeply unfashionable' within contemporary cultural geography since they lack the active energetic possibilities that other methods of narration offer. Put simply, they do not have the capacity to get at and comprehend how bodies caught up in these flows come to *experience* the sensate nature, character and effects of movement. More recently, many have argued that to get at or capture the experiences of bodies on the move requires a shift in the methods by which they are researched. Since the theoretical resources for conceptualising movement have developed, extended and even speeded up (Gane 2006), this itself necessitates a parallel development of

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[2] See RGS-IBG 2006, 2007; CeMoRe 2006, for example

more innovative and arguably mobile methodologies (Bærenholdt et al., 2004). In contrast to Gane (2006), however, the methods that are employed to interrogate these mobile experiences should not and cannot be divorced from their theoretical underpinnings or from wider-scale shifts in the social-cultural logic of contemporary society. As Sheller and Urry (2006, 217) argue 'research methods will need to be 'on the move' in effect to simulate intermittent mobility'. We need to move with people on the move and partake in the practices of movement-making in order to get to grips with how the experiences of mobility unfold.

Whilst Sheller and Urry (2006) are keen to stress the interdependence between different mobility systems, different styles of empirical research practices have been developed which aim to interrogate specific aspects of mobile systems. By no means mutually exclusive, Hannam, et al. (2006) distinguish between corporeal mobilities, transportational or incarcereal mobilities and virtual and informational mobilities. To illustrate some of these practical differences, many researchers who have focused on understanding the various communication and informational flows of virtual mobilities have developed a range of 'cyber-methods' (Ward, 1999). These computer-based methods used for interrogating message boards, web-sites, and developing simulations, have been effective in charting the nature of these informatic flows. However, the majority of research has focused on interrogating corporeal and virtual mobilities through the development of a range of active, agentive and practical methods. Though Latham (2003) has outlined the potential of these 'performative methods', Sheller and Urry (2006a) prefer to describe these practices as 'mobile ethnographies' where participation in patterns of movement is central to the process of undertaking ethnographic research. These studies tend to mirror the theoretical underpinnings of such research, particularly a commitment to emergent and often chaotic processes and relations. Indeed experimentation and exploration are often enlisted as practical strategies which attempt to get closer to what it is to be a mobile body. Typically, such studies involve copresent relations whereby the researcher actively participates and travels with bodies on the move either directly, through accompanied 'copresent immersion' (Sheller and Urry 2006a, 218), and active interaction with participants or indirectly, through participatory observation techniques whilst on the move.

These different research practices lend themselves to different performative opportunities and interaction with research participants. For example, through unaccompanied methods, the researcher relies more heavily on rich autoethnographic description focusing on visual sensibilities (Phillips, 2005) or the more-than-representational senses of corporeal movement such as running, cycling (Spinney, 2006), walking (Wylie 2005; 2006) driving a car (Edensor 2003), or travelling by train (Watts, 2005). Whilst novel in the emergent field of contemporary mobilities, it should be noted that many of these unaccompanied autoethnographic techniques owe their heritage to nineteenth-century tropes of the flâneur, and touch on the experimental and exploratory urban excursions of Michael de Certeau (2002) and Walter Benjamin (2002), together with the urban meanderings of the Situationists. However, researchers are developing

increasingly dialogical methods with a commitment to producing co-constructed accounts of movement through the motif of *accompaniment*. This involves enlisting research participants and travelling with them whilst they undertake some form of travel. This participatory method clearly lends itself well to certain mobilities such as walking (see J. Anderson, 2004; Kusenbach, 2003; Wylie, 2002; Fenton, 2005; Pinder, 2001) where the researcher can walk with people, not only describing visual and affectual sensibilities, but also promotes textual dialogue which weaves through the performance of ongoing physical movement. Emphasis here is on the production of psychogeographies; of chance encounters where events erupt through and disrupt sensibilities. Researchers accompany individual informants and 'actively explore their subjects' stream of experiences and social environment' (Kusenbach, 2003, 463; see also J. Anderson, 2004). Similar methods have also been developed to explore the production of mobilities whilst driving, such as the organisation of office work (Laurier, 2004), and travelling by train (Watts, 2006). These methods have the effect of merging participatory observation with interviewing as demonstrated by Kusenbach's (2003) 'go-along' strategy but often include some other mode of capture through the enlistment of other technologies such as cameras, video-cameras and Dictaphones. The overarching motif that links all these disparate research techniques is a commitment to movement and mobility and the development of methodologies that 'interrogate a nomadic sensibility for routes and rituals' (d'Andrea, 2006, 113).

3.1.3 Problematising mobile methodologies

We need to be careful, however, that such methods and, more specifically, the narration of such methods are not celebrated as the new orthodoxy, as a perfect partner to explore the new mobilities paradigm. Rather, they need to be critically incorporated into a more extensive range of movement narrations. There are three reasons for this. First, and epistemologically, the manner in which researchers approach the challenge of mobile subjects may actually be a highly deductive practice through the privileging of movement when conceptualising objects and subjects. Here, the 'mobile subject' is *defined by movement* and always-already on the move. Subjectivities are mobilised prior to their empirical investigation through this act of paradigmatic naming. Put simply, if we set out to investigate mobile environments, the ethnographic gaze is prefigured and focused far more sharply on these shifting, fluctuating and moving dimensions of mobility. Second, and ontologically, through the act of making subjects dance, such performative renderings of mobile subjects arguably have the effect of portraying an *overanimated* form of subjectivity. This potential for movement and connection focuses on the body-in-action, as active and agentive (see McCormack, 2002; 2003), and is therefore overanimated in the sense that other corporeal subjectivities are neglected. To attend to and emphasise the sensuous and more than representational performative dimension of the mobile experience could potentially serve to reduce the rich variety of subjectivities to the various permutations of kinaesthesia: the 'reeks and jiggles' of movement (see Hutchinson, 2000). Third, and practically, with the development of active and agentive methodologies, the grammar

drawn on to narrate these experiences is similarly active. Academic prose is only adept at capturing and narrating a certain limited range of experiences and often has the effect of creating 'very wordy worlds' (Crang, 2003, 501). As Crang (2005, 230) comments 'qualitative research, despite talking about the body and emotions, frames its enterprise in a particular way that tends to disallow other forms of knowledge'. Put simply, it is easier to talk about activity than inactivity and therefore such narrations clearly capture only a restricted presentation of the mobile body. In each of these three problems, the overarching impediment seems to be the sustained commitment to logocentrism that is arguably bound up with western modes of individualism and how subjects are perceived and conceptualised. Despite the development of a range of methods that explore these exciting experiences of mobility, such empiricisms and the grammar which we use to narrate them always falls short of understanding the experiences of another. We could think of subjectivity in these cases as being *reactive* rather than *responsive*.

So how best to develop an empiricism that remains responsive to a more expansive range of affectivities: not only of the active body but of the *stilled body*? Acknowledging the limitations of reactive empiricisms, is it possible or indeed necessary to develop a range of new methodological tools? It seems that perhaps rather than claiming the need for some epochal shift in approach (Crang, 2005), a certain degree of reflective criticism may be useful in adapting our current methodological toolbox to acknowledge and take greater account of these phenomena. Incorporating more traditional approaches into the methodological assemblage for this research such as the semi-structured interview, may help to problematise the perpetual motion of the body-in-action. Instead of focusing on the active and agentive dimensions of experiences, these methods are drawn on to focus attention on a range of agentive *and* non-agentive sensibilities.

3.1.4 Methodological assemblage

This research will therefore build on developments from both these mobile methodologies and more traditional methodologies to capture a sense of how bodies and objects move through this particular space of flows. Rather than relying on a single methodological procedure, this research develops a range of different research methods that inform each other and work together to present this complexity and movement more responsively. Eschewing the oft-mentioned realist contention that an increased quantity of methods somehow allows us a deeper insight into social phenomena by improving overall reliability, multiple methods are required here to chart the multiple realities, knowledges and experiences encountered during the course of the journey. These different realities necessarily have different relations between them (Mol, 2002). As Law states, methodological assemblages 'detect, resonate with, and amplify particular patterns of relations in the excessive and overwhelming fluxes of the real' (2004, 14). Viewed as a 'methodological assemblage', each methodological practice developed enacts and condenses a particular set of realities. Indeed rather than thinking about how a

number of discrete methods join together and produce something else, this notion of a methodological assemblage allows us to consider the 'process of enacting or crafting bundles of ramifying relations that *condense* presence and (therefore also) generate absence by shaping, mediating and separating these' (Law, 2004, 122, original emphasis). The development of a methodological assemblage therefore allows us to consider how different forms of knowledge relate to each other (Crang, 2005, 230); the visual *and* the verbal, for example, rather than comprehending each as discrete sets of evidence (Rose, 2001).

3.2 Methodological strategy

In this section, I outline the research location and pilot research carried out before moving on to discuss in turn each specific method developed to undertake this research. For each method, first I discuss the relative epistemological value and second, I outline how the method was practically undertaken. The methodological assemblage developed in this research project comprises of five interrelated components. Drawing on a combination of tactile, visual and textual techniques, these comprise *autoethnographic participant observation*, *visual methodologies*, *go-alongs, semi-structured interviews* and *discourse analysis*.

3.2.1 Research location

This study focuses on intercity-style[3] train journeys for a number of different reasons. First, intercity trains contribute significantly to the economy since they form the routes that are most profitable. Second, intercity trains perform a broader social, cultural, political and economic role in connecting urban centres. Third, intercity trains form part of an extremely competitive market and provide an important viable alternative to short-haul air travel for a number of reasons, including lower greenhouse gas emissions, faster end-to-end journey times and no lengthy check-in period. Intercity trains also provide an important alternative to long-distance car travel, particularly for those who do not or cannot drive, and those who want to work whilst on the move. Fourth, since intercity trains stop less frequently and cover greater distances, they tend to draw on a broader passenger base from different parts of the country travelling for a variety of different reasons. As such, intercity trains are used less for short-distance daily commuting[4]. This is an important aspect since the focus of this research is on charting a *variety* of different travelling experiences rather than just the daily commute. Fifth, intercity trains have a particular type of travelling environment that differentiates them from high-density commuter services. The interior of carriages is often more conducive to spending longer durations in. The seats are

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[3] 'InterCity' was a British Rail brand introduced in 1966 designating fast, inter-urban, long-distance train services with few intermediate stops. These services are therefore distinguished from other local, frequent-stopping suburban services. Whilst post-privatisation long-distance services are not branded as 'intercity', it is a term that is still commonly used by passengers to describe this particular style of train journey.

[4] Although of course some commuters do use intercity services, particularly for shorter distances.

generally more comfortable, provide more legroom and armrests and are in a 2x2 formation[5] rather than the higher-density 2x3 formation of commuter services. Tables are often available together with the provision of refreshment facilities and first-class accommodation. As such, a travelling experience very particular to intercity travel is engineered. Sixth, and for the purposes of undertaking the methods outlined below, longer journeys necessitate that there is more time to conduct research during the course of journey.

The East Coast Mainline between London and Edinburgh was chosen to be the primary study location owing to the high volume of passengers travelling long distances. The location of Durham approximately mid-way along the line provided good access (see figure 3.2). The 396-mile route, carrying nearly 2000 passenger trains every day, forms an important artery on the eastern side of Great Britain and is broadly paralleled by the A1 trunk road. It passes through East Anglia, Yorkshire, North East England and the Scottish borders linking the major population hubs of London and Edinburgh with Doncaster, York, Newcastle and Leeds. The principal operator of the route since privatisation in 1996 has been Great North Eastern Railway. Between 1923 and 1948, this line was the flagship route of the London and North Eastern Railway (LNER), one of the 'big-four' railway companies, and famous for its prestigious high speed trains such as *The Flying Scotsman* and the record-braking steam locomotive, *Mallard*. Today, it remains one of the fastest lines in Britain with most of the line permitting travel at 125 mph[6], and is considered by many to be Britain's flagship intercity line. Countrywide, long-distance services have seen a 9.7% increase in passenger numbers since 1996[7]. GNER carries more than 17.4 million passengers a year and is currently carrying 40% more passengers on 23% more daily services compared to when it began operating East Coast services in 1996[8].

Figure 3.1
Logos of current East Coast Mainline Train Operating Companies

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[5]Two seats either side of the centre aisle.

[6] Eurostar services from St. Pancras International to Paris and Brussels run at 186 mph. Known as 'High-Speed 1', this is Britain's only high-speed line by continental standards.

[7] See http://www.atoc-comms.org/dynamic/atocpress-story.php?atoc=997797 accessed 14 August 2007.

[8] See http://www.gner.co.uk/GNER/AboutGNER/Company+info/ accessed 14 August 2007.

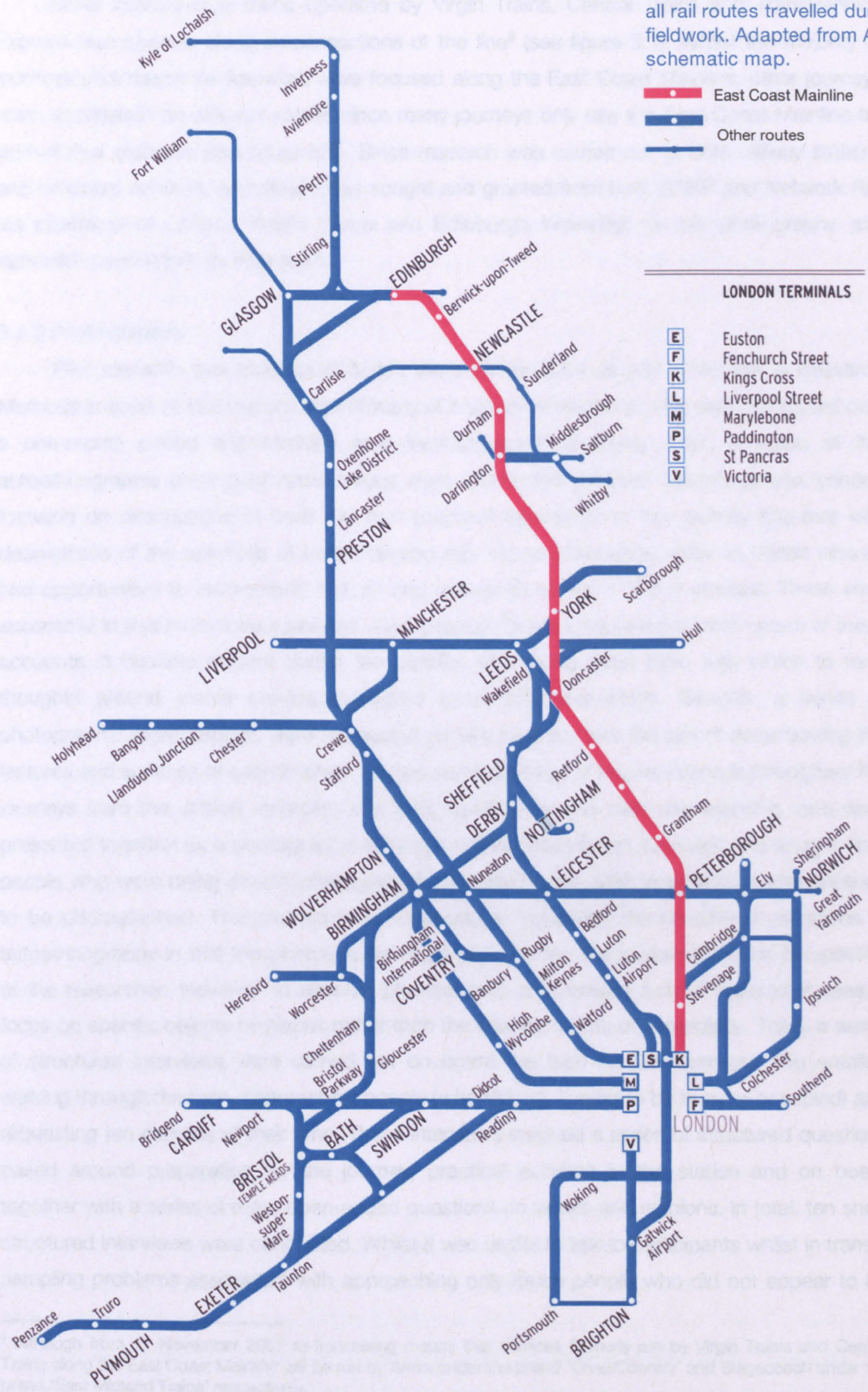

Figure 3.2
Schematic map showing all rail routes travelled during fieldwork. Adapted from ATOC schematic map.

Other intercity-style trains operated by Virgin Trains, Central Trains and TransPennine Express also operate along some sections of the line[9] (see figure 3.1). Whilst the majority of journeys undertaken for fieldwork were focused along the East Coast Mainline, other journeys were undertaken on different routes since many journeys only use the East Coast Mainline for part of their distance (see figure 3.2). Since research was carried out at both railway stations and on board services, permission was sought and granted from both GNER and Network Rail (as operators of London King's Cross and Edinburgh Waverley) to use photography and approach passengers for interviews.

3.2.3 Pilot research

Pilot research was conducted during the summer 2004 as part of an MA in Research Methods in order to test the practical efficacy of a variety of methods. This was conducted over a one-month period and involved four methodological strategies. First, a series of five autoethnographic participant observations were conducted between Newcastle and London focusing on descriptions of both my own practical experience of the journey together with descriptions of the practices of others around me. Notes were taken whilst in transit where I had opportunities to momentarily halt, sit and write both on trains and at stations. These were successful in that many long narratives were created. Despite the kaleidoscopic nature of these accounts, it became evident during the process that some initial topic with which to form thoughts around would provide increased focus to observations. Second, a series of photographic ethnographies were conducted on two journeys with the aim of documenting the textures and surfaces of each journey. Images were captured at regular intervals throughout the journeys from the station, boarding the train, dwelling on the train and alighting, and were presented together as a photographic montage without description. Consent was sought from people who were being directly photographed. Several people were approached who declined to be photographed. This method was successful in extending the narrational capacities of autoethnography in that the photographic montages charted the journey from the perspective of the researcher. However to develop photographic ethnography further required increased focus on specific objects or places rather than the chance events of serendipity. Third, a series of structured interviews were carried out on board the train on five journeys. This entailed walking through the train, approaching people (who did not appear to be busy or occupied) and requesting ten minutes of their time. These interviews involved a series of structured questions based around preparation for the journey, practical activities in the station and on board together with a series of more open-ended questions on values and opinions. In total, ten short structured interviews were conducted. Whilst it was useful to talk to participants whilst in transit, sampling problems associated with approaching only those people who did not appear to be

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[9] Although from 11 November 2007 re-franchising means that services formerly run by Virgin Trains and Central Trains along the East Coast Mainline will be run by Arriva under the brand 'CrossCountry' and Stagecoach under the brand 'East Midland Trains' respectively.

engaged in an activity meant that the final balance of participants was skewed towards a particular (elderly) demographic. Additionally, it became clear that some people felt uneasy about responding to the questions in the presence of other passengers. This therefore curtailed the opportunity to explore questions in greater detail. Rather than making audio recordings of each encounter, brief notes were made during the course of each interview and then expanded from memory afterwards. This rendered presentation problematic in that short summaries of each topic were used in the final report rather than speech fragments which were often too short and lacked detail. Therefore in order to execute more successful interviews with richer detail, the final strategy for this research abandoned the practice of interviewing on the move in preference for pre-arranged semi-structured interviews. Fourth, a series of focus groups were arranged with students to trial the efficacy of this method. Two hour-long discussions, each with six people echoed topics chosen for the interviews. Similar to the interviews, rather than transcription, notes were made during each focus group then collated and presented as a series of emergent ideas. Whilst the focus groups developed and circulated some interesting ideas, this methodological strategy was not followed through for the main research project since it required too much coordination and inflexible time commitments on the part of participants.

3.2.4 Autoethnographic participant observation

For this research, the first part of the methodological assemblage involves a combination of autoethnography and participant observation. The practice of autoethnography interrogates the researcher as subject; of interpersonal experiences and as such, it is both an introspective interrogation of the self formed through the relations between self and proximate environment. Whilst Berger (2001) reminds us of the fluidity of the term covering a range of disparate methodologies, from field diaries to travelogues to personal memoirs, it is first and foremost a literary genre. It can be defined as a self-narrative that critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts (Spry, 2001). Autoethnographic participant observation is central to this research since it has the capacity to chart the interactional textures occurring between self and others, the nature of human and non-human interaction, corporeal sensuous encounter, noise and silence. Spry (2001) notes how such autobiographical writing creates a weaving of performative ethnographic poetry – a convergence of the autobiographical impulse and ethnographic moment. Autobiographical writing is useful since the researcher is the epistemological and ontological nexus upon which the research process turns. As Langellier puts it, 'personal narrative performances give shape to social relations, but because such relations are multiple, polysemic and complexly interconnected and contradictory, it can do so only in unstable and destabilizing ways for narrator and audience... a story of the body told through the body which makes cultural conflict concrete' (Langellier, 1999, 208). Caution must be taken to prevent such writings from plunging into a self therapising and sentimental art form, formalising the unchallenged authority of the researcher. Some researchers go as far as arguing

that such methods negate our central responsibility as researchers which is to 'produce representations of others' (Besio and Butz, 2004, 432). Furthermore, Finlay (2002) too demonstrates how reflexivity has been a tool of legitimisation and validation that is often highly rhetorical. Whilst I would agree that such methods should be careful not to descend into overly romanticised sentimental prose, autoethnographic participant observation is central to this research design in helping to understand my particular positioning in the field, or as Gupta and Ferguson put it, 'my imbrication in the where of my research practices' (1997, 2). Furthermore, the researcher 'appears not as an individual creative scholar, a knowing subject who discovers, but more as a material body through whom a narrative structure unfolds' (Bruner, in Finlay, 2002, 211). During the unfolding of events in research locations on the move, the ongoing yet disjointed practice of autoethnographic participant observation has the capacity to document and reflect on the fleshy, sensuous and embodied experience of the ethnographic moment and interpersonal experiences.

A total of 116 journeys were undertaken specifically for autoethnographic participant observation[10] (see Appendix A for complete list). These were conducted both at stations and on-board trains and involved making detailed notes about various phenomena. The first set of autoethnographic participant observations, similar to those in the pilot research, were broad in the sense that there was no defining focus to the description. These descriptions documented my experiences of various railway journeys and were based less on the observation of what others were doing and more around self-narrative. These narratives were not formed of continuous prose throughout the journey but were rather disjointed, fragmented and reflected my shifting degree of engagement with the proximate environment; fluctuating between engagement and acquiescence. As the research advanced, descriptions were focused more sharply on engaging with the practices of others through forms of participant observation. Decisions were made as to what particular aspect of the journey or people to focus on. The particular themes selected were emergent through the ongoing process of the journey. Whilst some journeys were more conducive to describing the practices of other passengers, the descriptions on less-busy journeys focused on the relationality of the body with practical architecture of the proximate environment such as windows and seats. These journeys were undertaken on services at different times of day in order to account for different types of practice that might be taking place. Similarly, participant observation in stations was conducted at different times of day in order to narrate something of the diurnal shifts in activity.

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[10] Although many additional journeys were undertaken without the specific aim of enacting participant observation. Since I travel by train frequently and do not own a car, throughout the duration of this research it was often difficult to disentangle 'fieldwork' journeys from 'non-fieldwork' journeys.

3.2.5 Visual methodologies

The second part of the methodological assemblage involves a set of visual methodologies. There are broadly two forms of visual methods developed. First, the use of photography on the move throughout research locations provides a means of narrating the movements of bodies and objects. Rather than narrating solely visual materialities, Crang notes how these visual materials should be used as aesthetic products as opposed to the 'generation' of data (Crang, 2003). Furthermore, Harper (2003) illustrates how photographs have the ability to communicate a wide range of sensibilities from historicity and the results of change, to features and textures. The use of photography in this research design follows Steiger (2000) whose photography communicates some of the various textures and feelings of an everyday commute by train between Basel and Zurich. Similar to Rosler's images in '*Rights of Passage*' (1997a), these images demonstrate movement and surface textures as a locus of everyday experience. Photography can emphasise relative movements through transient spaces together with ideologies of speed (Vidler, 2002). In a similar vein, Alberro comments on how photography is well suited to capturing the disorder of systems, where travelling spaces are not always rational, mobile systems but as 'crude labyrinths of strange and ragged pathways' (1997, 41). Photography entails 'complex practices of observation, production, reproduction and display' (Rose, 2004, 556). These photographic practices therefore require interpretation to be taken beyond generalised arguments about particular ways of seeing (Crang, 1997).

A total of 2075 images were taken which involved a combination of standard digital camera and mobile phone camera. This was particularly useful when in situations where the use of standard camera equipment was overly intrusive. Whilst photography was used in both stations and on board trains, a variety of strategies were employed[11]. The first strategy similar to that employed in the pilot study was a photographic diary and aimed to chart my experiences as I undertook particular journeys. These photographic diaries comprise images of moving through the station, boarding the train together with moments and experiences whilst on board the train. As such these photo essays come together to form journey montages. The second strategy aimed to document and narrate particular aspects of the travelling experience rather than a moving chronology of my personal experiences. As opposed to photographing whilst undertaking a particular journey, these image sequences involved changing my own practices specifically for the purposes of visually describing these spaces. Many photographic sequences were taken whilst in-situ in a specific location over a period of time, typically about 20 minutes with an image taken every minute. These were taken from unobtrusive locations on platforms

[11] With regard to confidentiality of participants and ethics of covert photography, this method follows the British Psychological Society's code of conduct (2000), specifically adhering to section 4.5: Only make audio, video, or photographic recordings of recipients of services or participants in research (with the exception of recordings of public behaviour) with the expressed agreement of those being recorded to the recording being made.

and concourses so as not to impede people's movements. These sequences were designed to capture a sense of relative movement or stasis of bodies and objects in various locations. Additionally, a variety of time-exposure techniques aimed to better narrate a sense of ongoing movement. Using this technique in stations was an effective way of capturing and presenting the shifts in the character of people's movement at different times during the day.

The second form of visual methodology developed is the use of visual diagramming techniques. Following Latham (2003), these forms of montage[12] comprising not only photography but also drawing, pattern and text provide a novel way of narrating some of the complexity of the practical routine knowledges involved in the task of travelling. Furthermore, such diagramming enables a greater focus on the non-cognitive and embodied aspects of experience that perhaps elude some of the more traditional methodological approaches. Forming experimental collages such as time-graphs that are both playful and engaging, provide an 'additional set of narrative resources through which the reader can gain a sense of the texture of the relationships the researcher is seeking to describe' (Latham, 2003, 2009).

To this end, a series of 'space-syntax style' time-space maps were created at Newcastle station that involved observing and drawing people's movements for hour-long durations through particular parts of the station onto a map. A series of more processual time-space diagrams were produced comprising a collage of text and photography designed to narrate the ongoing choreography of speech acts and bodily practices undertaken during particular journeys. More experimentally, a variety of affectual time-space diagrams were constructed, with the aim of narrating particular bodily sensations during the course of some journeys.

3.2.6 Go-along

The third part of the methodological assemblage is the go-along where the researcher accompanies individual informants on their journey, asking questions listening and observing. A primarily phenomenological methodology, such a hybrid is intended to build on the strengths and minimise the weaknesses of both interviews and participant observation (Kusenbach, 2003) and is an integral part of the mobile methodological commitment to researching what people do on the move rather than the recollective reminiscences that typically occur away from the travelling location. Indeed the major advantage of the go-along is that practices can be captured in-situ. This method is well suited to studying the spatio-temporal, transitional nature

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[12] It might be useful here to consider Gregory's (1991) note of caution in response to Pred's (1991) use of visual methodologies. Pred draws heavily on the visual methods of time-geography to reconstruct a docker's everyday path through late nineteenth century Stockholm. The use of text and image here attempt to provide a sensitivity to some of the micro-topographies of everyday life. To use Gregory's words, Pred makes these diagrams since they have the 'unique capacity to make the structuration of social life seen/scene in the double sense of both making the processes visible and embedding them in place.' (1991, 32). However, Gregory's ironic attempt to produce a montage by piecing together Pred's images demonstrates some of the tensions that are disclosed through this practice. Namely, rather than conveying a sense of phantasmagoria through the folding through of other people's perspectives, it produces a impression of a singular subject and a loss of heterogeneity.

of travelling environments since they can actively explore subjects' stream of experiences as they move through and interact with the transient environments encountered. The go-along is used as part of the methodological assemblage since it permits the researcher to 'take a more active stance towards capturing their informants' actions and interpretations' (Kusenbach, 2003, 463) and is perhaps a more systematic form of 'hanging out', a hallmark of many ethnographic projects. Whilst Kusenbach maintains that the strength of this method is suited to exploring the habitual environments of participants, in this research, go-alongs are also used to explore the experiences of participants who are less familiar with railway travel. Group go-alongs are also used so that the presence of others can help to alleviate some of the discomfort felt by being followed by a researcher.

A series of 10 go-alongs were conducted during the course of the research project. Six were conducted between Newcastle and London, two on the intercity route between London and Norwich, two on the intercity route between Newcastle and Liverpool and two between Cambridge and London. The different routes diverging from the East Coast Mainline route were selected on the basis of participant choice and availability. A range of participants were recruited based on the snowballing approach whereby contacts were made with friends of colleagues who use the train at a variety of frequencies. Additionally, contacts were made with a large business organisation in Gateshead whose colleagues frequently travel between the North-East and London. Before each go-along, I provided a brief overview of the research to each participant and made assurances about confidentiality. During each go-along, I met with participants prior to their journey outside the station and accompanied them on their journey through the station and onto the train. Whilst moving through these spaces it was not possible to make notes so this task was completed from memory on the train. During each go-along, I talked with participants about their journey using objects and decisions as prompts for conversation rather than adhering to a set of pre-determined questions. Whilst on board the train, I observed and made notes on the various practices undertaken by participants. Rather than using the journey as an opportunity for a sustained and continuous dialogue, much of the travelling time was spent allowing each participant to complete tasks that they would normally conduct during the journey, both work- and leisure-based. Dialogue was often prompted by the participant, describing why they would respond in certain ways to particular events. Notes were made both on their practices and comments during the course of the journey.

3.2.7 Semi-structured interviews

The fourth part of the methodological assemblage comprises semi-structured interviews. Although such a method is perhaps not a 'mobile methodology' as such, the objective of this method is to produce richly descriptive dialogical co-constructed accounts of experiences within and along spaces of flow. Additionally, semi-structured interviews also have the capacity to interrogate how various discourses of travel, as ascertained through the secondary source

material (see section 3.2.8), gets folded into the travelling experience. Following Rapley, the methodological rationale of semi-structured interviews is that they allow 'rich, deep and textured pictures... through the 'simple' method of producing topic-initiating and follow-up questions' (2001, 315). This method aims to go beyond more frequently-executed research on passenger experiences which produce rather static and passive numerical reports on destinations and origins and reasons for travel preferences (Zeppel, 2002). To provide a richer and more detailed account of passenger experiences and to focus on the trials and tribulations of the journey itself, attention is turned towards the more mundane features of journeying. These interview encounters are a reciprocal dialogue of mutual conscious-raising. Considering this finely coordinated, interactional work that both participants undertake, Watson and Weinberg (1982, in Rapley, 2001) remind us how interviewees and interviewers collaborate in producing the interviewee's biographies. To view the interview as an unfolding experience also exposes the creative nature of meaning in such an experience: as a narrative device, a text which is active and *creates* meaning. Denzin (2001) comments that meanings are contextual, improvised and performative which create liveable stories. Cultivating rapport with respondents in this way is a good way to create consent and trust. With a greater degree of rapport established, stronger feelings may be expressed (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004) since the interviewee feels comfortable and competent enough in the interaction to 'talk back'. Sinding and Aronson (2003, 101) point to the way in which to further cultivate rapport between themselves and interviewees, they found themselves using 'consoling refrains', concurring with the respondent to put them at ease. Indeed such responses have the capability to rewrite and interrupt important choruses in participants' stories. Rapport building can overcome difficulties associated with differences in relative power between interviewer and respondent which can result in suspicion and lack of trust. Rather than enacted as a standardised research device, semi structured interviews in this research are intended to be experimental events where 'interview participants do not entirely know what they are doing – and neither do interviewers' (Sinding and Aronson, 2003, 111). Perceiving and anticipating boundaries is both rhetorical and paradoxical such that the intricacies of the encounter cannot be pre-planned.

Semi-structured interviews were therefore conducted to create rich co-constructed dialogical material and a chance to explore issues more thoroughly with participants than methods carried out whilst on the move. Carrying out the interviews in locations away from the railway journey ensured minimal disturbance to participants' everyday routines and provided a more relaxed opportunity for discussion. Deciding on an adequate sampling strategy proved problematic in that all rail users were potential participants. Whilst not subscribing to overly-realist conceptions of needing to enlist a quantitatively rigourous representative sample of passengers, a range of passengers travelling for different purposes was required in order to identify and chart some of the differences between individual experiences. The selection of passengers chosen reflect a range of age, gender, familiarity with railway travel and motivations

for travelling. Whilst not elevating these attributes to causal dimensions, these particular sampling characteristics ensure that this study does not chart the experiences of any particular discrete group of travellers. Recruitment strategy was similar to that used for the go-along. A total of 46 semi-structured interviews were conducted. Employees in a large organisation in Gateshead who frequently travel to London were invited to be interviewed about their travel experiences. A total of 5 participants were interviewed here who characterised their travel as primarily business-based. In order to recruit a range of leisure travellers, information about the project was posted onto two popular internet-based railway newsgroups and forums[13]. Response from these postings was very successful and in total 18 participants were recruited through this method. However, in order to maximise uptake, the forum posting whilst specifying the necessity to travel on inter-city style services was non-specific about the particular route travelled on. Therefore many of these (predominantly male) participants principally travelled on other routes and as such, discussion reflected participants' more familiar routes. This also necessitated travelling long distances to meet participants but provided the opportunity to conduct further autoethnographic participant observations and perform visual methodologies on route. The remaining 23 participants were obtained through a variety of strategies: Four participants were enlisted through chance encounters during autothnographic participatory observation. In each of these cases, the opportunity for interviews emerged from conversations with passengers I happened to be sitting close to. Whilst two of the participants agreed to be interviewed in-situ, arrangements were made with the other two for an interview at a later date. The remaining 19 participants were recruited through snowballing from other participants who recommended me to talk to their colleagues, friends or family. Such a strategy ensured that a variety of passengers with differing travelling experiences were obtained. In total, 17 participants were female and 29 were male (see Appendix B). Discussion was based around a series of prompts (see Appendix C). Questions involved two sections: The first section was based around the participant's experiences of their most recent long-distance train journey whilst the second section was based on more general questions about discourses, values and attitudes towards train travel. Discussion in the first section relied on deconstructing a chronology of a recent long-distance train journey with questions based on planning, booking, preparation, transit to station, concourse practices, station-train interface, journey practices, changing trains, and arrival. Each set of questions was intended to elicit practical, descriptive information about various practices. However, rather than being overly prescriptive, participants were able to focus on a particular set of questions for more extended discussion, if desired, on the basis of their own experiences. The second section solicited less descriptive and more discourse and value-based discussion on railway travel more generally. Therefore whilst the prompts were uniform for each participant, the course of each interview was a unique intervention.

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[13] The railway internet forums RailwayScene http://www.railwayscene.co.uk and Google group uk.railway http://groups.google.co.uk/group/uk.railway/ were used.

In order to promote comfortable dialogue, participants decided on an interview time and venue that suited them, some taking months before a suitable date was decided on. Prior to each interview, I sent details of the project to each participant, either in letter form or through a specially-designed web-page providing details on the rationale for the study, people responsible for data collection, people who will look at the data, confidentiality assurances, how long the data will be kept for, together with rights as a participant to cease participation at any time. I made clear that there would be no direct financial benefits to the participant for taking part in the study, however many participants subsequently commented on how the interview had been a really illuminating experience. Whilst some described the interview as 'fun', one commented that it '...made me realise that I had opinions on things I hadn't ever really though about before.' Therefore, whilst the interview encounter was instrumental in forming data for this research, it also performed a dual role in giving participants an opportunity to reflect on their own experiences that might otherwise have been overlooked. For many, this was a positive experience.

3.2.8 Discourse analysis

Whilst the focus for much of this research is on the practical, performative and sensate dimensions of the travelling experience, the methodological assemblage also aims to trace some of the intersections of the performative and discursive where discourses are folded through and circulated within the performative unfoldings of bodies and objects. Representation and the symbolic dimensions of performance remains important to understanding and narrating lived experience. As such, discourse analysis is a useful tool to trace some of the symbolic knowledges that are woven through the travel experience. As Crang comments 'reality and its representations become confounded in one another, at once both cause and effect, each inseparably a part of the phenomenology of everyday life' (2005, 228). The objective of this method is to interrogate some of the various travel discourses and involves collecting and assessing a series of leaflets, magazines, newspaper articles and Internet sites principally designed to market the experience of the journey. An examination of some of the various tropes through textual and visual discourse analysis provides a useful insight into the types of affective reaction that are intended to be stimulated and the types of feeling engineered.

Whilst during the second part of the semi-structured interviews some notions of various travelling discourses were discussed (see Appendix C), this material was supplemented through my own interrogation of a series of railway literatures. Such material was intended to inform and illuminate how these discourses and ideologies may circulate. First, over the course of the research, each on-board magazine published by both GNER and Virgin trains was collected together with a series of promotional leaflets and timetables. Second, a series of *Windowgazer* guides published by Virgin Trains were collected. These are provided on board all Virgin Trains' services and are designed to illuminate to passengers some of the key landmarks to look out for

during the course of their journey. Third, newspaper articles were collected and analysed to identify some of the various discourses circulated through the media. This included both contemporary articles throughout the duration of the research and older articles from *The Times* and *The Guardian* through the online database *Infoseek*. Fourth, journals from the specialist railway press were subscribed to including *RAIL* and *Modern Railways* in order to provide a more detailed awareness of the political, economic and operational contexts. Each of these materials were examined visually and textually, and inform many of the themes explored in this research.

3.2.9 Synthesis

These sets of practices when taken together form the methodological assemblage. Rather than following Bryman's (2004) assertion that different perspectives working together can help to establish some 'real' yet elusive character of the social world, the set of practices employed in this project attempt to gain an experiential insight into some of the different aspects of the experience of being in these spaces. Rather than presenting a singular reality, this methodological assemblage assists in capturing and narrating something of the complexity of the spaces with which this project is concerned. As Law (2004) reminds us, certain realities are condensed through the enactment of each set of practices. Therefore each practice works to create and illuminate a different set of fragments and complexities associated with the experience of moving through spaces of the railway journey. This methodological assemblage intends to 'wrap the representational, haptic, emotional and discursive around each other' (Crang, 2005, 231). A recognition of the complexity of corporeal subjectivity is an issue that this methodological assemblage aims to respond to. Whilst the more 'mobile methods' outlined here are instrumental in narrating corporeal activity – the movement of bodies and objects through spaces – the use of more 'traditional methods' assists in illuminating those aspects of experience that are not always mobile and kinaesthetic.

3.3 Fieldwork analysis

Each of these methods described above organises the experiences of train travel in different ways. Indeed, Law reminds us how these realities 'are condensed at best with difficulty into textual or pictorial form' (2004, 147). So how best to analyse and present these various narrative traces produced through this particular methodological assemblage? How best to think through the 'limitless possibilities of similarity and difference[?] Limitless possible realities', to use Law's (2004, 110) illuminating yet rather daunting description of narrative dazzle. Rather than producing a coherent account of what it might be to travel by train, I want to use the results of this research in a way that is slightly more modest. Rather than developing methods that aim to reproduce some implied totality or fullness of experience, by taking a more fragmentary non-linear approach to narrative and presentation may begin to appreciate and be more responsive to the complex, subtle and shifting nature of corporeal subjectivity whilst on

the move. Such discontinuous methods of narration must respect and attend to the gaseous nature of subjectivity that shifts into and out of focus: subjectivity as 'sometimes wandering and sometimes reassembled' (Merleau-Ponty, 1968 quoted in Wylie 2002, 446).

The structure of the thesis is emergent from this empirical research. Far from an unproblematic materialisation, this is a messy process of filtration that is partly structured and partly emergent through various moments, both planned and unplanned. The differentiation between a variety of corporeal sensibilities, active and inactive; wandering and reassembled was one of the most frequent generic topics of discussion through all five methodological techniques and therefore this was chosen to frame the empirical chapters: *choreography* focusing on the physically moving body; *absorption*, focusing on the physically stilled but practically engaged body; *acquiescence* focusing on the physically inert and disengaged body; and *sociality*, focusing on how bodies dwell together through travel. Far from neatly pasting in various forms of data unproblematically into each chapter, each methodological strategy presented its own unique form of data. Here I want to briefly describe how data products were analysed before commenting on how these products informed the following empirical chapters.

For the autoethnographic participant observation, two large notebooks of descriptions were compiled containing notes on 116 journeys. First, these notebooks were paginated and second, a chart was constructed where emergent themes were identified on each page according to the particular practices described. These themes were then collated whereby similar themes were grouped together. Lastly, each of these themes were assigned to one of the four chapters. For the visual methodologies each individual image was stored onto iPhoto for Mac, an image management application, and sequentially assigned a code from 1-662. Since many images were part of multiple image sequences, these were assigned letters correspondingly (eg. 1A, 1B, 1C etc). Each image code was subsequently assigned a topic based on the subject of the image and similar topics were then grouped together. Similar to the participant observation, each of these groups was then assigned to one of the four chapters. The other visual narrations produced such as the time-space diagram were scanned directly into the final report, whilst other diagrams such as those capturing sensate dimensions of experience were re-drawn for the final report to improve their appearance. The time-space collages were produced on Word where the practical descriptions and images were collated. Each of these visual narrations was placed into their appropriate chapter. For the go-alongs, since these materials were not directly transcribed, the series of notes produced were analysed in a similar way to the participant observation. Emergent themes were noted though each set of descriptions and then assigned to relevant chapters. Each of the semi-structured interviews were transcribed in full. This included all dialogue but not to the conventions of conversational analysis where pauses and other utterings are meticulously accounted for, since in-depth ethnomethodology was not part of the methodological strategy. Instead, where moments of laughter or other non-textual emphases pertinent to the ongoing dialogue occurred, these were

included in parentheses. Once completed, manual coding was conducted on each of the transcripts where emergent themes were noted in the margins. These themes were then collated and similar themes grouped and assigned to appropriate chapters. For discourse analysis, throughout the period of the research promotional magazines published by GNER and Virgin Trains were collected and the content was analysed for emergent tropes, particularly focusing on information about the travelling experience. Images which folded through the research themes were scanned and inserted into the final report. Similarly, parts of the Virgin trains *Windowgazer* guides were scanned and used to support claims throughout the text.

Conclusion

Each component of the methodological assemblage used throughout this research amplifies, condenses and brings into being a certain set of experiences. The event-traces, emergent from each of these methods, condense through particular forms of narration, each amplifying or subduing particular aspects of lived experience. It is therefore important to attend to these various heterogeneous dynamics that *result* from the production of different forms of presentational practice. Text-based creations such as interviews and autoethnographic participant observation may serve to privilege the active kinaesthetic dimension of corporeal experiences. The narratives that are created from these methods tend to be skewed towards four particular yet interrelated aspects of the event of mobility. First, such narratives are concerned with the various permutations of change. Such change could be defined as morphological where objects alter their form, shifting their properties and parameters. For example, Laurier (2004) demonstrates how the map as object changes in relation to the other parts of the moving assemblage over time, enlisted at certain moments in the journey. Where bodies are narrated, change could describe shifts in corporeal subjectivities as a result of a shift in the mobile assemblage. Wylie (2006) for example elucidates on the shifting nature of subjectivity whilst walking, shifting into and out of focus. Change highlights the attention to temporality in these new mobile ethnographies together with the various commitments to thinking through the notions of speed and rates of change. Second, these narratives tend to emphasize the importance of displacement. This focus highlights the primacy of thinking through spatiality in these studies, more specifically how bodies and objects are on the move from one location to another through a patchwork of other locations. Examples here include Latham's (2003) time-space diagrams to describe movement through different spaces together with Pinder (2001) and Jon Anderson's (2004) research on the various practices of walking through different localities which promote a variety of sometimes expected and at other times serendipitous corporeal apprehensions. Third, they are concerned with narrating the various thresholds or transformations between different states of corporeal or object materiality. Attention to these thresholds also includes attentiveness to the rate or speed of these changes, whether they happen gradually or suddenly. Such attention to thresholds is played out astutely in Watt's (2005) research on the experience of train travel which pays particular attention to the

way in which the space of the railway carriage shifts in response to events at different paces. Last, these narratives are concerned with the various spacings that occur and are enacted during movement events. Specifically, the various and transforming relationalities between bodies and objects and the nature of this relationship with space. Such attention to space is demonstrated through Edensor's (2003) research on car travel and the relationality between driver and landscape and the types of spatialities that are produced through this event of movement.

What links all four of these broad themes of investigation is their central commitment to active sensibilities. To the mobile ethnographer what is important are not only the active speech patterns and streams of active consciousness perhaps iterated through dialogue but the gestures, actions and movements of bodies. The central point here is the way in which bodies and objects on the move are narrated in a way which privileges action over other perhaps more fragile ways of being mobile. As Kusenbach admits 'ethnographers take a more active stance towards capturing their informants' actions and interpretations' (2003, 463). It is these actions and interpretations, both active sensibilities, that appear to be the central concern of narration. With this in mind, such narrations form what can be termed reactive empiricisms where the narrative reflects the various actions and reactions prompted by various stimuli: through change, displacement, thresholds and spacings. More specifically, parts of the methodological assemblage are not adept at capturing those aspects of experience that are non-active and non-agentive which are arguably integral to the everyday quotidian experience of being mobile but are repeatedly overlooked. Briefly, such sensibilities might include weariness, tiredness, lethargy, hunger and pain perhaps through less-than-agentive practices of waiting and queuing. These sensibilities could be termed as acquiescent since they characterise those aspects of experience where the body is inert and crucially is not involved in the ongoingness of performance.

The diversity of techniques in this methodological assemblage ensures that this empiricism remains responsive to a more expansive range of travelling experiences, not only of the active body but of the stilled body also. The range of visual methods developed here may be better-attuned to excavate some of these acquiescent sensibilities which are perhaps not so readily narratable through texts. Whilst video-based methodologies are increasingly popular tools to record and narrate mobile experiences (Laurier, 2004), perhaps by returning to still-photographic images we can attempt to portray, albeit in a limited way, some of the lack of active, agentive movement emergent in certain situations. Such images have the capability to affect the viewer by transmitting and circulating a variety of sensibilities (see Jacobsen-Hardy 2002; Steiger 2000). To use a range of different forms of knowledges, such as visual and verbal and perhaps tactile, together could provide an ideal multi-vocal conduit for illuminating a range of active *and* acquiescent travel experiences.

Chapter 4

Choreography: bodies on the move

Introduction

In order for bodies to become passengers, some degree of physical bodily movement is required. Through this chapter I consider some of the ways in which bodies *move through* a variety of spaces in order to travel by train. Focus here is therefore on the choreographic[1] body-in-action and the various practices that require physical bodily effort to negotiate these spaces. This chapter will help to illuminate some of the various practices that are required for a body to *become* a travelling body. As such, it will answer to current debates within contemporary cultural geography that chart the movements and negotiations of active bodies. Indeed, these physical corporeal mobilities that this chapter charts have become synonymous with the liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000) and spaces of flows (Castells, 1996) that epitomise many epistemological renderings of postmodern subject formation. The ways in which moving bodies are conceptualised here are influenced by three bodies of contemporary geographical thought.

First, within mobility studies (see Hannam et al., 2006), embodied subjectivity is increasingly conceptualised within a world of speeded-up flows (Vidler, 2002; Virilio, 1997). However, more recently, the idea of free and unimpeded bodily movement has been challenged by studies that have focused on investigating the relative mobilities of *different* bodies (Cresswell, 2001; Cresswell, 2003; Adey, 2006a). An important concern of many of these

[1] Choreography as a specific performative descriptor is not new to cultural geography (see Thrift, 1996; McCormack, 2002). However, here I want to realign the term away from the expressive arts towards everyday routine events of movement.

studies are the relative speeds of bodies where some bodies move faster at the expense of other, slowed bodies. These relative mobilities are often segregated by financial standing such as ability to pay, ownership of appropriate banking cards, access to booking services online and over the phone (Graham, 2002). This chapter aims to expand on these ideas of relational mobility by considering how bodies and objects move through spaces of the railway journey in different ways. As such, it prompts a consideration of corporeal boundaries, degrees of freedom and restraint, and how agency is distributed between bodies and objects in the course of these movements.

Second, the active body has its heritage in many reactionary urban strategies and practices that have focused on the primacy of perception and place exploration. Much of this work draws on a rich heritage of thinking through how bodies perceive and come to know places through the act of movement through the urban environment: from the flâneurs of Benjamin (2002), Bachelard (1994) and Baudelaire (2003) to the perambulatory wanderings of Wordsworth, Rousseau and de Certeau (2002). This commitment to exploratory and often transgressive forms of urban movement could be expanded to include various and more recent feminist practices of appropriation and liberation (Bell et al., 1994; Bell and Valentine, 1995, Wilson, 1991). Common to all of these writers is the desire to actively explore and sometimes challenge dominant ways of perceiving the urban environment through particular movements. This chapter extends the remit of such thought by considering some of the tensions between corporeal freedom and bodily control as bodies negotiate these spaces.

Third, the primacy of the active body owes much to the various renderings of vitalist thought and the variety of ways in which bodies have the capacity to move through and consequently produce and enact spatialities. Vitalist apprehensions have been influenced in part through a continued dialogue between phenomenological thought, political and cognitive sciences through the work of Varela (1993), Connolly (2002) and Damasio (2000), amongst others. Within geography, a commitment to vitalism is highlighted through work on performativity and agentive corporeal potentialities (see Nash, 2000; Dewsbury et al., 2002; Gregson and Rose, 2000; Latham and Conradson, 2003). Drawing on these interlinked rationales of embodiment and performativity, the majority of studies about corporeal experience have focused on and privileged the *active* body. Many studies have explored and narrated how performative, active bodies bring spaces and places *into being*. These active experiences are narrated through rich active verbiages. Recent examples of such energetic sensibilities include walking (Wylie, 2002, 2005; Solnit, 2000; Morris, 2004), dancing (McCormack, 2002), cycling, (Spinney, 2006), playing (Harker, 2005), caravanning (Crouch, 2001) and photographing (Crang, 1997; Larsen, 2005), to list a few. This chapter aims to consider how bodily movements are performative and how spaces of the railway journey are brought into being through these physical movements.

Drawing on these three interlinked rationales, and with the assistance of empirical examples, through this chapter I explore some of the moments where the embodied subject

physically moves through the spaces of the railway assemblage, focusing particularly on spaces of the railway station. I do this in three ways: First, I investigate the *materiality* of the moving body by interrogating the physical act of movement itself, and the various affordances accorded to the body through the enlistment of a variety of objects that either increase or restrict the range of potential bodily movements. Focus here is on the body-object relationality, the nature of these object affordances and the ways in which they mediate the types of physical movement that can be enacted and various spatialities that are produced. In doing so, this section examines the assemblage of objects, practices and movements that are required to *become* a travelling body. Second, I explore the character of the *spatialities* that moving bodies negotiate and the types of movements that these spaces permit. Interrogation focuses on the ways in which architecture and the built environment mediate these movements, and the intersections between movement and temporality with particular reference to the diurnal rhythms of these spaces. Focus here is on exploring both the predictability engendered through these spaces, of various movements as developing to form conventional progressions through these spaces, but also how more non-linear, unpredictable performances can emerge. As such, this section reveals how certain spaces of the railway journey are engineered to give rise to particular performances and structures of feeling, but how this interaction is often unpredictable. Third, I explore the variety of *embodied knowledges* created, developed and put into practice through these spaces of movement and the extent to which these practical knowledges are required to permit passage through spaces of the railway journey. How knowledges are not only internalised through repetition and routine but also re-negotiated and checked helps to reveal some of the more tacit knowledges implicated through the movement of bodies. Focus here is on events of knowledge transfer and the variety of interfaces that orchestrate these movements. Additionally, I investigate a variety of technologies enlisted by mobile bodies that expand and extend the range of potential actions available to the body. I explore the nature of these body-technology relationalities, the interfaces between the physical and the virtual, together with the complex interactions between physical actions and technological movements. In doing so, this section helps to consider some of the various ways through which the journey is organised and managed by different individuals travelling for different purposes. Taken together, these three aspects help us to understand how, through particular materialities, spaces and knowledges, a mobile body *becomes* a travelling body.

4.1 Moving bodies

In this first section, I consider how the travelling body is constructed through the enlistment of particular materialities. To apprehend the materiality of the body is to take seriously the physicalities of embodiment and the hybrid constructions of how world and body are co-constituted and interwoven (Anderson and Tolia-Kelly, 2004). From this material lattice, of self and world, particular spatialities and temporalities emerge. It is necessary here to draw not only on feminist renderings of bodily materiality that take seriously the fragile, fractured and

fluid boundaries of bodies that are 'neither clearly separable nor stable' (Longhurst, 2001, 123), but also the hybridity of human and non-human relationality (Whatmore, 2002). More concretely, I look at the materialities that emerge when bodies become entangled with a variety of non-human objects that are required to become a travelling body. As such, these objects can be considered as corporeal material extensions that *afford* different types of movement through these spaces (see Callon and Law, 1995; Costall, 1995; Heft, 1989). Focus here is on the interaction between bodies and the spaces that are moved through which are 'heterogeneously mediated' (Michael, 2000, 108) by these proximate objects. Of course, many objects are commonly enlisted through pedestrian movement such as newspapers, cups of coffee and tea, pushchairs, crutches, to list a few. However, I want to explore more closely three different corporeal entanglements with objects enlisted through the event of bodily movement to explore how the materiality of both bodies and objects change in the course of movement-making. These objects; a bicycle, luggage and wheelchair; whilst affording certain movements also pose a challenge to the idea of free, unimpeded movement. Movement in these circumstances emerges as a *negotiated* practice. In doing so, this section illuminates not only the heterogeneity of travelling bodies but also how these body-object relations give rise to particular freedoms and restraints through the course of movement.

4.1.1 Affording onward movement: bicycle

Many people travelling by train ride with their bicycle as part of a multi-modal journey. The object in this case affords onward mobility. The bicycle, when moving through the station and transferring to the train, forms a particular type of object materiality that affords movement both to the railway station and once the railway journey is completed. However, the relationality between body and bicycle when moving *through* the spaces of the railway journey changes the materiality of both. Travelling by bicycle has often been associated with tropes of corporeal expansion, of bodily freedom and of being in close contact with the environment (Spinney, 2006). When arriving at a station entrance, a change in the nature of this relation occurs. Instead of smooth, onward movement, the rhythm of body and bicycle becomes somewhat clumsier. Bodies must push their bicycles around the station, hands on handlebars supporting the bicycle, pushing it further:

> *Terry:* Right, well... I cycle up, hop off the bike as I approach [laughs] the doors. I mean the fact that I have the bike with me makes me slightly different from most users but the machines are right there and I can just take the bike to the machine – there's not normally a queue. Buy the ticket with a debit card, and just wheel the bike straight onto the platform, checking the arrival and departure indicators that things are running smoothly, and get on my train.

This passenger, a regular traveller between Cambridge and London for work, identifies that his movement is *different* to other bodies and that this particular corporeal extension mediates his spatial decisions and alters his trajectories and patterns of ongoing movement in relation to the movements of other people. He also adapts his movements in response to anticipated movement at the end of the train journey:

> *David:* Ok, and if the train's not there, would you kind of wait?
> *Terry:* If the platform's been announced then I'd go to the platform. Cos I always make a point of getting to the London end of the train, especially since I've got a bike, it's particularly more comfortable to do it that way. Even if you don't have a bike – but with a bike, it becomes even more uncomfortable.

For this passenger, the presence of a bike, far from providing uplift or freedom during the train journey, is a source of discomfort and restraint. Bodily strategies of moving with a bicycle are therefore woven into the practices of negotiating the station. Whilst the bicycle might afford more unimpeded, faster mobility at either end of the train journey, the specific (and perhaps inflexible) relationship between body and object through the particular spatiality of the railway journey serves to restrict certain practices. This passenger notes how the presence of the bicycle complicates what might otherwise be an easy set of movements:

> *David:* Have there been time when you've used waiting rooms at Cambridge or King's Cross?
> *Aaron:* Very occasionally. Having the bike makes it slightly more complicated erm, you know if you could just lean the bike against a wall and keep an eye on it I suppose there might be a reason. I've used the shelters on platform one a bit.

Whilst regulations mediating the type of movements permitted through the spaces of the railway journey are aimed at all passengers, how one should move as this particular body-object affordance is rather less clear as this passenger who rarely travels with his bike by train exemplifies:

> *Sean:* Then yeah, try and manoeuvre the bike through the crowd of waiting people and through the station. Then wondering whether you can cycle through a station. You know, what are the rules, what are the rules?! Do I cycle, do I just walk with it? Am I going to be stopped? So then I thought, I'll just cycle – I cycled down the platform and out of the station! Are you allowed to?!

In this case, it was easier for the passenger to cycle through the station, despite being aware that this might not be allowed. Once the station concourse has been negotiated, a particular

choreographic routine emerges when boarding the train itself, involving positioning in relation to other passengers as this passenger recounts:

> *Mitch:* Well firstly it meant that you had to wait until everyone else had got settled. You have to find the right entrance to the train for a start so that's your first job on the platform which no one else has. Then you have to put yourself in line with other people with bicycles so you're not fighting over it. There was one other cyclist. But he didn't know where the entrance was or what happened, I don't think he'd taken his bike on the train cos he said, 'do you just put your bike in there do you?' And I said 'yes, there should be a little compartment'. And although he was first, he let me go first. And then some people were standing in the area for the bikes – a group of young people, cos they don't like to sit around on the train with other people. So I could put them there, so I considered standing with it in the entrance there but I thought 'sod that'. On the other side, there's a luggage space which might well have been the bicycle space as well but there was luggage in there, but I just threw it on the luggage [laughs] and left it there.

In this passage, this passenger distinguishes himself as different in relation to other passengers on account that different movements need to be undertaken. This also demonstrates the frustration of not knowing what to do for the first-time traveller with a bike and therefore emphasises the importance not only of routine, but how these two passengers assisted each other. Additionally, there is a certain satisfaction of the process of detachment of body from proximate object, as the relationality gets torn apart for the duration of the journey. As Michael points out, 'the affordances of any technology are always, at least potentially, ambiguous' (2000, 112). Whilst the bicycle may permit freedom and fidelity elsewhere, there are limitations 'about what the object affords' (Ingold, 1992, 46) in the railway station. During the duration of moving through the railway station and boarding a train, the presence of a bicycle limits the range of possible actions available to the body. The body-object relation is more cumbersome and is slowed.

4.1.2 Affording transporting possessions: luggage

Whilst a bicycle is an affordance that permits travel either side of the train journey, luggage as a corporeal extension is crucial to the transportation of personal possessions. However, the type of relationality between body and object in this case and the way in which movement is mediated is rather different. Whilst bicycles can be pushed alongside the body, there are many other relationalities whereby bodies can move with luggage such as holding, dragging and wheeling: particular entanglements mediated by different areas of the railway station. For this passenger who travels regularly between Newcastle and London on business, the presence of steps means that luggage has to be moved in a variety of different ways:

Francesca: King's Cross, as you probably know is full of steps. And even though you've got luggage on wheels, you still have to lift it up and down steps. And I've got myself one of these RSIs with carrying a briefcase, a laptop and you know, a small suitcase. You still have to carry them onto the train, but them into the compartment, carry them off again. Or sometimes you can drag it, but it's up and down steps and it takes its toll.

Here, she describes the fatiguing and draining effect of transporting luggage through these spaces. Object and body in this instance are mutually shaped as the weight of the luggage inscribes its presence onto the body (see Lai, 2005). The luggage as object demands energy from the body and can degrade or even disable the body. In this movement, which can induce discomfort, the surrounding landscape of the railway station 'emerges as malignant' (Wylie, 2005, 244). As such, this demonstrates the capacity of certain objects to change the affectual experience of space. Here, rather than the experience of moving through the station being exciting or liberating, it becomes painful and laborious. However, unlike bicycles, luggage can be *adapted* in order to permit easier movement. In this example, the passenger wraps luggage around her body. In doing so, she describes how pressure is distributed away from her arms and hands:

Francesca: And my briefcase has a long strap which I put around me, so I'm not carrying it. And I do the same with my handbag. I have to do it now, cos I can't carry it, you know, I can't carry carrier bags – shopping with this hand.

David: So everything's adapted to that?

Francesca: Yes, cos even when it's over my shoulder, it slides down and you end up having to support it. So you've got to put it across your shoulder properly.

Similar to the bicycle, the transportation of luggage not only mediates the character of movement itself, but also prevents certain activities thus limiting the range of movements available to the body. As this passenger, who occasionally travels for business between Newcastle and London, notes, having luggage can restrict particular movements:

Maxine: I decided that my suitcase, albeit on wheels, made me decide not to do that so I did infact go and get the train straight away... it would be a lot better if you hadn't got the luggage! You know carrying this wheelie suitcase around there, I did it – but no, it wasn't easy. It doesn't invite you to go and do other things when you've got luggage.

This entanglement of body and object also demands increased attentiveness towards other nearby bodies. Indeed there can be an awkwardness within this relation where the object is not wholly in control. Movements and rhythms may not be synchronised and instead may be difficult to regulate. As Michael astutely observes, this relationship between body and object

'seems always liable to fracture' (2000, 113). As this passenger, who travels between Newcastle and London infrequently, notes, the body moves straight but the luggage moves like a cantankerous child, swinging and dancing behind:

> *Robin:* Also when I've got a big bag with me I kind of feel self conscious where I'm going to be going – especially on the London Underground – that when you're walking about, you're going to be bumping into people and it's just very awkward to get it about. So I prefer to travel with as few pieces of baggage as possible.

Here, the passenger also describes a heightened sense of self-consciousness where his position in relation to other bodies is constantly being monitored. Whilst object and body are highly attached and wrapped around during the periods of corporeal movement through the railway assemblage, the motif of detachment recurs as the body ceases to move. As this passenger, who travels routinely between London and Newcastle, describes, this detachment involves active processes of spatial evaluation to prevent getting into people's way:

> *Omar:* If I've got a big bag I try to position myself close to a door when it's turning up because my concern isn't getting a seat, it's having somewhere to put my bag. Cos I feel really conscious like I said before if I've got a big bag, of getting in people's way. I'm like 'oh sorry, oh sorry'... Yeah, that's my top priority, getting rid of the big heavy bag. If I've got a small bag, I'll just go and find a seat and put it above me head.

These changing relationships between the body and the bicycle or luggage demonstrate well how these objects contribute to the process of communication. As Michael points out 'they at once mediate this dialogue, and transform it' (2000, 114). These events also demonstrate how these objects can act as interference. Whilst they are both designed for smooth processual movement, through the spaces of the railway station, they may not work in this way and become a version of Serres' parasite, in that they materially intervene in what is intended to be a smooth flow of communication between body and environment. As Michael points out, 'they disrupt, abbreviate, curtail the signals... that pass between these two entities (Michael, 2000, 115-6).

4.1.3 Affording inclusive traversal: wheelchair

When interrogating how bodies move through these spaces, it is important to consider what a body actually is. Instead of characterising bodies as homogenous and undifferentiated, much current thinking on differential bodily *capability* helps us to gain a more responsive understanding of the variety of corporeal materialit*ies* that are enacted (see Cream, 1995; Moss and Dyck, 1999). Parr (1997), for example, illustrates the complex spatialities produced by marginalized social groups through their interaction with public spaces. Her work illuminates

how the negotiation of space involves complex dynamics induced and influenced by differences in bodily capabilities, such as physical appearance, together with social behaviour that often reveal disrupted identities (Parr, 1999). Central here is the notion that these spaces are not experienced uniformly and therefore whilst some may experience a sense of freedom and liberation as they journey through the railway station, others find these spaces difficult to negotiate and perhaps experience fear and anxiety (see Golledge, 1993). It is therefore important to appreciate how different bodies experience diverse embodied configurations of time and space which are mirrored and translated into action and mobility (Parr, 1997).

Some bodies have less capacity for physical mobility than others and may have to enlist objects to afford passage through the railway station. For those whose pedestrian mobility is impared, one of the primary means of transportation through these spaces is through the assistance of a wheelchair. The wheelchair, like the bike and luggage, acts as a corporeal extension. However, the type of relationality formed between body and object is rather different. Rather than acting on the body as parasitic, the wheelchair performs a compassionate role, supporting the body through onward movement. Whereas the bicycle affords action elsewhere, something that we could perhaps characterise as a 'deferred affordance', the wheelchair is *immediately* supportive, providing the necessary support to negotiate the spaces of the station and train. The relationship between the body-object and proximate environment is therefore different to that of more physically-able bodies. For instance, notice here how this passenger, who uses the train routinely between Newcastle and York, has a heightened attunement to the surficial physicality of space – to the gradients and the differential terrains of the station (see Beale et al., 2006) – together with the way in which different parts of the station are used in order to permit traversal:

> *Carol:* I like to use the second entrance to the ticket place cos there's not a bump you have to go up... if the train's leaving from platform 3 or 4 I use the lift to get there cos I can't get myself over the bridge... I can manage some small slope but bigger ones kill me. It's quite nice though cos you're usually on your own – you know, you don't have people pushing and shoving at you.

For this passenger, different spaces are selected on the basis of her ability to move, and depend on whether there are barriers or obstacles to movement. This results in different speeds of movement through the railway station, relative to other bodies (see Imrie, 1996; Imrie and Kumar, 1998). The relationship between body-object and environment described by this passenger is highly tactile, where different surfaces are encountered and evaluated during the event of movement. Additionally, other bodies may need to be enlisted to this body-object assemblage in order to achieve onward movement at particular points where the body is unable to move further. This passenger, who travels infrequently between Newcastle and London, highlights his dependency on others in order to travel:

> *Neil:* When I'm getting onto the train, I have to get help from one of the station guys who gets the ramp and waits 'til the train gets in. It's a bit of a rigmarole but I couldn't get up the ramp on my own, it's dead steep. It takes a while sometimes and I've delayed trains leaving many times but I can't get on on my own.

In this example, space and movement become difficult to deal with and therefore a sense of independent movement is surrendered (see Matthews and Vujakovic, 1995). Unlike moving with bicycles and luggage, movement through space with a wheelchair requires different corporeal actions in order to propel the body forward. Effort and strain are felt in the arms and hands as opposed to the feet which results in a different distribution of muscular sensation throughout the body. Where the feet glide through the action of pedestrian movement, the hands pulse and the sensation is more rhythmic. It is a haptic sensibility where movement is felt and apprehended through the hands (Paterson, 2006).

Through this section we get a sense that bodies do not move through these spaces of the railway station as smooth, homogenous entities. This heterogeneity runs contrary to the smooth, unimpeded movement through space that is implied by more aggregate models such as the generic PAX (see Cresswell, 2006, 238-9) of pedestrian modelling and space-syntax appcoches. This heterogeneity is not only dependent upon the physical capacity of individual bodies, but is also mediated by how the travelling body is constructed through other objects such as bicycles and suitcases. Expanding on the work of those who have looked at how different spaces permit access to different bodies (Graham, 2002, for example), when focusing on the scale of the body itself, rather than concentrating on how different spaces are permissive or restrictive, we can develop a sense of how movement becomes physically easy or difficult depending on the precise make-up of the 'body assemblage'. From this we could consider the implications of adding more objects to the assemblage. For example, these fieldwork examples suggest that to carry a heavy bag and a bicycle through the railway station might be even *more* difficult. However, this relationship might not necessarily be linear since if many objects are being transported, other ways of making movement easier through these spaces might be sought, such as the use of a trolley. In illuminating how a travelling body is built up of more than just the physical body itself, a more complex mobile pedestrian is generated. For example, the figure of the encumbered passenger, physically burdened by the dimensions and weight of their luggage, could be contrasted with the cool, leisurely and unconstrained figure of Benjamin's flâneur (2002) who is free to explore his surroundings as he moves through the city. Similarly, the figure of the passenger in a wheelchair who has to maintain an awareness of the movements of others, could be contrasted with Simmel's (1997) urban wanderer who enjoys the privilege of being figuratively above the crowd. In exploring the various objects that travel

with bodies through spaces of the railway station, we can begin to appreciate how a body becomes a travelling body.

4.2 Moving spaces

In this second section, I consider the spaces themselves that these bodies are moving through. This is important since bodily movements are mediated not only by proximate objects but also by the immediate environment around the body. Here, a closer interrogation of the spatiality of these movements is required. Where exactly do these movements take place and how do these mediations occur? As illuminated through the previous section, much of this bodily movement takes place through railway stations. Railway stations are, of course, all of slightly different forms and magnitudes. Indeed Ross (2000) details the functional and design specifications of no less then thirteen station types. These range from large city centre terminals, which are multi-disciplinary and cater for both long-distance and local services together with much commercial activity (Letherby and Reynolds, 2005), to suburban stations and more isolated rural stations. In addition to these generic typologies, stations can serve a variety of primary functions such as airport stations, parkway stations, sports-stadia, and interchanges, to list but a few. Each station type has a different dynamic relationship with the surrounding area and the magnitude of the circulation area is generally a product of passenger volume and station type. Smaller stations have subtly different spatial arrangements and therefore the relation between movement and proximate environment may be different. However, the focus of much of this research is on larger stations where a greater range of movements can be examined.

Through this section, I look at the relationship between movement and spatiality from three perspectives. First, I consider how different spaces of the railway station are negotiated at different speeds. In doing so, this produces a complex topography of movement that is partly conditioned by the particular space itself, but is also influenced by how passengers have planned for and organised their time. Second, and considering the variation in speeds, I look at the various movement thresholds that are experienced through these spaces, where active corporeal negotiation is demanded of the body. Third, I consider how, rather than requiring active negotiation, some spaces are encountered by some bodies in a more passive sense. Through this section, I move away from opposing perspectives that either characterise the moving body as a wholly rational agent that is pacified through spatial design, or a wholly active and agentive subject. Instead, I consider how both passivity *and* agency are enacted through these movements through the railway station. In doing so, this section helps to problematise the dualism that many studies on travelling places have made between passive, rational bodies and agentive, powerful bodies by considering the fluid nature of engagement and disengagement that occurs as bodies move through the railway station.

4.2.1 Movement speeds

Railway stations, as with other transport interchanges, have most commonly been conceptualised by social scientists as spaces of flow, where the spatial configuration affords efficient, unimpeded passage from station entrance to the interface with the train (Lloyd, 2000). Such a narrative is woven through space syntax methods where bodies are characterised as essentially rational agents, negotiating their passage through these spaces with relative fidelity. Here, spatial configuration is the primary variable that evaluates social functions, cultural significance and behavioural implications on the basis of these spatialities (Hillier and Hanson, 1984). The central tenet of space-syntax is that spatial patterns of movement do not only reproduce or accommodate patterns of behaviours and social relationships, but also generate them. Based on schematic mapping, these space syntax models effectively sedate the body on the move, where architecture is viewed as the powerful determinant of these movements. However, accusations of rationalism and naturalism aside, such models are actually rather good at charting the relative stability and predictability of these movements. Different areas of the station and train do promote and encourage different types of movement. Indeed Edwards describes stations as places of *relative movement,* 'mediating between the scales of train speed and human speed' (1996, 92). In this section, I look at three types of movement; fast, punctuated, and slow, and where these different movements are carried out. In doing so, I build on space-syntax models to illuminate a more complex topography of movement through the railway station, where agency is distributed between bodies and space.

Some spaces of the railway station facilitate faster movements relative to other areas. Bodies engaged in faster onward movements can be exemplified at the entrances to stations: the threshold between the inside and outside of this transport terminal. They are rarely places where bodies dwell or rest, and are perhaps exemplary of Augé's (1995) non-place. Neither are they places to saunter and meander through. Instead, and as this photo-sequence suggests, fast, purposeful movement is evident:

Figure 4.1
Entrance to Newcastle Central 12.01.06 1708-1710

Space here is uncluttered, without distractions and therefore there is little reason to slow and dwell. Areas such as the entrance pulse as each arrival of a train heralds a greater volume of people passing through. The photo-sequence in Figure 4.1 illustrates passengers entering the station at the start of rush-hour. This volume of passengers changes during the course of the day. During some times of the day, when a train has not arrived or is due to depart, these spaces become stilled and their character changes. They become spaces that have the *potential* for movement. This photo-sequence taken earlier in the day demonstrates this diurnal shift:

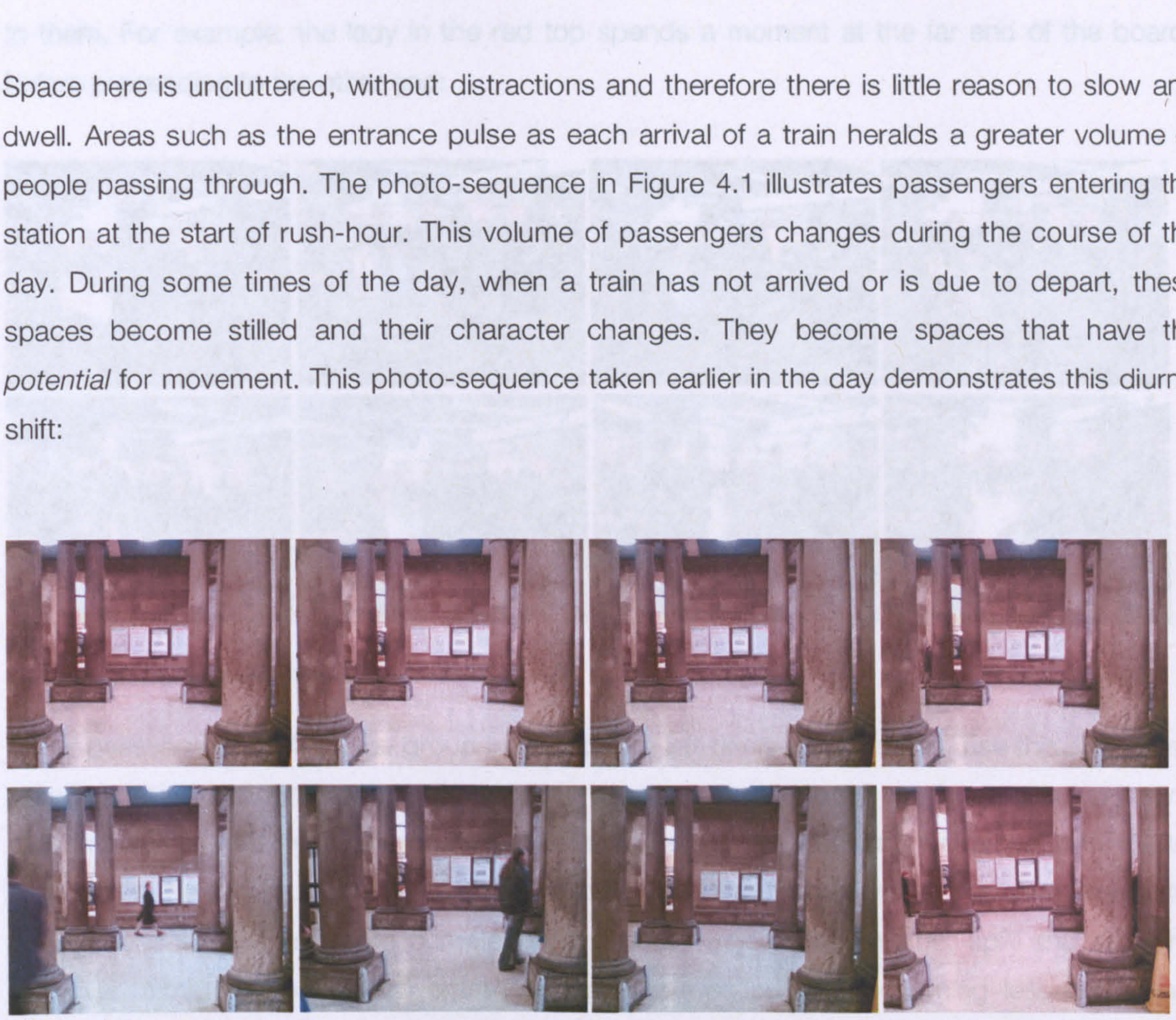

Figure 4.2
Entrance to Newcastle Central 12.01.06 1138-1140

Through these spaces of faster movement, the movements of bodies in relation to other bodies are fast and purposeful. These are spaces of transition from urban environment to the quasi-private realm of the station. Passengers moving through to the station may not yet know where their train will depart from, whether it is on time, or whether there is any disruption to services. This anticipatory preparedness heightens the impetus to move fast. Or as Edwards comments, this sense of momentum 'derives from the complex relationship between the urban fabric, and the discontinuity of different types of movement' (1996, 92).

Other spaces within the railway station encourage more punctuated movement. These spaces are not characterised not by ceaseless passage, but are more chaotic (see Lloyd, 2000). Spaces such as the concourse instigate an interruption to this movement; a momentary dwelling where attention might be diverted and other practices are enacted. Onward movement, eventually to a train, is disrupted as the body is held momentarily. This might be at the departure board where bodies must visually scan the text in order to decide which part of the station they should proceed to. This photo-sequence demonstrates how many passengers use the space in front of the information boards to briefly pause and identify information relevant

to them. For example, the lady in the red top spends a moment at the far end of the boards before proceeding to the other end:

Figure 4.3
Leeds main concourse 14.08.05 1243-1245

Other passengers, such as the group in the bottom left-hand image above, use this space as a meeting point and an opportunity to rest baggage. In contrast to the station entrance, movements here are more differentiated. Some bodies continue onward movement, others stop to examine the departure board and chat to others. Rather than homogenous, undifferentiated flows, these spaces are more complex where bodily trajectories diverge, split and combine. However, similar to the station entrance, these spaces pulsate, becoming less busy when platforms numbers are displayed or departures are not imminent:

Figure 4.4
London King's Cross main concourse 25.08.05 1822-1824

This photo-sequence describes the moment when the long-distance service to Newcastle is announced. Gradually and within the space of about two minutes, the space in front of the screens becomes less busy as passengers move towards the platforms to the right. Those

passengers remaining on the concourse in the final images are waiting for a different service to be announced.

In other spaces in the railway station, the movement of bodies is much slower, relative to the faster rhythms discussed above. These spaces could include slowly walking along platforms before the train arrives or perhaps moving through the booking office or station shops. Movement here is more reticent and held back, lacking the energy of faster-paced bodies. There is less of a sense of hurry or urgency where durations are extended, and spaces are expanded. This type of movement might also be typical of movement around the inside of the train itself where the body is constrained by narrow aisles.

Whilst space-syntax theorists amongst others are concerned with the movement of an essentially rational body, the built environment assumes primary agency. People are treated as relatively homogenous and essentially rational agents, traversing architectural landscapes that are planned in a way to facilitate or restrict flows, in a sensible and logical manner (see also Markus, 1993). Such a rendering leaves little room for the performative agency of the body. Here, I want to move forward to consider the agency that bodies have over their speed through these different spaces. Specifically, are bodies sped-up through their own choosing or are there physical mechanisms of slowing at play? Rather than aligning with such a dualism, I want to suggests that there is a complex folding work at play here. This type of movement is mediated, in part, by the architectural layout of these spaces. However, such a factor is combined with other influences such as the presence of others and personal time-space trajectories. These factors have the agency to cut through and rise to prominence above the pacifying architectural constraints of space-syntax. This passenger who travels regularly between Newcastle and Edinburgh, demonstrates how arriving late at the station dramatically alters both the order and speed of spaces traversed:

> *Gareth:* ...but I've sometimes got to the station and seen my train just pulling into the platform and go...legging it into buy a ticket going to the train going to the conductor 'do I have to buy a ticket now or can I buy a ticket on the train', and he's like 'no, you can't buy a ticket on the train', and they do that face [pulls face]. And then you run back to the queue...really stressed...too many people [panting]...so you run back to the train, sweating [groaning], sit down, and you go, 'ahhh, god what do I look like!'

Here, a series of unexpected experiences necessitates faster movement through all spaces of the railway station. Unlike much research within mobility studies where faster movement is privileged or desired (although see Spark, 2006), fast movement here appear stressful and uncomfortable. The precise character of bodily movement therefore emerges as an active, ongoing negotiation with a variety of different spaces where movement speeds are mediated in complex and diverse ways. Building on the work on airports that charts the movements of a

kinetic elite, who are able to move through these transit spaces in a faster more unimpeded manner (Adey, 2004a, 2004b), this demonstrates that at a smaller spatial scale, relative speeds of movement are perhaps more complex than this division based on economic privilege. Faster speeds of movement through the railway station are not necessarily indicative of a rail-based kinetic elite. Indeed the passenger above describes the discomfort of moving at speed through the railway station. Slower movement through space may at first be suggestive of a calm and less frenetic sense of passage where the weight of time is not pressing on the body, prompting it to move faster. This slower movement may be more desirable in certain situations. This passenger, who regularly travels for business between Newcastle and London, describes how she plans her itinerary in order to avoid rushing:

> *David:* And how long do you leave yourself? How long would you build in for when you get to the station?
> *Leanne:* Well, actually, this is another interesting question, cos I'm pathologically early. It absolutely drives by husband mad, for something where he would leave himself 5 minutes, I would have to give myself about 30 minutes.
> *David:* Really?
> *Leanne:* Because I hate the concept of being rushed and missing things. So I always give myself plenty of time so I don't have to rush about quickly.

Alternatively, in other spaces of the railway journey, slower movements may not always be chosen as a desire for a more relaxed sense of passage. When negotiating the aisle of a train in motion, the lateral motion of the train must be woven into the movement strategies of the body, and is often a far from pleasant experience. This passenger demonstrates a relative lack of control over her own movement when walking along the train:

> *Jenny:* Yes, there's very little control over your motion when you're moving like that. And of course you've got people, I don't think the seats are designed for two average sized men or even ladies to sit side by side without one of them hanging over... You know, you try and give a little bit of space... you're coming down and then you're sort of knocking into them or you have to say 'excuse me' to get them to move to one side. And they look at you and you know, and it's not a pleasant experience. Not only are you trying to squeeze past people and people have got their legs and things in the aisles, but the actual physical experience of having to walk whilst the train is moving, the bouncing. You know, when you're doing it, you think, goodness I feel so daft here, cos you're sort of swaying into people...

Whilst relative speeds might depend on a whole variety of different things, these spaces themselves are far from chaotic and disorderly. In the following section, I move forward to

consider how these movements are moderated and kept in-check at a number of key moments.

4.2.2 Movement thresholds

Corporeal speed is complex and is mediated by a whole host of other relations and practices that constitute and permit these movements. Contrary to the notion of free-flowing, unimpeded movement through the station and onto the train, there are particular moments that require the body to briefly pause in order to proceed through the particular space. These spaces I term 'movement thresholds' where ongoing bodily movement is stopped and changed in some way. Unlike the space of the concourse, the spaces I focus on here require the body to stop and change speed. This is similar to Simmel's notion of a 'threshold phenomenon' which connect whilst separating, or Adey's 'processing stages' which are seen as 'hurdles to accomplish before anxious states of emotion can decrease' (2007a, 19). Whilst there are many examples of thresholds throughout the railway assemblage, the two that I want to focus on are *barriers* and the *platform-train interface* since they demonstrate well not only how bodies must make a series of active decisions, but also how these spaces are organised through their sorting of passengers.

Within many types of transport terminal, there are spaces where bodies are checked and sorted such as the land- and air-side of the airport terminal (Pascoe, 2001). This passage between the two demarcated spatialities typically occurs at a barrier demarcating two separate domains of the station, usually between concourse and platform. There are clear economic rationales for such a threshold since to progress onto the platform bodies must possess a valid ticket (Edwards, 1996). This acts to prevent some bodies from accessing other areas of the station. For example, those people who are waiting to meet someone arriving by train are prevented from walking further through the station, stagnating or stilling their movement. The area in front of this threshold becomes an intensely charged space of anticipation where bodies part and meet. Notice how in the image below, the man in the black jacket is waiting in front of the ticket barrier; his vision trained on the stream of passengers emerging from the platforms. Similarly, the lady in the orange jacket is waiting closer to the barriers and is looking at the arrivals screen:

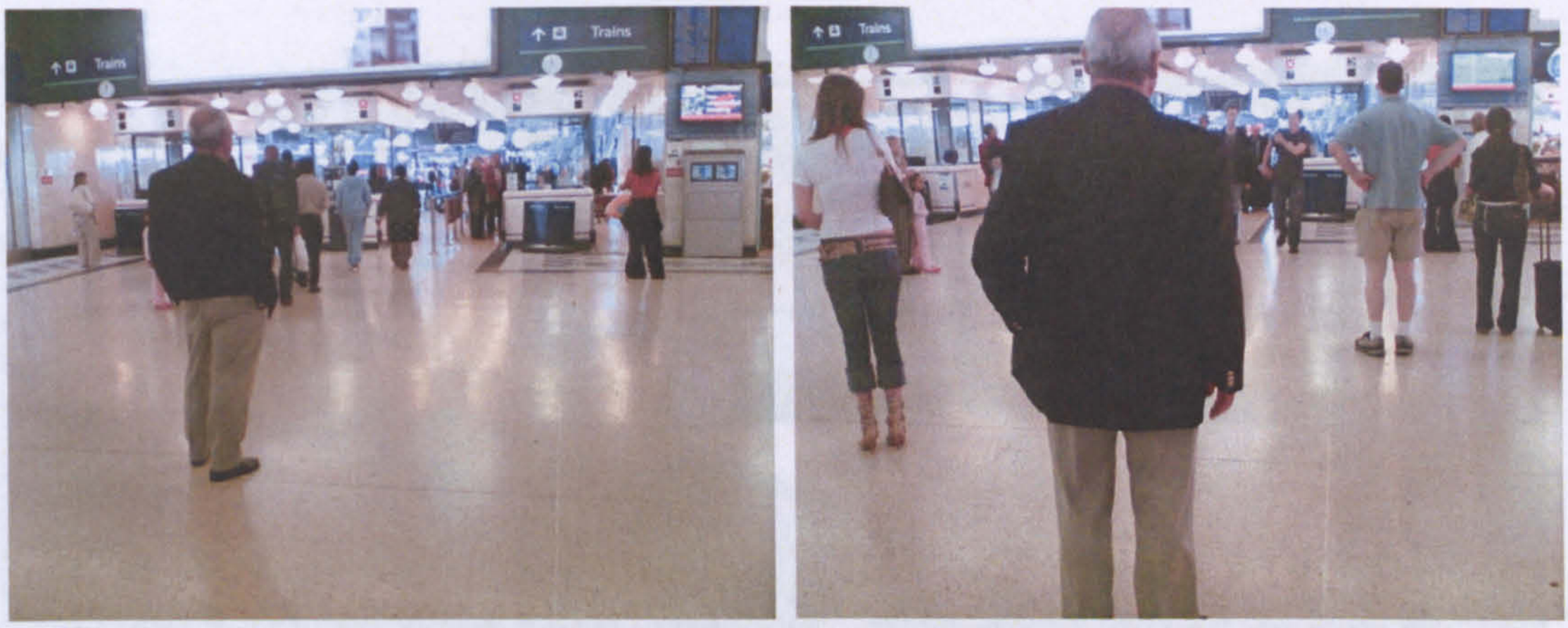

Figure 4.5
Leeds ticket barriers 14.08.05 1359-1400

Whilst this sorting prevents the movement of those who do not have a valid ticket, unlike the more advanced sorting strategies employed in airports, it does not preference certain bodies over others, permitting some to pass through at a higher speed and with greater ease[2]. The physical materiality of barriers can take many different forms such as automatic gates or staff members inspecting tickets. However, these thresholds treat bodies as relatively homogenous and therefore all bodies must in some way change their movement accordingly. The station acts on the body and demands that certain practices take place. Bodies are slowed by this threshold as these practices are carried out: opening wallets, checking for tickets, looking for passes, waiting for a turn, watching how others are traversing this threshold, narrowing body by placing bags in front. Echoing the materiality of the travelling body as discussed earlier, this space demands a material realignment of bodies and their proximate objects.

Another space of the railway station where the moving body is briefly stalled is the moment of boarding the train itself. Here, the body must negotiate a complex choreography involving not only the transition between two qualitatively different environments – between the often cold and exposed nature of the station and the warmer and more soothing cocoon of the train – but also of other bodies negotiating this threshold at the same time. In figure 4.6, there is a fine-grained evaluation of where the train will stop based on its current speed and an anticipation of where to enter as demonstrated by the three men who are walking along the platform as the train continues to move. Whether boarding or alighting, this threshold mediates corporeal movement by either slowing or speeding up momentum. In turn, this threshold is anticipated and negotiated in a multitude of different ways. It is a site of active intentional decision-making where the body must decide how the threshold will be negotiated, and at what speed.

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[2] Although those passengers with season tickets might be able to move through these thresholds faster since they do not need to be clipped.

Figure 4.6
Boarding the service to Leeds at Peterborough on platform 4 27.07.05 1036

In the image above, as the train arrives, the lady proceeds to pick up her suitcases whilst watching the train in order to identify what door to enter by. Similarly, this passenger who travels between Newcastle and London every two weeks describes his decision to stand at a particular place on the platform, but might change his mind on where to sit based on an evaluation of the atmosphere inside that particular carriage:

> *Mohammed*: I don't chose to stand somewhere... the place that it says I need to sit on my ticket. You know, you can see the boards they put on the platform to direct you to where your reserved seat is. No, I don't bother doing that because everyone always gets on in the same place. So really, I will just try and find somewhere to stand that isn't too close to other people. So, well... this also means that the carriage I end up going on is less busy too – but I'll have to check that out when I get on and sometimes I'll move.

For this passenger, who travels between Newcastle and Manchester every few months, this threshold marks a moment of heightened anxiety, where the need to get a 'good seat' is imperative:

David: How do you negotiate that particular interface?

Will: Erm… yes, I am bothered about getting on first [pointedly] – but I don't know why. I think it's just a bit of competitiveness more than anything else [laughs], erm, I don't know. I do find myself going 'ok, right', running down the platform to get on before other people. But there's no real reason for it. You're either going to get a seat or you're not, but I'm also really… I'm like, I'm really determined to get a good seat – determined to be the one at the door, but I'm also determined to be really polite about it, and make sure that I let everyone else off the train because that pisses me off when people don't. So I'm sort of determined to be nice. And I get really infuriated when I see people pushing their way onto the train when people are trying to get off.

David: That's something that really jars me. If I was waiting at a door then I see at the other end of the carriage that other people are getting on before me, I panic!

Will: Yeah I want to get my table seat [agitated]… I'm scared of the conflict of having to tell someone else to get out of your seat. It is the unspokenness of it all, cos when you're standing there, no one talks to each other, there's no interaction, it's all done through your body.

Notice how this passenger expresses the juxtaposition of an individual desire for a good seat with the nuances of collective interpersonal communication, much of which is negotiated through the performances and gestures of bodies. This threshold has the capacity to induce an anxious frustration pertaining to the uncertainty of potential corporeal arrangements on the train itself. Through a variety of different movements, bodies arrange, jostle and crunch; repel and attract. This passenger, who travels regularly between Durham and London describes his disdain for other passengers who position themselves to board the train first, whilst at the same time voice his own desire to board comfortably:

David: And are you bothered about getting on first?

Omar: No, I fuckin' hate people – even if the carriage is empty – it's like 'oh god, there's 2 of us and I've got to get on first cos all the chairs are going to go missing by the time I'm there'; [raises pitch of voice] and they're snorting their way to the front – especially when they've got big bags and when people are trying to get off the train: like 'look, step back. Let people off the train first'… They're all standing there and looking at each other out of the corner of their eyes. It's like this should be a queue but it's not really… With the train it's just a big free for all. You can see people who are fuckin' determined to get on first. I just find it very irritating. But I must admit at the same time, if I've got a big bag I try to position myself close to a door.

The nervous frustrated intensity of this particular moment is contrasted by others who negotiate this threshold in a more relaxed manner; their movements restrained accordingly:

> *Greg:* In fact I'm often the last to board. Because, again, to me it feels less pressurised to get on last rather than first.

These passages illustrate well the complex relationship between the individual and collective experience whilst boarding the train. Whilst moving through the station might constitute a fairly solitary experience for the individual traveller – a Simmel-esque figure keeping their head above the crowd – this threshold necessitates a collective interaction where bodies negotiate with each other in order to board the train. The importance accorded to finding a 'good seat' also demonstrates how travel-time itself is valued and whilst this moment of negotiation might be stressful, it is compensated for by the reward of a more pleasant seat. However, whilst for some, intensities may be high, the lack of verbal dialogue in these negotiations renders them rather placid, almost predictable choreographies. This photo-sequence describes a train pulling in, people boarding and the train departing. However, far from chaotic or frenetic, the movement of passengers onto the train appears to be rather more sedate:

Figure 4.7
Boarding the service to Leeds at Peterborough on platform 4 27.07.05 1052-1054

4.2.3 Movement complicity

In some spaces of the railway station, bodies therefore have to engage actively with the event of movement and, in doing so, negotiate thresholds through active moments of decision-making. However, this model of an always-intentional movement is made more complex when we consider how the design of spaces themselves influences, and to a certain extent, conditions these movements. Corporeal agency in this sense needs to be reconfigured to incorporate how the movement of bodies is also assisted by the built form itself. Bodily movement is not always active and intentional but is controlled partly through the spaces encountered by the body. This is achieved in part through the semiotic material configuration of

the station. Signs within the station facilitate this movement by urging the traveller to move on. Semiotic and material flows combine through spaces of the station to guide the body forward to their required destination. The use of systematised arrows and text as semiotic performative devices promotes a comforting, affective instinctiveness of onward motion, striating space into onward flows. These signs assemble movement and process bodies such that railway stations are 'endophoric, endlessly pointing within' (Fuller, 2002, 232). They speak to the multiple travelling bodies through the use of standardised fonts[3] and pictograms to increase recognition. This example guides passengers through the use of clear arrows and pictograms:

Figure 4.8
Direction sign above main concourse at Newcastle Central 08.06.05 1613

Railway station architecture can also have the effect of moving bodies onward through pre-defined channels and routes in order for spaces to function efficiently. This is achieved not only by delimiting specific channels of movement through rails and dividers but is also assisted by the use of different floor surfaces: smoother surfaces prompting faster movements. Indeed, as Pallasmaa (1996) notes, architects are increasingly interested not only in the ways that the built form is experienced haptically, but also how affective signals can be built *into* buildings. As Massumi describes, this is achieved 'by building into the architecture forces of perception that interact in ways designed to trigger experiential events' (2005, unpaginated). Of course guiding

[3] Until privatisation, all station signs were written in the Railway Alphabet font designed by Jock Kinneir and Margaret Calvert, who also designed the current set of road signs. However, since then, some individual Train Operating Companies have branded stations using their own signage systems of symbols and fonts.

passengers through the station is not the only affective engineering at play here. We could also consider how the retail and leisure functions of larger stations play an important part in shaping these affective practices, through the creation of seductive atmospheres to lure particular customers. Movement through these passages is also monitored through technologies of surveillance. The visibility of such technologies polices movement by proxy to ensure that flows of movement are maintained (Koskela, 2000; Adey, 2004a). Here, the subject is made an object of attention and surveillance (Crary, 1999, 73). Mobile effects in this way are engineered through architectural designs. In the spaces below (figure 4.9), affectual cues such as floor texture, light and feel are 'designed into spaces' to create particular capacities for movement:

Figure 4.9
Bridges and steps as engineered movement spaces at Newcastle Central 09.10.05 1359-1340

Similarly, in these images, walkways invite onward motion in Euston, whilst at Birmingham, smooth, white marble floors propel passengers forward:

Figure 4.10
Passageway movement spaces at London Euston 01.11.05 2032-2035

Figure 4.11
Marble surfaces at Birmingham New Street 07.01.06 1516-1517

Conceptualisations of agency in relation to these spatial semiotics is rather more complex. Fuller, following Guattari (1992), argues from a performative ontology how 'part of this process of being-in the space is an active engagement with its signs' (2002, 233). As Adey

comments, with reference to airports, a transport terminal 'is a place of danger and risk for passengers and for the airport, therefore spatial arrangements are utilised to direct and shape where passengers should go' (2007a, 15). Signs often work in conjunction with thresholds, focusing and prompting bodies to make decisions and therefore this encounter could be conceptualised as active. Alternatively, we could consider how forms of 'intuitive wayfinding' constitute moments of relative passivity (see Fewings, 2001). However, a dualism between active or passive encounter is limiting and instead bodies and spaces of passage could be viewed as a complex affective assemblage both mutually affecting one another. Perhaps as a result of the franticness and complexity of these spaces of movement, bodies enlist strategies of complicitness, a type of necessary passivity or self-induced detachment akin to Simmel's blasé urban tactics (1997). The passage around the station, between different spaces of activity such as the ticket office, newsagents and toilets is frequently glossed over, unremarked on. As this passenger, who travels regularly between Newcastle and Edinburgh describes, the elements that are remarked on are the moments where active decisions occur such as checking, looking, going, and so on:

> *Gareth:* Get to the station, look directly at the platform and look for Edinburgh Waverley or Glasgow Central, look for what platform it's on. Check the time, see if I've got any time... which I usually haven't. Go into ticket office, buy my ticket. Then I usually go over to the platform, err, depending on how plush I'm feeling I might get a pasty or a sausage roll, chewing gum that sort of thing.

Similarly, this passenger notes how these points of activity are woven into his personal itinerary and depend on the amount of time he has allowed:

> *Edward:* Straight to the concourse. If I know the platform then I just go straight in, buy my ticket... Afterwards, if I'd allowed plenty of time then I'd go to Smiths and buy a newspaper and then I'd head over and get the train.

These passenger accounts portray movement through the station as defined by a series of discrete moments where a particular activity takes place such as purchasing a ticket and looking at the boards. These are moments where the body is actively engaged in *doing* something. The movements *between* these events are glossed over. This might be since narrative is not good at capturing a sense of the inactive (Harrison, 2007a). Equally, it might be since these moments are *unthought*, unreflected upon or lack *significance*. These spaces of movement are therefore, for some, environments where active agentive thought is subdued. Here, the process of moving through space is not raised to active consciousness. Notice how this passenger finds it difficult to attribute rationale or meaning to these movements:

> *Will:* I do find myself going 'ok, right, running down the platform to get on before other people. But there's no real reason for it. You're making me think way too much about my behaviour here!

Perhaps here, the passenger's relationship between space and movement is one of a mutual contractual trusting in semiotic guides that will permit successful navigation. Alternatively, through repetition of such practices, movement through these spaces becomes more instinctive through familiarity. This passenger echoes how wayfinding is an important navigational skill that requires the development of a set of specific knowledges about how to move through the railway station:

> *Jack:* I probably like to feel when getting off one train and looking for another that I know where to find it. So a lot of that is pretty instinctive I think but if abroad and visiting an unfamiliar station for the first time I think there's almost... not really apprehension but there's sort of a degree of 'right, lets find this other train'. So it's locating the next train that's important.

Active, conscious decision-making therefore only seems to rise to prominence through spaces of relative unfamiliarity.

To briefly conclude this section, I have described how these spaces of movement where bodies move between different areas of the railway station seem both complex and hard to pin down. Whilst different spaces of the station are designed for different functional ends, bodies move through these different spaces at different speeds. Some spaces require bodies to briefly pause, perhaps to make a decision before continuing, whilst other spaces are designed to permit a steady flow of moving bodies. Some spaces prompt active engagement and conscious negotiation, such as the platform-train threshold, whereas other spaces are defined by a relative lack of engagement, such as the entrance to the station or the smooth passages between concourse and platform. Considering the relationship between bodies and space in these different locations serves to problematise the dualism that many studies on travelling places have made between passive and rational bodies, and agentive and powerful bodies. Similar to Goss's account of the shopping mall, in other accounts of bodies in transit zones, the passenger is characterised as an 'object to be mechanistically manipulated – to be drawn, pulled, pushed and led to flow magnets, anchors, generators and attractors; or as naïve dupe to be deceived, persuaded, induced, tempted, and seduced, by plays, ruses, tricks, strategies, and games of the design' (1993, 30). This distribution of agency where particular practical and emotional responses are engineered into the built design of space is an important dimension of transit terminals. With reference to airports, Adey comments how 'sedation, desire and feeling are now fundamental variables in the construction of today's terminals' (2007a, 12). However,

unlike the airport where the design of space is 'intended to limit and quite rigidly enforce the movement of its passengers' (Adey, 2007a, 16), the railway station is less disciplinary in that passengers are freer to move where they wish. There are fewer 'affective constraints' (Adey, 2007a, 17) since, unlike the airport, there are no obvious oppressive high-security areas or screening zones[4]. Railway stations therefore present an increased 'ensemble of possibilities' (de Certeau, 2002, 98) over airports where bodies are freer to move through these spaces in their own time and at their own speed. Nevertheless, this section has also demonstrated the probabilistic nature of these spaces in that bodies tend to follow rather predictable trajectories through these spaces. In the following section, I develop this complex question of agency further by examining the different practical and embodied knowleges that passengers require in order to move through these spaces.

4.3 Moving knowledges

To attend more fully to the nature of movement through these spaces requires an examination of the types of practical knowledges that are acquired, developed and enlisted during these events of passage. Here I want to investigate the variety of technologies and objects that are used to organise these bodily movements, as body-technology assemblages or 'cybermobilities' to use Adey and Bevan's term (2006) that *set bodies in motion*. Central here is an appreciation of how practical, embodied knowledges developed through routine, iterative practices intersect with real-time knowledges that reshape and change the form of these bodily knowledges. How durable are these knowledges? How flexible are they and what happens when they fail? In this section I focus on how moving knowledges fold through moving bodies. Doing so serves to reveal the extent to which travel-time is planned and organised. It also illuminates the assemblage of objects and knowledges that are required for a body to become a travelling body. First, I look at how knowledges are required. Second, I look at how knowledges are refigured whilst on the move.

4.3.1 Acquiring knowledges

How bodies become travelling bodies requires a certain degree of organisation. The majority of journeys that involve moving through the station are planned through engagement with a number of different objects and technologies. Here, I focus on how railway journeys are planned, since this in part mediates how passengers move through the railway station. First, I investigate some of the various differential engagements with information acquisition and the types of knowledges that are developed through these means. Second, I examine the types of ticketing knowledges developed through these processes and the partiality of such

[4] Indeed the absence of time-consuming and invasive security procedures is something that GNER have capitalised on in their recent advertising campaign to entice passengers away from domestic air travel.

knowledges. Third, I look at how these knowledges are moved, carried forth and woven into the event of bodily movement through the railway station itself.

So how do passengers gain access to travel knowledges and what sort of knowledges are required in order to make a railway journey? One of the principal modes of acquiring information to undertake a journey is through online booking sites where prospective passengers can search timetables, plan journeys and purchase tickets:

> *Jack:* Ok, I'm a bit of a convert really to buying tickets on the Internet. Something I don't think I would have contemplated 3, 4, 5 years ago. But now it is so easy... Being able to order a ticket on the internet and wander up to the station and collect it is quite handy.

The passenger above, who travels between Liverpool and London on business a few times a month, describes this practice with relative ease. Being able to plan journeys from a computer in more comfortable surroundings can be a more relaxing practice when compared with the alternative of booking at the railway station. Notice below how this passenger, who travels regularly between Newcastle and London on business, emphasises dimensions of comfort and personal convenience:

> *David:* And you say that you book your tickets for that online. Why would you prefer to do that?
>
> *Leanne:* Well because it's easier. You can do it sitting down. You can do it at half past eight at night or you can do it at seven o'clock in the morning... And you can see what you're doing, you can see what you're getting. You don't have to stand in a queue. You don't have to try and find somewhere to park to get in the queue to buy a ticket. So, and I prefer to do that. I don't like to go to the station of a morning and stand in a queue to get a ticket.

For her, buying a ticket online removes whole assemblages of undesirable practices that would otherwise be necessitated. She also emphasises the enhanced visibility of options when booking this way, compared to using the ticket office at the station. Visibility of fares and the freedom for the user to navigate between them therefore provides an attractive point where different potential journeys can be assessed. Through this engagement, the complex sets of train journey, pricing and availability information stored in databases and across fares-manuals is momentarily rendered traversable to the passenger in a particular accessible form (see figure 4.12). Whilst this is not quite the code-space of Dodge and Kitchen (2004), it demonstrates how parts of this complex coded architecture is visualised. This is echoed by this passenger who describes his preferences for visual over audio knowledges:

David: Would you prefer internet bookings to say over the phone?

John: Oh yeah, generally – I have never had any luck booking tickets via the phone – never. I like having all the options layed out in front of me.

Figure 4.12
GNER journey planner screenshot showing personalised timing information

This practice of gaining personalised information contrasts with a relative lack of visibility of alternatives from other sources of information acquisition such as at a booking office where information is presented in audio form as an interpersonal exchange. This passenger, who travels regularly for leisure describes how the transaction is typically more hurried, and the trusting relationality between bodies rather than body and technology is brought into question:

Edward: I don't believe that they find the cheapest tickets necessarily. I know they're meant to but they're on commission aren't they to sell train tickets. And it's the same with the train station. I mean to be fair to them they only have a limited amount of time to sell you a train ticket and they're just trying to get you through the system with the big long queues in the ticket office whereas on the Internet you have the time to browse yourself. You know, there's no limit on the time so you can look through all the fares, and the different times. Whereas at the train station, you're always conscious that there's

someone behind you and the person in the call centre, the operator is conscious there's people in the queue behind you, as it were.

Notice how this passenger illuminates how this particular form of information exchange affectively impacts on the experience of other passengers, through the anxiety of long queues. Whilst it is the same pool of information that is being drawn on, it is presented and interpreted through the body in different ways. This passenger, who travels regularly between Newcastle and London on business, describes how the habit of buying tickets online leaves her relatively out of depth when booking via alternative means:

David: So you prefer the flexibility where you've got all the options in front of you rather than talking to someone and relying on them to tell you what is available?
Leanne: Yes, yes. I think that's the thing, isn't it, once you get used to doing things on-line, you tend to, that tends to be your first option rather than your last option. There have been several times when I've had to go to the ticket window and I kind of like draw a blank when they're talking to you, you just think 'what'?
David: That's it, ahuh.
Leanne: Can you write them down please [the times and prices], I need to see them!

Here, verbal knowledges need to be translated into visual knowledges for them to be properly understood. However, for others, being able to interact with people and ask questions makes the engagement with the booking office a more preferable scenario, although this is perhaps more apparent for those who travel less frequently such as this passenger below:

David: So which method would you prefer?
Richard: I'd probably prefer going to the station because I can ask questions about times because they can then tell me if one's not available I can go on to the next one so I prefer talking to somebody.

Similarly, this passenger describes how he prefers the security of being able to order and possess the ticket in the same transaction[5]:

Amy: Why wouldn't I book on the internet? It seems like too much hassle. I'd rather talk to people than press buttons on machines and risk getting it wrong. Or, cos you don't get instant gratification like if you have your ticket in your hand. Whereas if you go and talk to somebody, you do.

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[5] Interestingly, Virgin Trains and Chiltern Railways have begun trials of internet booking where barcodes are sent to passengers' mobile phones removing the need to receive tickets by post or collect them from a station.

Each of these exchanges provides timing and pricing information in differently packaged ways where different degrees of trust are invested at various points: trusting one's own ability to successfully navigate an internet booking site or trusting the booking office staff to provide the correct ticket. Information on train times and prices is systematised and presented in different ways (see Watts, 2006), visually on a screen or verbally at a booking office. Such allegiances to specific practices are not unchanging and each of these sources may be differentially utilised by people depending on temporal or distance-based demands. For example travelling at the last minute or travelling for shorter distances would necessitate a booking office engagement. However, these examples illuminate how, for many participants, booking online is preferable not only because information is presented in visual form, but also that these practices can be done at a time to suit them. In this way, practices and movements at the railway station are altered since those travellers who have already got tickets do not have to traverse booking offices and suffer the anxiety of the queue. In this way, their experience of the railway station may be of a more attenuated space where certain spaces are cut out.

But what sort of knowledge is obtained in these transactions and how does this impact on the overall nature of the journey? Rather than a holistic knowledge of all the various permutations of timings and pricings, the knowledges embodied tend to be partial and personal to that particular journey undertaken. As Lash comments, we increasingly 'make sense of the world not through narrative and discourse, but by and through appreciated units of information' (2001, 110). The knowledges required for a particular journey typically consist of pieces of information related to departure and arrival times. Beyond these knowleges of timing, knowleges about *when* travel is permitted tend to fade. For many participants, there is a general awareness that restrictions (related particularly to Saver tickets) *do exist,* but many people travelling infrequently are unaware of the specificities of these regulations, as illustrated by this passenger:

> *Richard:* I am aware that there are restrictions but I'm not sure what they are. I do know that you can't go... I know that the cheapest way of going is that they are restricted to certain times of day and therefore I go on those simply because they are the cheapest way possible.

Contrast this account with the following passenger who travels infrequently between London and Durham, who describes his uncertainty pertaining to timing knowledges:

> *Omar:* I'm aware that there are some and I've been caught out by them before like you can't travel before a certain time and after a certain time. But I've never been too clear on what they are. And I kind of just wing it and hope that it's going to work out.

Those travelling more frequently are perhaps more attuned to the specificities of these regulations through repetitive practice. This passenger appears unconcerned by any absence of information since she knows the regulations of the ticket that she normally buys:

> *Leanne:* I am aware, but I think that because I travel first class it has become more restrictive. I always buy the same ticket and so I know when I can and can't use it.

This passenger, on the other hand, hints at the confusion aroused by the complexity of these knowledges:

> *Marika:* I tend I suppose to search a little bit. If I was say buying a saver ticket to go to East Anglia, I would check when it is and when it isn't valid. It is rather complex and I'm sure it is a deterrent to some travellers because of the sheer complexity – the number of fares available.

The complexity of current railway ticketing in Britain often has the effect of bemusing travellers. Some are content with their own personal limitations, the partiality of their knowledge when juxtaposed with the excess of a more holistic knowledge that could never be committed to memory. In fact, this passenger implies how, through the notion of risk, he actually *relies* on this complexity to get by:

> *David:* Yeah, that's really interesting. I think so many people just rely on not a lack of knowledge so much as the conductors not really…
> *Gareth:* There's a lot of confusion amongst the general public about the rules and regulations. There's so many varied prices and conditions and it's just… do I risk it? Yep.

However, legally, this risk is problematic as described by this passenger:

> *Rebecca:* I think it's wrong that you need to have such a detailed knowledge and that you're expected to and the fact that in certain parts of the country it's a criminal offence to not be in actual possession of a valid ticket at all times during the journey.

Such is the level of intricacy that even railway staff have problems grappling with the sheer volume of information. As this passenger, who travels frequently for leisure, describes, this can result in an interesting role-reversal:

Kevin: Yep. To be honest with you, I normally know more than what the guard does who's selling us the ticket, erm, especially in relation to Saver tickets. There was one time, again I was going down to Birmingham, and with Virgin, I don't know if you know, if you've got a Young Person's Railcard, you can use a Saver on any train, which is really unusual and the guard didn't know that, he didn't believe that and he went 'well, I not gonna sell you that ticket', you'll get on the Virgin and say that this guy told you that, and I went 'no, no', and he wouldn't sell us a ticket. And then Virgin wouldn't refund the difference and neither would Northern and so I lost out there.

The knowledges embodied by travellers are therefore often highly particular to their particular journey. As Lash comments 'information only happens at the interface of the sense-maker and his/her environment' (Lash, 2001, 110).

Whilst they are obtained at specific locations such as a computer screen or a booking office, these knowledges travel with and fold through the travelling body in a variety of different ways. These timing and placing knowledges are mixed with other events to form personal itineraries where timings of arrivals and departures fold through and are organised around other events. The material entanglement of the information is modified, transported and moved in many ways. As this passenger describes, often the *specific* timings are forgotten; the body postponing a commitment to memory:

David: When you actually get the ticket sent to you, do you make a habit of keeping them anywhere safe?
Linda: I normally stick them on the kitchen window and then put them in my bag the night before. I don't really look at them in the meantime cos I know that the information is on them for when I need to know.

Responsibility for remembering the precise details of travel is devolved and therefore the details on the ticket or booking form resonate with a heightened sense of anticipation and become an object of excitement itself. As this passenger, who travels regularly for leisure, notes, they can become objects of worth:

James: I keep them in a wooden box. I have to keep looking at them – for weeks before I just get a real sense of excitement reading the times and places on the ticket.

For journeys that are conducted more frequently, many rely on committing these knowledges to memory. Through the repetition of journeys, timings become more sedimented and prevent the need to enlist other objects. When asked how timings were known, this passenger describes

how they take the form of memory or rough notes, depending on the particular journey being undertaken:

> *Jack:* Probably a mental note. I mean some journeys because of clock-face timetabling are not too difficult to remember. I'm always known to present myself at Euston in good time for a train somewhere around quarter past the hour to get back to Liverpool. If there's a series of options and if it's something I'm not too familiar with then I would jot them down so going to Newmarket recently, I think I probably scribbled down various different options via different routes. Certainly, I've got in my head because I travel to Manchester quite a lot, I've got in my head the various times to and from.

In his case, memory is folded through other objects, immutable mobiles, as Law (2002) describes them, such as scribbled notes that assist in embodying these times. Aside the tickets themselves, many personalised itineraries and schedules are transported through the event of movement and combined and integrated with other itineraries that can be accessed when desired (see Sheller and Urry, 2006b):

> *Frank:* What I do is I paperclip them to the itinerary and then file them away under all the meetings that I'm going to go to and then when it's time to go from that particular meeting I just pull out... I just stick any kind of travel documents I need in with those papers then just pick up a folder and put everything in it. So it's all kind of, in a sense it's over organised but it means that I've got a folder that says I'm going on a trip to so and so, here's my airline ticket or my train ticket or, you know, hotel booking...And so they're all very similar so whatever I need for a particular journey, I just put all the bits of paper in the folder and I just pull it out and I can then check in to the airline or take the train.

Kidderminster - Stourbridge - Birmingham — **Mondays to Fridays**

Service operated by	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT	CT
Kidderminster	—	0855	—	—	—	0923	0935	—	—	—	1005	—	—	1025	1035	—	—	—	1105	—	—	1125	1135
Blakedown	—	0900	—	—	—	0928	0940	—	—	—	1010	—	—	1030	—	—	—	—	1110	—	—	1130	—
Hagley	—	0904	—	—	—	0932	0943	—	—	—	1014	—	—	1034	—	—	—	—	1114	—	—	1134	—
Stourbridge Junction	—	0907	—	—	—	0935	0948	—	—	—	1018	—	—	1038	1048	—	—	—	1118	—	—	1137	1144
Stourbridge Town	0843	0900	0913	—	0913	0940	0943	—	0943	1000	1013	—	1013	1030	1043	—	1043	1100	1113	—	1113	1130	1143
Stourbridge Junction	0854	0908	0918	—	0924	0938	0948	—	0954	1008	1018	—	1024	1038	1048	—	1054	1108	1118	—	1124	1138	1148
Lye	0857	—	—	—	0927	—	—	—	0957	—	—	—	1027	—	—	—	1057	—	—	—	1127	—	—
Cradley Heath	0901	0914	0924	—	0931	0944	0954	—	1001	1014	1024	—	1031	1044	1054	—	1101	1114	1124	—	1131	1144	1154
Old Hill	0905	—	—	—	0935	—	—	—	1005	—	—	—	1035	—	—	—	1105	—	—	—	1135	—	—
Rowley Regis	0909	0920	0930	—	0939	0950	1000	—	1009	1020	1030	—	1039	1050	1100	—	1109	1120	1130	—	1139	1150	1200
Langley Green	0912	—	—	—	0942	—	—	—	1012	—	—	—	1042	—	—	—	1112	—	—	—	1142	—	—
[2] Smethwick Galton Bridge	0915	0925	0935	0936	0945	0955	1005	1006	1015	1025	1035	1036	1045	1055	1105	1106	1115	1125	1135	1136	1145	1155	1205
The Hawthorns	0918	0928	0938	—	0948	0958	1008	—	1018	1028	1038	—	1048	1058	1108	—	1118	1128	1138	—	1148	1158	1208
Jewellery Quarter	0921	0931	0941	—	0951	1001	1011	—	1021	1031	1041	—	1051	1101	1111	—	1121	1131	1141	—	1151	1201	1211
Birmingham Snow Hill a	0925	0935	0945	—	0955	1005	1015	—	1025	1035	1045	—	1055	1105	1115	—	1125	1135	1145	—	1155	1205	1215
Birmingham Moor Street a	0930	0939	0949	—	0959	1009	1019	—	1029	1039	1049	—	1059	1109	1119	—	1129	1139	1149	—	1159	1209	1219
Birmingham New Street	—	—	—	0946	—	—	—	1014	—	—	—	1044	—	—	—	1114	—	—	—	1144	—	—	—

NOTES
a Arrival time
[2] Indicates the minimum interchange time, in minutes, to allow between trains at Smethwick Galton Bridge

Figure 4.13
Immutable mobile: personalised timetable of an infrequent traveller

A passenger who travels infrequently along this route gave me a copy of her timetable which she had highlighted and annotated prior to travel in order to identify the specific train she had wanted to catch (figure 4.13).

Through these practices, specific knowledges are privileged through the act of inscription and personalisation. Whilst certain knowledges through repetition are routinised and internalised, other forms of information take a number of textual, visual and tactile forms that can travel with the body and enlisted at particular points; their agency rising to prominence at certain points through the event of movement, when times need to be verified (see Spring, 2006). In studying and personalising a timetable, doing becomes knowing and in this sense, 'reflexivity becomes practice' (Lash, 2001, 109).

4.3.2 Reconfiguring knowledges

Whilst these objects are carried through the railway assemblage with passengers, the information is always open to the possibility of change. Initial knowledges are subject to mediation as the body moves through these spaces: from the journey to the station, through the station itself to boarding the train. These potential reconfigurations illuminate the fluidity of these knowledges. Here, I describe some specific locations throughout these spaces where different packages of information that are gained augment or supersede previously-acquired information.

Mediation where information is transformed, updated and reconfigured occurs through a variety of different interfaces as bodies move. Information can be verified in a number of ways before the passenger reaches the station. Many passengers described the *necessity* to verify travel information before they reach the station. Passengers typically enlist a variety of mobile technologies such as mobile phones or PDAs in order to obtain real-time or updated information. Alternatively, others used personal computers to check real-time running information or called a rail enquiry service. Paramount here is the ability to update individuals about current information of times and places with potentially different information that has superseded these initial arrangements (see Jain, 2006). This introduces a more flexible and fluid form of organising personal movement where practices and events can be readjusted on the basis of this information (Green, 2002). These locative technologies act as haptic interfaces where active bodily interaction is required with the device in order to confirm or reconfigure information whilst being physically on the move. They are location-free in that they can be called on at any point regardless of geographical location and can therefore synchronise copresence on the move (see also Sherry and Salvador, 2002; Townsend, 2002; Perry et al., 2001, Brown and O'Hara, 2003; Harkin, 2003). This passenger, who travels regularly for leisure and work, describes his reliance on these technologies in order to organise his journey to the station:

Edward: Yes, I check the live departure boards on the WAP, on the mobile phone. If I know it's a train and there wasn't one afterwards, then I keep checking on that to see if it's going to be on time. Sometimes I check the live departure boards on the National Rail website before I leave the house. Because if I find that the train's been cancelled and there's not one for ages after then it means I don't need to set off so early.

These interfaces offer an 'augmented reality' (Galloway, 2004, 390) where the virtual is momentarily made real and tangible. As Manovich (2006) notes, augmented space is the physical space overlaid with dynamically-changing information. Here, we can perhaps identify with Virilio (1997, 385) when he describes how screens obliterate and collapse normal spatio-temporal structures, replacing physical distance with psychological distance. On arrival at the station, information can be refigured and updated through various processes. These typically involve a particular routine where different interfaces are engaged with at different points on this approach. Such routines here highlight the importance of sequencing. Similar to Thrift and French's (2002) 'technological unconscious', these interfaces work to standardise space in the form of a 'track and trace' model where 'knowledges of sequencing offer new modes of countability' (2004, 182), of knowing and understanding these spaces. When passengers enter the station, active processes of checking and verification occur, as this passenger who travels between Newcastle and Leeds describes:

Luke: I've checked the train. I've then gone in to get my ticket. I've come back out. I might check the train again if I'm feeling a bit paranoid. But usually by that stage I'm ok... And then the Leeds train is always on platform 4 which is over the first two platforms. So I'll have to walk over the bridge. Might go to the toilet [laughs]. Other than that, I check my train again. Check that it's the right train on the screen on the platform. There's a lot of checking [laughs]. Now I think about it, yeah, I do, you know there's like a check list – a subconscious check list that I'm going through.

Much of this checking occurs through engagement with the departure boards positioned on the main concourse of the station. As described previously in this chapter, this engagement can hold the attention of the body, briefly inhibiting onward movement. Whilst engagement is predominantly visual, when travelling with other people, this information might be negotiated in a more tactile way. As figure 4.14 demonstrates, pointing can be a way of helping to understand and embody the information. As such, this haptic observation is 'an assembly rather than [a] receiving' (Crang, 2002b, 22).

Figure 4.14
Haptic engagement with the departure boards at Birmingham New Street 14.01.06 1554

For journeys that are undertaken more routinely, such an engaged or prolonged interaction may not be necessary to provide additional information. In this case, the practice of checking becomes more routine and passive in the sense that it forms a habitual act of passage. Indeed, the efficiency of movement through these spaces may be foregrounded on a 'technological unconscious' (Thrift and French, 2002) where a whole set of practices are sedimented through repetition and as such form part of the taken for granted worlds which, in their words, become 'non-representational'. The knowledges which are put into play when traversing the railway station – from purchasing tickets, to negotiating the spaces of the station and the train itself – become 'rites of passage' to paraphrase Rosler (1997a). As this passenger describes, particular knowledges become condensed in routine and therefore do not need to be consciously recalled or deliberated over. They emerge as body-knowledges:

> *Frank:* Ok, off the train. Again the first thing is to check my next train so I'll move across to the information boards which is on the central area in the station, check the time, whether it's on-time. Now that I've done it quite a few times I know that it goes from a particular platform at a particular time so I kind of… in some ways checking is, I suppose it's just become routine rather than I actually need to do it. I know where the train's going to be.

The departure board as interface positions the body and provides further knowledges that are required in order for the body to move to the correct place. As Adey (2006b) notes with relation to airports, this screen is the dominant means of communication between terminal and passenger. These interfaces therefore act as momentary containers, holding the attention of the body as information is constantly updated (Pascoe, 2001). These interfaces provide a greater sense of immanence and perhaps of excitement of the journey ahead; affirming in a more definite form the information that has, until now, only been contained in an itinerary. The intensity of the glowing orange dots (figure 4.15) circulate a heightened sense of anticipation. These interfaces serve to direct passengers towards the appropriate area of the station[6].

Figure 4.15
Dot-matrix screens at Newcastle Central 08.06.05 1715

However, even these knowledges are far from stable, since at the platform, passengers are presented with a different form of screen (see figure 4.16). This time, information is reconfigured to be specific to their particular train. Further information is provided such as the layout of the train, the relative alignments of standard and first class accommodation, whether refreshments are available on board, together with any expected delays to the service. Therefore this technology of spectatorship (see Adey, 2006b) informs bodies of where to move to at a smaller, platform scale, perhaps according to the particular coach they are booked in. If delays are expected, this engagement with this particular screen is important since together with verbal announcements, it acts as the primary source of information update. As Law reminds us, 'there are always matters out of control…diverse and unstable relations…this is the chronic state of being: instability is chronic' (Law, 2003, 10). If a train is delayed, these interfaces (figure 4.16) provide the primary means of reconfiguring bodily practices on the basis of the information displayed. If the screens indicate that a long delay is expected, other practices can be initiated from this engagement. This visual interface is often supplemented by audio announcements directing passengers towards specific platforms and informing them of any other alterations. The soundscape therefore verifies and amplifies this information.

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[6] Prior to the installation of new dot-matrix displays (as in figure 4.15), many larger stations had flicker-board 'Solari' departure boards. The changing information of these boards and the particular clattering noise that they made engaged travellers in a different way, combining visual *and* acoustic knowledges. The clatter of the boards indicated that a train had just departed or was due to depart.

Figure 4.16
Platform screen on platform 2 at Newcastle Central 08.06.05 1734

As such, these interfaces necessitate a multi-sensual engagement forming a powerful technological assemblage to both affirm and reconfigure knowledges. These interfaces affect and influence the movement of passengers through these spaces, directing them to certain locations in within the station and providing opportunities for other bodily performances to emerge.

However, these technologically mediated knowledges are juxtaposed with more localised, personal and *embodied* knowledges. These knowledges are smaller-scale and are more locationally-specific, developed through repeated bodily movements through particular spaces. Through routine interactions, passengers might develop preferences for certain movements over others. Bodily, tacit knowledges are therefore juxtaposed and folded through these technologically-mediated, informatic knowledges. These different forms of knowledges intersect and reconfigure how movement through spaces of the railway station is organised and planned for. Through repeated movements through certain spaces, technologically-dispensed knowledges through journey planners might be relegated in preference for tacit, habitual knowledges. As this passenger, who travels between Birmingham and London regularly for business, describes, whilst journey planners recommend a particular amount of time to change trains, from experience, this can be achieved in much less time:

> *Darren:* At any interchange station, I tend to disregard what the journey planners say because they're very conservative in allowing ridiculous amounts of time usually to walk between 2 stations with a foot connection or sometimes the amount of time they allow is way over the top even if it's a cross-platform change. So I never plan on anything more than about 10 minutes connection time.

Similarly, whilst passengers are directed to their appropriate platform through technological interfaces, once at the platform, the micro-spatial movements of where to move may, in part, be dictated by the particular coach the passenger has a seat booked in. However, this compliance may be further mediated through visual practices where bodies actively anticipate the perceived acceptability of the carriage environment which might be influenced by previous experiences based on where a preferable seating location might be. As this passenger illustrates, the choice of where to move on the platform is mediated not only by the location of his reserved seat, but also an assessment of his fellow travellers:

> *Ruth:* I'll have a look at my ticket and if it says what carriage I'm supposed to be in then I'll stand near where the placard where it says, like carriage D or whatever so I don't have to walk up and down the platform when the train gets there cos everyone's pushing and shoving. So then I'll check out the carriage and see if I like the look of the people. And then I'll move if I don't. It's weird how you make all of those choices [laughs].

By describing this process as 'weird', this passenger might be implying the lack of reflective thought that goes into these decisions. Indeed the passenger below describes how highly active processes of assessment and judgement are interwoven with less-reflective movements where bodies just 'go with the flow':

> *Francesca:* I'm looking to see if there's lots of gaps. If it's a... when I got on at Durham there was nearly always a lot of spaces because it had come from Newcastle and you could see some of the carriages there was hardly anybody in. And that was much easier to judge am I going to go for mine or am I gonna go for that one. Coming into Darlington you've got all the people that got on at Durham which is not that many but it's, some days it can make quite a difference. And as I say it depends, you look to see...it's just a 'will I, won't I' sort of thing that I don't really have a lot of logic to – I'll go with the flow. I might go and find my seat and think, no, I don't really want to sit here. But I'll leave my stuff and then go and see and then perhaps move down.

Again, by admitting that this event does not 'have a lot of logic' to it, illuminates how these decisions are often taken at the level of the unthought and affective. Some passengers with a greater knowledge of the type of train and its layout may draw on these knowledges to manage their movement in an even more specific manner. As this passenger, who travels mainly for leisure, describes, the learnt knowledges of specific units are enlisted and played out in spatial form:

James: Well if you know roughly which unit it is, if you've got a 150[7] coming in, you know that the doors are at one third and two thirds down. On a 158 they're at each end of the coach as well. So you think roughly in advance like if you're on platform 2 going to Cardiff, you can see the train bending around anyway as it comes in so you can see if it's a 150 or a 158 or 175 or whichever. Then you think if it's a 150 and you're expecting at 175, you think shift up about 10 feet or so up the platform then you're more or less in the right place.

Through these examples, knowledges of smaller-scale spatial movements and where bodies place themselves are not so readily attainable through technologically-mediated interfaces. Many of these movements are negotiated through tacit bodily knowledges based on repetition and routine practices. Different knowledges are juxtaposed with perception and anticipation of the nature of the proximate environment and are played out spatially. This has the effect of creating new patterns of movement through spaces at a smaller spatial scale.

So to briefly conclude this section, I have described how the precise movements of passengers is both permitted and mediated by a variety of different intersecting knowledges. These knowledges take many forms and are embodied and enacted in different ways. Before arriving at the station, passengers increasingly acquire information about future movements through engagement with technological interfaces. These knowledges then move through the railway station in a variety of different material configurations, through personal itineraries or are committed to memory. However, these knowledges are never fixed and are subject to change and negotitation through the various spaces of the railway station. These mediations occur through differential engagements with interfaces together with the tacit knowledges developed during previous journeys. Habitual tacit and sometimes non-cognitive knowledges enacted as a result of repeated engagements with particular locations intersect with real-time information that has the potential to rupture these routine knowledges. These complex juxtapositions of qualitatively different knowledges result in different corporeal placings through these spaces. Whilst timetabling and ticketing knowledges are available to all, the types of information taken up by individual travellers are highly selective and particular to their own movements through space. In this sense, technologically mediated knowledges, of times and locations, *do* direct bodies. However, at a smaller spatial scale, these knowledges are expanded on and developed through material encounters with other bodies and objects.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described how passengers physically move through spaces of the railway station. In doing so, I have illuminated how spaces of the railway station are brought into

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[7]Here he is referring to a class of train known as a multiple unit.

being in different ways and how agency in this process is distributed between bodies, objects and space. This has been achieved in three ways:

First, and answering to my research question on what constitutes a travelling body, I have problematised the notion of a singular and able travelling body. Here, I have demonstrated how different configurations of bodies and objects afford different forms of movement through the railway station. Through the examples of bicycle, luggage and wheelchair, particular objects mediate physical movement. Whilst some objects constitute an impediment to movement and others enable easier movement through the railway station, this pattern is made more complex by considering how these relationships change outside of this space. For example, whilst the presence of a bicycle might cause more encumbered, uncomfortable railway travel, either side of the railway journey, it enables movement. Similarly, greater quantities of luggage present a burden to the body moving through the railway station, but may afford more potential at the destination.

Second, and answering to my research question on how bodies become travelling bodies, I have described how different spaces of the railway station are moved-through and brought into being in a variety of different ways. The way that passengers move through the station is influenced by three particular things. First, the way that a journey is planned and organised through personal time-space trajectories and itineraries influences how the railway station is negotiated. Rather than faster movement being more desirable, as is frequently argued in much of the new mobilities literature, I have described how more condensed personal itineraries, where passengers have to rush through the railway station, might conversely be a more uncomfortable experience. Second, and related to this, anticipatory practices, such as the need to find a 'good seat' on a train, also mediates the way that the station is negotiated. These anticipatory practices, which occur primarily on platform spaces at the moment of boarding a train, force us to consider the relationship between the individual and collective through these spaces. Interaction in these spaces between passengers who do not know each other is often unspoken and communication is instead conducted through particular fine-grained body practices. Third, the design of space influences how the station is negotiated. Rather than spaces of comfort that encourage dwelling, although possibly with the exception of retail spaces, railway stations are flow-optimised spaces. Similar to the airport, the materiality of space is designed to engineer particular kinds of feelings and movements in order maintain efficient flows. Some spaces are threshold spaces, necessitating particular decisions to be made, whereas other spaces are flow-spaces, encouraging faster movement. However, in contrast to the airport, these spaces are not as disciplinary, do not involve invasive surveillance strategies and passenger profiling, and are therefore perhaps less-oppressive since they permit a greater 'ensemble of possibilities' (de Certeau, 2002, 98).

Third, and answering to my research question on how the journey is planned, organised and managed, I have described the juxtaposition of different intersecting knowledges that are drawn on and developed as the passenger moves through the spaces of the railway station. I

highlighted the importance of knowledges that are gained prior to reaching the station through a range of practices that involve information technologies such as internet booking, Wi-Fi and WAP use whilst on the move, but also how these intersect with more tacit, routine and habitual knowledges gained through the repetition of particular journeys. Engagements with particular interfaces whilst moving through the station impacts on these knowledges. Drawing on Manovich (2006), I have described how knowledges gained through these multi-layered 'virtual' information technologies augment and fold through the physical experience of space whilst moving to and through the station (see also Crang, et al., 2007; Woolgar, 2002). As such, this research contributes to the growing body of work that has looked at how information technologies beyond those of internet-based computers mediate everyday experience (see Crang et al., 2006). However, I have demonstrated that whilst information technologies are domesticated into the everyday life of some travellers, particularly for checking real-time departure information, they have not eroded the need for other material presences such as paper timetables, printed itineraries or pieces of scrap paper with train times quickly scribbled down. Many respondents detailed their preference for visual presentations of knowledge, perhaps indicating that for the process of booking tickets, to a certain extent, information technologies are replacing face-to-face communication. However, this also raises complex questions about the availability and use of such technologies. Whilst many passengers will have access to these technologies, it does not necessarily mean that they will or can use them. To use technologies such as WAP involves changing routine and learning new processes which, for many, might not be worth the effort. The importance accorded to punctuality depends on individual's particular time-space orchestrations. For example, this might only be the case for particular economically-privileged, time-stressed lifestyles[8] (Crang, et al., 2006). Nevertheless, realisation of delays would probably induce a similar affective response of frustration and irritation regardless of lifestyle or access to these technologies.

More broadly, this chapter has sought to problematise the figure of the idealised passenger by illuminating the heterogeneity of variety of practices that different passengers undertake[9]. In much of the recent conceptual literature on mobile bodies, this complexity is often reduced to a rather limiting dualism between those who can master the spaces and those who are left bemused and bewildered by the experience of movement (see Gottdiener, 2000; Pascoe, 2001). Whilst places of movement are often places of inclusion and exclusion (Crang,

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[8] It is interesting to note, that online booking with credit or debit card, where cheapest single tickets can be searched for, might actually privilege more affluent travellers since those who do not have the knowledge to navigate these (increasingly complex) websites, or have access to bank cards and information technologies are more likely to buy tickets at a station booking office where customer service advisers only have a limited time to tend to each customer.

[9] Further still, this complexity hints at but does not reveal the multitude of kinetic rhythms throughout these spaces not only of railway passengers but those caught up in these movements: the undaunted commuter, the man rocking his child to sleep, the gentleman struggling with her shopping bags, the exacting wanderings of the opportunist thief, the synchronised militarism of the platform staff, and so on.

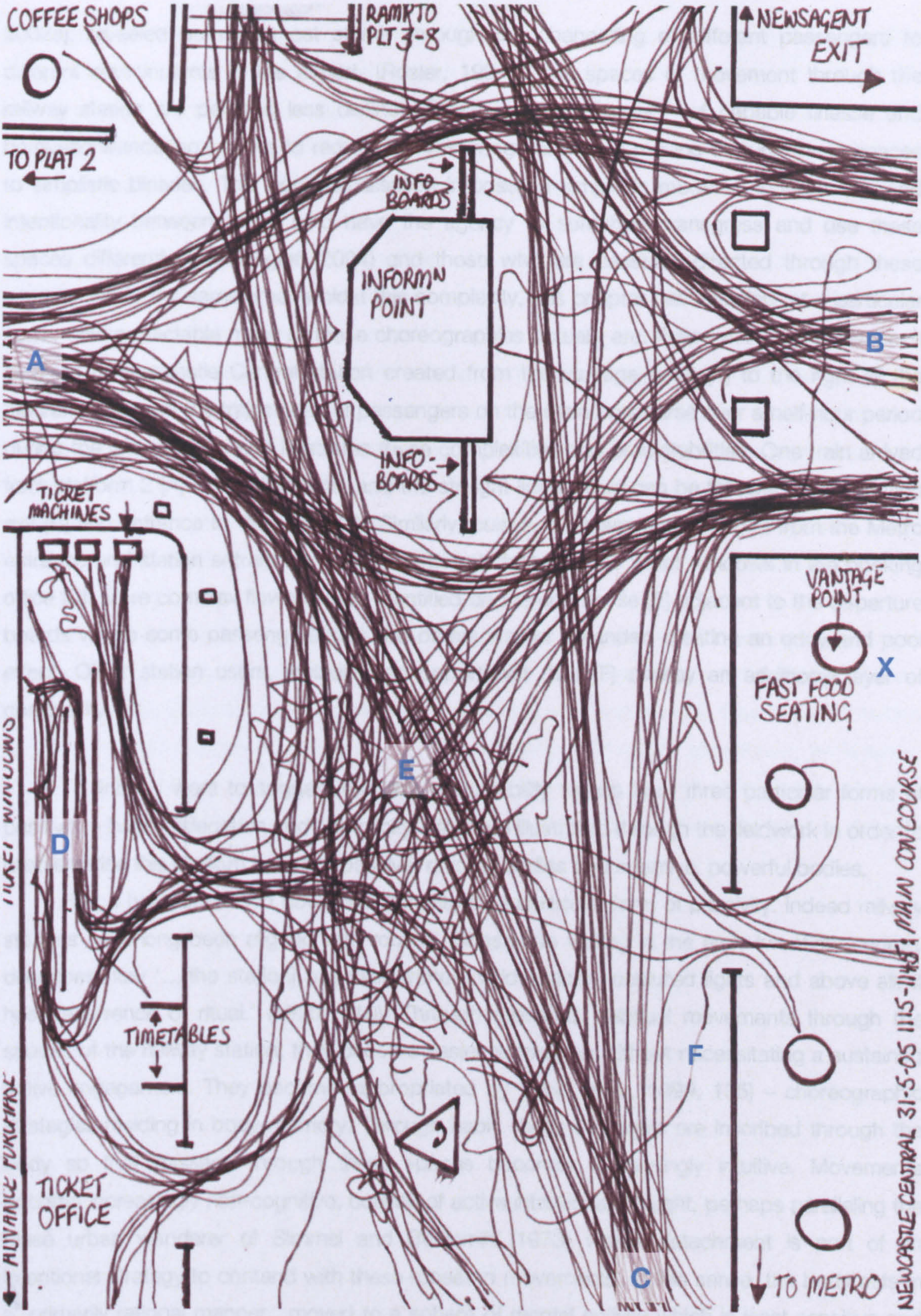

Figure 4.17
Time-space diagram of Newcastle Central station 31.05.05 1115-1145

2002a), revealed perhaps most starkly through the channelling of different passengers to different environments in the airport, (Rosler, 1997b), the spaces of movement through the railway station are perhaps less distinct. These idealised figures – of capable finesse and bemused wandering – serve to reduce the vast range of bodies moving through these spaces to simplistic binaries. This conceptualisation imposes a simplistic model of individuation and intentionality between those who have the agency to somehow transgress and use these spaces differently (see Ziegler, 2004) and those who are passively directed through these spaces. Yet at the same time, amidst this complexity, this chapter has revealed, at a particular scale, how predictable many of these choreographies actually are. Figure 4.17 is a time-space diagram of Newcastle Central station created from the vantage point [X] to the right of the diagram. It follows the trajectories of passengers on the main concourse over a half-hour period during the late morning and illustrates these complexities and predictabilities. One train arrived from platform 2 [A] during this time, and the straight linear flows can be followed to the station exit [B] and entrance to the Metro [C]. Similarly, pulses of passengers emerged from the Metro entrance and station entrance, heading for the platforms or the ticket windows in the booking office [D]. More complex flows can be identified on the concourse [E] adjacent to the departure boards where some passengers stall and others wait or meander, creating an eddy and pool effect. Other station users, including an opportunist thief [F] overlay an additional layer of complexity.

To finish, I want to suggest that this predictability results from three particular forms of passivity – habit, delegation and complicity – that are illustrated through the fieldwork in order to problematise this dualism between passive, rational bodies and agentive, powerful bodies.

First, I have described how *habit* constitutes a particular form of passivity. Indeed railway stations have long been aligned with routine. Chesterton writing in the early twentieth century describes how '...[the station] has vast arches, void spaces, coloured lights and above all, it has, recurrence of ritual.' (1920, 219). Through repeated, habitual movements through the spaces of the railway station, they become easier to traverse without necessitating a sustained active engagement. They become 'appropriated by habit' (Katz, 1999, 135) – choreographic strategies residing in body-memory. Through habit, these strategies are inscribed through the body so that passage through these spaces becomes increasingly intuitive. Movements become increasingly non-cognitive, outside of active intentional thought, perhaps paralleling the blasé urban wanderer of Simmel and Benjamin (1973) where detachment is part of an intentional strategy to contend with these repeated movements. In this sense, the body acts in a 'primarily rational manner...moved to a sphere of mental activity which is least sensitive and which is furthest removed from the depths of the personality' (Simmel, in Leach, 1997, 71).

Second, I have argued how *delegation* of agency to objects constitutes another form of passivity. To make passage through spaces of the railway station easier, the use of information technologies, timetables, itineraries and scribbled notes made or consulted before arrival at the

station results in less reliance on booking offices, information desks and other information interfaces in the station. Whilst they all require active engagement to make them work, since they are consulted prior to arrival at the station, passage through the station itself is more passive. Trust is invested in, and agency is delegated to, these objects since they will make passage through the railway station easier (see Andrejevik, 2005 on delegation to 'smart objects').

Third, I have illuminated how *complicity* with the built form constitutes a further form of passivity. Techniques of movement regulation and control based on probabilistic design are a central part of the both the architecture and semiotic devices of these spaces where the built form has the potential to convey connotative and symbolic meaning (Eco, 1986). Mobile effects are engineered into architectural design through the use of particular materialities and techniques of wayfinding. Classification through labelling and naming are particularly important in this construction of power since they produce and promote stability and assist in naturalising meaning (Markus and Cameron, 2002). The labelling of 'platform', 'concourse' and 'ticket office' may offer textual simulacra symbolising a sedimented and naturalised set of social relations and directing a specific set of spatial practices.

Whilst the body has to physically move through the railway station, these particular forms of passivity necessitate that this movement is as easy, stress-free and as efficient as possible. Far from viewing these forms of withdrawal as oppressive or undesirable, they assist in making passage through the railway station a calmer and more comfortable experience. Importantly, however, I have demonstrated how these passivities are woven through other events whereby bodies must respond to unexpected alterations such as through platform changes or delayed services[10].

[10] Although these events of rupture will be examined in greater detail in chapter 7.

Chapter 5

Absorption: productive bodies

Introduction

Moving away from the physically-mobile body, this chapter turns to the figure of the sedentary body. Rather than the spaces of the railway station where passengers must be physically mobile, this chapter explores those places in the railway journey where the body is more inert and still. However, central to this chapter is the idea that a physically-stilled body is not necessarily inactive. Here, I want to consider how passengers practically use these periods of sedentarism for productive ends. As such, this chapter explores an absorbed subjectivity and how these practices are enacted through spaces of the railway journey.

This is important since the focus of much of the mobilities literature has been on these physical bodily movements. Whilst much has been written about how bodies negotiate transport terminals, particularly the airport (Gottdiener, 2000; Pascoe, 2001; Adey, 2004a), with a few notable exceptions (see Schivelbusch, 1979; Letherby and Reynolds, 2005), relatively little has been written about what passengers actually do during the period of being on the move itself and subsequently, how this duration is experienced. It is these incarcereal, interstitial practical dwellings that this chapter is concerned with. As such, the empirical focus is on how bodies in the spaces of the railway carriage occupy themselves during the duration of the railway journey. I look at how bodies become absorbed and immersed in various practices, the extent to which the environment of the railway carriage facilitates or impedes different forms of absorption, together with how these practices reconfigure the lived experience of time and space whilst on the move.

In considering these practices, this chapter aims to open up lines of investigation into two main areas of thought. The first analytical trope that this chapter seeks to address is that of the dialectic of mobility and immobility. Through research on mobilities of bodies and objects (Urry and Sheller, 2006a), embodied subjectivity is increasingly conceptualised within a world of increasing flows, in terms of both quantity and velocity (Vidler, 2002; Virilio, 1997). Such studies have often been framed within the meta-ideology of degrees of freedom where mobility is positively relative to agency as an outcome of various power relations. Despite notable exceptions (Spark, 2006, for example) slower bodies or stilled bodies are depicted as having less agency and are therefore subsumed within the projects more often than not of more agile agentive bodies (Adey, 2004b). Conversely, stilled bodies have also been invoked as an example of a transgressive performance to impede various forms of movement. Examples here could include acts of protests or sit-ins or various acts of slowing as resistance to a perceived frantic world of acceleration and speed-up (Parkins, 2004; Bell and Leong, 1998). However, much recent work on mobilities within the social sciences has focused on the relative mobilities of bodies and objects, of stillness and movement as not oppositional (Cresswell, 2001, 2003). Indeed Cresswell's work has consistently critiqued issues of nomadism and unrestrained mobility, focusing instead on the contingent relationalities between different forms of movement and stillness (Cresswell, 2003, 2006). Similarly Adey (2006a) has described how immobilities and corporeal stillness are at the heart of and fundamental to the machinic assemblage of the airport as an example of a place traditionally associated with flow and fluidity. This maturity in mobilities research is beginning to take seriously the relationality between stillness and movement and their mutual constitution. A focus on the practices of the sedentary body whilst in the train carriage enables us to open a vein within this literature that will permit a more nuanced interrogation of the implications and the dynamics of the phenomenon and their implication in the constitution of sedentary bodies. Whilst this 'new mobilities' literature (Hannam et al, 2006) is critical of sedentarism per se — the fixed, the un-dialectical, of being over becoming — the question that this chapter is foregrounded on is whether these critiqued ontologies are an inevitable part of a sedentary account. As such, this chapter will consider how periods of corporeal sedentarism are experienced through the body. In turn, this focus on practices of sedentarism will assist in moving away from these oft-critiqued aspects of sedentarism by thinking through how sedentary bodies are still implicated in the dialectic of movement and stillness; engagement and disengagement. More broadly, this will allow us to consider how the experience of time and space transform over the duration of the journey and how bodies respond to these transformations.

The second analytical trope that weaves through this chapter is the development of a more expansive and responsive conceptualisation of productivity. Traditional definitions of productivity typically derive from associated economic, business and more generally competitive, neo-liberal concerns that time needs to be utilised more productively in order to be

more profitable (Harvey, 2005). Heeding this rationale, chronological time is a container waiting to be filled with this profitable activity must be used wisely. Indeed the burgeoning literature on time-management assures that there is therefore an optimum configuration in which particular activities and events can be accomplished during these quantifiable, bounded clock-time periods (see Konig and Kleinmann, 2005; van Eerde, 2003; Waterworth, 2003 amongst others). Lyons and Urry remind us that travel-time and activity time are increasingly blurred and therefore 'many people are using travel-time to undertake activities' (2005, 263). Similarly, Jain and Lyons (2005) posit that travel-time should be increasingly viewed in Maussian terms as a 'gift' to be utilised. In this chapter, I expand the remit of this narrow traditional rendering of the term by considering what an expanded range of sedentary corporeal capabilities might look like. This involves moving from a rather narrow economically-driven productivism towards one that involves a broader range of motivations, practices and intentionalities that offer the positive value to the body (see Mokhtarian and Salomon, 2001). In doing so, this chapter answers to and expands on a nascent body of current literature that considers travel-time not as wasted time, and as discrete from the activities undertaken which give rise to travel (Lyons and Urry, 2005), but time that folds through multiple time-spaces and supports a myriad of different practices. More broadly, this will enable us to consider how and to what extent travel-time is planned, organised, used and valued for a variety of passengers travelling for different purposes.

This chapter traces three particular configurations of practice whilst on board the train, each of which draws on a different set of relatively sedentary experiences. These three configurations illuminate the heterogeneity of productivity and the different ways of being absorbed during the duration of passage. Section one explores the practices involved in working whilst on board the train through an interrogation of the 'mobile office'. I outline some of the ways that passengers create a mobile office environment, by examining how the proximate materiality of the railway carriage is moderated through the enlistment and positioning of various objects and technologies. I also illuminate how life in the mobile office folds through working practices away from the confines of the railway carriage. As such, I show how these practices are woven into more general concerns over how working time is organised and valued. Section two moves away from the working body to consider how the relatively sedentary body engages with practices of entertainment during the course of the journey. Here, I look at some of the ways in which passengers engage with travel companions and the ways that these conversational absorptions mediate the experience of space and time. Next, I look at how forms of engagement are experienced by passengers travelling with small children. Lastly I explore how the sedentary body can be entertained through the journey focusing particularly on the variety of multimedia practices that passengers enlist to become engaged to varying degrees. Section three explores a form of absorption that is perhaps furthest from the more

economic renderings of productivity. Here, I consider the forms of different visualising practices enlisted by sedentary bodies who are not engaged in practices of work or entertainment.

Overall, this chapter seeks to attend to the absence of sedentary bodies in the current resurgence in thinking through modes of corporeal enactment by considering the capacity of bodies and the potentialities of becoming through stasis. Taken together, these three sections explore how the experience of time and space transforms over the duration of a journey. Extending the themes of activity and passivity from the previous chapter, these practices of absorption demonstrate how the fluid nature of both engagement and disengagement are key to understanding the lived experience of the sedentary body whilst on the move.

5.1 Working absorption

In this first section, I explore working practices whilst on the move. In terms of economically-defined productivism, work-based forms of absorption during the railway journey are one of the most discussed sedentary practices undertaken (Lyons and Urry, 2005). Of course many moving technologies of transit could be considered to be mobile workplaces such as ambulances, fire engines, refuse collection lorries, police cars (Laurier, 2004) and the staff aboard trains themselves, where travel is an integral part of the job. However, as Laurier points out, in all of these examples 'there is someone to whom their conduct is witnessable and immediately accountable' (2004, 264). In contrast, whilst several studies have discussed the working practices associated with automobility (see Laurier, 2004; Laurier and Philo, 1998), relatively few have explored how the incarcerated sedentary body uses the train as a place of work (although see Holley et al., 2007). This is perhaps surprising since rail travel is one of the most conducive modes of transport to facilitate working practices as the body is not engaged in the attention-demanding task of driving a vehicle, for example. With growing numbers of people travelling longer distances for business, the business market for railway travel has grown exponentially. Research undertaken for Transport 2000 showed that in 2001, nearly 200 million business and personal business trips were made by rail. The study predicts that 'every rail business traveller on strategic routes undertakes one hour of productive work on each business journey is not an unreasonable assumption' (Transport 2000, 2002). For many, the time spent whilst on the train is utilised as an extension of the office, a mobile hot-desk where working practices can be continued to 'recoup time otherwise lost in transit' (Laurier, 2004, 264). This is all the more important when travel is viewed as a wasteful cost. As Holley, et al. point out, 'business travel-time is seen as time which, if it can be saved, will be converted from unproductive time to productive time' (2007, 2). Some Train Operating Companies have responded to this demand by making their trains more conducive to these working practices through modification of the internal material travelling environment. Contrary to studies that have viewed travel-time as economically wasteful (see Harrison, 1974), many people undertaking train journeys for business embrace the time of the journey to facilitate productive activity (Geißler, 2004).

In the first section, I examine how working practices are folded through travellers' overall working patterns. This is important since it prompts us to view the duration of the journey from a wider temporal and spatial perspective. I look at how these practices are planned and organised together with their practical enactment during the journey. In the second section, I look at the assemblage of spaces, objects and technologies that are required to make these working practices possible. In the third section, I consider how these incarcereal spaces of railway travel are well suited to facilitating group-based working practices. In sum, this section illuminates how a specific travel motivation results in the formation of particular engaged practices that ascribe a particular worth and value to travel-time.

5.1.1 Working formation

So firstly, how are these practices planned for and enacted? Whilst the duration of the train journey occurs in a discrete unit of time, working practices engaged by passengers do not necessarily mirror this discrete linearity. Instead, the duration of the train journey is woven through the various events that precede and proceed from the travelling time. In this respect, the duration of time spent working whilst on board the train is similar in many respects to the office – the same engaged practices being undertaken – particularly since the mobile practices required by many jobs are often conducted in numerous locations. In this respect, both the train and the office offer similar possibilities for activity (Brown and O'Hara, 2003). This passenger, who travels regularly on business between Newcastle and London, describes how she can work on the train as easily as in her own office:

> *Yvette:* Ok, well it would depend on the type of work I had. If I've got my laptop with us, I might work off that. And I can really work on the train the same as I could if I was working from home or working in the office. I tend not to answer e-mail because that's just too complicated and it takes too long and it's not worth it. But if I'm doing any papers or any reports or doing any briefings then I would work on the train. I do a lot of reading on the train. I get masses and masses of literature to look at. And I tend to skim read most of that. I do a lot of reading and I just work on any reports or briefings or anything like that.

However, her description demonstrates how much of this work tends to be reading from papers rather than composing e-mails or working from a screen. Engaged practices whilst sedentary on a train are therefore woven into the wider working patterns of individuals. What is clear here is how emphasis is on the efficient utilisation of different periods of time that suit different forms of engaged activity. Whilst the office may be more conducive to certain practices, the time of the journey lends itself better to activities such as reading, for example, these activities are planned in advance. Since passengers who travel by train regularly come to know what practices are best undertaken on the train, these activities are planned and organised well in advance, as described by this passenger:

Leanne: Well I have a working practice. We get a lot of really bulky papers to read and comment on so if I know I'm travelling I save all of that and that's me travelling work. So that saves time in the office where you can do much more operational things where you need to speak to people. I usually save all my reading for on the train, readings for comment or preparation where I have to do comments on things or sort of drafting.

David: And would you consciously throughout the week I guess, would you think to yourself, I'll put those aside to read?

Leanne: Well actually, interestingly I've just done that this morning cos a paper came through that I wanted to read, but I thought, no, because I didn't need to read it til next Friday, for next Friday so I thought I'll leave that for next week when I'm travelling. But I want to read it cos I know it's interesting, but I've put it to one side cos I know I've got other things to do, so yeah, I do consciously, especially if next week I've got four days travelling, I'd consciously save things to make it productive time. I mean having said that, I do have unproductive time because it's me one privilege that I allow myself is to read the papers from cover to cover.

Similar to Brown and O'Hara's investigation of mobile working practices, in order to maximise productivity, the duration of the train journey is effectively planned into an overall 'working practice'. The train here acts as a place where she can settle into a solitary 'prolonged, uninterrupted engagement with the reading materials' (2003, 1572) which might not have been possible in the office location. Her account demonstrates how train- and office-based practices are mutually-organised in that undertaking particular tasks on the train saves time to complete other tasks in the office. She ascribes a high value to this time through her explicit recognition of productive versus unproductive time where she might read a newspaper. Perhaps more so than other practices, working practices involve careful preparation and organisation of materials prior to the journey. As this passenger describes, organisation and the production of a schedule are key to maximising productivity:

David: And would you, say if you were travelling tomorrow, would you prepare all those things, would you have them ready in your bag the night before?

Leanne: I would start doing it... I mean I've just started doing it now, sort of printing my train timetables for next week, starting to put things into piles. So I start doing it a few days beforehand. I'll get myself organised and planning each day.

Here, she describes how the duration of the journey is assembled and physically gathered in advance. These forms of preparation are often juxtaposed with various planning activities that take place when travelling. When asked what she does during a train journey, this passenger,

who travels between London and Newcastle each month, illustrates how scheduled activities are juxtaposed with the scheduling of future events and activities:

> *Ruth:* I'd make lists...because I do that. I make lists. So I'd make a list. Tell you what I do as well which I'm obsessed with doing... I'd know how much I'd be overdrawn with my bank account, then I'd think about how much money I'd get next month then I'd write a list of all my direct debits. Yeah, I do this on the train and then I write down how much I have to pay out of my overdraft and then I see how much money I've got left then I divide it by the number of days in the month then I set myself a target for each week that I'm supposed to work to. I fail every month. But then, I do that on every single journey...I'll write down all my debt [laughs] then I'll write down how much money I'm getting in then I'll have this crappy little amount even though I get paid ok, I'm just trying to pay off loads of years of shit. So I did it yesterday when I was sitting on the train yesterday so I know I've got X amount to move over and I'm actually going to open another bank account so I can move that in so I've got my household stuff and my spending money weekly so I'm actually going to do that. I made that decision on the train. That's what I do on trains. Every journey I write an I-owe list I write my outgoings.
> *David:* Do you feel good doing this?
> *Ruth:* Yeah, it gives me a lift, it gives me some order. I do it with my work as well. Like if I've got tasks to do this week, tasks for this week that have to be done, have to be done then I'll write down lists on the train.

For her, creating plans and itineraries and anticipating future scenarios is a central part of the train journey and provides her with a sense of order. From this, we could consider how, for her, the train journey acts as an anchoring point: a temporary hiatus of moment of reprieve from which to take stock. The processes and plans created in this place therefore travel forward and fold through future events. Planning and creating itineraries might be a frequent activity undertaken since, depending on journey length, time may not permit an activity that requires a more lengthy engagement. Therefore, a consideration of the temporality of the journey is central to ascertaining what practices can and cannot be undertaken. This passenger who travels between Cambridge and London on business twice a month speaks of how a fourty-five minute journey is not long enough to justify using his laptop whilst on board:

> *Ivan:* I wouldn't at the moment because, well, even if there was Wi-Fi on the train, I... most of what I'm doing doesn't need that really quick turnaround. You know, there's nothing that cannot wait, as a rule, until I get home. Erm, there have been times when I've been working on the train, but a 45-minute run isn't really long enough from my point of view to be working. I wouldn't bring the laptop just in order to use it on the 45-minute

journey. You know, if I needed it in London or whatever for some other purpose I might be tempted to get it out. But I wouldn't take it for that purpose.

Using the train journey as a place of work promotes heightened attunement to temporality where passengers anticipate how long specific tasks will take. Through this anticipational itinerancy, time can be shared between different activities according to their necessary immediacy as this passenger illustrates:

Leanne: [laughs]. I tell you, I'm really sad. I always read the paper. But depending on how much work–if I know I've got urgent work to do before I get to London, I allow myself to read the news bit of the paper but not the T2. And I keep the T2. So I read the newspaper and then do whatever work I need doing and I've got any space left I read the T2 or save that for later.
David: Sure, sure. And would you be conscious of how much time you've got to read the news section.
Leanne: Yes.
David: So you say, well I'll spend this long.
Leanne: Well cos I've already ascertained how much time I need to do the work, so I probably give myself–well I'll read the paper until. And then I work.

She describes how, whilst working practices dominate in terms of their more pressing urgency, these practices are folded through other activities that are not associated with this work.

Importantly, for these passengers, productivity is associated with some form of *output*: whether it is reading, digesting and note-taking or producing lists or itineraries. These products take tangible, material forms such as an annotated document or notebook that is then carried through other spaces, surfacing when the necessary information is required. For my own daily train journeys between Newcastle and Durham, I use the fifteen minutes as planning time for the day ahead (see figure 5.1). In this way we can see how preparation time is central to productivity later during the day.

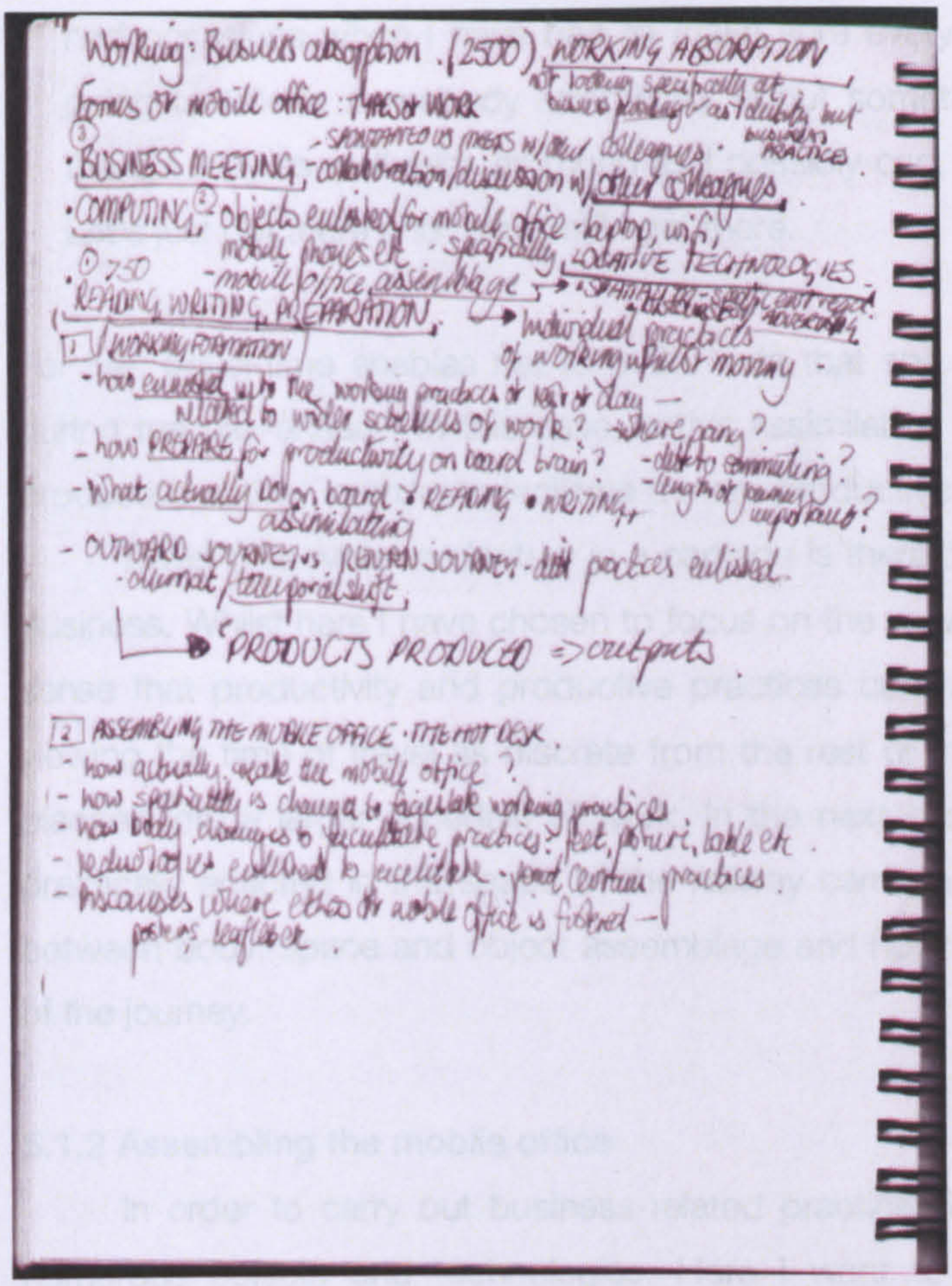

Figure 5.1
Planning this section on board the 1008 Newcastle to Durham 20.09.06[1]

However, to conceptualise productivity in a way that assumes a material output is rather limiting. Many people travelling for business discussed how engagement with output-driven material products is often interspersed with other practices that whilst do not necessarily yield an immediate material output, are no less productive. These might include assimilating or collecting one's thoughts for the remainder of the day. The rationale here is perhaps to foster a sense of mental alertness in order to be more productive during a forthcoming activity. As this passenger, who travels frequently between Darlington and London for business, describes, being disengaged through dozing and relaxing helps her to improve her performance during the day:

Jenny: Hmm, well that depends on what I'm going to do immediately when I get there. If I'm going straight into a meeting then I'll probably relax a bit to start with, maybe doze a bit. Then when we get to about nine o'clock, I'll perhaps look at the papers or whatever. I don't do a lot of preparation at the moment, because the things I'm going to do are just sort of just general discussions, meetings, catching up and things. So I'm not... I have

[1] Thankfully, this has undergone many revisions before this final version!

had occasions when I have had to make sure everything was in my mind because I'm going to talk to somebody specifically about something. But generally, I've got to get there, I may as well relax as much as I possibly can, you know, and it's got to be done. Let's just get there and relax until I get there.

For her, travel-time enables her to make sure that she is mentally-prepared for specific tasks during the day ahead. In this case, active assimilation of thoughts is viewed as an important productive activity in order to facilitate a more productive engagement later during the day.

Travel-time whilst sedentary in a carriage is therefore valuable to passengers travelling for business. Whilst here I have chosen to focus on the outward leg of a journey, we begin to get a sense that productivity and productive practices can take many different forms. Rather than viewing the time of travel as discrete from the rest of the day or week, travel-time for many is planned into a larger schedule of work. In the next section I look at how these practices are practically enacted in the space of the railway carriage. This allows us to look at the relation between body, space and object assemblage and how agency is distributed during the course of the journey.

5.1.2 Assembling the mobile office

In order to carry out business-related practices on the move requires the presence of numerous objects and technologies. Here I want to briefly consider how Train Operating Companies market and foster a productive working environment before moving on to consider how these practices are facilitated through the use of various objects and technologies.

Long distance train operating companies are increasingly marketing their products to capitalise on the demand for business-related travel. Visual promotional materials seek to stimulate a particular ethos of the mobile office, suggesting the range of practices that passengers travelling for business can do. These materials aim to foster discourses of productivity through scenes of productive practices, often depicting suited, solitary passengers working at laptops and surrounded by working papers. These images have the capacity to circulate a productive atmosphere which is folded through promotional literature that promises to *help* make the time of the business passenger productive: 'GNER understands that your time is precious and that you don't want to waste it waiting around... that's why our trains are designed to promote the perfect environment in which to work or unwind' (GNER, 2006). Emphasis on the solitary figure depicted in a stress-free environment before the intensity of the office, or unwinding after a stressful day, is demonstrated by the GNER business-travel advert in figure 5.2 below:

Figure 5.2
GNER business travel website banner. http://www.gner.co.uk/GNER/Tickets/BusinessTravel 30.10.07

This image circulates a sense of smooth, unimpeded passage where the business traveller is insulated from the striations of the world around him. In this way, discourses of business productivity are woven through the fabric of the journey even before the journey begins. Similarly, Virgin Trains' marketing, whilst perhaps dubiously masculinist and neo-colonial through its broken English, has capitalised on the notion that travel-time can be used to generate novel ideas where, similar to the GNER image, productivity does not necessarily emerge in the form of a tangible object, rather a set of ideas that can be put to work:

Figure 5.3
Screenshot from Virgin Trains 'Apache' television advertisement, September-October 2006

Whilst prior to the journey, advertising can facilitate the anticipation of productivity, the spatiality of the carriage itself can be transformed in order to facilitate these working practices. Echoing this sentiment, Brown and O'Hara (2003) argue that place is an important practical concern of mobile workers where certain places are 'colonised' for work. The various arrangements of objects and technologies are central to the enactment of mobile working practices (see Brown and Perry, 2000; O'Hara and Sellen, 1997). Mobile computing technologies, particularly laptops, are increasingly important devices transported by some passengers to facilitate working practices. Portability of information is central to this assemblage

where these devices enable passengers to continue working with material from the office environment and make vast amounts of data easily accessible. Synchronicity offered by technologies such as GPRS-enabled laptops, mobile phones, PDAs and Blackberrys form a vital component of the mobile office enabling passengers to communicate with colleagues in other locations (Laurier, 2001). Each of these devices enables different formats of information: both verbal connectivity together with the ability to send e-mails and text messages. The man in figure 5.4 demonstrates how a range of practices using these technologies can be used together in a short space of time. In the top four images, he works on Microsoft Word before creating a PowerPoint presentation. During this time he also eats a banana and drinks coffee. In the final image, he has put his laptop away and proceeds to use a PDA whilst listening to an iPod:

Figure 5.4
Multi-tasking mobile-office man between Berwick upon Tweed and York 07.03.06 1022-1030

This connectivity integrates him into spatially-distant networks, thereby refiguring the nature of co-presence. Time is compressed and space is distantiated 'via the politics, institutions and telecommunication infrastructures of new technologies of information and communication' (Green, 2002, 281).

The physical material spaces of the railway carriage are themselves being transformed to facilitate these practices. Many trains are equipped with standard plug sockets to charge mobile phones and laptops. Increasingly, Wi-Fi technologies are available at stations and on board long-distance trains that enable passengers to access internet and e-mail seamlessly during their journey through a variety of locative media (Green, 2002). The use of these technologies, together with other objects such as files, books and papers, requires the immediate spatiality of the carriage to be utilised in a particular way. This spatial reconfiguration often involves expansion where passengers spread out material in order to access information to work more efficiently. In this respect, the proximate spatiality is transformed into a productive hot-desk where information necessary for a particular task surrounds and envelopes the body. This

passenger, who travels regularly between York and Newcastle on business, describes how a particular set of objects are positioned in order to work more effectively:

> *Mohammed:* I need to have all my bits and bobs around me so I can access them easily, you know, when I'm on the computer I need to refer to these documents that I've got with me so I need them layed out to the side of me. Me mobile is always on the table as well I case I get a call and need to answer it.

Figure 5.5 demonstrates this spatial configuration in action from my own working journey between Birmingham and Newcastle:

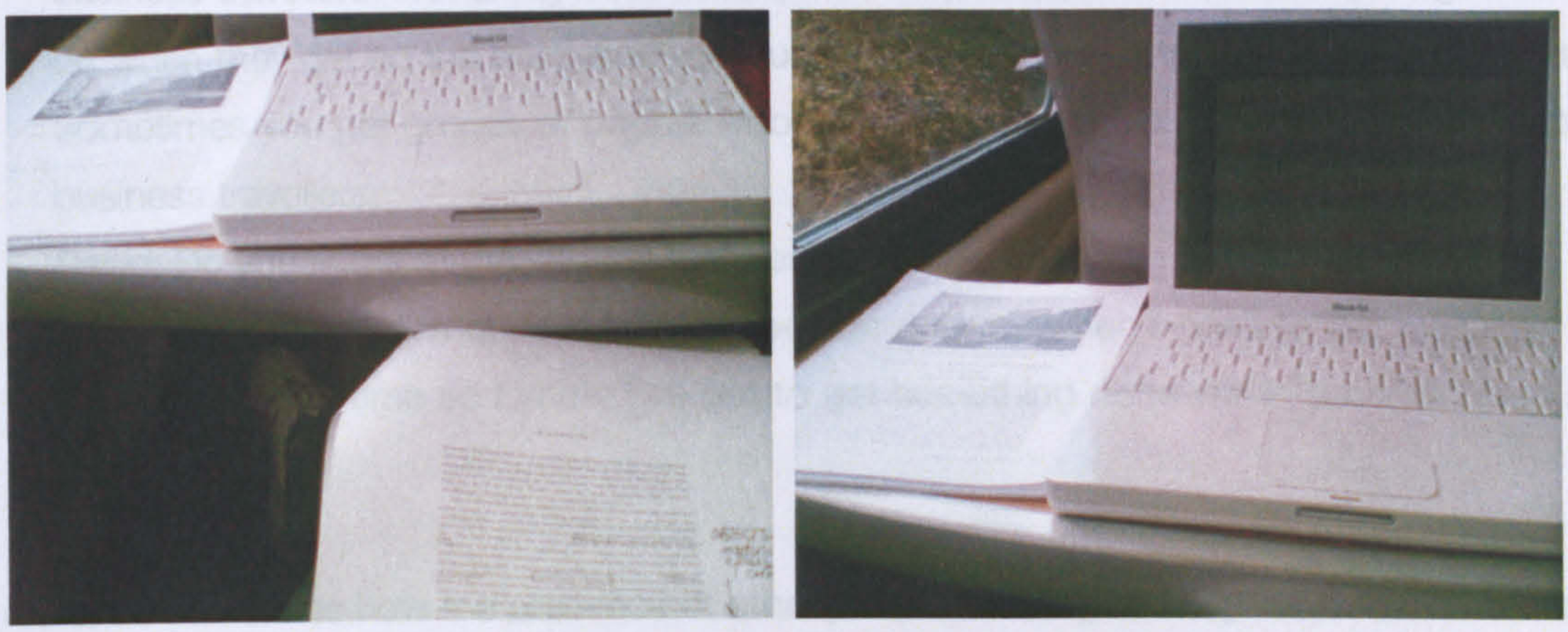

Figure 5.5
Spatial reconfiguration between Birmingham New Street and Newcastle 20.03.06 1030

Whilst my laptop took centre-stage, I needed to make reference to two other documents, one placed on the table, and the other balanced on my lap. Paper documents here are crucial to my working practices whilst on the move (see Sellen and Harper, 2001; O'Hara et al., 2004). Since personal space for standard class passengers is relatively limited, this working practice was rather uncomfortable.

In order to get around the problem of restricted working space, many passengers planning on working during their journey book a first class ticket. Not only is this space generally quieter, it also provide more space to spread out materials. This working environment is not restricted to the space of the carriage. In order to minimise any perceived unproductive time, many first class waiting rooms are designed to support such practices through the provision of large tables and Wi-Fi access. Indeed along the GNER route many larger stations are equipped with meeting rooms which include presentation and refreshment facilities. Some passengers felt strongly that passengers intent on working should indeed pay for working spaces through first class facilities as argued by this passenger, who travels for leisure, and speaks of her frustration of being unable to find a seat:

Jean: Well they [business travellers] should be in first class. If they want to pay for that, if they want that facility then they should be in the first class. Right. Using, because the tables are bigger, there's more legroom, you've got all the other facilities that you need there much better than being crammed.

Similarly, this passenger, who travels regularly between London and Newcastle for business, describes how business travellers in first class carriages create a particularly productive atmosphere:

Leo: I think in first class, I think the people who travel first class on the main tend to be business travellers. Not always but usually and they're quite focused. They've got stuff to do when they get on the train. And they just get on and do it and then get off again really. Sometimes you get groups of people who travel together in first class but they tend to be business travellers.
David: Do you find that that almost focuses you a little bit?
Leo: Probably, but I'm quite a focused person anyway when I need to be. Because I've got quite limited time so I know I've got to get something done within a certain time so I do it.

Here, he illuminates how the presence of other people working actually facilitates his work whilst on board, perhaps similar to the two men working in the background in figure 5.4.

The body itself must also accommodate these practices through acts of reshaping. More specifically, practices such as use of a laptop or annotating documents may prompt the body to adopt a different posture. Similar to my own working experiences outlined above, this passenger, who travels regularly between London and Newcastle on business, describes how working on the train can be an uncomfortable experience that requires her body to find a posture that is more conducive to work:

Donna: When I'm going through reports I find it hard to work on those little tray things if I'm in airline seat. Like even if I'm sitting at a table cos the seats are slightly too low for you to work at the table itself I normally end up working on my lap cos it's more comfortable than leaning forward over the table.

Far from pre-given, the body therefore has to explore and renegotiate these spaces, trying different postures in order to achieve the optimum working configuration. We can see here how mobile workers are 'intimately concerned with the different places in which they [can] work' (Brown and O'Hara, 2003, 1571). This fragility is further demonstrated through events of disconnection where networks that facilitate work rupture. This may present itself in the form of being cut off from Wi-Fi access or mobile phone coverage; or the space itself inhibiting the

potential range of working practices that can be carried out. For this passenger, the uncertainty of place is anticipated and taken into account when planning working practices (see also Brown and O'Hara, 2003):

> *Donna:* I tend not to save important business calls for the stretch between Derby and Sheffield cos the mobile phone coverage is pretty poor – and you go through several tunnels. If you end up taking a call through patchy areas you just end up getting frustrated as does the person you're talking to. I tend to use texts more.

This demonstrates how travel-time emerges as a space of 'micro-coordination' (see Ling and Yttri, 1999) where, in the absence of a strong mobile phone signal, the type of communication changes[2].

To briefly summarise then, Train Operating Companies have attempted to increase demand for business-related travel through particular marketing campaigns that circulate a particular ethos of productivity. Additionally, the provision of first class waiting rooms and meeting suits attempt to minimise dead, unproductive time and maximise productivity. Whilst on board the train, the mobile office is enacted firstly through the use of wireless locative technologies to connect colleagues, and secondly, through the organisation of space. However, these spaces are fragile where working practices can be intruded upon by lack of space or intermittent connectivity. In the final section, I want to explore how, far from a solitary experience, the railway journey facilitates important interpersonal face-to-face work.

5.1.3 Mobile relations

Whilst mobile communicational technologies have facilitated working relations across greater distances, the railway journey also facilitates important modes of face-to-face interpersonal communication between passengers travelling and working together. As Boden (1994) points out, the face-to-face meeting is still the paramount means of communication in organisations. Therefore, spaces of the railway journey are highly implicated in business networks as highlighted by Urry's insistence on the importance of meetings and face-to-face interaction (2003), particularly to establish trust (see also Knorr-Cetina and Bruegger, 2002). The relative positioning of seating and tables enables colleagues travelling together to continue dialogue whilst on the move, where objects and technologies become enlisted into joint practices of productivity. Unlike the traditional office setup, where desks are designed for

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[2] Virgin Trains has received much criticism for the weak mobile phone signal experienced within the carriages. This is caused by the glass windows which contain metal compounds to reduce glare and increase the efficiency of the air-conditioning. Recently, the mobile phone operator Orange has begun installed repeaters in many train sets. However, this will only benefit customers connected to the Orange network.

individuals, the close proximity of bodies in the train carriage facilitates an increased sense of dialogical communication as demonstrated in this photo-sequence:

Figure 5.6
Working relations between Worcester and Hereford 21.03.06 1002

Here we can see a joint working practice unfolding assisted through the use of a single laptop and mobile phone. The laptop is positioned between them so that they can work from the same screen. Far from the image of the lone mobile worker (see Laurier and Philo, 2003a), for colleagues travelling together, the space of the carriage provides an ideal space to continue work in order to maximise productive time. However, the mode of engagement between colleagues is often very different to the traditional office space. The space of the railway carriage promotes an enhanced verbal relationship, perhaps because bodies are physically-closer. As Brown and O'Hara comment, one of the chief motivations of mobile workers is often to put themselves in a position that would increase the likelihood of bumping into co-workers. In this respect, here 'it is the configurational properties of the relationships *between* people rather than the exact location that is important' (2003, 1573, my emphasis). This passenger discusses how the return journey to Newcastle from a meeting in London functions as a time to catch up with colleagues:

David: Do you work with other people on trains at all?

Leanne: Sometimes I do. More often coming back rather than going down. We go down at different times. But quite often if we're coming back, if I want to catch up with somebody who I know has been in London, then I'll arrange to meet them on the train and we can catch up with what we need to do on the train. Yeah.

David: Sure. That's interesting that your working practice there is maybe very different there to when you're in the office.

Leanne: It's much more informal. And it all tends to be verbal whereas when we're in the office, we maybe document what we're talking about and agree on actions. Whereas it's much more of a verbal agreement than a written agreement.

Notice how she arranges to meet a colleague on the train illuminating how the time of the journey functions as a good place to convene an informal meeting. These encounters are often scheduled into a broader working itinerary, perhaps in the form of a meeting to ensure that all members of the team have been briefed for an upcoming event as described by this passenger:

> *Donna:* If I'm with someone else. I mean if I'm with B, we tend – cos we job-share – and we use a lot of that time to chat about what plans we've got. You know, what's gone on in the past and what we're going to do in the future. We usually have a meeting, really. We often do that.

This reveals how this time is therefore *as important* as time spent in the office. The style of meeting is often far more fluid than those typically experienced in the workplace. The following passage from my travelling diary describes how an informal meeting is carried out between four people travelling between London and York:

> Four business people from a housing company all dressed in suits sit around a table. They spend the first 40 minutes of the journey discussing ticket prices to York and in doing so begin to spread papers over the table. The two middle aged women chat together leaving the younger woman to read. The guy answers phone and makes calls. "I'm on the train... we've been down to London." He seems to be the dominant character and proceeds to ask business-questions to the younger female. After Hitchin they all begin talking about company report strategy, KPIs. Table is now covered with folders and papers. They all have a copy of one document which they are annotating together. They criticise a diagram in a glossy report calling it a 'waste of time'. No other voices to be heard in the carriage. Eye contact is maintained as they address each other. The group maintain their session as a four-way meeting, as one group that doesn't split into two smaller groups. There is no laughter in this interaction. It is very diplomatic each letting each other speak individually and be heard in the group. They gesticulate as they talk.

Topics of conversation mirror this board-room style interaction. There are no boundaries delimiting these business discussions. I now know intimate details about their business proposals. After Retford the group appears more splintered and separated again since the lead guy has been on his phone for about 15 minutes. The younger female is reading reports on her own whilst the other two discuss. The older female then puts her reports away begins yawning. The guy on the phone gets cut off twice as we pass through tunnels. There is no humour as he reconnects. Just before Doncaster the older female gets out a laptop and both older women peer at the screen. No one has looked out of the window, there is no interaction with the outside. After 20 minutes the laptop closes and the group reconvenes for a more general discussion before getting off at York.

Participant observation between London and Newcastle 08.06.05 1230

This vignette demonstrates how, for these four passengers, travel-time is constituted as an important time to work as a team. In this particular example the interaction gave the junior members of the group an opportunity to spend time with their seniors in a different setting. Whilst the place of interaction differs from the traditional office environment, the *style* of interaction remains resolutely professional. However, for other passengers travelling for business, work- and non-work activities are increasingly interwoven through travel-time such that any particular delimiting of productive working time is more difficult to ascertain (see Stewart, 2000). As this passenger notes, the longevity of some journeys often necessitates that interaction between passengers shifts between work and non-work discussion. She goes as far as suggesting that the communal travelling times are instrumental in developing her team's rapport:

David: Do you find that that is as productive if not more?
Maxine: I'd say more productive cos I think as well it builds relationships because it's informal and because you're stuck with this person for the whole period of the journey. You can't possibly just talk work for the whole journey [laughs].

Notice how she uses the word 'stuck' demonstrating how this time-space acts as a container that does not permit any escape. Similarly whilst this passenger notes how they sometimes have 'pre-meetings', this time alternates between work and personal topics:

Darren: Sometimes, yes. It's the exception these days simply because of the kind of meetings I go to. When I travel with colleagues though, the conversation and discussion alternates between personal stuff and work stuff. The amount of work content probably increases if we haven't had the chance to have a pre-meeting the day before or something. But generally, it's not work, work, work, it's not that fun, fun, fun either, it's a combination of the two.

This folding through of different strands of conversation again promotes a more verbal and therefore dialogical working practice; a crucial element to building a good team dynamic as demonstrated by this passenger:

> *David:* When you are travelling with your team or whatever, do you find that you get less work done and it's more a social event.
> *Donna:* Yes, it probably is. I don't do work as in work that you can see but we tend to discuss issues more. So I mean, yes, we are working in a way and we talk about other things as well. But we do talk about work and we might talk about an event that's coming up or something that we're planning and you know, discuss different way with how we're going to do it so yes, there is a work element in it. But there's a social element as well – we're chatting about what did you see on the TV last night and stuff like that.

To conclude this section on working engagements, this research echoes other recent studies (see Holley et al., 2007) that show how travel-time can be productive time, and this is something that Train Operating Companies are keen to capitalise on. Contrary to other spaces of mobile work such as driving, spaces of the railway carriage are conducive to such practices rather than attention being shared in the joint activities of driving and working. On a train, any businessperson is always a passenger and never the driver (Laurier, 2004). However productivity is not necessarily the same as productivity in the office. A variety of different tasks are undertaken, there are different outputs and different ways of measuring this. Whilst working journeys are not homogenous, they are highly itinerant and planned. Tasks are adapted to suit the space of the carriage and are facilitated by a variety of locative technologies, distributing agency between bodies, objects and technologies. A high value is placed on this travel-time which facilitates dimensions of work that cannot be easily accommodated in the traditional office environment. A large part of this is the ability to have lengthy face-to-face interactions. As such, the value of working practices emerges from the fact that these practices influence and fold through wider working practices and everyday life. Overall, rather than passive, these working practices are mainly engaged and immersive. Attentiveness is not so much directed towards the landscape outside the train, but rather on the work itself.

5.2 Entertaining absorption

There are many points in the journey where passengers are not engaged in work-based practices. In this second section I want to consider some of these non-work practices and the ways in which they construct different experiences of time and space for the sedentary body whilst on the move. Focusing on three different types of leisure-based practice – conversation, travelling with children, and media absorption – and in contrast to working practices, I look at how the journey time is organised and valued. I look at how these practices shift and alter as

the journey progresses together with considering some of the differences between individual travel and travel with others whilst relatively sedentary in the railway carriage.

5.2.1 Conversational absorption

First, I look at the types of interactional textures that emerge between travelling companions whilst on the move. Indeed one of the principal activities whilst incarcerated in the space of the railway carriage is dialogue with fellow travelling companions[3] (see Diski, 2004). Similar to the effort associated with working practices, conversation similarly requires a degree of absorption; of intentional action. These intentional practices discussed here all involve and are framed around the motif of dialogue. I touch on four dimensions that influence these conversational practices. So first, and considering the material form of the carriage itself, there are many ways through which the internal space of the railway carriage affects how conversation can unfold. The close positioning of seats in row formation, particularly with many long distance operators increasing their proportion of airline-style seating, necessitates that passengers travelling together sit in very close proximity to each other – perhaps more so than any other everyday social situation. This close positioning where bodies are aligned in rows but not looking at each other promotes a different kind of sociality to that where seats are facing each other, on opposite sides of a table:

> *Iain:* We're sitting there on one of those two-seats, not by a table, so you've got the seats in front of you right there like 'boom'. Actually I...err prefer that to sitting at a table cos if you're travelling for a really long journey it's... you haven't got to stare at someone for the whole time which is just not nice for either of you. So when you're chatting, you don't have to like keep it going the whole time like you would say if you were in the pub.

Notice how for this passenger, who travels infrequently between Birmingham and London, the reduction of direct eye contact makes this encounter *more* comfortable and a more relaxing experience when compared with other social situations that necessitate more continuous dialogue.

This mediation of conversation feeds into a second dimension related to the duration of the train journey. Since the duration of a journey is known in advance, it frames the length of time that travelling companions know they must be in close proximity to each other. This framing of duration where travelling companions must remain in a specific place in close proximity for an extended duration, might serve to diminish the anxiety brought about by silences. As such, the flow of conversation is more jointed and less continuous: phrases and statements juxtaposed with long, but not uncomfortable, pauses, as perhaps would not be the

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[3] Here I limit investigation to the conversational practices enacted by bodies that are intentionally travelling together as opposed to more serendipitous chance encounters which are discussed in chapter 7.

case in different situations. During this go-along with three participants between Cambridge and London, silences that might have been uncomfortable feel normal in the context of a one and a half hour journey:

> There are four of us sitting here around this table. The journey will take an hour and a half and we're 5 minutes into it. No one is talking. S exclaims that the carriage is quite cold and that the air conditioning must be working too well. Smile. Break... No one has talked for two minutes now. It doesn't feel awkward though, like the journey is saying the unsaid, filling those moments with onward momentum. We are here now in each other's company for a long time. Our proximity seems like dialogue enough.
>
> Go-along between Cambridge and London Liverpool Street 05.06.05 1100

For some travellers, then, the flow of dialogue between travelling companions is an engineered event, consciously folded through the various rhythms of the journey itself.

Third, conversation is mediated not only by proximate spatiality and length of journey but also by the geographical location of the train. Here we can consider how the conversational textures are, in part, folded through the passing landscape. In this way, landscapes outside the window are gathered and collected by passengers and are enmeshed into the fabric of the dialogue (see Bishop, 2002; Merriman, 2004). The occurrence of passing objects and locations provides the impetus for many conversations as demonstrated through this diary entry travelling south from Newcastle:

> I'm sitting adjacent to a group of four older middle-aged people. They are staring intently out of the window. As we pass the Tyne Valley line they discuss Hexham and castles. As we pass Tyne Yard they all crane their necks to see the Angel of the North: "Look! Can you see it? It's amazing!" We travel a little further. Silence is broken: "Birtley." "Oh, yes, Muriel's house is just over that rise." Silence... Durham Cathedral comes into view. "Look, over there, isn't it impressive?" The excitement is circulated between them and they chat about their day trip.
>
> Participant observation between Newcastle and Durham 14.06.05 1140

Here we can see how as particular objects pass and places are brought into the visual field of view, their significance is verified through speech patterns. Their significance may be shared with travelling companions. During the go-along between Cambridge and London, particular station signs took on personal significance for one participant:

> We stop at Broxbourne. Outside our window is the station sign bearing the name. S comments that her aunt used to live there. This leads into a more lengthy conversation between her and D about where she is living now and what she is doing... the content

here is not related to the passing landscape. We pass through Cheshunt. S comments that 'I've been here once before... I can't remember why I was here'... That conversation hangs... It stops... It doesn't continue.

Go-along between Cambridge and London Liverpool Street 05.06.05 1135

The personal memories and connections evoked through such objects as signs here whilst prompted by the landscape are temporary, incomplete, sometimes fleeting and often inconsequential in that they do not prompt any further dialogue. The landscape is momentarily gathered and circulated through speech but not retained. A noticeable practice between travelling companions is the tendency to verbalise the station name when passing through, a kind of geo-spatial verification, perhaps through a kind of 'tourist gaze' (see Urry, 2002). This verbal strategy of placing is heightened through the enlistment of other objects which have the capacity to promote conversational engagement such as maps and route guides produced by some long distance train operators to provide information on the external landscapes traversed (similar to the engagement with maps as discussed by Brown, 2006).

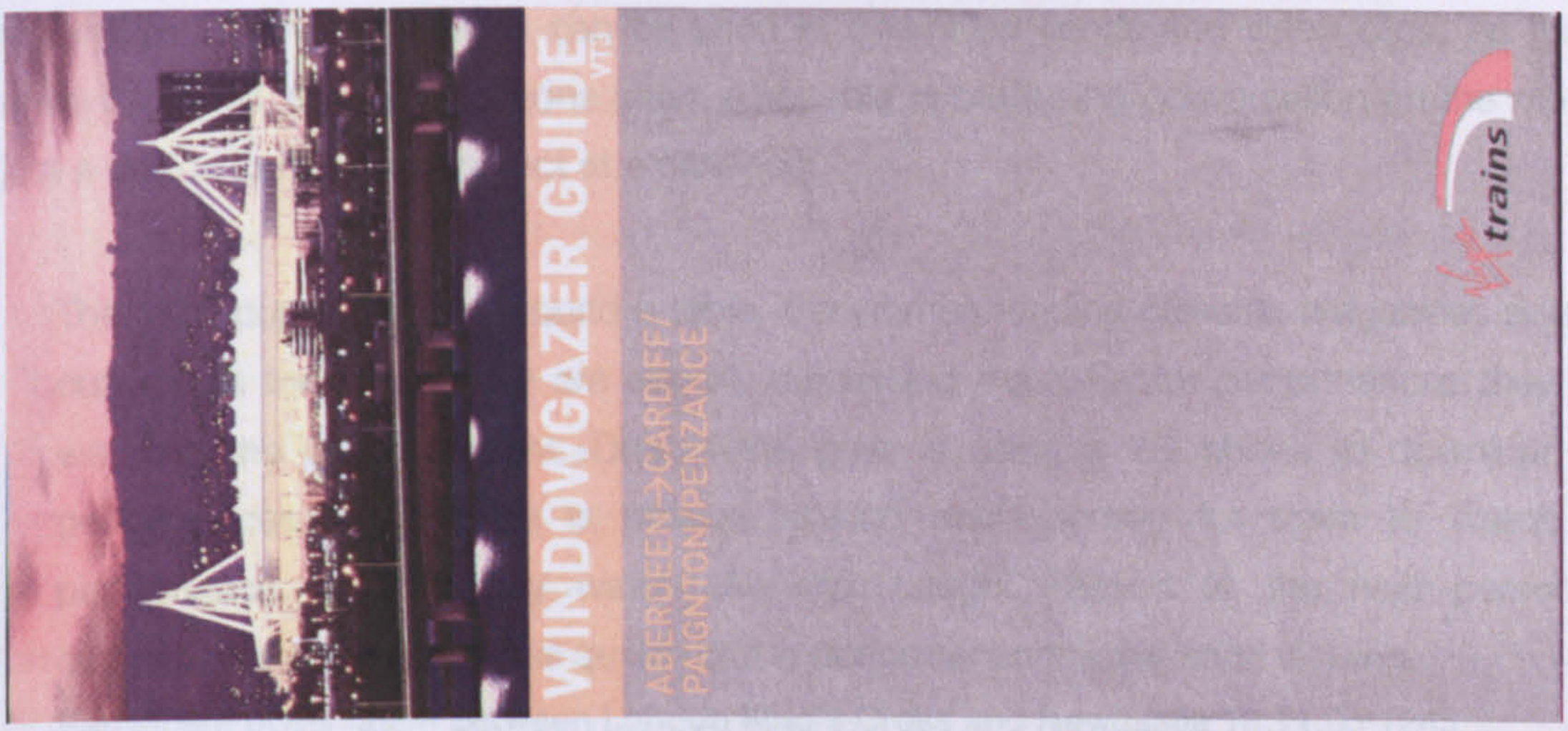

Figure 5.7
Virgin Trains Windowgazer guide VT3 Aberdeen to Cardiff, Paignton and Penzance

Whilst the Windowgazer (see figure 5.7) charts and structures the entire journey, in practice, conversation oscillates between landscape features and other topics. Additionally, though far less comprehensive, schematic diagrammatic route plans are commonly included in timetables and on-board magazines and can be used by passengers to place themselves geographically relative to other places along the route. Technologies can also be enlisted by travellers whilst conversing to capture the landscape more durably. The use of cameras and videocameras works to conjoin traveller and landscape as the journey is actively narrated by the person being filmed (see Crang, 2000) as illuminated by this fieldwork diary entry:

> We are on the approach to Sheffield. Adjacent to me, a guy travelling with a female clicks his videocamera into action and films our journey through the suburbs. None of them utter a word whilst the camera is fixed on the window. He then starts filming the female opposite and asks her some questions. "So where are we coming up to?" "How are you doing today?" She responds, her eyes directed out of the window but her conversation is interrupted as she pauses to point out a set of flats where she used to live.
> Participant observation between Newcastle and Birmingham New Street 01.10.05 1040

This highlights how personal memories are evoked through engagement with the landscape; this particular vocalisation prompted by the presence of the videocamera and perhaps reminiscent of a technologically-mediated flânerie (see Larsen, 2001).

Fourth, dialogue is framed around some of the various activities undertaken throughout the duration of the journey. Dialogue may be prompted by activities such as reading magazines or books where points of interest are verbalised and woven through strands of conversation. Engagement with technological objects such as mobile phones, for example, can also provoke a variety of dialogical interactions between travelling companions. This is increasingly prevalent since these new technologies can be used to download songs and video clips. As this diary entry illustrates, the mobile phone plays a key role in producing conversation on the move, not just a device to maintain contact at a distance:

> The two couples are sat around a table, the women reading celebrity magazines splayed out across the table. They are eagerly discussing the X-Factor performances they had watched the previous night. One of the guys is using a 3G phone to download the performances. The phone is passed around each person for them to watch the performance. In turn they watch the clip. Laugh! Pass it to the next person. A conversation about the vocal quality of the performance follows each viewing.
> Participant observation between London King's Cross and Newcastle 13.11.05 1245

In contrast to this, dialogue may be further developed through a variety of more immersive gaming activities such as crosswords where clues are read out loud and other travelling companions assist in attempting to solve the puzzle. As this diary entry reveals, such practices can extend beyond their intended audience, particularly on an otherwise quiet train:

> Soon after Peterborough they begin working through a crossword. I feel compelled to listen to see how many answers I can get. One guy is acting as scribe, reading the clues and the others are suggesting solutions.
> Participant observation between London Kings Cross and Newcastle 13.11.05 1245

In both these examples, conversation is not prompted by engagement with the passing landscape but is developed in response to activities within the carriage itself. Indeed many of the products on sale in station shops are designed to occupy the body by filling what might otherwise be idle time. Products such as crosswords are designed to compress time to make the journey pass more quickly through active engagement where idle time is implicitly conceptualised as undesirable, destructive and uncomfortable, particularly when travelling with others. As this diary entry illustrates, pauses and suspensions serve to rouse fears of mutual incompatibility:

> I'm travelling southbound with P. This is the first time we have travelled together on a train, a totally different social arrangement to what we're used to. We have over an hour of travelling together. Goodness. How to fill this chasm of time? Once pleasantries are completed, I decide to get a folder out of my bag and casually flick through some papers. I'm not engaged with these papers, I'm not even reading anything but I don't want to appear disengaged and therefore disinterested. If I don't flick through these papers I'll have to talk. What if the conversation stutters? What does that say about me? Do I not have anything interesting to say?
>
> Participant observation between Newcastle and York 27.03.06 1040

In this situation, I was travelling with someone who I had not travelled with before and so was anxious about spending so much time in close proximity since this was a novel experience. Objects in this case served as stimuli for conversational interaction and prevented the discomfort that might arise through silence.

This section has illuminated how practices of conversation with travelling companions form a central part of how travel-time is experienced. These practices can be assisted and mediated through the materiality of the carriage, the overall duration of the journey, interaction with the external landscape and through particular time-filling activities. Unlike working practices, conversation tends to be less-intense and less work-orientated and interaction with the passing landscape tends to be greater. For travelling companions who regularly travel with each other this might be a comfortable experience. However, for others, the close proximity and journey duration might constitute a less comfortable experience, punctuated by awkward silences. I want to proceed by considering how travelling with young children changes the experience of travel-time whilst sedentary in the train carriage.

5.2.2 Travelling with young children

Whilst absorbing practices amongst adult travellers may emerge through certain specific forms such as dialogue, travelling with young children radically transforms the nature of these engagements and the relationalities that cohere and condense between bodies and objects. Different engagements between adults and children emerge through the way in which the

journey is actively negotiated. As this passenger, who travels mainly for business but sometimes with her young children, describes, the imperative of this travel-time is significantly different:

> *David:* And when you are travelling for leisure, is that totally different?
> *Leanne:* Totally different! Cos I have 2 children who are only 5 and 7. So the whole journey is spent, really, I call stopping them from disturbing other people [laughs].

Rather than a relaxing engagement, the time spent incarcerated in the space of a railway carriage with children becomes more testing. This might be because whilst for many adult travellers the journey may be a duration of relative serenity, for children, trains have long been a source of excitement and intensity. Partly through novelty of experience, but also through the multisensual stimulation of speed, magnitude and noise, to children, trains can be places where adventures unfold. The durability of such excitement is evident through many nostalgic practices where intensely evocative memories of childhood can be rekindled through the re-enactment of steam train rides (see Marchant, 2004). As Bishop notes, 'the railway window allows access to a landscape that is both completely new and at the same time familiar through childhood reverie' (2002, 309). Indeed, the ordered serenity of the railway carriage is seemingly antithetical to the energetics of children for whom the space of the railway carriage is not one of sedentarism, of sitting still or engaging in absorbed activity. Instead, for many children, the dominant mode of engagement in the railway carriage is one of restlessness. As this passenger describes, her children become restless on a long train journey and need to move about the carriage:

> *Donna:* Errrr. They're not too bad to be honest cos they both like to talk. So you know, like, going to London, even with activities after 2 hours they start to get a bit restless. But if we're in first class it's not so bad so we just let them get up. They go to the toilet about 47 times [laughs]. Or they like to go back and forwards to the buffet car to buy one bag of crisps at a time.

As this passage suggests, the interior of the carriage opens up an excessive space of imagination and possibility for children: a new space to be explored and negotiated (see Harker, 2005; Gallacher, 2005). With these energetics in mind, the spatiality of some carriages has been engineered to accommodate these practices. One long distance train operating company, First Great Western, has introduced a family carriage where more energetic practices are permitted. These carriages are not only designed with more space for pushchairs and prams but staff also provide activity packs for children that include a range of quizzes and colouring activities. In this way, *encouraging* children to commit to an engaged activity ensures that the journey is more pleasant for the adults, conscious of their effect on others. As this passenger describes, she is

extremely conscious of how she disciplines her young child whilst on board since she is aware that her actions might be judged by other passengers:

> *Leanne:* Yeah. I'm really, really conscious. It was interesting that when we went up to Berwick cos it's the awareness that other people might be listening as well. Because me son is always like 'I want, I want, I want'. And he was reading a magazine and he went 'I want a bat and you bought one for Tilly but you didn't buy one for me'. And I just went 'I'm a really bad mam'. And this bloke sitting next to me just starts laughing. He said 'I've never heard anyone say that to their child!' So yeah, it's consciously being aware of that other people are listening to what you say.
>
> *David:* Does that make you feel uncomfortable in any way at all?
>
> *Leanne:* It does a little bit. I think that parenting is one of those issues – those sensitive issues where – especially with the way that they're changing the law you feel as though everyone's always watching your parenting style to make sure that you're not being too much one way with your children.

The relationality between adults and children is therefore heavily mediated by the presence of others in the carriage and, with it, the responsibility that adults have over their children. Adults in the above examples express a responsibility to ensure that their children remain engaged and quiet. In other situations, a sense of responsibility to occupy other children in activity is prevalent. As this passenger describes, she felt a responsibility to entertain a child whose mother had fallen asleep:

> *Francesca:* ...just a few months ago a girl with a toddler was moved out of standard class into first class one time when I was coming back from London and I don't know why she was moved. But where they ended up sitting she was near me. She went to sleep and left this toddler, like, unsupervised. So I ended up entertaining this two-year old for probably the last hour and twenty minutes of the journey. The little girl had brought her books and crayons and sat with me whilst her mother who was like 18 slept! You just don't! I wouldn't even do it at home! Never mind sitting in a public place, you just don't go to sleep.

In order to prevent young children from becoming restless, some passengers described how they ensure that they always take activities to occupy them with. By providing a series of activities serves to engage children with, the journey passes quicker. This could include games and challenges based on things outside the window, such as the popular I-Spy books, as this passenger describes:

Uri: For us, we always have a great big bag of activities for the kids even if we're just travelling – if we're say going [from Newcastle] to Durham we don't because it's a short enough distance to occupy them out of the window, but anything further than that we at least have puzzle books or even reading books so you can read them a story and that's enough to sort of keep them contained.

Notice how for this passenger, longer journeys necessitate a wider variety of activities. If not engaged in activities initiated by parents, the spaces of the railway carriage might be re-negotiated and explored through active play and engagement. The railway carriage becomes a play place, overbrimming with excitement and possibility as described by this passenger:

Donna: Yeah, I think whenever you have to get your mind around children. I mean even on the aeroplane they go to the toilet about 47 times, you know what I mean because children don't like to sit. I mean quite often especially on the train, my two will end up on the floor, under the table. They take the toys down there. I mean they'll be scruffy when we get off but so what [laughs].
David: So they transform the table into a play place sort of?
Donna: Yes! It gives them a different dimension to play in.

For her children, the arrangement of tables and chairs provides a novel and exciting environment for her children to explore, despite the dirt accumulated in the process.

In summary, travelling with children therefore significantly changes the experience of the time spent in a train carriage. Whilst for a young child the journey might transform from a place of excitement and adventure to one of boredom and restlessness, for many adults, the imperative of travel-time is to reduce the effects of their children on others through providing them with activities to keep them engaged since the energetics of young children are often at odds with the calming on-board environments engineered by Train Operating Companies. For adults travelling with small children, the journey is organised in a way to prevent this slide from engagement to disengagement.

5.2.3 Media absorption

In this final section, I move away from practices of passengers travelling together and instead focus on the figure of the unaccompanied passenger. This is important since for the unaccompanied passenger, practices of conversation do not dominate the experience of the journey. Instead, here I focus on a series of engagements with objects and technologies that to varying extents absorb the sedentary body whilst in the space of the train carriage.

Reading books and magazines has always been one of the most common practices engaged in by unaccompanied bodies on the move. As Urry comments 'from its early beginnings, rail travel has been associated with reading books' (2006, 363), a practice assisted

by the rise of book and magazine stalls at stations (Richards and Mackenzie, 1986, 298-303). Furthermore, recent quantitative research demonstrates that in a survey of 25,000 UK rail passengers, just over half spend some of their travel-time reading for leisure, and over a third spend most of their time doing so, this being the most popular use of time overall (Urry, 2006). Indeed, the familiarity of reading as the most normalised practice on board the train is illuminated by this passenger whose use of the word 'just' seems to remove a degree of complexity from the engagement:

> *Amy:* What do I do? Well, I erm, normally I would have a book or a magazine with me so I just spend some time reading.

Similarly, for this passenger, who travels frequently between Cambridge and London, reading features as the easiest form of activity over writing, thereby implying that this form of engagement requires less mental effort:

> *Aaron:* Basically I'll be reading but if I do have letters to write I'll often bring my notepad and write my letters on the train. Which is very rare these days because almost everything I do is by e-mail but once in a while there'll be a letter that I haven't got around to and after a week I just know that I'll do it on the train. But otherwise I just tend to read a book.

Whilst reading requires a fair amount of concentration, other practices might be considered to be more passive, introducing other dimensions of engagement. Increasingly, the enlistment of a range of personal entertainment technologies, from CD players and MP3 devices, through to mobile phones and laptops introduce a new dimension to becoming absorbed in transit. These technologies assist in producing increasingly multisensory engagements both visual and aural through music (Bull, 2000) and video, through to tactile and haptic through practices of gaming. This passenger who travels frequently between Liverpool and other major cities for business describes how he recently watched a DVD on his laptop:

> *Jack:* If I'm going on a longer trip, you know, maybe take a holdall. Sometimes might even take a CD player – listen to some music. For the first time the other week I watched a DVD on the way back from Glasgow on the laptop – first time I've done it and I noticed there were other people in the carriage doing similar things. It's obviously becoming a bit of a habit.

Notice here how seeing other people doing this seems to verify the acceptability of this practice. However, each of these practices invite different degrees of engagement and absorption and the extent to which they require concentration and effort differs. When watching a film,

comprehending and following a plot demands a certain degree of attention and immersion, both visually and aurally. Alternatively, listening to music, for most, constitutes a less-engaged activity. Therefore rather than simply equating increased sound with increased immersion (Bull, 2004, 247), the qualitative experience of immersion may be influenced by the particular degree of focus which is demanded from the activity. As this passenger, who travels occasionally between Coventry and London, describes, watching a film on the move requires more focus and concentration than listening to music:

> *Mitch:* Whilst I like the idea of watching a film on the train and don't get me wrong, I've thought of doing it many times in the past when it comes to it and I sit down, just the fact that I've got to watch it fairly intensely to get a grip on what's going on always turns me off the idea. I'd rather just listen to some music or something, you know, something that you perhaps don't have to focus on so much.

Rather than the relative lack of engagement required to listen to music; gaming requires a far more responsive engagement. As this passenger notes, with regard to a golf game on his mobile phone, this practice requires a highly attentive engagement where every second counts:

> *Omar:* When I'm on the train, [playing the game] it jiggles about a lot and it's quite difficult to time your drive when the train's jiggling about. So, yes, you have to be really on your marks and on the edge of your seat to get it right!

Each of these practices therefore put different stresses and demands on the body. However, what these activities have in common is their ability to manipulate the lived experience of time, speeding it up and making the journey pass more quickly as described by this same passenger:

> *Omar:* The little golf game is really engrossing. It's one of these things with shit graphics but it's got really high playability. And before, if I was thinking 'Christ, three hour journey'! Now I'm thinking 'oh, some golf time there, can get some practice in'. But at the same time, I think ok, this is good, cos I dip into this and time seems to go a lot more quickly. I bring my head up for a minute and it's a lot further on the journey...

For others, as well as compressing the lived experience of time, this travel-time presents an opportunity to do things that would not otherwise be done, as described by this passenger:

> *Jack:* And it's great when it's dark – you know, dark at half four to be able to watch a film which is something I very rarely get the opportunity to do really.

As well as transforming time, the lived experience of space is also transformed through these media-based practices. For example, listening to music with headphones in such a public space and surrounding the body with sound can effect a sense of detachment from the proximate environment. Through personalising the soundscape, spatiality becomes more intimate and personal. Such listening practices have the potential to evoke memories and circulate complex affective sensibilities in different geographical locations as described in this diary entry:

> I'm listening to Paula Cole through my headphones. The association of music seems to sediment and attach itself to a particular time, experience, perhaps even a particular route. For me, various pieces of music evoke different space times of railway travel. Paula Cole will always be the Fen lines between Ely and Cambridge; Respighi between Worcester and Hereford and Sting between Birmingham and York stand out as particularly engrained in particular railway landscapes. When listened to now, some of the memory of those particular journeys swirls through my imagination; the amazing dark blue sky and stars of the Fen line against silhouettes of the flat landscape.
>
> Participant observation between Norwich and London Liverpool Street 26.10.05 0830

To briefly conclude this section, in contrast to working practices explored earlier, these entertainment practices demonstrate how the time spent incarcerated within the space of the railway carriage is used in a very different way. Practices are not planned or organised in advance to the same extent and there is less emphasis on using time 'productively'. Unlike working practices, where travel duration may form an extension of the office with activities dictated to by working commitments and schedules, entertainment practices seem to be rather less prescriptive. Time is valued differently here, the duration spent on the train equating to personal time rather than an extension of office time. The practices carried out are less dictated by schedules and commitments, and present the passenger with a greater amount of personal choice. As such, the qualitative character of absorption here is less stable and fixed. From conversational absorption with others, through to personal entertainment absorption, these engagements put different demands on the body, each task demanding different degrees of attention and effort. Where conversational absorption may require a certain amount of cognitive attention, other practices such as listening to music seem to require far less attention. Therefore, unlike working practices, entertainment practices whilst on the move offer more freedom for the body to disengage and withdraw. However, for many passengers, this opportunity to disengage can also be desirable, particularly to balance the demands of the working day. In the final section of this chapter, I consider how forms of visual absorption also mediate the experience of time and space whilst in the train carriage.

5.3 Visual absorption

In this section I focus on visual forms of absorption and the ways that they relate to other forms of working and entertainment absorption. Whilst all of these engagements previously explored draw either implicitly or explicitly on forms of visual engagement, many passengers on the move do not engage in these working- or entertainment-based practices. Therefore in this final section, I want to explore and take seriously some of the various seeing practices that occur through the event of being sedentary in a railway carriage. This is by no means an attempt to reify the visual as the dominant mode of engagement with the world. Indeed, such a critique of occularcentrism has long been issued by social scientists (see Jay, 1993). Rather than holding it above other corporeal experiences, the aim here is to examine the complexity of vision and how various modes of visual engagement fold through and shape subjectivity whilst in the railway carriage. In doing so, this section aims to present and chart the types of engagement and absorption that emerge from visual practices. This is important because the visual has always been bound up with travel narratives and the experience of journeying. As Larsen (2001, 81) comments, the train's 'sensuous economy' privileges seeing over other senses. Here, mobility machines are simultaneously vision machines. From the viewing of specific sights on the Grand Tour (Van den Abbeele, 1991), to the sightseeing practices implicated in more contemporary tourist practices (Urry, 2002), the visual has been a central – and perhaps even axiomatic – way of comprehending the experience of travel. Unlike working and entertainment practices, these visualising practices are not organised or planned in advance but emerge more organically and sometimes unintentionally as the journey unfolds. First, I look at forms of attentive vision whilst on the move, exploring a variety of visual practices that are not only highly engaged, requiring both effort and concentration, but also have the capacity to prompt changes to routine. Second, I look at the particularity of vision and how vision can be mediated by the presence of other passengers and the spatiality of the carriage itself. Third, I look at forms of cinematic vision through an examination of the relations between the visual landscapes inside and outside the railway carriage. Looking at these three types of visual practice illuminates the shifting relations between engagement and disengagement whilst on the move and how the experience of space and time shifts as a result.

5.3.1 Attentive vision

In this first section, I focus on attentive and watchful practices of vision. Here I explore three forms of highly engaged visual practices where the relationship between body and landscape is one of activity through ongoing perception. First, I look at the visual relation between the passenger and the passing landscape. Second, I look at the relation between the passenger and objects within the space of the railway carriage. Third, I look at practices of vision over other bodies.

First, passengers can engage in forms of watchfulness where visual perception is highly attentive to the landscape through the carriage window. Such an attentive form of vision can

involve the practice of searching for objects in the landscape that have the potential to act as particular markers of geographical and temporal position. These forms of visual attentiveness have the capacity to alter and shift during the course of a journey. For example, when nearing the end of the journey, a greater engagement with the proximate environment may occur. As this passenger, who travels infrequently between Newcastle and Manchester, illustrates, stations rather than landmarks in-between provide him with positioning points in order to evaluate how long he has left before arriving:

> *Will:* No, I'm really bad at it. Oh actually yeah, I think it's about 2 and a half hours, but I'm constantly looking out of the window to try and see where the next station is, or looking at the screen that says the next stop will be…
> *David:* So do you use the stations as points rather than say, landmarks?
> *Will:* Yes, I think so. Cos there's not really a lot to see on the way down there. So you just go past Meadowhall and you're like 'oh, I'm near Sheffield so I know that in another 40 minutes or however ridiculously long it takes…'

Similarly, this passenger who travels between Newcastle and Leeds every fortnight, describes how he looks for Leeds as an indicator that the journey is almost at an end:

> *Brian:* I think as we get closer to Leeds, then yeah, there are things that I look out for – I mean Leeds is quite nice – as you come in, it's almost like you can see the city, not quite like Durham where you've got it below you, but it's, there is a way that you can see something happening. You've been in countryside for 2 hours and then suddenly something appears and so, perhaps 5-10 minutes before-hand I'm looking out for that.

Rather than engagement with the landscape throughout the entire journey, practices of landscape vigilance here occur at particular moments during the journey. The practice of sighting a specific set of objects in the landscape, particularly through the repetition of journeys, has the effect of waymarking. Here, a particular landmark surges to prominence; a process that Bishop (2002) following Friedberg (1994) parallels with the activity of window-shopping. Even during more habitual journeys, visual engagement with the landscape is unpredictable and precarious. Commonly-viewed markers intersect with, and are woven through, the procession of newly-sighted objects, perhaps previously unappreciated. As this passenger describes, these markers help to locate the body geographically:

> *Amy:* It's funny because when I think I've probably done hundreds and hundreds of trips backwards and forwards to London, and I can still see things and think 'ohh, I've never noticed that before'. But there's little things like there's free-range pigs on the way to

> London so you see some markers. And that funny little bridge at Newark when the road goes over–so there's the odd little things that act like sort of markers.

Through repeated journeys along the same route, objects in the landscape become inscribed into memory through the body, resurfacing through repeat sightings of those objects. This assists in developing an enhanced spatial geographic awareness of a particular route, a visual sensibility that intersects with the temporal knowledge of a specific route. Notice how this passenger describes how he can place himself geographically through his knowledge of how far places are apart, temporally:

Edward: Well I know where I am through the stations I've been through so I have a good idea of how long is to go when you're at York and Peterborough and Stevenage, you know how long there is to go. You can usually tell where you are on a journey by looking at your watch. So you've got a bit of a time-space thing going on there, you know that by one hour, you're in York. If it's two hours, then you're near Peterborough so... I don't make the same journey that regularly to know landscapes really well but if you can start to see a town sprawling up in front of you then you can have a good idea of where you are. So like landmarks and stuff.

Second, attentiveness to objects in the landscape is folded through attentive engagement with objects *within* the carriage. More specifically, a visual attentiveness to personal possessions has the potential to bring the visual gaze back into the spatiality of the carriage. Passengers might be watchful over their personal possessions, especially when luggage and baggage is stowed in a luggage rack away from the seat. Many passengers commented on how luggage formed an extension of their own body, and as such wanted to keep it within easy reach. This not only provides the body with a sense of security over possessions but also enables items to be accessed with relative ease. As this passenger describes, keeping his bag close to him is safer than leaving it on a distant luggage rack:

> *Omar:* I would normally put, if I'm travelling with overnight luggage, I put my overnight luggage in the rack and even though I've got a really small overnight bag, all these new trains have a stupidly small overhead thingy and it only just goes in that. I'm certainly – I would never put my bag on a distant luggage rack you have no control over it. People could just nick it, you know, they could just walk up to it in broad daylight, pick it up and get off the train and they've gone. It's just ludicrous. You know, it's not possible to even sit where you can see those luggage racks. So I would always keep my luggage with me. If I bring my briefcase, I normally just stick it under, you know, stick it between my legs.

Where it is not possible to keep personal possessions close to the body, perhaps due to a lack of space, passengers can enlist visual strategies of surveillance over their possessions at a distance. Lines of sight can be developed between the seat and luggage in order to retain control over possessions. This passenger, for example, describes how she maintains visual contact with her luggage throughout the journey to ensure that it does not get moved:

> *Jenny:* Yet if you've got a big case and you can't fit it in there, you've got to stand with it. Either that or you can sit in your seat but you need to keep checking that it's still there after each stop, you know, just make sure someone hasn't run off with it. If that happens I just sit in the seat closest to the aisle so I've got a decent view down to where my bags are at the end of the carriage.

She describes how separation from her luggage alters where she sits in the carriage in order for her to maintain surveillance. Surveillance strategies take the form of gestures such as craning the head around the back of the chair to verify the presence of possessions. As the passenger above describes, these gestures form part of the rhythm of the journey as they take place regularly.

A third form of attentive vision emerges through practices of watchfulness over other passengers. Here, an active sense of watchfulness develops from various modes of active assessment of other bodies in the proximate environment. Attentive forms of vision may be carried out at certain moments in the journey, through particular events such as the boarding of new passengers at a station. During the course of a journey, passengers visually assess other passengers. Whilst I explore sociality in more depth in chapter 7, for the purposes of this chapter, this passenger illustrates how attentive vision of other passengers can mediate decisions about where to sit:

> *Scott:* ...And one of them, there was this guy got on and I think he was a sports player because he was giving it on the phone about trials for some rugby league team. And then he starts writing a rap next to me and he starts asking me about this rap he's writing and he's practicing and I'm like 'mate, I don't know what you want me to contribute to this work of art'. And pissed people on trains, that's another closely-linked category. There was this bunch of boys from... they came down from Scotland cos I got on at Durham and it was an Edinburgh train. And yeah, they were just drinking the cans of beer and just being loud and smelly. And then there's another time that comes to mind when I was on an underground train and yeah, there were just these guys drinking beer and pouring it all over the floor and everyone around them was just moved right up the carriage and again on the underground cos you kind of, it's the old cliché of don't make eye contact and don't acknowledge people but I mean, even then kind of, that kind of prevailed when you're moving up the carriage.

Here, he illustrates how proximate bodies in the carriage are assessed, judged and valued, perhaps according to the perceived risk they pose to the body in jeopardising a pleasant journey. Although, as this passenger notes, judgements based on practices of watchfulness are actively made about both people *and* their entangled objects:

> *Helen:* I know it's really daft but after the attacks in London you know if you see a guy a young Muslim guy with a beard and a rucksack, you do feel a bit uneasy about sitting in the same carriage as him. There was this one time I was really paranoid and I actually got off the train and waited for the next one cos he was looking really shifty.

This form of visual practice is therefore bound up in the enactment of particular suspicions directed towards other passengers in the carriage (see Lyon, 2003).

To briefly summarise, practices of active visualisation therefore have the capacity to activate changes to routine and practice on the basis of judgements made through visual assessment. These three examples demonstrate well how attentive forms of vision are central to the undertaking of a journey. They are particularly important for considering how a journey is organised and managed and how temporality and spatiality are experienced during the course of a journey. During these moments, the body actively perceives, evaluates and appropriates the objects of vision, particularly in relation to corporeal risk and personal security. However, what is also clear is that such attentive visual practices only rise to prominence at *certain moments* during the journey. They are pointillist in the sense that an attentive form of watchfulness is cultivated only through particular prompts such as a stop at a station, a person walking through the carriage, the glance at a wristwatch. In the next section I proceed to consider how the physical materiality of the carriage itself permits some forms of vision but restricts others.

5.3.2 Contingent vision

Where forms of active attentive watchfulness assume that unimpeded lines of sight are always potentially available to the body. Here, I consider how, through contingent vision, the body cannot maintain a total awareness of the proximate environment through visuality which results in a polarised sense of vision. I describe how structures of seeing emerge from the particular design of the railway carriage that mediates what is seen and unseen. In this section I look at how vision is mediated first, by the window, second, by the seat, and third, by the presence of other passengers. Each of these things reveals how visual capabilities and opportunities are transformed over the course of a journey.

First, then, one of the principle ways that vision is mediated is through the window. Windows can direct and command the visual attention of the body in a myriad of different ways.

Through the diurnal changes of the day, the window has the capacity to direct lines of sight. During the day, the changing vistas of the external landscape may serve to focus the visual gaze outside the space of the railway carriage. However at night, particularly outside the sodiumscape of urban areas, the absence of visual phenomena through the window focuses the visual gaze towards the interior of the carriage. Such an effect is also evident as the carriage passes through tunnels or deep cuttings in the landscape. Figure 5.8 demonstrates how, during the same journey, vision is focused more sharply into the carriage as night falls as visual interest outside wanes:

Figure 5.8
Window mediation of vision between Newcastle and London King's Cross 22.10.05 1646 and 1919

Additionally, when travelling at night, ways of visualising the landscape change. Landscapes perhaps familiar and recognisable by day are rendered strange, unknown by the lack of immediate visual identifiers. This diary entry written whilst on a route that I am very familiar with demonstrates not only how place becomes less-distinct, but how the experience of motion itself becomes confusing:

> Since it is dark outside, my gaze is directed and confined within the carriage itself. Towns and villages pass by. How to respond to these geographically in the absence of clear vision? These places are visually indistinct. Outside the carriage is a motion sodiumscape of indistinct shapes, subtle contrasts and fleeting silhouettes. Directly outside the window are the magical green lights of trackside signals; a reassuring presence in the absence of other objects... In the absence of other visual signifiers it is difficult to determine whether my body is travelling backwards or forwards.
>
> Participant observation between London Liverpool Street Norwich 22.10.05 1930

Here, this is perhaps one of the most characteristic experiences of Augé's non-place (1995) where, in the absence of any geographical identifier outside, the body could be anywhere. Where the external landscape becomes less distinct, the internal environment might be

accentuated. The reflective property of the window provides a reflective lens that reinforces this visual focus on the interior of the carriage in the absence of external visual phenomena, bringing to the fore that which is immediately proximate to the body. In figure 5.9, the window acts like a mirror so that the body is met with a perpetual reflection of itself. This can serve to heighten a sense of visual presence of the body, perhaps fostering increased self-awareness:

Figure 5.9
Window as reflexive lens between Sheffield and London St. Pancras 01.11.05 1154

The second object that mediates vision is the seat. The relative positioning of seats and the resultant spatiality directs the visual gaze to certain parts of the carriage. Similar to windows, the spatial organisation of seats relative to the body has the capacity to structure the objects of vision. With the increasing prevalence of high-density, airline-style seating on long distance trains to pack in more people, these high-backed seats do not permit vision over their tops. Therefore vision is directed through cracks between seats and between the window and the seat as illustrated in figures 5.10 and 5.11:

Figure 5.10
Gazing between seats between York and Hull 12.12.05 1400-1403

Figure 5.10
Gazing between seats between Doncaster and Newcastle 12.12.05 1615-1619

The principle view for the sedentary body in an airline-style seat is the back of the seat in front. Unlike the changing light levels that mediate vision through the window, this object remains inert throughout the period of the journey. Therefore, in order to benefit from the rather more interesting views through the window, the spatial configuration of seats necessitates that bodies must alter their posture, turning their necks to see both out of the window or through the visual pathways between seats. This spatial configuration that prevents a panoramic sense of vision of the carriage results in a more panoptic sense of visuality, where bodies can survey other bodies without them necessarily being aware of the visual presence of the surveyor. Such a voyeuristic form of vision where the other is not aware of this visual intrusion may induce a particular form of gaze. For instance, this passenger describes his sense of unease through a sexualised gaze:

> *Scott:* Yesterday there was this really stunningly attractive girl sitting in the seat in front of me. There was no way that I would have gone and sat next to her, you know it... it just would make me feel really uncomfortable – and her too. But sitting behind was probably even worse cos I couldn't stop looking at her. Like everything she did kind of captivated me but you know you feel kind of creepy watching but you just can't help it.

For him, rather than having the courage to sit next to her, the presence of seats permits a form of spectator practice, where the object of the gaze is unaware of her surveillance. We could align this practice of vision with the strolling eye of the flâneur (Benjamin, 1973) who took delight in surveilling particular spectacles.

The third form of visual mediation is through the presence of other passengers. This is particularly acute if the carriage is busy and there is no space to sit. In this case vision is impaired by the presence of other bodies that constrict the visual field. However, unlike mediation by seats, this form of contingent vision does not permit such immediate and obvious forms of spectator surveillance. In these cases, where carriages are extremely busy, the presence of multiple bodies may obscure the view through the window. Instead, similar to

mediation through seating configuration, vision may be directed through small cracks between bodies as illustrated by figure 5.12:

Figure 5.12
Directed visual pathways on a crowded train between Leeds and Sheffield 09.10.05 1705

In this situation, the central aisle is full of standing passengers and this passenger is crouched on the floor, unable to see out of the window. These situations where there are more passengers than seats might mean that the comfort engineered into the design of the carriage, where each passenger has a certain amount of personal space, disappears. On crowded services where passengers have little or no personal space, vision becomes constricted and even uncomfortable since there is nowhere to direct the visual gaze.

Whilst sometimes, such as in the example above, certain objects or bodies rise to prominence and lines of sight are actively directed, at other times there appears to be nowhere to look as illustrated by this diary entry:

> I'm standing in the vestibule of the train surrounded by other bodies in dark suits. There is nowhere for me to look. I cannot see through the window since their bodies are obstructing my vision. I catch the eye of one of the guys standing next to me but this moment feels awkward: wholly uncomfortable. Where to look now? I am totally enclosed

> so I just gaze down at the floor, not really looking at anything but it is the only place where my eyes feel rested.
>
> Participant observation between Durham and Newcastle 15.06.05 1745

In this example, vision is wholly restricted by the presence of other bodies. Far from an always-attentive corporeal practice, these examples demonstrate how visual absorption for the sedentary body is actually a heavily mediated engagement. The body is not always free to spectate whatever it desires and instead the surrounding spatial configuration of the carriage together with the presence of other bodies often serves to reconfigure and restrict practices of seeing. In the final section, I move away from the idea of an always-active sense of vision to consider the times when the body experiences the visual in a more passive and disengaged way.

5.3.3 Cinematic vision

Through this section I focus on the relationality between internal and external spatialities of the carriage to consider how visual practices always already have the potential to oscillate between these subjects of vision. As such, I move away from the depiction of an always active and engaged body where vision is more attentive, towards a visuality that is more fluid, wandering and crucially not necessarily always engaged. In order to explore this more passive sense of visuality I describe three aspects of cinematic vision which problematise the conceptualisation of vision as always attentive, and always active. First, I consider how the changing visual panorama of the landscape has the capacity to produce a particular structure of feeling. Second, I look at how the framing effect of the window produces a cinematic form of vision that is not always engaged. Third, I examine the ways in which the visual apprehension of movement at speed is sensed through the body, resulting in particular passive, mesmeric affects.

The changing vistas viewed through the train window have long been acknowledged to be a central attraction of railway travel. Following Bishop, the phenomenology of the carriage window 'demands careful attention because it plays a critical role in mediating between inside and outside' (2002, 309). As de Certeau reminds us there is a chasm 'produced by the windowpane and the rail. The windowpane is what allows us to see and the rail, what allows us to move through' (2002, 112). Many long distance Train Operating Companies explicitly extol the virtues of the scenery along their particular routes in order to attract customers and make railway travel more desirable. For example, GNER ticket offices display the slogan 'the scenery comes free' with accompanying images depicting picturesque and sublime landscapes, thereby enticing passengers with the promise of visual excitement. Through the movement of the train, the landscape through the window is constantly changing. Places and landscapes moved through are visually experienced temporarily and momentarily relative to the speed of the train.

Through ongoing movement, new objects in the landscape constantly come to the fore whilst others recede into the distance. This diary extract demonstrates how moving objects at different speeds results in different affective responses; the horizon inducing a more relaxed sensibility than the rapidly-moving foreground:

> I am staring out of the window. My face is turned towards the window and my eyes are fixed on the window. Objects through the window are being constantly refreshed, my gaze is remodelled and reconfigured. These objects are moving at relative speeds to the foreground and distance which I in turn processes at different speeds. It is difficult to focus on the trackside whereas gazing at the horizon is much more relaxing.
> Participant observation between Berwick upon Tweed and York 05.12.05 1343

This is echoed by Schivelbusch (1979, 63) who describes how 'perception no longer belongs to the same spaces as the perceived object: the traveller sees... through the apparatus which moves him through the world. That machine and the motion it creates become integrated into his visual perception: thus he can only see things in motion'. As Schivelbusch notes, the railway journey helped to develop a new way of looking at the landscape based on the appreciation of the panorama where one's gaze is compelled to follow the passage of what lies in the distance or middle ground. As Larsen comments 'this provides a visual cinematic-like experience of moving landscape images' (2001, 82) and disrupts Urry's more static notion of the travel gaze (2002). Apprehensions of these moving landscapes are not uniform and can be experienced in different ways, perhaps depending on the direction of travel. As this passenger notes, seating facing or backwards from the direction of travel can significantly alter the experience of this panorama; travelling backwards being more relaxing than travelling facing the direction of travel:

> *David:* ...do you find that your visual gaze is directed towards... where do you find your gazing drawn towards? Outside or inside?
> *Richard:* Both. Nowhere specific. I will, and I will always prefer travelling backwards because I find that if you are looking outside, I find it more relaxing for the scenery to be going away from you rather than coming at you at 90 mph.
> *David:* Yes, that's a very interesting point, almost bullet-like.
> *Richard:* Yes, attacking, rather than flowing away from you all the time, that's the only reason I travel backwards.

This description of bullet-like travel parallels Schivelbusch's illustration of early train travel being experienced as a projectile, being shot through the landscape and 'losing control of one's senses' (1979, 58). Visuality therefore has the capacity to effect differential bodily sensibilities influenced in part by the direction of travel. Sitting facing the direction of travel thrusts the body at the landscape as opposed to backward travelling which is perhaps less aggressive and more

reflective. Whilst it is difficult to gain a sense of speed from these still images (figure 5.13), they demonstrate how the body is flung at the landscape when travelling facing the direction of travel:

Figure 5.13
Facing the direction of travel between Crewe and Carlisle 10.09.05 1827-1841

Rather than a visual gaze, Larsen (2001) notes how the effect of looking at fleeting landscapes through the window of a fast-moving train constitutes a travel 'glance'. As Larsen comments, 'the sheer speed of these machines undermines the possibility of a fixing or penetrative look' (2001, 80). For Schivelbusch, visual impressions from the train window become like a blurred painting.

Second, the framing of these landscapes by the window itself produces a particular cinematic effect (see Gibson, 2006). This effect is enhanced by the juxtaposition of the relative sedentarism of the body, or armchair traveller to use de Botton's (2002) words, with the movement of the landscape. Similar to the framing effect of the camera, the spatial configuration of the train and the particular positioning and shape of windows relative to seats delimits the field of vision available to the body, framing what is visible. The window focuses the visual gaze on a particular segment of landscape, delimited by its perimeter, it reduces the high and low angles of vision resulting in a widescreen style of presentation as illustrated in figure 5.14[4]:

Figure 5.14
Widescreen presentation between Carlisle and Crewe 10.09.05 1250-1321

[4] This particular new train, the Virgin Pendolino, has been criticised for its windows being too small resulting in claustrophobia.

This type of cinematic presentation, however, is silent, particularly since windows cannot be opened and therefore the olfactory and audio dimensions of the landscape are removed. The insulating capacity of the train carriage renders a form of landscape quietude that sedates the passing landscape. This echoes Schivelbusch's (1979) point that the passenger's perception becomes detached from the landscape since they are sealed-off from the exterior world. Particularly outside of urban environments, the speed of the train moving is effectively juxtaposed with a slower-speed or even stilled landscape. This induces a power dynamic where the movement of the train masters the landscape. However, the individual passenger has no power to control this visual spectacle. As Larsen suggests, the technology of the train as a particular vision machine 'destabilises the gazing traveller's accustomed place of mastery' (2001, 90). The window engenders a particular form of detachment from the landscape where the body is shielded. The relationality between body and landscape is perhaps surficial rather than enfolded, paralleling Urry's assertion that the car windscreen reduces the 'sights, sounds, tastes, temperatures and smells to a two-dimensional view' (2000, 63). As figure 5.15 illustrates, this is a landscape without depth, visually apprehended through the rectangular window.

Figure 5.15
Cinematic detachment over Rannoch Moor on the Fort William to London Euston Sleeper 02.08.06 2054.

Thirdly, this cinematic form of vision afforded by the window also promotes the apprehension of more kinaesthetic sensibilities where the body can *sense* speed through the movement of passing objects. Indeed as Larsen comments, when compared with the visual tedium of flying, train travel is 'the most pleasurable and rewarding way of travelling as it allows you to sense the landscape you are passing through and the distance you are actually travelling' (2001, 84). This filmic, kinaesthetic dynamism (see Cresswell and Dixon, 2002) of moving at speed through a landscape can induce affects of excitement through the body, perhaps effecting a 'hallucinatory ecstasy' to use Larsen's words (2001, 84). This sensing of speed moves beyond a solely visual perspective and can be felt as a sublime sensation throughout the whole body, sensed through ripples of excitement as described by this passenger as he remembers his first journey along the East Coast Mainline:

> *Albert:* I remember the first time I travelled along this route, we'd joined at Peterborough and you accelerate out of the station and bullet through the Lincolnshire countryside, kind of where we are now I suppose, and I just remember all the hairs on my arms stood on edge cos I'd never experienced this type of speed before where the countryside is rushing past you so incredibly fast...

Whilst this might not constitute the sensory overload and 'intensification of nervous stimulation' of Simmel's flâneur, this description parallels early accounts of railway travel where 'for people with a lust for velocity... the train became an object of passionate allure' (Larsen, 2001, 83). Where other technologies are enlisted such as personal audio devices, these additional layers of sensory phenomena provide a soundtrack to these more-than-visually apprehended landscapes which add to this cinematic effect. This sensing of speed is assisted by the visual apprehension of objects in the proximate environment to the train. In addition to the lateral and transverse jerkiness of the carriage itself, particular objects perceived through the window have the capacity to effect speed such as the overhead wire masts in this diary entry:

> We are moving fast now, gliding through the landscape. The overhead masts are hypnotic: they encompass and swallow you as you pass through them. They act like a framing device, forming a passage to travel through. Our speed can almost be sensed from the frequency of the passing masts.
>
> Participant observation between Berwick upon Tweed and York 05.12.05 1343

In this case, the overhead line masts act as a metronome where the rate of acceleration can be read from their frequency. This visual sensing of speed, reminiscent of what the Futurists came to call the 'beauty of speed' (Löfgren, 1999), also emerges from the inability to focus on objects in the foreground. Travelling at speed distorts and blurs the foreground which adds to this sense of experiential sublime. In the words of Benjamin, 'images cannot be arrested since they are subject to constant, sudden change[s]' (1973, 231). Each of these dimensions that assist in

sensing speed are reliant on the juxtaposition of the speed of the train and the sedentarism of the body. Indeed, it is this juxtaposition of speed and stillness that is perhaps crucial to comprehending the relationality between landscape and body (see Kirby, 1997). This cinematic model of vision contrasts with forms of attentive vision as described earlier. Far from an intense form of visual practice, cinematic vision does not necessarily involve more active practices of searching and watchfulness. Whilst cinematic visuality is mediated and framed by the spatiality of the carriage, it is a more passive and perhaps disengaged contractuality that develops. Cinematic vision is therefore a qualitatively different mode of visual practice that requires less focus and effort than the other practices of vision described in this section. Instead of actively tracing and searching for objects through the landscape, the body of the cinematic spectator, subjected to what Morris terms a 'high-speed empiricism' (1988, 35), is perhaps less attentive to specific object phenomena. In its place, a more passive and mesmerised form of vision develops where the body is disengaged from the landscape.

To briefly conclude this section on visual practices, I have described how the space of the railway carriage becomes a particular vision machine, to use Virilio's (1994) term, that brings about complex ways of seeing. Whilst much work on the visual travel practices has focused on the cultivation of particular travel gazes or glances (Urry, 2002; Larsen, 2001), here I have demonstrated the necessity to go beyond the relationship that Schivelbusch (1979) privileges between the passenger and the external landscape through the carriage window. By focusing on how vision is mediated by the carriage itself, through the material presence of seats and other passengers, I have described how different visual practices rise to prominence at certain points in the journey. Whilst the experience of cinematic vision might be characteristic of some parts of the travel experience, at other times, other visual practices such as watchfulness over personal possessions or passengers dominate.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the relatively sedentary body in the space of the train carriage and has argued that in order to understand how travel-time is used and valued by passengers, we need to take seriously the *dwelling* that is involved in the process of travelling (see Clifford, 1997). Here, I want to draw some conclusions first around travel-time and choice, second around heterogeneity of practice, and third around temporality, in order to illustrate how the period of being incarcerated in the space of the railway carriage is put to use for different ends.

First, and answering to my research question on how travel-time is planned and valued, this chapter has demonstrated how the duration of the railway journey where passengers are seated presents the passenger with a series of *choices*. This contrasts from the spaces of the railway station where different spaces are designed for specific functional ends (Bertolini and Spit, 1998). Chapter 4 demonstrated how the railway station functioned as a more machenic

space where bodies are required to undertake particular practices and move through specific spaces in order to become *travelling* bodies. In contrast, this chapter has demonstrated how function is detached from space in the railway carriage. If we take the function of the railway carriage to be the transportation of the body, the seat lacks the prescription of the spaces of the railway station. In the railway carriage and during the duration of the journey, there are no arrows, no signs or commands that must be followed in order to become a travelling body. This absence of prescription invites choice since passengers must decide *what to do* with their travelling time. In turn, this raises some important questions over ownership of time, the types of valuation different passengers ascribe to travelling time, and the activities that result from these valuations. Indeed this chapter has demonstrated that whether passengers view this time as personal time or working time to a certain extent determines how this time is used.

Second, and answering to my research question on how travel-time is used and organised, this chapter has demonstrated that the choice presented by the space of the railway carriage results in a *heterogeneity* of different practices. Whilst this space does not impress a prescriptive procedure of how time *should* be used, this chapter has illuminated how passengers create their own practical itineraries which fit into wider work-based and personal practices, especially if their destination is related to work. For some passengers who use the journey to undertake work, the fact that they are on a train moving fast through the landscape is incidental to the task at hand. For others, the visualising practices implicated in the changing external landscapes are central. Therefore the extent to which the train carriage is brought into being as a vision machine or mobile office depends partly upon the rationale for that particular journey and how it is organised and fits into broader organisational schemas. This chapter has also demonstrated how the space of the train carriage to an extent conditions these heterogeneous practices. For those passengers who choose to work, the presence of tables and space to spread out, together with the availability of Wi-Fi, mobile phone signal and charging points all influence how these working practices will emerge. The built form of the carriage restricts certain practices but enables others. For example, whilst the alignment of seats might curtail the opportunity for face-to-face interaction, they might constitute new and exciting places of play for small children. The built form of the carriage also gives rise to particular visual practices. Whilst highlighting the importance of particular mesmeric types of cinematic and panoramic vision, this chapter has also illustrate the importance of other visualising practices within the carriage such as the more attentive and watchful practices of luggage surveillance.

Third, and answering to my research question on how the experience of space and time transforms over the duration of a journey, in illuminating the heterogeneity of practices available to the passenger, this chapter also demonstrates the *changeability* and *variability* of these practices over time. Whilst a passenger might be travelling to a work commitment, they might undertake a variety of work, entertainment and visualising practices. Additionally, the types of practice undertaken during the outward and return journeys may differ significantly. Attending to

this variability over time serves to problematise the ideal 'business' or 'leisure' passenger since the two are not opposed categories (see also Rojek, 1985; 1995; Cohen and Taylor, 1992; Shields, 1992). Absorption often fluctuates between practices of working, entertainment and visualising. Indeed many of these practices rely on each other for their successful execution. For example, taking time to gaze out of the window without any particular focus may help to facilitate working practices or initiate strands of conversation. Alternatively, other practices may impede and jar against certain modes of absorption. For example, attentive watchfulness over luggage may disrupt the smooth flow of reading a book.

Developing experimental time-geography methods of presentation might be useful here in narrating this sense of changeability over the course of a journey. Whilst appreciating the criticisms commonly levelled at such an approach (see Rose, 1993), figure 5.16 charts the changing practices undertaken by a number of fellow travellers sitting near me, on a morning weekday journey between Norwich and London, through a montage of quotes, photographs and observations. Similar to Latham's (2003) extension of time-graphs as a tool to depict a variety of activities through time, this diagram relies on the playful use of collage to chart the changeability between practices over time. Where Latham's diagram focuses on corporeal movement, the narrative here privileges practices in-situ. In presenting the changeability of practice over the course of a journey, this chapter also demonstrates how engagement with these various practices can also wax and wane. Whilst passengers might undertake a variety of different activities, they can also be more or less absorbed in these activities. The passenger below, who travels regularly between Newcastle and London for business describes how his temporal experience of the train journey can oscillate between being engaged and disengaged to various degrees:

> *Max:* Well once I've worked hard for a while, usually after about an hour I tend to lose concentration a little in what I'm doing and if I'm not careful I end up just loosely dreaming out of the window for a while... So then I'll try and do something that's a little bit less demanding for the rest of the time – perhaps a crap novel... something that I don't have to focus on too much.

Whilst he describes various different practices throughout the duration of his journey, the level of this engagement and degree of effort required for each practice varies significantly. In this example, we get a sense of the demanding cognitive effort required by 'hard work' which contrasts with the relative lack of systematic thought required to 'dream out of the window'. For him, a more engaged and intense form of absorption at the start of the journey gradually subsides as he becomes less engaged.

11:00

Leave Norwich and guy on LH moves to RH to get view of Crown Point Depot but then moves back

Guy sitting behind me – very loud phone conversation calling office to say 'Just left Norwich'

I feel voyeuristic writing down this conversation

11:15

Ticket guy enters carriage. Guy behind me to RH asks for ticket to Liverpool Street but is returning to Ipswich – asks whether better to purchase return Norwich to London or two singles. Guard attempts to work out pricing from memory. £64 return.

2 guys sitting down from me but facing are becoming rather offputting. Keep staring forwards. Hard to look away from their line of vision.

Ticket guy stamps ticket with ink mark: LER730. Steady stream of people walking through carriage en route to buffet car

11:30

As train gathers pace it is increasingly difficult to write!

Arrive Diss

Slow down to standstill and wait for 3 minutes "We would like to apologise for the delay – the driver has had to phone the signaller… the receiver has not been replaced at a level crossing so we must continue at reduced speed"

"will fix the gondolas on board the north sea ferries". arranges a meeting at 10am tomorrow. need to drill and fix. "thank you Richard someone will turn up at 10 o'clock.

called Paul "they're going about the York tomorrow to fix the gondolas". fixes prices. "I'm on my way to the way to the ship now. I had to go home – I had a survey on my house"

Guy resumes previous phone conversation. "Yeah mate, I'll meet you at the underground. I'll call you when I get to London."

As put phone down can hear mother and child at end of carriage "JUST TELL ME THE TRUTH". Sounds rather poignant if it wasn't for child.

I look around to see who was chatting on the phone earlier – older and more dishevelled than I had anticipated

Stop at Ipswich guy who swapped seats at Crown Point has a notebook and Dictaphone and is scribbling train numbers… 90002…

Train now busier. Business guy sitting opposite adjacent in suit has his briefcase on the table and proceeds to eat a Mars Bar.

Perhaps I could annotate a map of this journey demonstrating diagrammatic ongoing nature of travel activities?

Business guy pulls out copy of the Guardian and begins reading. He moves his briefcase to the far side of table

11:45

Stop at Manningtree many people board and stuff their rucksacks in overhead luggage racks

Very little happening in carriage

Notice the silence in this carriage – P is still reading the Times. Most noticeable sound are the air brakes. Laptop guy is rustling a plastic bag and people are turning pages of newspapers. shhhhhhh

"Just grab Stu if you need him Bryan. cheers Bryan"

12:00

Stop at Colchester BTP on platform. As mobile phone sounds few people board but many alight.

Business guy's phone sounds. he answers it and pulls his briefcase towards him putting how newspaper onto seat. Also removes his glasses

Puts phone down after Witham and resumes reading newspaper

Another standard buzz buzz at other end of carriage. Talking more quietly. Inaudible.

Guy sitting behind me has v.v. loud polyphonic ring tone lasts about 30 seconds. Everyone looking around to identify him. He has headphones on.

12:15

"Oh hello Susan. I haven't got access to the spreadsheet with dates and times on I'm afraid. I'm on the train. I'm not going to be in for another 3 hours. Is there any chance you could give me a call back? Ok. Thanks a lot, bye."

"Oh it's *MY* phone! I'll try to get some time off at 3pm ish."

Arrive at Shenfield

Business guy opens his briefcase and puts the Guardian into it. Removes notepad and papers but continues to read the G2 telly guide.

12:30

Older guys walks into carriage. Puts his bag opposite business man. Stands for 20 seconds then sits adjacent at aisle.

Lifts copy of the Times from his bag but fumbling in pockets for something. Finally pulls his glasses from briefcase

Most guys in carriage are reading now. P bins all the rubbish from our table and heads to the toilet.

12:45

Arrive London Liverpool Street

Announcement that the train has arrived at London. Business guy packs away his notes and papers he hasn't even looked at.

Figure 5.16
Time-geography diagram from Norwich to London Liverpool Street 20.08.05 1100-1252

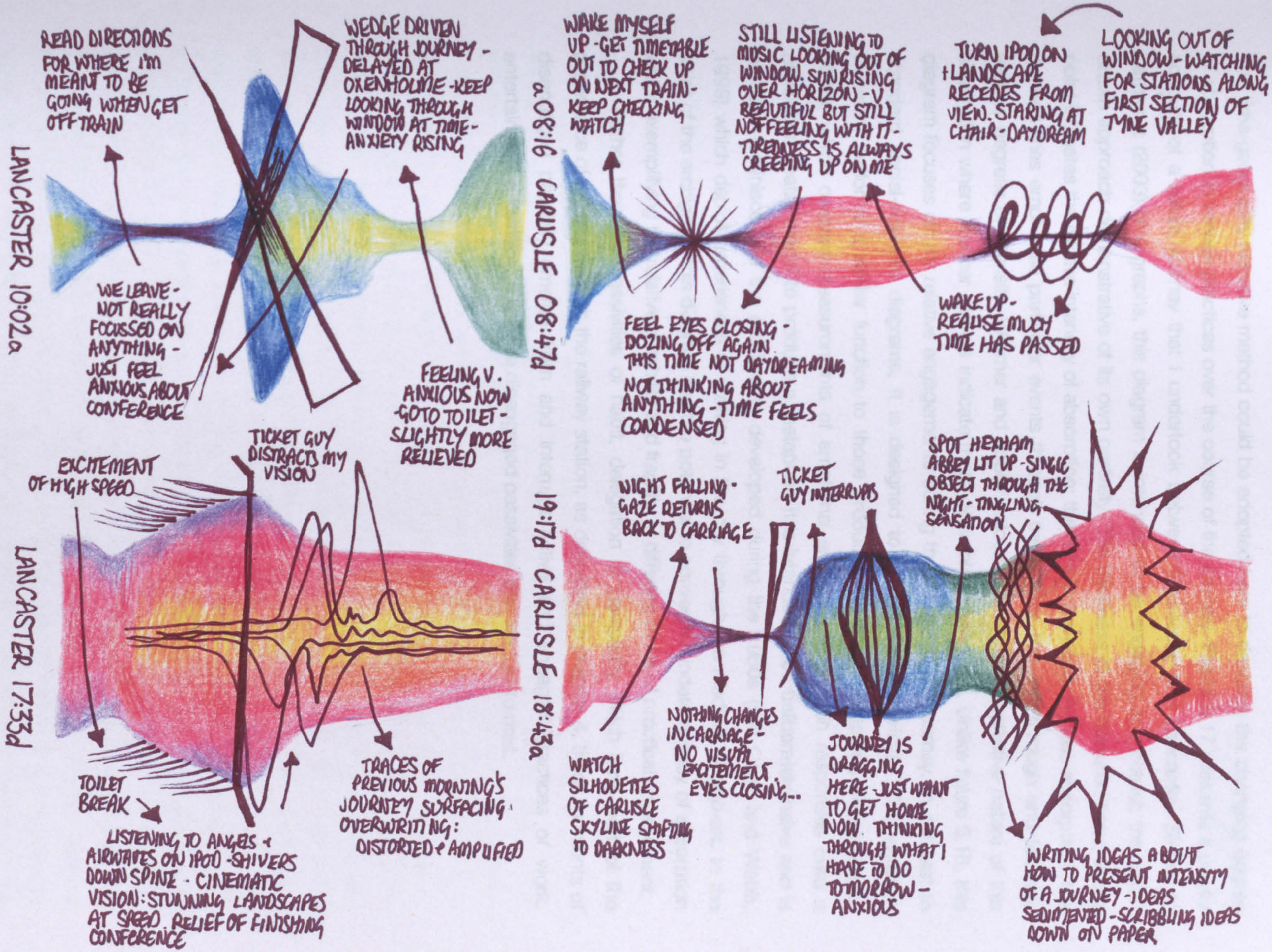

Figure 5.17
Presenting absorption based on sketches made en-route on a return journey from Newcastle to Lancaster 29.09.06 30.09.06

The time-geography narrative method could be adopted here to describe the changing degree of absorption in various practices over the course of the journey. Figure 5.17 presents a playful account of a return journey that I undertook between Newcastle and Lancaster. Similar to Latham's (2003) time-graphs, this diagram is intended to be engaging and playful; the hand-drawn approach demonstrative of its own partiality. The thickness of the coloured band at any point indicates the relative intensity of absorption; the thinner the band, the less absorption. The penned lines emphasise particular events through the journey that fold through and facilitate various degrees of intensity. Warmer and cooler colours indicate the qualitative nature of this absorption where warmer colours indicate more desirable experiences. Unlike figure 5.16, this diagram focuses on *my* relative engagements during the course of the journey. In contrast to standard social-scientific diagrams, it is designed to function metaphorically. This diagram therefore performs a similar function to those produced by the Bio Mapping project (Nold, 2006), which overlays measurements of emotional arousal through skin responses onto a physicalist spatial model to produce a metaphor. It is intended to be deliberately naïve and is perhaps reminiscent of the archigrams developed during the 1960s (see Cook and Webb, 1999) which depict experiences of walking in the city through the medium of pop-art. In the spirit of the archigram, this diagram has the potential to convey the indeterminacy of absorption whilst exemplifying the relative durability and fragility of different forms of practical engagement.

Rather than the passivities of habit, delegation or complicity which form part of the experience of moving through the railway station, as described in chapter 4, these moments of disengaged passivity emerge from and interrupt active and engaged practices of work, entertainment and vision. It is these disengaged passivities that we turn to next.

Chapter 6

Acquiescence: stilled bodies

Introduction

Through chapters 4 and 5, we get a sense that to undertake a train journey is an active pursuit. In part this is because the focus has been on *practices* of train travel – what people actually and physically do – both in the railway station and on the train. To focus on physical, corporeal practices tends to privilege the body-in-action and results in an account that is dominated by engaged activity. In a sense, this account thus far has many parallels to Schivelbusch's (1979) attention to various practical activities undertaken by passengers. To balance this, through this chapter I focus on dimensions of the railway journey that are less busy, less active and less engaged. This is significant because if the body is not always active and agentive, a very different understanding of the travelling body emerges. In contrast to the confident, all-seeing and all-perceiving flâneurial figure invoked by Simmel and Benjamin, by considering some of the less active and more acquiescent dimensions of the railway journey illuminates the vulnerability and susceptibility of the travelling body. As such, it enables us to consider how the event of travel itself impacts upon the body, how this changes what the body is and can do during different stages of the journey, and consequently, how bodies deal with this. Whilst the previous two chapters have already explored some forms of passivity; such as the passivity induced through delegation when moving through the station, and the passivity associated with mesmorism when looking through the window; this chapter focuses on the more radical passivity that is not willed through bodily intentionality.

Unlike chapters 4 and 5 that focus on particular spaces of the railway journey – the station and the carriage – the spatiality of acquiescence cannot be so easily delineated. Throughout the duration of the railway journey, both the duration spent in the railway station and on the train, there are a series of complex and diverse liminal and peripheral landscapes where the dominant mode of being-in-the-world may not necessarily be one of sustained and engaged activity. The idea of a liminal, travelling landscape is nothing new (and oft-critiqued). However, and crucially, the spaces focused on in this chapter do not directly elide with Augé's (1995) notion of the non-place. Indeed, the spaces I want to focus on are qualitatively different from these non-places. They are not bounded spatial forms and, as such, are intimately woven throughout the fabric of the whole journey. Rather than the smooth, streamlined and delineated spaces of departure and arrival, these multiple, fractured and uneven spaces are folded through the everyday corporeal experience of train travel. To think through how passengers experience such liminal places requires a fundamental shift in the ways through which 'activity' is conceptualised and enacted when talking about the corporeal experience of mobilities. Indeed, to problematise what is implied by *productive* activity could change the way in which we think through the processes of subjectivity and sociality through these spaces of travel in profound ways.

By focusing on experiences of acquiescence helps to illuminate how time and space transform over the duration of a journey. Since these forms of passivity are usually unintentional, often they are not anticipated or planned in advance. As such, this prompts us to consider how forms of passivity disrupt the journey in a variety of sometimes desirable and at other times undesirable ways. Through the first section of this chapter I look at *waiting* as a particular undesirable experience of railway travel. I consider waiting in two ways: first, as an active and attentive practice and second, as a more passive and acquiescent experience where waiting marks a form of withdrawal from the world. In the second section I explore events of relaxation and sleeping as more desirable experiences of acquiescence. I look at how such experiences can be conceptualised as complex foldings through wakefulness and sleepfulness. By reconsidering subjectivity as not always-active, nor slowed rhythms that are somehow opposed to speed, but instead as incipient rich durations, these banal and prosaic hiatuses through virtuality and imminence weave and fold through multiple temporalities. Overall, by focusing more closely on forms of passivity and its relationship to activity, this chapter illuminates how the fluid nature of both engagement *and* disengagement are key to understanding the lived experience of the railway journey, giving rise to both intensified and attenuated experiences.

6.1 Waiting

The first experience of passivity that this chapter seeks to unfold is the event of waiting. The experience of being-in-waiting seems to be a hard to pin down but arguably integral aspect of being-in-transit. The corporeal practice of waiting is surprisingly absent from much social science literature, and even more notably lacking in the burgeoning mobilities literature. In

contrast to forms of productive practice as discussed in the previous chapter, there is the implication that this particular form of embodiment is undesirable, negative, unproductive, and even wasteful, echoing the economic imperatives of the need for speed and greater mobility. As Schweizer puts it, 'by the standards of time's exactitude, by the economics of its consumption, waiting must be seen as a temporal aberration' (2005, 779).

So what, then, is waiting? There are arguably many different and varied configurations of what it is to wait. The etymology of the verb to wait is from the French meaning *to watch* and the German *to guard* suggesting a sense of anticipatory preparedness – a lying-in-wait-for. This particular sense of what it is to wait is the definition we are perhaps most familiar with and could be illustrated through various configurations of waiting over a number of temporal scales. In theological terms, the period of Advent marks a month-long duration of essentially waiting, actively cultivating a sense of preparedness. This eschatological sense of waiting, however, does not immediately implicate a stilled form of corporeal inactivity, although stillness may necessarily be part of this process at some point. Viewed this way, waiting for an event is a form of anticipation. A form of contractuality and a temporally-displaced form of trusting relationality forged between a subject and the event-to-come. It is a productivist means-ends form of suspension that maps onto an itinerant and timetabled modern society. Indeed it is this promise of the event-to-come that necessitates and brings about this experience of waiting. However when focusing on the corporeal engagement with this generic anticipation over larger temporal periods, the body itself is of course engaged in, and enacting, a whole kaleidoscope of different everyday practices and forms during the course of this waiting. The imminence of the event-to-come is only one of the various planes folded through the corporeal experience. I want to move beyond this means-ends productivist model of waiting to consider different species of waiting that perhaps erupt from this during the course of a train journey. What I want to focus on are the multitude of less productive prosaic, quotidian corporeal suspensions that occur everyday and as such comprise part of the fabric of everyday life. These suspensions or practices of waiting are the frequent but often overlooked part of our everyday corporeal existence. As Schweizer puts it 'the very familiarity of waiting has obscured it' (2005, 778).

This section comprises three parts. First, I examine the particular spatiality of waiting as an experience that occurs in particular places during the railway journey. Here, I explore how particular spaces are engineered to promote and circulate sensibilities of acquiescence as a distantiated mode of being in the world. Second, I consider how waiting may actually be rather more complex and less homogenous than commonly assumed. Here, I explore the relations between active and inactive, engaged and passive forms of waiting. Third, I consider how the event of waiting is conditioned by qualitative dispositions towards other events through the notion of patience and impatience. These forms of corporeal disposition have the capacity to alter whether waiting is experienced as a desirable or undesirable experience.

6.1.1 Spaces of waiting

Whilst experiences of disengagement can potentially happen in a variety of places throughout the railway journey, these forms of hiatus have greater potential to occur when the body is briefly held for periods of time at various points. As such, in this section I want to consider the complex spatiality of waiting with reference to the railway station. Whilst not the same as non-places, it may be useful to take Augé as a starting point when considering these waiting spatialities. One of the central tenets of the non-place is the lack of distinction that these spaces harbour. As Augé describes, 'they are the spaces of circulation, communication and consumption, where solitudes coexist without creating any social bond or even a social emotion' (Augé, 1996, 178). As such, this has the effect of maintaining the individual's sense of 'solitary contractuality' (Augé, 1995, 94). However, in contrast to Augé, most large railway stations are relatively unique in shape and design; their form reflecting complex and specific socio-historical contexts (Richards and Mackenzie, 1986). Railway stations, arguably more so than airports, owe their character to their wider urban environment. They are often intimately enmeshed within the wider built form of cities: their design reflecting not only contemporary architectural trends, but also displaying tighter integration to the surrounding cityscape through onward transport links (Bertolini and Spit, 1998; Deckha, 2003). Nevertheless, many places within the railway journey may resemble aspects of Augé's description of locational similitude. As illuminated in chapter 4, the layout of many stations follows a similar formula: possessing an entrance, circulation area, booking office, waiting rooms and platforms. Similarly, the internal layout of the train itself is relatively homogenous, despite subtle differences between carriage types and class of accommodation. As described in chapter 4, such similitude is useful in that it has the capacity to direct passengers through the railway assemblage as efficiently and easily as possible, requiring little recourse to reflective thought. Many stations also smell the same – a combination of coffee and diesel fumes – and sound the same – the soundscape dominated by muffled voices, echoing automatic announcements punctuated by the periodic rumblings of engines and wheels on steel. In light of these similarities, these spatialities also have the capacity to be perceived as more indistinct. Following Kracauer's (1995) analysis of the hotel lobby, certain spaces of the railway journey, owing to this similitude and indistinction, might induce a sense of disinterest. Casey describes the unmemorability of such sites, testifying to the 'expulsion of the particular' and the 'annihilation of differentiation' (2000, 186). These experiences are illuminated well through Rosler's (1997b) photographic essay *In the Place of the Public: Airport Series* and can similarly be demonstrated through the railway assemblage. This image of a waiting room (figure 6.1) mirrors Rosler's sense of disorientation. The glass walls and white floor suggesting that it could be any station, anywhere. The lone isolated female figure is also reminiscent of Hopper's paintings of transit spaces, evoking a sense of melancholia. Here, there is nothing to do, save experiencing the passage of time as illustrated by the pictogram above the door that depicts a seated body and a clock.

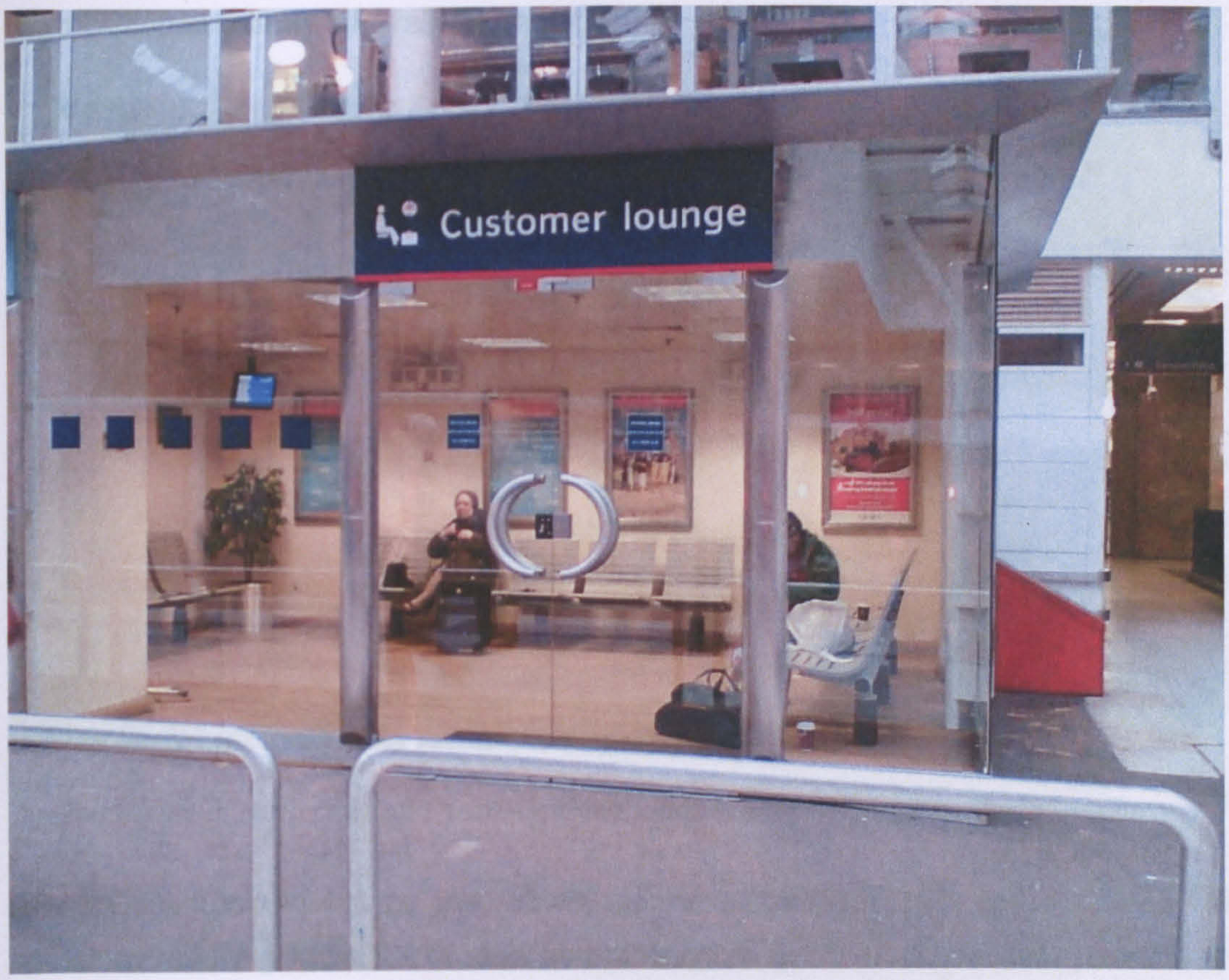

Figure 6.1
Waiting unmemorability at London Liverpool Street 25.08.05 2015

Trigg (2006) argues that these spaces have the capacity to induce and circulate a sense of indifference: a skilful and carefully engineered cultivation of banality. These landscapes of indifference are exemplified through waiting rooms, booking offices and platforms where 'nothing in particular individuates itself in an intentional manner' (Trigg, 2006, 423). The unmemorability and contextual annihilation is contributed to further through the particular materiality such as the use of standardised metal seating and the absence of images on walls, save perhaps for generic Train Operating Company marketing posters as illustrated in figure 6.1. The space of the waiting room could be anywhere: the sense of disorientation is accentuated by the presence of an automatic coffee machine and a the snack vending machine as described in figure 6.2. This sense of placelessness is only slightly alleviated by the historic images of York on the wall.

Rather than spaces of movement and flow, where the body is engaged in practices of physical exertion such as walking across concourses, each of these container spaces are designed to hold the body, where the body is prompted to remain inert in a form of temporary stasis. Beyond the confines of the waiting room, waiting occurs on the platform or on the concourse. However, what is common to each of these experiences of waiting is that for these durations, the railway station is no longer characterised by ceaseless, easy movement from

entrance to train, but becomes a place of stasis where the body is held inert in a similar way to the incarcereal space of the railway carriage.

Figure 6.2
Waiting rooms at Newcastle and York. Booking office in Edinburgh Waverley

Whilst it would not be theoretically sound to generalise the experience of waiting by somehow reducing it to a set of skills and techniques which somehow define what it is to wait, there does seem to be a remarkable concurrence in the current social science literature on the seeming universality of the experience. Bournes and Mitchell suggest that 'waiting is a universal experience that everyone can describe in some personal way in relation to their own lives' (2002, 58). Whilst acknowledging the diversity of this practice, Schweizer picks up on the seemingly universal negative connotations associated with this experience: 'although waiting is practiced, endured or suffered in may different ways and contexts, the apparent universal agreement [is] that nobody likes to wait (2005, 777). This is illuminated by this passenger who describes how the unanticipated opening up of a duration of waiting induces a sense of anxiety and unease:

> *Richard:* It's interesting saying – if I, going, if I was at Liverpool Street and they suddenly said your train is delayed, by three quarters of an hour, there would be a slight panic feeling inside of wondering what I can do for three quarters of an hour. And I would even contemplate going out of the station somewhere to fill the time.
> *David:* So the actual idea of…
> *Richard:* …standing, waiting, doing nothing is very uncomfortable.

The undesirability of this temporal hiatus where the passenger is held against their wishes is, in part, consoled by the spatiality of the waiting room itself. Perhaps this disengagement facilitated

by similitude actually works to make bodies feel more secure; able to disengage whilst waiting for a train for example. The space does not demand any form of practices or action from the body. As such, the relation between the body and space is relatively harmonious as described by the consoling refrain from this travelling diary:

> The waiting room seems to be a dead zone; a realm cut off from the rest of the station and the platform. It is comfortable, a haven almost. The chairs are padded and the room is carpeted. The warmth provided by the two suspended fan heaters is welcome. Their dull hum is strangely pleasant, blocking out the noise from the rest of the station. This further disorients this space, disembedding it from the surrounding area. My train is delayed by 70 minutes but this space is comforting. Consoling. Promising me comfort for the duration of waiting but asking for nothing in return.
> Autoethnography at Newcastle Central 22.10.05 1400

As such, spaces of disinterest are engineered to quiesce the body and to create a sense of passivity. Passivity here from a 'disinterested consciousness' (Kant, 1790 in Trigg, 2006) ensures a sense of calmness and a waning of desire. Furthermore, this disengagement from the surrounding environment may actually stimulate a paradoxical sense of feeling closer to and more trusting in that particular space through the feeling of safety that emerges through being held momentarily.

6.1.2 Corporeal dis/engagement

In this second section, I consider how these suspensions are experienced by passengers who are held in these spaces, focusing on the particular demands that are placed on the body. More specifically, I want to consider the relation between activity and passivity whilst waiting by first considering how waiting might actually constitute a form of engagement and second, by considering waiting from a less-active perspective.

So first, perhaps it does takes effort and therefore some form of intentional action to wait. In other words, for the body to be immobile, it is still primarily pursuing an active and purposive role of making-of-the-world and maintenance of meaning. In many ways, an active doing of waiting and how a passenger comes to wait could be seen as an achievement of a specific set of ongoing embodied tasks. These might include the agentive capacity of making decisions of where to wait and what to do whilst waiting, as described by this passenger:

> *Will:* I've had to wait for like half an hour or so, but then if I do, I would go and read magazines that I'm not going to buy...but like why sit in the waiting room when you've got a library there?
> *David:* True. Erm, yes, when you are waiting, you say you listen to your iPod, is there anything else you do or is it just...

Will: No, probably text a thousand people. Dunno. Just random boredom things.

David: Does anything go through your mind or do you try and switch off.

Will: I dunno, every so often if I've got my laptop with me I try and, I get my laptop out to see if the station's got a wireless network, but that's quite good cos it kills a bit of time. But, no, I don't think so.

Notice how emphasis here is on 'killing time' through 'random boring things' that are not planned in advance. These activities are illustrated in figure 6.3 where waiting time is spent reading. In this sense, the activities engaged in whilst waiting might be similar to those undertaken whilst on the train.

Figure 6.3
Engaged waiting at Newcastle Central and York

Here, the duration of waiting reveals itself as a chasm, a temporal void of 'dead time' (Moran, 2004, 218); as 'empty intervals between instants' (Schweizer, 2005, 789) that need to be filled with activity. These activities are perhaps some of the 'denials of waiting by which it can be forgotten [which could extend to] the magazines in waiting rooms, the entertainment on television, the snacks, the cigarettes' (Schweizer, 2005, 789). Whilst the body is stilled in the sense of being physically relatively sedentary, the activities that the passenger undertakes still entails a sense of demanding active engagement. Bournes and Michell (2002) refer to this as a 'diligent watchfulness', paralleling the forms of attentive vision discussed in chapter 5. Diski comments in a similar sense how 'waiting is a full-time activity. It is an act that takes up all my energy and being' (2006, 143). Perhaps it is the issue of relative scale that has rendered waiting to be typically conceptualised as an inert and immobile experience. For example, in the station the passenger in waiting is relatively still when compared with the faster mobilities of trains. However, when viewed at the corporeal scale, more subtle micro-bodily actions are more evident such as flinches, glances and gestures (see Massey, 1993 for a similar argument on the implications of scale).

Even if passengers are not engaged in specific extra-corporeal activities, perhaps the very act of stasis, of stillness actually entails and brings to bear considerable physical demands on

the body: of waiting as a wholly performative social event. Brown (2005), thinking through the act of stillness and waiting as a collective encounter with regard to memorialism, argues how there are a multitude of different ways in which the body is actively and intentionally configured, from how to hold one's body to how and where to look. When transferred to the waiting room, through this stillness, the strategies involved in averting the gaze so as not to engage in interaction effectively intensifies corporeal relations, producing a wholly active and co-managed interaction as described by this passenger:

> *David:* They're interesting spaces though in terms of how people act.
>
> *James:* Yeah, you're just sitting there bored. And you end up looking at people and then they look back at you and you have to suddenly dart your eyes out of the window or something to try and make sure that people don't think you're staring at them or something. It is very strange in waiting rooms no matter where you are. It's like a dentist's waiting room except you don't have out of date copies of magazines which would actually be amazingly useful!

Here, he describes the need to avert his gaze away from other people. In some waiting spaces, seats are aligned in rows and do not face each other, therefore decreasing this problem. However, figure 6.4 illustrates how being with others in such close proximity in the waiting room[1] demands attention to the way that we manage our performances.

It is this bodily stillness precipitated by waiting as a performance which, for many commentators, heralds a heightened sensual attentiveness to the immediate spatiality. For Brown (2005), this act of stillness through the stilling of the visual field produces a sense of spectacle arguing that 'the result is not so much in an 'overmastering' of self as a state of unusual attentiveness of both seeing and hearing' (2005, 5). Hutchinson similarly echoes this heightened sensual responsiveness as she waits for the bus to approach: 'sometimes you could smell it. A block, an intersection away' (2000, 107). In this way, objects in waiting spaces change, 'they acquire an uncanny particularity... all are stranded objects which resist reintegration' (Schweizer, 2005, 783-4). On the experience of being contained in a waiting room, Vannini describes the pressing corporeality, commenting on how, through the act of waiting, the 'world feels *intensely present*. I feel a sense of engagement-with-my-world, a long-forgotten sense of presence' (2002, 195, my italics).

[1] Incidentally, this is perhaps one of the least pleasant waiting rooms in Britain since the doors are stiff, there is no place for baggage and the seating spaces are cramped and uncomfortable.

Figure 6.4
Waiting as a social performance at Peterborough 21.12.06 1155

Together with corporeal attentiveness to the immediate environment, the event of bodily stillness through waiting might also heighten an auto-reflexive sense of self-awareness: an attention to the physicality of the body itself. This heightened sense of corporeal awareness echoes descriptions of corporeal engagements with highly active practices such as extreme sports (Thrift, 2000) where highly immersive kinaesthetic activities serve to enliven all the senses. However, considerably less attention has been devoted to how bodies are perhaps more highly attuned through stillness. Buetow (2004) for example draws out a number different activities which can act as distraction strategies through which subjects can manipulate the experience of time in waiting rooms to speed up the perceived duration of their wait. Indeed 'perceived duration is postulated to be highest through time passing slowly, when individuals are highly conscious of themselves and their situation' (2004, 22). It is this corporeal self-awareness which 'creates an intrinsic sense of time, including duration' (2004, 22) as described through this diary entry:

> The room is silent and warm. No one is around. Nothing changes. There is nothing to watch, nothing to look at, no one to look at I have 20 minutes to wait. My body feels heavy and I am drawn to my breathing. I can feel my headache pressing down onto me, pressing into me more than ever. My headache always gets worse when I am not doing

> anything: it breaks through the surface and consumes by body where I have too much time to think...reflect...feel....
>
> Autoethnography at Berwick upon Tweed 05.12.05 1330

This moment of waiting was an intensely corporeal event where I experienced an intense awareness of my own body in space. Referring to John Cage's silent concert 4'33", and drawing on her own performance-based work, Petra Kuppers demonstrates how through 'not-quite-stillness' and concentration on the mode of perception, 'attention is focused on the manifestations of encounters and intensities that create coherences across, inside, and within bodies' (Kuppers, 2000, 134). Through this meditative bodily stillness, attention is subjected to the body itself. 'For instance, when we are engaged in visualizations of breath filling our bodies, we focus on the body's extension backward and forward' (2000, 136). Vannini addresses the idea of waiting dynamics and traces through some of the ways in which waiting is a creative process as providing a continuous possibility for change. Following Bergson and Deleuze he comments 'if life is made of between-moments that offer nothing to become, then waiting can be understood as a dynamic activity' (Vannini, 2002, 205). Similarly, the act of stillness and waiting are the subject of a recent exchange between Callon and Law (2005) who demonstrate how the ongoing effect of stillness through the example of silent Quaker worship actually requires a great deal of effort, specifically that 'disentanglement requires entanglement' (2005, 722). To be passionate is 'to be both active and to be used' (2005, 721). Parallel sentiments are expressed by Schweizer noting that 'in the experience of waiting... we awaken to the repressed rhythms of duration and thus also to the deeper dimensions of our being' (2005, 778). Echoing this sentiment Kuppers similarly notes the requirement of an active sensibility towards 'activation of and engagement with an "other" perception, a perception trained onto the minute, the silent, the still—a perception that is a movement itself, a movement between the visible and invisible' (Kuppers, 2000, 140). Far from the body remaining inert and passive whilst waiting, these examples suggest how through this specific lens of performance and becoming in the world, waiting or the body-in-action is part of an ongoing active achievement of subjectification.

However, in the context of the railway journey, this notion of waiting as a dimension of purposive and intentional animate life where subjects are actively performing the event-of-waiting, is juxtaposed with a less active experience of waiting. Following Harrison's call to 'reflect upon corporeal existence in its susceptibility and its passivity' (2007a, 3), I want to consider the events of waiting through the railway journey where passengers are disengaged from activity: where the body is inert and not involved in the ongoing of performance. These moments of waiting as suspension are corporeal phenomena 'which trace a passage of withdrawal from engagement' (2007a, 5). Such a theoretical standpoint emerges from and echoes other phenomenological work on the slowed body. For some, the event of waiting as 'non-being' has often been described as dead time, where time passes slowly and remains a

tedious boring experience (Schweizer, 2005). This act of being bored has the effect of slowing and stilling time where the experience is one of meaningless and indifference; where the affective energies and vitalities of life are suppressed (B. Anderson, 2004). Indeed 'boredom discloses a malady in the circulation of intensity' (2004, 744) which 'stills our proprioceptive sense of movement to momentary suspension' (2004, 750). The undesirability of this experience is illuminated by this passenger who chooses not to use a waiting room precisely because of the time-stilling that emerges:

> *David:* Why don't you wait in a waiting room?
>
> *Edward:* Because it's boring. I just find it really boring. It's just like everything seems to take longer in a waiting room than on the platform with the trains going past time seems to move a bit quicker. You know, it's just a moving space, you've got more things to look at, more things to do, more people to just kind of mundanely watch. You've got something to do. It's like the watch pan never boils syndrome where you're in the waiting room and it's like click...click [imitates second hand slowing]. Really slow, really boring...

Though waiting that is not filled with intentional activity, 'the everyday flow and exchange of meaning stutters and abates and goes awry' (2007a, 6). Harrison's work on passionate desubjectification drawing on Levinas argues how a subject predisposed towards meaning-forming and intentional action dominates our current understanding of cognition. It is perhaps through waiting where the body experiences a very different kind of relationality: from relation-in-the-world towards a relation-*to*-the-world. Indeed following Levinas, 'existence is not synonymous with the relationship *with a world*' (Levinas in Harrison, 2007a, 23, my emphasis). These rich durations of waiting that are removed from a means-ends conceptualisation may bring about a 'corporeal release' to use Williams and Boden's (2004) term. This passenger describes how waiting can result in this particular form of disengagement:

> *Darren:* Waiting for my train, yeah, it's strange. I never try and achieve anything cos there's not really any time to do stuff. Yeah, I suppose I just find a seat, and drift away. Not like sleeping or anything like that, more just being in a trance, you know... just staring for a while. It's like suddenly you could be anywhere and then you hear your train announced and you snap back to reality.

Diski recognises this particular disengagement with the world, of the body held in suspense whilst waiting; according it to be a form of desirable acquiescence and viewing any form of physical corporeal activity opposed to this as mere distraction. The act of prefabricating activity or tasks to engage with is 'pure nonsense to me. Nothing must get in the way of hiatus. So great vacuums exist in time before something occurs' (2006, 143-4). It seems that the event of waiting, initiated particularly through some of the various pauses of travel experience, may

precipitate some of these more disengaged phenomena. Bournes and Mitchell, for example, writing about waiting room experiences comment on how during the period of waiting, the body is 'paralysed, zombie-like [and] non-functioning' (2002, 62).

Waiting therefore can potentially take on a number of different forms, each of which have significant effects on the way that time and space are experienced. Whilst active forms of waiting, where the body is engaged in forms of intentional activity, might serve to speed up the experience of time, this is balanced by forms of disengaged waiting that are more trance-like and result in a more augmented experience of time and space. However, in both these forms of stasis, the fleshy corporeality of the body is brought into sharp focus.

6.1.3 Duration and dis/continuity

The precise form of waiting that the body experiences is influenced by a complex variety of factors. In this final section, I want to consider one particular factor, specifically how the lived experience of waiting relates to dispositions of patience and impatience. Experiences of patience and impatience are folded through and in part mediated not only by the particular event-to-come that follows the period of waiting, but also the extent to which travel-time is planned and organised. To think through the relation between patience and impatience, it may also be useful to consider the nature of discontinuities and thresholds. By this I am referring to the changes, slides, sparks, the movements between, which bring about a change in the nature of being-in-the-world. Unlike the thresholds discussed in chapter 4 that are spatially delimited, these are temporal thresholds. As Dastur asserts, 'the event is what descends upon us... a new world opens up through its happening. The event constitutes the critical moment of temporality – a critical moment which nevertheless allows the continuity of time' (2000, 182). The corporeal experience of waiting should clearly not be conceptualised as a discrete bounded phenomena. However, if waiting is the embodiment of qualitatively distinctive rhythms – however interweaved with other rhythms – then during any phase of waiting there must exist semi-discernable beginnings and ends. It is a different experience of temporality and embodiment of time to the event that preceded it (getting to the station) and the event-to-come (boarding the train). This passenger describes the temporality of two different forms of waiting in sequence:

Julie: It's never ending when you think about it [referring to waiting].

David: How so?

Julie: Well, for example when I was on the platform there was a delay of around 25 minutes so I was counting down the minutes on my watch. And it was almost time then they had the cheek of keeping erm, adding minutes like they do so you're waiting all over again but this time instead of knowing how long 'til the train's coming, you don't have the foggiest cos they keep adding time – really it is a lot lot more annoying. And then when the train does turn up you spend all the time on there waiting to see if you're going to

> make up time so I don't miss the connection, you know. So I go on WAP on the mobile to see when the train's due in at the next station for example then try to figure out if we're making up time – it's nice being able to know but equally can be infuriating!

For her, the first waiting period is the duration between arriving at the platform and the train pulling in. However, a second period of waiting emerges when this anticipated duration ends and another duration of unanticipated waiting begins. Patience and impatience as a particular disposition *towards* waiting, may be related to the expectation and anticipation of the threshold, calculations of temporality of the event-to-come, and the jarring sense of being unable to reconcile the two temporalities as Schweizer (2005) insists. As the passenger below describes, whilst it might be possible to embody a form of patient waiting until the time that the train is due to arrive, if the train is late and the period of waiting must continue beyond that which was previously anticipated, the style of waiting may slide into one which is characterised through impatience and frustration:

> *Therese:* I get frustrated. Waiting for a train that is delayed seriously frustrates me. It's dead time, wasted time if you like that I could be doing something that I want to do, get my drift. My time is being prized away from me and yes, from time to time, I do feel extremely impatient. Since this will have knock-on consequences as to whether I arrive at a meeting on time, whether I can complete the day's schedule and so forth. I try not to vent my displeasure as some passengers I'm sure do, but all the same, yes, I feel immensely frustrated.

Patience or impatience may therefore be mediated by the degree of certainty or uncertainty about the length of the wait (Brekke, 2004) which feeds into how time is organised and valued. For the passenger above, frustration is exacerbated when the delay eats into 'his time' as opposed to perhaps 'work time'.

Rather than thinking through these anticipatory notions of patience and impatience from the productivist perspective of the event-to-come, these notions are helpful in considering waiting as active or acquiescent embodied corporeal experiences in-and-of-themselves. Both styles of waiting – of being active or acquiescent to the world – seem to imply a certain contractuality rooted in the notion of patience as a combination of urgency and delay. Do passive styles of waiting imply a form of patience and if so, is patience therefore a form of radical relationality to the world that is enacted or even managed most effectively through the *process of acquiescence*? Levinas thinks so and argues that patience is a particular type of consciousness through an enduring mode of being in time that brings about the decentring of the self. Fullagar expands this by considering how patience necessarily involves disengagement within engagement: 'Levinas describes patience as a mode of being detached from the self, but at the same time it involves a particular temporal quality of being with self' (2004, 16). Even

though this passenger arrives at the station early, she decides to do nothing with her time. This illustrates a form of patience which is not agitated, but actually quite relaxing:

> *Leanne:* I hate the concept of being rushed and missing things. So I always give myself plenty of time so I don't have to rush about quickly. I don't mind sitting about waiting. I find it really quite relaxing actually – so I'll arrive at the station maybe 30 minutes before the train leaves and wait on the platform... I don't get agitated then, it's quite nice just to let go for a bit since I'll probably work on the train.

Fullagar recognises the different temporal qualities of understanding subjectivity in this sense and asserts that patience should be understood as a corporeal mode of knowing since it 'involves a specific kind of affective relation with the world that enables the letting go of one's self, in order to experience the present moment' (2004, 17). Patience could therefore be seen as the apotheosis of waiting, or how to competently experience duration in a positive sense. In this sense, the passenger above experiences patience *rather than* waiting. In a similar vein Fullagar acknowledges Irigaray (2004) in arguing how this mode of relating to duration involves a 'becoming aware of the embodied, affective quality of time' (Fullager, 2004, 17).

However, if the event of waiting is enacted through a succumbing to different temporal rhythms then Schweizer argues that impatience 'stems from [an] inability to reconcile the two temporalities...the two temporalities grate and jar' (2005, 781). Impatience could be elided with bodily activity during periods of temporal stasis. The various affects of impatience being played out and enacted through various corporeal placings and configurations. This passenger uses pacing not only to get warm on the cold platform but also perhaps to reconcile these temporalities:

> *David:* Ok. You obviously had a bit of time on the platform itself. What did you do, step by step.
> *Jasmine:* Ahhh, interesting [knowingly]! Now, right. I've arrived early at this station before and it's also been in winter time and on previous occasions it has been so cold standing on stations because it is very exposed. And in previous times the little shelter area has had no glass or Perspex in it so the seating was completely open. So it had already become my habit to just pace the platform up and down. So without thinking about it I paced the platform. For ten minutes or so. Just up and down. There was seating... and the Perspex had been replaced in the seating area but it didn't look inviting so I certainly didn't go and sit in it. But surprisingly everyone else who arrived did!
> *David:* Interesting, cos it's no warmer in there! ... So when you're pacing up and down, are you consciously thinking through anything to do with the journey or are you just...
> *Jasmine:* Not that I'm... not the journey itself...

David: So pacing is perhaps a way to stop yourself from getting irritated or bored by waiting as well?
Jasmine: Yes, yes, I think that's right.

Whilst perhaps ever-so-slightly prompted, this passenger echoes Fullagar who also concedes that impatience could be considered to be the 'restless inhabitance of time, a mode of distraction' (2004, 17). In this respect we could think through how some of the various activities that are enacted during periods of waiting are in fact a method of harmonising these two temporalities. Tufariello points to the dampening of affective intensity during periods of waiting such that there are 'never tears or curses. Sorrow's violence is dampened to a dull anxiety' (2002, 265). However certain affects circulated through bodies during periods of waiting, such as frustration, anger or rage due to extensions of temporality may be heightened and emerge through corporeal display as noted by this passenger:

Jack: ...Although having said that, I remember there was once a time at Piccadilly when one young man had missed his train I think and took out his anger on the people stood at the platform for the next train. I appreciate some people get angry but this was something else, he was shaking his hands about, not really knowing what to do with himself!

This is reminiscent of Katz (1999) who brilliantly illustrates passionate, fleeting periods of being held-in-suspense through some examples of road-rage. In this example the driver in a hurry is held at a traffic light and far from acquiescing, this temporary hiatus serves to heighten feelings of aggression and anger: an intensely worldly experience. This display of affective intensity demonstrates well how waiting could be considered in a more transhuman form. Far from a personal nexus of feelings and emotions, by drawing on a more affective lens allows us to consider how resonances of anger, rage or impatience transcend the personal and are implicated in the experiences of others (see Brennan, 2003 for example). In the travelling diary excerpt below, notice how the aggression and impatience of others has a significant effect on myself:

We are waiting for a train at Liverpool Street. There are hundreds of people on the concourse waiting to get onto the Norwich train. PA announcements inform us that a suspect package has been found on the line at Witham and our train will not depart for the foreseeable future. There is a moment of communal disbelief circulated – people look around for a sense of mutual recognition and appreciation of the situation. The guys standing in front of us are on their mobiles, speaking loudly and angrily: "We're trying to get on the train from hell. I can't f*ing believe it". There is much sighing, huffing and puffing. Initially I'm not annoyed by the delay but the longer I stand and look at others, I

can feel their anger and frustration. It is rubbing off on me. My breathing gets shallower and I can feel adrenaline rushing through me.

Autoethnography at London Liverpool Street 04.08.05 1800

This highlights the capacity of affects associated with impatience to be transmitted between passengers. Here, the impatient practices of some may serve to heighten the experience of impatience, anger and so forth of others. In this sense, waiting becomes a social event, rather than a collection of feeling individuals. Here the affectivity of waiting becomes transpersonal.

This section has demonstrated how, rather than a space for movement, as described in chapter 4, certain places within the railway station can become places of stasis – body containers in the same way that the railway carriage functions as a technology of incarceration. However rather than focusing on the particularities of space, this section has described how attention to the lived experience of duration is hugely significant when considering the events of waiting. Whilst waiting occurs in a particular space, the experience of waiting is conditioned more by the passenger's relation to time. This is accentuated by the fact that the materiality of waiting spaces seems to be so unmemorable. As such, an investigation into the lived experience of waiting serves to reveal some important dimensions of how passengers value particular aspects of travel-time. Unanticipated dimensions of waiting might serve to heighten frustration unless strategies of patience are enacted since these forms of waiting erode time allocated to other activities during the remainder of the day. How passengers respond to the demands of waiting is therefore partly dependent on their wider temporal itineraries. This section has also problematised the binary between engagement and disengagement by illuminating how particular forms of disengagement can be juxtaposed with a more intense engagement with the self. For most respondents, waiting was acknowledged to be an undesirable experience – something that needed to be reduced or eliminated. In the following section, I move forward to consider a different form of acquiescence that, for many, is a more desirable sensibility.

2 Relaxation

Whilst waiting constitutes an undesirable experience that is bound up with certain forms of passivity, there are other times during the railway journey where doing nothing might actually be more pleasant and desirable. In this section, I consider forms of corporeal withdrawal from engagement through some experiences of relaxation. In contrast to waiting as an inactivity that occurs mainly in spaces of the railway station, relaxation as inactivity is experienced in the space of the railway carriage. This presents a significant and often neglected dimension of railway travel. Particularly during long distance journeys, there is the potential of enduring long durations of time without interruption, an experience that may not be readily attainable through other forms of everyday practice. Whilst many geographers have recently been exploring the

varieties of therapeutic landscapes, such as community arts projects (Parr, 2006) and community care facilities (Moon et al., 2006), I explore how the more everyday space of the railway carriage has similar therapeutic dimensions (see Gesler, 1992). These durations of inactivity can constitute experiences of desirable acquiescence. Indeed, as Moon et al. (2006) argue, the identification of such spaces is all the more important as a means of countering the intensity and chaos that characterises much of contemporary urban life for many.

Whilst I have already touched on a dimension of relaxation in chapters 4 and 5, here I want to focus on how different experiences of relaxation change the relationship between the travelling body and its experience of time and space. This is useful since it further problematises our understanding of what a travelling body actually is and can do at different points during the railway journey. As such, first I look at how Train Operating Companies use advertising and marketing materials to weave a particular discourse of desirable passivity. These are compared with a discussion of the spatiality of the railway carriage and the extent to which spaces are engineered to promote desirable experiences of passivity. In the following two sections I explore two different forms of passivity that might arise through inactivity. First, I look at daydreaming and reverie as particularly desirable forms of withdrawal and the relationship that emerges between the body and space. Second, I look at fatigue and insomnia as a different form of passivity where the relationship between the body, time and space is reworked. In contrast to the body engaged in practical activity, as explored in chapter 5, attending to some of the various permutations of relaxation as inactivity serves to reveal a more vulnerable travelling body where passivity is not an intentional activity. As such, our understanding of varied states of consciousness whilst on the move becomes richer and more expansive.

6.2.1 Engineering acquiescence

First I want to consider some of the various marketing strategies adopted by some Train Operating Companies to promote the train as a place that is conducive to relaxation. Focus here is on publicity materials designed to be circulated to passengers before their journey in order to attract greater passenger numbers. Unlike other forms of transportation such as automobility, a journey by train does not rely on bodies being attentive and receptive at all times. Instead, passengers have the potential to withdraw from active engagement during their travelling duration. Such a discourse of 'being taken' through a deferral of responsibility has long been at the heart of railway advertising, perhaps most famously through the British Rail strapline *Let the Train take the Strain*. More recently, Train Operating Companies such as GNER have marketed the experience of travelling in one of their new refurbished carriages through discourses of relaxation, particularly through increased legroom. Marketing campaigns focus on the ability for passengers to extend their bodies and thereby contributing to a more relaxing journey. Figure 6.5 is taken from a television advert where a train curves around the outspread legs of a passenger. The ambient music is quiet and peaceful, similar to Trigg's (2006) description of Satie's 'furniture music' where any defining features are removed from the

musical form. It is a skilful cultivation of banality, which juxtaposed with outstretched legs and muted sepia tones, promises an atmosphere of acquiescence where the body is able to disengage and drift away. A similar image is used on ticket wallets (figure 6.6), again, depicting a train travelling down an outstretched leg:

Figure 6.5
GNER Mallard TV advertising campaign online at http://www.gner.co.uk/GNER/flash/legshigh.htm accessed 06.01.06

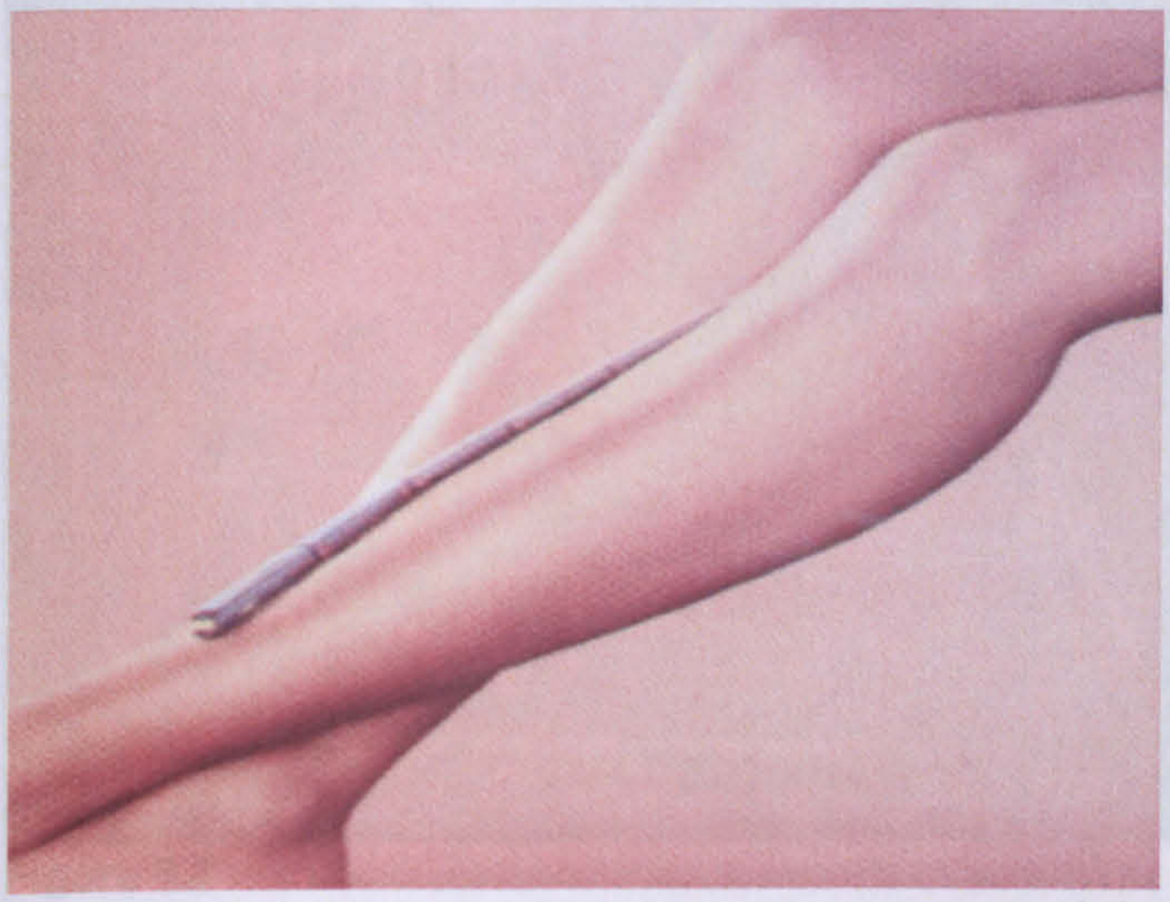

Figure 6.6
Image from GNER ticket wallet, October 2006

Notice how in both these images, busy colourful scenery is removed and is replaced by shades of relaxing colours. This is reminiscent of Lingis's description of the night where 'things lose their separateness' (1998, 8) as the background fades to insignificance. Promotional material for first class travel emphasises the potential for pleasant forms of withdrawal through relaxation stating that: 'Our trains and First Class Lounges provide a calm stress free environment where

you can work peacefully or just relax... At the end of the day unwind with a drink – or simply relax as time goes by' (Virgin Trains, 2005a). Emphasis is therefore not on productive, engaged activity, but relaxation where the word 'unwind' implies a particular disengagement or passivity that does not require any intentional effort. Similarly, Virgin Trains assures potential customers that '[t]ravelling by train is one of the *easiest* ways to travel... you just sit back and spend the time as you will until *gently* delivered to your destination' (Virgin Trains, 2005b, emphasis added). This idea of 'ease' is similar to the forms of passivity of delegation explored in chapter 4 where passengers entrust their passage through the station to the logic of the built form. Similarly, the lexicon of 'gentleness' promises that bodies will not be subject to agitation that could potentially disrupt relaxation.

These discourses are central to Train Operating Companies providing overnight services where pleasant disengagement in the form of sleep is desired by all passengers. The straplines '*a dream of a journey*' and '*comfort as light as a feather*' promise passengers that the experience of travelling by sleeper train will ultimately induce pleasant forms of acquiescence, chiefly a good night's sleep (City Night Line, 2005).

Figure 6.7
CityNightLine Sleeper promotional leaflet, August 2006

The muted tones in figure 6.7 together with the light and unobtrusive suggest that train travel does not require effort. Here, the focus is not on the scenery through the window, but the relaxing, dreamy interior.

The spatiality of some carriages is engineered to facilitate these desirable forms of acquiescence. The seat is the nexus of corporeal comfort where relaxing sensibilities can be experienced such as dozing or sleeping. In this case, sensibilities of acquiescence are felt

through the body as a result of the affective synergy between chair and body. Instead of thinking through comfort as a mutual and taken for granted embedding of body and environment, it is 'more a double movement of contraction and dilation in which a certain corporeal sensibility twists forth in ache, ennui and enervation' (Wylie, 2005, 242). Seats on long-distance trains may be designed to promote high levels of comfort. These seats are generally wider and have greater legroom permitting the body to spread out and facilitate a wider range of possible performances through increased space allowance. Additionally, First Class seats tend to be made from softer materials that also may promote sensations of corporeal comfort. The various surfaces and material dimensions therefore set up a different relationality between body and chair. The larger chairs in First Class (figure 6.8) often have armrests and headrests and are made out of more luxurious materials that effectively enclose around the body. They hug and reassure the body and are designed to induce a particular set of affective relations, chiefly a sense of relaxation. Many long distance Train Operating Companies also have designated one coach as a quiet coach where noise must be kept to a minimum in order to make the atmosphere more conduce to cultivate sensibilities of acquiescence.

Figure 6.8
Enhanced comfort in First Class between Carlisle and Crewe 10.09.05 1235

These carriage-spaces designed for comfort are mirrored in first class waiting rooms (figure 6.9). These waiting room spaces are designed to circumvent the undesirable sensibilities commonly associated with the event of waiting such as agitation and frustration as illuminated in this diary extract:

> As I enter the room or lounge, as they prefer to call it, there is absolute silence compared to the main concourse of the station with its white noise of murmurs, shrieks and incessant announcements. The quality of light is totally altered from the harsh whiteness utilitarian clinical fluorescent tube to the dimmer, warmer pinpricks of halogen spotlights. This is a place of total stillness where the pace of moment and the pace of my heartbeat

has slowed. It has a different quality of intensity. Other people enter, but still a regime of stillness and silence rules. There is no piped music and no television, indeed it feels like a wholly insulated environment of relaxation and stillness. Though the customers of this lounge are principally 'fast-paced' always connected and time constrained, these people are slowed. Soft furnishings induce a sense of domicile. There is a selection of snacks arranged and a drinks machine, even some books on a shelf in the corner to further reinforce this heightened sense of the domestic sphere. Flowers are arranged in vases on tables and the air is perfumed with the smell of irises and lilies. There is artwork on the walls which are a combination of dusky pink and Umbrian red – a far cry from the sterile, bright titanium white of the station. The sofa is extremely cosy. I don't want to leave.

Autoethnography in the first class lounge at Birmingham New Street 21.03.06 1700

In these spaces, the entire environment and not just the seats are engineered to facilitate sensibilities of calm and luxury: from the ambient soundscape to the material fabrics of the seating and carpets, this space creates an 'oasis of calm', as one passenger notes in the lounge Guest Book (pictured bottom right in figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9
Engineered comfort in the first class lounge at Birmingham New Street 21.03.06 1720

On sleeper trains, the interior environment is designed to an even greater level of corporeal comfort in order to foster desirable experiences of withdrawal. Each berth has washing facilities, soap, towels, hot and cold water together with a greater level of control over lighting through the provision of night lights and reading lights. The beds themselves are at ninety degrees to the direction of travel and are equipped with pillows, sheets and blankets. This environment is engineered to facilitate pleasant and desirable forms of acquiescence through the creation of a highly domestic environment, mirroring similar spaces where sleep occurs such as the motel room (Jakle et al., 2002).

Rather than the speed of the train or the visuality of the external landscape, this section demonstrates the importance of place when passengers withdraw. This intimate relation

between body and place is important here, since in sleep, the body is gathered in place and *becomes place*. As Blanchot says of this place, 'my person is there, prevented from erring, no longer unstable, scattered and distracted, but concentrated in the narrowness of this place where the world recollects itself, which I affirm and which affirms me. Here the place is present in me and I absent in it though an essentially ecstatic union' (1989, 266). In the following two sections, I consider the lived experience of relaxation in these places through an investigation of dreaming and fatigue.

6.2.2 Strategic acquiescence: dreaming and sleeping

In this section I consider how relaxation is experienced from the perspective of dreaming and sleeping by focusing not only on how desirable forms of relaxation emerge, but also how these experiences are fragile and are liable to transform. As such, relaxation becomes a less-coherent category and the relation between sleepfulness and wakefulness is problematised. Following from the previous section, I want to consider how these lived experiences of acquiescence may contrast with those ideal forms and discourses promised through marketing publications. Whilst 'relaxation' and 'calm' are presented as rather coherent and known categories in marketing literature, I want to suggest that this does not reflect the lived experience of acquiescence whilst on the move.

There are many experiential states between sleepfulness and wakefulness that serve to disrupt this binary distinction. In order to appreciate these differences, it is important to apprehend the duration of the journey through a more non-linear sense of temporality. It would be easy to describe a series of hypothetically-discreet different modes of experiencing duration as proceeding in some form of linear fashion: as one configuration sequentially following or proceeding from another. However, and particularly when describing these experiences in narrative form, such experiences are necessarily bound-up and inseparable from each other. This results in the enacting of a variegated affective complex: a mixture of activity and agitation of the world and conversely a deadness-to-the-world. To take up Deleuze's notion of the haeccity, they are events that cannot be separated. As Semetski describes, such haeccities, 'or thisness which cannot be confined within the rigid limits of fixed beginnings and ends. It has always been and will have been. It is in the middle, made of rhizomatic lines going in multiple directions' (2004, 230). In this light, relaxation is always in flux which results in the experience of a series of different forms of acquiescence, each vacillating between engagement and disengagement as described by this passenger:

> *Gareth:* Sometimes, I've just sat there and there's something really relaxing about being so high up and… gliding [mimics noise of train running over non-welded track], looking out at the scenery and watching the world go by. I just want to look at everything in the landscape. I suppose being a geomorphologist, geologist, I'm like 'oooh, look at that'. It's a really nice, really picturesque trip. I think you find yourself looking out letting your mind

wander, you go completely into a sort of stasis, suddenly you're told 'we will soon be stopping in Edinburgh' and you're like 'wha..' You totally switch off. When you're driving you're thinking about driving, and concentrating. When you're flying, you're always going 'please don't crash', and it's noisy and it's going [makes aircraft engine noise], the train's quieter I guess. I think there's something quite funny about relaxing on train journeys…

For him, relaxation is a hypnotic state assisted by the quietness of the carriage, where the creative imagination wanders free and without intention. The body is infiltrated by the excessive presence of matter. This is reminiscent of Bachelard's description of daydreaming which are not the dreams of sleeping, but the 'daydreams of wakefulness when we are in relaxed time and functioning with inattention to either the things around us or our more reflexive senses of self, biography and intentionality' (Bachelard paraphrased in Philo, 2003, 11). This experience of being neither wholly awake nor asleep is echoed in other passenger accounts of journeys and echoes Thrift's (2006) notion of 'mesmorism' which refers to a form of semi-conscious being or suspension of disbelief. The passenger below enlists the support of objects in order to foster forms of acquiescence that she describes as 'drifting'. Rather than acquiescent sensibilities thoroughly taking hold of the body, for her, these forms of withdrawal are intentionally controlled relative to other responsibilities to be attended to immediately after the journey:

Jenny: Hmm, well that depends on what I'm going to do immediately when I get there. If I'm going straight into a meeting then I'll probably relax a bit to start with, maybe doze a bit. Then when we get to about nine o'clock, I'll perhaps look at the papers or whatever. I don't do a lot of preparation at the moment, because the things I'm going to do are just sort of just general discussions, meetings, catching up and things. So I'm not… I have had occasions when I have had to make sure everything was in my mind because I'm going to talk to somebody specifically about something. But generally, I've got to get there, I may as well relax as much as I possibly can, you know, and it's got to be done. Let's just get there and relax until I get there.

David: Sure, sure. Do you find it easy to be relaxed on a train?

Jenny: I do if I have my headphones, yes, yes. Because that cuts everything out. And I can, to a certain extent you know, cos you get the breaks – you can hear the announcements sometimes, and erm, but most of the time I can absorb that – get myself absorbed in my book or doze or whatever. So sometimes I do have a book, or sometimes I have some relaxing music on. And it helps me sort of drift off. Just depends.

Using headphones to 'cut everything out' parallels the use of an indeterminate background on the GNER marketing images in figures 6.5 and 6.6. Others describe how the familiarity of a particular route provides the necessary conditions with which to drift. Since this passenger is

familiar with the duration of his journey, this enables him to disengage without the need to be attentive to the particular locations encountered en-route as described in chapter 5:

> *Leo:* Oh, yes. Quite often. Again usually on a familiar route, but yes, on either intentionally or sometimes by accident doze off whilst doing something like London to Darlington. I've never slept through my station… as I said I usually do it without meaning to anyway. Yes, it happens.

In addition to daydreaming, we could draw on Bachelard's notion of reverie as a way of characterising this experience of moving between different experiences and how they fold through one another. Bachelard's immanent materialism holds reverie, as a form of creative daydream, as occupying a central position of the corporeal experience. Central to this is the primacy of the imagination and with it the experience of opening and newness. As Bachelard comments 'through imagination, we forsake the ordinary course of things. To perceive and to imagine are as antithetic as presence and absence. To imagine is to absent oneself, it is a leap to a new life' (Bachelard, 1987, 21). Crucially from the aspect of temporality, reverie does not work in a linear pattern. Instead it 'works in a star pattern. It returns to its center to shoot out new beams' (1987, 14). From this, the way that relaxation is experienced through the body is therefore not a discrete set of definable experiences in linear time since the experience of reverie 'transcends the surface categories of immediate common-sense experience' (Picart, 1997, 69). This complex temporality is demonstrated here where a nodding sense of disengaged sleep is juxtaposed with layers of perception from the proximate environment:

> *David:* Was it a deep sleep or was it a…
> *Ruth:* Oh, no. It's never a deep sleep, it's a sort of nodding sleep. I was sort of aware of people getting on and off and a bloke sort of came and sat opposite me but opposite to one side.

Other forms of relaxation, on the other hand, have the potential to engulf the body more fully. This could be exemplified through forms of deeper sleep where the body experiences a more radical withdrawal. However, such experiences are folded through the broader temporality of the journey, as described by this passenger:

> *Jasmine:* Erm, and depending on the circumstances I would often spend quite some time sleeping. Because normally I drive a lot for journeys and train journeys are quite unusual for me and they're often made at times when I'll be quite physically tired so like at the end of term so I sort of take advantage of not having to drive and be in control and just often go to sleep.

David: It is, I was reading apparently it is the number one activity that people engage in on trains.

Jasmine: Oh yes, because it was interesting seeing a couple of other people especially on the local train, people obviously going to work, and perhaps it being near Christmas and after a night out, people, especially young males, they got into the carriage and it was sort of almost, you know, big smiles came over their faces as they sort of put their heads onto the wall, and smiled to themselves as they doze off to sleep. It's sort of 'ahh, I'm on the train! [sighs] I can go to sleep for a bit longer'.

David: And it's nice and warm as well, quite a cosy environment.

Here, warmth together with a desire to relinquish control provides the necessary conditions for sleep to occur. Since sleeping is typically associated with the domestic sphere (Williams and Boden, 2004), the train is one of the few places where such withdrawal can be experienced outside this traditional sphere. For this reason, some passengers described how sleeping on a train leaves the body highly vulnerable:

> *Jenny:* No I tend to just put my head back and you know, just relax in the seat like that. I have seen people curling up on two seats and I did see one young lady with her thumb in her mouth one day. So she obviously doesn't know that she does that when she goes to sleep. And there have been men with their heads back snoring, you know, driving them home, and you're dozing off and you suddenly think, did I snore there? Am I drooling? You know, you're sort of suddenly conscious – cos there was one time when I came back from London and there was a rabbi on the train in all his grandeur, and he was a large gentleman and he sat back, he occupied two seats on a table and he snored all the way. And it was so loud! You're very vulnerable when you've gone to sleep. You know.

Notice how she actively tries to prevent herself from falling asleep, since when asleep the body has little control over its actions. Similarly this passenger describes the feeling of vulnerability that emerge as a result of being surrounded by strangers:

> *Richard:* Er, and in fact it's very strange, if you do find, if you are able to go to sleep, sleep is another very personal sort of very vulnerable type of situation to be in so that when you wake up, it sometimes feels very peculiar cos it's like being in bed with somebody you've never seen before… But it's very strange, if ever you go to sleep and there is people sitting opposite to you, and you wake up, it does feel exactly like waking up in the same bed with them. It feels that intimate. Very peculiar.

This association of sleep with intimacy parallels Blanchot's description of sleep being 'intimacy with the centre. I am, not dispersed, but entirely gathered together where I am, in this spot

which is my position and where the world, because of the firmness of my attachment, localises itself' (1989, 266).

Sleeping during a train journey is therefore a complex set of affective resonances that can take hold through the body in various different ways. Whilst sensations of drifting, dozing and sleeping might be considered to be desirable, there are times when such sensibilities cannot be fulfilled due to a variety of impediments. Impediments may rupture this relaxation in a number of ways: ability for the body to bow-out might be conditioned by other material aspects of the journey. For example, the need to alight at an intermediate station rather than a terminus may require the body to be more alert and engaged during the course of the journey in order to identify the correct moment to disembark. Whilst this passenger may want to acquiesce – perhaps lulled into a daze through the configuration of gentle movement, warmth, and the low murmur of the carriage environment – the need to remain attentive to location prevents this descent to sleep:

> *David:* Erm, but the type of sleep that you can do is something quite different to how you would in your own house. So just in term of how you sit or… do you find it easy to drift off?
> *Therese:* Yes, sometimes I do. I do in the morning cos I know I'm not going to be going any further. You can't do it so much when you're coming back unless you know you're going to Edinburgh and you're getting off at Newcastle and the train's empty there, but when you're getting off somewhere along the line, you can't you know, you can't let go completely cos you've got to be aware of where you are. But on the morning going down, it's going to stop at King's Cross. Everybody's gonna get off so there's no harm – there's not going to be an overshoot there. So perhaps it's easier to drift off. Because it's not that long since you've been asleep, you know. Perhaps you've only been up for an hour or half an hour. But it varies. It depends on whether you've got things on your mind, and it depends on what the other people are like in the carriage – how noisy they are or, whatever.

The line 'you can't let go completely' highlights the responsibility of the passenger to maintain a degree of vigilance. Similarly, sleeper trains are often marketed in terms of their capacity to provide a restful and refreshing night's sleep, the lived experience of this is often rather different as described by this passenger:

> *David:* Do you find it easy to go to sleep on trains?
> *Jack:* Erm, pretty easily, yes. Though ironically there aren't many sleeper trains any more but years ago there used to be an overnight sleeper from Liverpool to London. Used it a few times. Never slept awfully well. You know, it was just handy.

Here, the promise of a pleasant disengagement on a sleeper train is ruptured by the inability to gradually withdraw from the world. The space presses on the body in different ways rendering this withdrawal difficult, in spite of the fact that the surficial engineering of the space itself should be wholly conducive to sleep, as described in this diary extract:

> This is the ultimate combination of motel and train, a sleeping population on the move. It feels strange carrying out domestic rituals on board the train: bedtime rituals of brushing teeth and undressing for bed juxtaposed with the forward movement of the carriage. The sensation of sleeping and moving fast is very strange – especially the rocking movement side to side in bed as the train accelerates and decelerates. As the carriage traverses points, the body moves up and down in bed. These foreign sensations make it very difficult to sleep. Motion sickness is creeping in since there are no visual referents. As the journey wears on I can't sleep. I move from light dozing sleep to being wholly awake. Sleeping and trains don't want to mix.
>
> Autoethnography on the Caledonian Sleeper between London Euston and Inverness 01.11.05

This discussion of daydreaming and sleep as particular desirable forms of withdrawal whilst on board the train demonstrates how the relationship between wakefulness and sleepfulness is complex. For example, we could, like Levinas, consider dreaming to be the constitutive wakefulness within sleep: the wakefulness that makes sleep possible. This is a form of wakefulness that decentres the body, for here the body of the dreamer becomes merely a feature of the dream itself (Farbmann, 2005). For Farbmann, the dream represents the 'impossibility of rest…the very endlessness of inertial movement and the impossibility of resting even when, in sleep, things seem most restful' (2005, 126-7). This conception of the dreaming subject has important implications for the consideration of space. Whilst not always achieving relaxation, dreaming in the carriages produces an indeterminate space, similar to those in figures 6.5 and 6.6. Spatiality is transformed where 'perception, matter, image and form all constitute the same zone of indeterminacy, where concepts relentlessly blur into and contaminate each other and the distance between the subject and object…collapses into a mass of infinite and incomplete connections' (Crawford, 2002, 61). This is perhaps enjoyable since as Lingis notes with reference to nightfall 'the darkness which softly wipes away the urgencies and the destinations and the hard edges of reality is felt in an enjoyment' (1998, 10).

In the final section I move forward to consider how fatigue presents a very different set of passive relations between the body, space and time.

6.2.3 Pressing acquiescence: fatigue and insomnia

Rather than thinking about how these places permit forms of daydreaming and sleep, here I want to focus on how particular forms of passivity can emerge as a result of the process of travel itself. As such, rather than considering how the passivity of sleep and daydreaming

might, in part, be an intentional strategy of dealing with travel-time, here I want to consider the more radical and unintentional passivity that emerges through fatigue and lethargy. This is an important consideration since, for many, fatigue is one of the central hallmarks of the experience of a long railway journey. Smith concurs with this assertion arguing that long distance travel is 'intrinsically fatiguing' (1995, 1441). For Smith (and elsewhere Cao and Mokhtarian, 2005), this is a phenomena that is at the horizon of intentionality since 'the fatiguing effect of travel seems to apply even under apparently ideal conditions: travelling for pleasure, first class, by rail, no driving either end, good companionship, no anxiety about possible delays. Still it is tiring' (1995, 1441).

Figure 6.10
Corporeal exhaustion between Birmingham New Street and Newcastle 07.01.06 1903

Fatigue constitutes a particular form of corporeal vulnerability where action and intentionality subside. As Harrison notes, '[v]ulnerability cannot be willed, chosen, cultivated, or honed and neither, therefore, does it necessarily or even primarily denote a weakness or a misfortune, rather it describes the inherent and continuous susceptibility of corporeal life to the unchosen and the unforeseen, its inherent openness to what exceeds its abilities to contain and absorb' (Harrison, 2007a, 9). However, unlike with daydreaming, the fatigued body might not be able to withdraw to sleep. The exhaustion that I experienced in figure 6.10 illustrates an inability to fully acquiesce. A phenomenology of the insomniac may help to reveal something of this condition since a station of insomnia is the extreme limit of fatigue. As much as we might desire sleep, in insomnia, the body does not and cannot surrender to sleep. Eschewing the contract we have with sleep where 'we call upon sleep and it comes' (1989, 264), Blanchot describes this condition as a falling out of this contract when 'exhaustion finally sickens you' (1989, 266).

Wiederberg (2006) argues that tiredness and lethargy are symptomatic of contemporary modernity, where a 'sped-up life' and a 'life of doing' generate increasingly restless bodies as affective expressions of exertion. This passenger describes these forms of withdrawal through tropes of exhaustion:

David: One of the overarching themes of this research is how travel does tire you.
Donna: It really really does. I mean I know by next Saturday, I'll feel as if I've been run over by a train. Because it's just that physical feeling of total weariness... I mean one of the things that struck us, it's interesting that you say that, an old fashioned way of caring for babies is not to handle them all the time cos you chew them, you make them weary and restless. And I think the train is a bit like that because you are sort of slightly jostled. And physically, your body is getting jostled constantly. It's as you say, it's not physical, but if you think, especially on those old 125s, and you're going on the bumpy tracks, you know, and it is. So by the time you– because you physically have to keep your own body in its own space. And it's being chucked around. Hey, I never thought of that, yeah, so that could be the reason why.
David: Yeah, absolutely. I mean it's something that so many people say. You never find people who say 'travel really invigorates me'?
Donna: It's interesting cos we did a teambuilding week – did the ?Midas Bricks and I was just – and with mine, it comes out like the way I am, I need sort of quiet time. And sometimes I wonder whether that contributed to my tiredness because if I'm travelling every day I don't get quiet time, this is assimilation time. So that makes me feel stressed and exhausted. Because I haven't had the break in between. And so sometimes it could be personality types. Cos I had this long conversation with my boss about it, you know, how to make sure that I don't get into this stressed-exhausted stage that I sometimes get in when I've had long periods of travelling without a break.
David: Sure. That's fascinating, that really is. The kind of general consensus is that when you're doing nothing, say when you're on a train, or even just sitting there, that you're relaxing, but maybe because your body isn't static, that it isn't actually relaxing at all.
Donna: Yes! That could be it. I've never thought about it before. That actually could be it. Because I must say, when I fly, I don't feel as exhausted.

Similar to Blanchot's definition of insomnia, her ability to find a restful place goes awry. Her body is jostled not only by the movement of the carriage, but also by the stresses and strains of her job. This is not the deep, restful sleep promised by the marketing companies (figure 6.7); a deep sleep that 'lets us escape what there is in the deep of sleep' (Blanchot, 1989, 266). Neither is this an inattention to the world, or as Blanchot puts it, a 'negation of the world [that] conserves us for the world and affirms the world' (1989, 265). Instead the inability to rest properly challenges the body with a watchfulness where the body wants to escape but remains

stuck with itself. The 'bare fact of presence is oppressive' (Levinas, 2001, 65) and can bring the fleshy physicality of the body into sharp focus as described by this passenger:

> *Linda:* Well yes, when you asked about travelling to and from work, when I'm working a London day the train on the way down is really very different to the way back and yes, that relates to how tired I am. In the morning I usually get the 7.30 train down where I'm feeling really quite alert. You see....er, I normally get up at 5 o'clock if I'm going down to London so I've already had time to get myself woken up, you know, nice breakfast a bit of TV to get the brain going so by the time I've got to the station, walked from the metro to the train, I feel really wide awake and ready to work.
> *David:* So you use the fact that you feel physically alert to productive ends then?
> *Linda:* Yes, yes... I'll be preparing my thoughts for the day ahead, reading some reports usually and writing some brief notes, that kind of thing.
> *David:* And how does your return journey differ?
> *Linda:* Oh it's totally [extended] different, totally different... For starters I don't work at all [laughs]. Yeah, I guess I just use it to relax. I'm usually to-tally [extended] exhausted after five hours of talking and meeting with people. So yeah...
> *David:* When you say exhausted, what do you mean by that? How does it make you feel like, er, your body?
> *Linda:* Well by body just feels physically drained as though all the life force has been sucked out of me. My muscles just feel dead I suppose, erm... my eyes feel tired, a bit painful really – I just feel really out of it. But in a way it feels quite nice cos it reassures you that you have done a good day's work, it's a satisfying feeling really. And that means that I don't feel guilty not working when I'm on the train back to Newcastle... But I feel like that every time I go down to London, I just expect it and deal with it really – you have to [laughs].

Notice how she highlights the disparity in experience of the two journeys undertaken during the course of a day. This disparity results from exhaustion that descends through the body as a result of business commitments during the day. These working practices therefore fold through and shape the experience of the return train journey. Her description also problematises Levinas's assertion that this is an oppressive experience. Tiredness and lethargy are commonly held to be negative sensations that must be somehow overcome through various corporeal strategies (see Wiederberg, 2006). As Harrison comments '[w]e appear to have great difficulty in apprehending vulnerability otherwise than as a failing, as a teleologically constituted prelude to action, or, and this amounts to the same thing, as a derivative or weak form of action' (2006, 4). Contrary to suggestions of exhaustion and associated forms of withdrawal as undesirable sensibilities, this passenger describes how tiredness can be embraced by the body as a satisfying form of receptivity. Not only does this radical passivity effectively render the body

impotent to undertake other practices, but also acts as a referent, a trace of the achievement of the day. The accomplishment of productive activity has marked the body, infiltrated through the body. It has revealed itself through the body, thereby making the achievement physically felt.

In contrast to daydreaming and deep sleep, the experience of fatigue whilst on the move produces a different set of relations between the body, time and space. Where daydreaming marks a duration of unwinding, where the body rests in place, in exhaustion and fatigue, the ability to find a space to unwind goes awry. As Blanchot comments, 'to sleep badly is precisely to be unable to find one's position to rest' (1989, 266). In contrast to the sleeping subject, the subjectivity of the fatigued body is spatial and temporal vastness; a sense of disorientation and an aimless wandering where the ability to fully withdraw is impossible. In sum, this section has demonstrated how rather than apprehending relaxation as a homogenous and self-contained inevitability where the body is blissfully gathered in place, withdrawal becomes more dispersed, difficult and perhaps even impossible to achieve.

Conclusion

In contrast to the 'busyness' of practice (see Lorimer, 2005) that is implied through chapter 5, and the moving bodies explored in chapter 4, this chapter has demonstrated how the passenger experience of the railway journey is not always characterised by active, engaged or mobile activity. Whilst various forms of passivity have been discussed in previous chapters with regard to moving through the railway station and being incarcerated within the train carriage, this chapter has explicitly focused on the experiences of the stilled body, the implications that this has on what we understand a travelling body to be, and the multiple spatialities that emerge. This is significant since for many people, the experience of the railway journey is characterised by long periods of stilling and not being engaged in activity – something that is tended to be overlooked in the travel-time literature. Therefore an interrogation of stilled bodies is crucial to understanding the experiences of bodies moving through these spaces. As such, these durations where the body is stilled contrasts with much of the literature that focuses on the active, lively and animate dimensions of everyday life (see Highmore, 2002). Furthermore, through an investigation into different experiences of stilling, this chapter has served to demonstrate how sleepfulness and wakefulness as particular forms of consciousness are far from coherent categories. Similarly, engagement and disengagement are equally problematic since passengers 'withdraw as well as engage, withdraw through engagement or engage through withdrawal' (Harrison, 2007a, 34).

This chapter has demonstrated how the event of waiting constitutes a qualitatively different form of passivity to that of relaxation. Whilst waiting is broadly experienced as an undesirable form of stilling, relaxation is generally deemed to be more pleasant. In part, this relates to the extent to which different forms of passivity are intentionally willed through the body. Whilst the duration of the journey spent waiting can be modified, perhaps through careful

time management, there are often times where durations of waiting are not anticipated and are beyond the control of the individual passenger. This unanticipated waiting can precipitate impatience and frustration which can have effects beyond the duration of waiting. Alternatively, corporeal stilling through forms of relaxation whilst on board the train can be an intentional choice made by the passenger.

However, the way that both forms of stilling are experienced through the body relates to the wider consideration of how travel-time is organised and valued by passengers. This relates to commitments and events beyond the duration of the railway journey. This chapter has demonstrated how, responding to more flexible working and lifestyle patterns, the place of travel has, for many, also become the place to relax (see Lyons, et al., 2007). This is important since it relates to wider structural changes relating to working patterns. Rather than rigorously sedimented in particular routines or cultural contexts where relaxation happens at a particular time in a particular place, the routines of relaxation have, for many, become more varied. After a hectic day at work, many passengers value travel-time as an important period of relaxation, and a necessary transition period between the work and domestic sphere. Rather than stilling being regarded as lacking productivity, or as a 'lassitude or weakness to be overcome' (Harrison, 2007a, 4), stilling for relaxation is a necessary flip-side of engaged activity. Through relaxation, the body has the potential to become restored and therefore can be *more productive* during engaged periods. Relaxation here is intrinsic to the experience of the day, as Farbmann argues, 'sleep, as recharging one's powers for the purposes of day, turns night to the purposes of day' (2005, 127). Indeed this chapter has described how the duration spent daydreaming or sleeping in the space of the train carriage is perhaps unique in that it is something that many passengers would not otherwise do during the waking hours of the day. For some, it may be that the event of travel is activity enough where the physical act of transportation does not necessitate any more effort on the part of the passenger. For others, though, the choice of what to do when presented with the duration of travel-time may be determined by whether it is perceived as business time or personal time. Similar to the active practices discussed in chapter 5, if passengers travelling on business or during working hours find themselves relaxing, this might bring about feelings of guilt as particular business-orientated definitions of productivity and laziness protrude into the train carriage. Here, daydreaming might be far-from desirable. However, the flip-side of this is that if conceptualised as 'working time', extended periods of unanticipated waiting might not induce the same intensity of frustration. How corporeal stilling is experienced and *evaluated* therefore folds into how time is organised and valued.

Ultimately, what emerges from these considerations is a more responsible phenomenology of the travelling body that is susceptible to the stresses and strains of the physicality of travel. Rather than a body that is always-agentive, this chapter demonstrates how travel impacts on the body itself, coercing it into particular forms of stilling. Important here is a recognition of how travel has the capacity to fatigue the body. This provides a more vulnerable and decentred depiction of the mobile body which is important since the recognition of the

demands of the fatigued body are increasingly important to planners, architects and designers of mobile spaces. Conceptualising the stilled body also has the effect of denuding or muting the passenger of aspects of their identity. Since particular identities are enacted through performances, gestures and activities, stilling the body attenuates these particular identifiers. In waiting and sleeping, passengers formerly recognisable by their specific practices, such as working at a laptop or reading a particular book, become more similar. Through these forms of passivity, differences between passengers become less distinct. These aspects of sociality form the basis of the following chapter.

Chapter 7

Sociality: moving with bodies

Introduction

This final chapter explores the social dimension of the railway journey and the ways that being with others on the move brings about particular experiences of sociality that share both similarities and differences with other forms of mobility. Recent research has looked at the ways that the rise of automobility during the twentieth century has resulted in particular forms of sociality and the refiguring of public and private spaces. Many have lamented the erosion of public space by the private car (Habermas, 1992; Sennett, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991) where the car is taken to be a separate sphere of personal freedom and movement. The car here is the ultimate symbol of the freedoms of modernity (Sheller and Urry, 2000). Here, mobility is viewed as a detrimental force and the enemy of civility that disrupts public space. However, more recently, others have looked at how automobilities rather than being particularly private spaces are bound up in many different kinds of civility. Sheller and Urry (2003) question whether this division is indeed useful at all, arguing how automobilities serve to blur the idealised boundaries between the private and public. Following Fraser (1992), they advocate that automobilities constitute hybrids of public and private life. Since automobilities are connected into mobile fluid networks the private is never entirely personal.

In this chapter, and acknowledging the complex relation between public and private space (see Goheen, 1998), I follow Sheller and Urry by considering how people play with these blurred boundaries whilst on a train journey. Whilst Schivelbusch (1979) notes how the railway journey initially served to transform the experience of the private individual into a mass public,

here I want to consider how spaces of the railway journey, similar to systems of automobility, come to be a 'rolling private-in-public spaces' (Sheller and Urry, 2000, 746). These similarities are significant to this research as Sheller and Urry remind us that the dominance of automobility as a 'quasi-private mobility... subordinates all other public mobilities' (2003, 115). This demonstrates that the experience of the railway journey today is intimately tangled up within experiences of other mobilities, particularly automobility. If we appreciate that railway passengers also have experience of car travel, and vice-versa, crucial here is how perceptions, performances, expectations and, importantly for this chapter, socialities associated with one form of mobility can be carried forth and mediate the experiences of other forms of mobility.

The railway journey, similar to automobilities permits multiple socialities and ways of being with others. However, in contrast to automobilities, these multiple socialities are acted out in very different material and affective ways: Laurier (2004, 2005) and Brown and Laurier (2005), for example, have narrated some of the complex socialities that are undertaken whilst in the car where strategies of wayfinding, mapping and conversing are mediated through complex assemblages of objects and technologies. The more 'private' conversational interactions of the interior of the car and 'networked socialities' (Wittel, 2001) that emerge through the use of locative technologies are juxtaposed with the sociality that emerges from the negotiation and anticipation of other road users and pedestrians. This might occur visually, through gestures to other road-users; and vocally as different car inhabitants assist the driver become aware of emerging phenomena. These multiple interactions are mediated by the spatiality of the car itself, the aesthetic of the windscreen (Danius, 2001), and for the driver, the demands of being in control and navigating a fast-moving vehicle. Whilst some similarities exist, the preceding chapters demonstrate how a train journey constitutes a different embodied experience to a car, requiring different forms of physical movement, enabling different performances and inducing different forms of subjectivity. Whilst these chapters have touched on various aspects of sociality of the railway journey, this chapter focuses explicitly on how the railway journey produces a complex set of socialities that fold back on how movement, activity and stilling are experienced by passengers.

Whilst academic literature on mobilities has highlighted the problems that emerge from the use of private and public as binary classifications, the railway has long been conceptualised as a 'public transport' where a particular arrangement of collectivity coheres (Schivelbusch, 1979; Bertolini and Spit, 1998; Madanipour et al., 2003). Unlike car travel, spaces of the railway journey necessitate that passengers who do not know each other travel together in close proximity (although some similarities could be made with car-pooling). Since privatisation of British Rail in 1996, whilst the space of the railway station and the trains themselves are now privately owned, much of their financing, together with tight regulation, is still provided by central government (which raises interesting questions about the extent to which these spaces can be viewed as public or private). In part, it is an exclusionary space where people are only permitted access if they have paid their fare and are reprimanded if this is transgressed. It is a

space underpinned by a plethora of regulations, spelt out in the 'National Rail Conditions of Carriage' (ATOC, 2006). In this case, we could perhaps think of it as a particularly 'splintered' public sphere, segregated by ability to pay (Graham and Marvin, 2001). This has important implications for passenger expectations, demands and obligations and how the conduct of passengers is policed and organised.

In this chapter I look at how these dimensions of sociality are experienced and enacted in the context of the train journey. As such, this chapter is organised around three sections. First, I look at how the spatiality of the railway carriage is brought into being in complex ways. Whilst previous chapters have described how different Train Operating Companies attempt to create particular travelling environments and atmospheres through both marketing and the built form of the carriage itself, here I examine how the particular public dimension of being-with-others impacts on how this space is perceived and used. I do this in two ways. First, and thinking back to the disinterestedness of the spaces of the carriage as discussed in chapter 6, I consider how both the uniformity of the carriage environment together with the experience of being with unknown others gives rise to particular atmospheres of anonymity that have the capacity to induce particular feelings of vulnerability. Second, I look at a variety of strategies that are enacted to overcome this anonymity through the personalisation of space. Here, I consider how this process of the individual privatisation of space is calculated, performed, negotiated and maintained in a variety of spatial and audial ways with other passengers.

Second, I look at what happens when the space of the carriage cannot be controlled or used in a way that passengers had originally anticipated. As such, through this section I illuminate not only the fragility of the railway journey in terms of the susceptibility to multiple unanticipated events but also how these unanticipated events make the passenger more vulnerable. Rather than the existential vulnerability of the stilled passenger presented in chapter 6, this vulnerability emerges through the relative powerlessness that passengers experience in a two particular situations: First, I describe how particular events of conflict occur when sociality breaks down and ruptures. Here, I look at events of irritation and how passengers react to the behaviour of other passengers. Second, I look at particular events of cohesion that emerge when there is a disruption to the train service. Of importance here is the emergence of particular communal atmospheres and the reliance on others for information. This section highlights not only the significance of passivity as a strategy to cope with both events of irritation and disruption but also, similar to the stilling explored in chapter 6, how both these events reduce the potential range of activities that passengers can undertake.

Third, and following from this, I look at how more responsible forms of being with others in the space of the railway journey can potentially develop. Rather than durations that are characterised by the individualistic privatisation of space, or where sociality emerges only through events of conflict or cohesion, important here is a recognition that particular dispositions of civility are required to make these spaces more pleasant for the variety of

passengers that these spaces accommodate. I do this by looking at two things. First I explore how forms of 'railway citizenship' emerge through particular acts of responsibility towards other passengers. Second, I look at how brief, light-touch relations can bring about more pleasant, transient relations between passengers.

In sum, this chapter considers the extent to which the travelling body is also a social body that is bound up with being with others on the move. This relationship between individuality and collectivity, and the kinds of belonging that emerge, folds back to the considerations of the previous chapters in that it helps us to consider what passengers can do during the railway journey, how space is perceived, and how experiences shift over time.

7.1 The railway journey as public space

In this section I want to think through how the railway carriage as a particular kind of public-private space is perceived by passengers and modified in a variety of different ways. More specifically, this section investigates the relation between the intended atmospheres that Train Operating Companies aim to create within their railway carriages and the ways that they are actually perceived by passengers. Whilst these carriages are the property of leasing companies and managed by Train Operating Companies, the carriage interior, similar to the automobile, represents a complex and hybrid public-in-private space. Schivelbusch (1979) goes further and suggests that railway carriages form a kind of public 'mechanised territory', an example of a public space that is sometimes listed in discussions of public space that is more 'conventionally-defined as government-owned land' (Blackmar, 2006, 53). Here, I want to look at the extent to which the discourse of the railway as a particular 'public' transport manifests itself in particular feelings and practices that are enacted on board. Whilst this chapter examines how particular collectives emerge through the railway journey, in this section I focus on the processes that go into privatising the space of the train carriage which, for the individual, converts it from a uniform, anonymous space to a personalised space that can, to an extent, be controlled.

7.1.1 Anonymous space

In chapter 6, I described how Train Operating Companies attempt to create particular structures of feeling through both marketing images and the interior form of the carriage. This included comfortable seats, cleanliness, and warm lighting, each of which contributes to the intention of engineering a welcome environment. However, and in spite of differences between different carriages and different classes of accommodation (see Lovegrove, 2005), the interiors of carriages are relatively uniform environments. Furthermore, there are no referents to individual bodies save for perhaps a reservation label stating departure station and destination. As such, it could be conceptualised as a container space which has parallels to the disinterested, non-place of the waiting room. This relative familiarity of the interior; its colours, lighting, arrangement of seats and tables; is juxtaposed by the relative unfamiliarity of the other people in the carriage.

This is a dimension of the railway journey that is omitted from marketing images which tend to emphasise the isolated individual in his or her own space; unburdened by the presence of others. Here I want to suggest how this isolated individual in the presence of unknown others gives rise to particular feelings of vulnerability. First, I want to focus on the vulnerability that arises from feelings of loneliness and isolation. Second, I want to look at how being with unknown others can also give rise to feelings of claustrophobia. In both these cases, the perception of this space makes the passenger feel vulnerable through the exposure or the intense pressing of others upon the body.

So first to isolation. The experience of isolation is a potent theme through much travel literature and artwork (de Botton, 2002), encapsulated poignantly by Edward Hopper in works such as *Automat* (1927). Throughout the social sciences however, work on isolation tends to be skewed towards a focus on particular subsections of society who perhaps experiences long-term isolation such as the elderly (see Cattan, et al., 2005; Victor, et al., 2006). In contrast, the isolation experienced in the railway carriage is a transient and temporary isolation. For this passenger, who travels infrequently, the absence of others in the railway carriage gives rise to feelings of isolation which she perceives as threatening. This parallels Schivelbusch who describes how isolation can 'change from embarrassment at the silence to fear of potential, mutual threat' (1979, 84):

> *Rumina:* I think I would feel more intimidated if there was nobody on the train or in my carriage...If there was just two of us in the carriage, that would feel more threatening than a lot of people in the carriage. It feels a bit threatening and exposed, especially if you're on your own and you're female...

She hints that the presence of more people around her would make her feel safer and less vulnerable, particularly as a lone-female traveller. Indeed this is something that railway companies abroad have responded to, such as in Japan and India, where female-only carriages provide a safe-haven to diminish feelings of exposure and isolation which might be threatening. Being exposed to others can therefore induce sensations of fear for personal safety. This passenger describes the differences between air travel and railway travel, emphasising how the presence of staff and a 'proper' welcome made by a person visually present makes air travel more welcoming:

> *Jasmine:* They could make their passengers feel a bit more... welcome. Because, you think back to on an aeroplane, how many people do you get on an aircraft? About 100, and you get the stewardesses come on and do that little bit that we all love to laugh at, but it's all part of this corporate feeling of bringing everybody together, and that we're all on this journey together sort of thing. Whereas on a train you never get that feeling. You

> feel quite isolated because the only person you see on a platform these days, because you don't even have the guards or whoever that go up and down and slam the doors, cos that was almost making you feel safe and ready and tucked in ready for the journey. Now you don't have any of that, it's quite impersonal.

In contrast, she describes how the changes in railway operation during the last few decades have removed the need for platform staff to close doors which, for her, enhanced feelings of safety and countered feelings of isolation. Whilst on board the train, she similarly describes feelings of alienation that emerge from the way that the only contact with staff on board is through the ticket-examination. Far from staving feelings of anonymity, this interaction serves to induce negative affects of guilt and fear:

> *Jasmine:* The only person you actually see is the person coming to check that you've got your ticket and that's kind of you know like the police coming down, you know to catch people out almost, there's that sort of feeling to it rather than thank you for travelling with us. That man's coming up and down the train to catch you out, almost. I almost feel nervous sometimes, my heart's going. So why should you feel like that? It's kind of that guilty feeling even though you've done nothing wrong; so there is that kind of alien feeling on trains.

For her, this absence of interaction with other passengers or train crew results in feelings of isolation. Being an individual within a travelling public therefore does not automatically result in particular forms of belonging. This anonymous sociality results in a perception that the train has coerced her *into* movement rather than the 'feeling you're being taken':

> *Jasmine:* I know they have the conductor do his little spiel over the loudspeaker but because it's only over a loudspeaker you don't get that feeling of you're being taken. The feeling is that you're on this train on your own. So yes, travelling by train is quite bizarre and quite a... lonesome thing to do isn't it. You can be with hundreds of other people yet you feel quite alone. Not alone in a lonely sort of way, but just alone.

These feelings of vulnerability through isolation and exposure are similar to the types of affect experienced by passengers in situations where the number of other passengers in the carriage becomes overwhelming. In these situations, the close proximity of other bodies and objects for considerable durations of time can press upon the body in highly undesirable ways. Potential claustrophobia could be implicated in the initial choice of seating. For this passenger, her choice of seat is mediated by the presence of too many other people which induces a sense of claustrophobia. Busy services reduce the amount of space that is shared between passengers, resulting in a contraction of space around each individual:

Julie: I sort of get on the train and then I just think... I have a look at what carriage I'm supposed to be in and then if it looks like it's busy then I go and sit in it. But if it's one of those table seats and I'm reserved there then I won't go and sit in it because I don't want to sit with four people. I'd rather be sat with one other person if I had to sit with anybody. I don't want to sit with four people, I get really claustrophobic...Yeah, I just prefer that. Cos if you're by the window you can just turn your back on them [miming turning away from neighbour].

Notice how she describes how, by turning towards the window, sensations of claustrophobia diminish. For her, sharing the space with one other person is more comfortable than sharing a table with more people. The anxiety fostered by this 'intimate alienation' (Fujii, 1999) is described well by Schivelbusch who notes how the 'the face-to-face arrangement...becomes unbearable because there no longer is a reason for such communication. The seating in the railroad compartment forces the travellers into a relationship that is no longer based on living need but has become an embarrassment' (1979, 80). Similarly, the passenger below describes how sitting in an aisle seat reduces these undesirable sensations from taking hold:

Jenny: Sometimes I like to sit in the aisle cos you can actually stretch out a little bit better...You know, some days you'll just like to be a little bit more flexible...It can be very [emphasis] intimidating having people cramming in next to you.

Here, sitting in close proximity to other passengers is a very intimidating experience and serves to constrict the body. This is an experience echoed in this diary excerpt which describes how other passengers press upon the body and result in claustrophobic feelings:

> At Leeds many people board the service. I am sitting in an aisle seat but the train is absolutely packed. It becomes clear that there are not enough seats and sure enough people are standing the entire stretch of the aisle. It feels like a refugee train where space is no longer personal but a contested communal resource. The guy standing behind beside me attempts to tackle a Burger King meal: holding the burger box with his left hand and burger in right limp lettuce drops onto the table in front of me. I'm beginning to feel sick. I don't know where to look. I am totally boxed in with no escape until Sheffield. I can feel my pulse gathering speed and I am getting hotter. I feel utterly trapped.
> Autoethnography between York and Sheffield 09-10-05 15:30

Despite the slightly dubious reference to a refugee train, this description demonstrates well how a lack of control over my surrounding space made this space feel threatening and oppressive.

These two examples demonstrate how even though the materiality of the railway carriage remains similar for each railway carriage; through the regular configuration of seats, tables and windows; differences in the number of other passengers effect significant changes to the way that the spatiality of the carriage is perceived and can be put to use. Both isolation and claustrophobia emerge as particular relations between the body and other passengers whereby other passengers are described in ways that reduce them to a homogenous 'other'. These experiences themselves have particular diurnal geographies. For example, feelings of claustrophobia are more likely to result from travelling on busy services during peak periods of day in the morning and early evening. Conversely, those travelling during off-peak hours in the middle of the day and late at night might be more susceptible to feelings of isolation and exposure. However, there is no guarantee that passengers will evaluate these sensations to be particularly undesirable. Whilst I have described that some passengers prefer to travel on busier trains, Schivelbusch highlights the ambivalent effect of isolation, commenting on how 'this solitude can be experienced as a state of satisfaction, of safety, of happiness' (1979, 82). In the following section, I want to proceed by considering some of the ways that passengers alleviate these uncomfortable aspects of these anonymous spaces.

7.1.2 Personalised space

In this section, I consider how this public dimension of the railway carriage is dealt with by passengers. Here I look at the variety of responses to the alienating effect of being with unknown others in a space that can effect feelings of alienation and claustrophobia. Each of these examples illuminates how space is privatised by individuals through practices of personalisation.

One of the most common ways that space is personalised is by listening to music through headphones. Whilst I have already discussed some of the relations between the soundscape and landscape in chapter 5, here I want to highlight how the use of personal stereos can help to alleviate undesirable feelings that might be induced by the anonymous sociality of the railway carriage. As this passenger describes, the practices of listening to music not only permits forms of disengagement but also 'blanks out the rest of the carriage':

> *Dean:* Yeah, I'll tend to stick my headphones on just after I've sat down so I can just drift away. It's not like I always like want to listen to any music in particular... Like, I just like the way that when you're listening to some music that you enjoy it just blanks out the rest of the carriage. You feel like you're travelling in your own little safety bubble which is actually a far nicer experience than having to listen to everybody else's noises inside the train which just gets irritating, like.

Here, the act of changing the acoustic environment to enliven the body (Bull, 2004) or drown out the sound of the train (see Jarrett, 2001) actively personalises the space of the carriage,

rendering it more familiar and comfortable. A 'safety bubble' is formed around the travelling body as a form of sonic shield that has the effect of distancing other proximate bodies who are not listening to the same music. This act of distancing through enclosure is illuminated well by this passenger who describes how the act of doing 'things normally done in the home' leaves the body vulnerable:

> *Richard:* [listening to music] eradicates the discomfort of travelling in a confined area which is quite an intimate area sitting very close to people you have never seen before or ever met, it's quite an intimate situation, because you are doing things that you might do in a sitting room at home, like listening to music or reading a paper, sitting in usually comfortable chairs for a prolonged period of time, it's quite – in lots of ways – it's quite a threatening situation and therefore by putting your headphones on or by burying yourself in a newspaper, by putting your Walkman on, or putting your laptop on, you're reinforcing the bubble around you to make it more comfortable...that's why a table is very good. If you haven't got a table –some trains very often have two seats facing two seats and there's no table between and that's quite a confrontational – if you're standing in front of somebody straight on, it is quite confrontational and you find yourself, if you're sitting in that situation, you won't sit head-on to them like that. If there's somebody sitting there, and there's no table, you will sit slightly sideways with your legs crossed.

Here, he describes the fine-grained performances that occur in order to feel more comfortable, such as sitting at an angle to the person sitting opposite in order to open up some personal distance. Through this, we get a sense that the space that passengers claim is highly calculated as described by this passenger who travels frequently:

> *Gareth:* From the back of my head, to the thighs, to the armrest, half the armrest. I don't even mind if someone steals the armrest, just the confining limits of the armrest where I am, probably the legroom if I'm at a table, like a quarter of the table. My quarter of the table, you know, just divide this mathematically... where you and and the space above you, that's your space.

This mathematical description illuminates how ownership of space is something that many passengers are highly attentive to. Whilst the description above illustrates an ideal amount of personal space, the following passenger describes how claiming space is something that is negotiated rather than given:

> *John:* My seat, er, and a quarter of the table that's in front of me. And in fact I remember once on one train there was somebody sitting opposite to me and I hadn't put anything

on the table and he put his newspaper on the table and it filled up the table and I felt like my space had been invaded.

David: Did you say anything, did you do anything to…

John: No, I waited for him to pick the newspaper up then reclaim the space with my items.

In this example, notice how this negotiation takes place through the placing of particular objects rather than through dialogue. Figure 7.1 similarly illustrates how I used a magazine and my iPod simultaneously to effect personalisation of space to prevent the passenger opposite from intruding into this space:

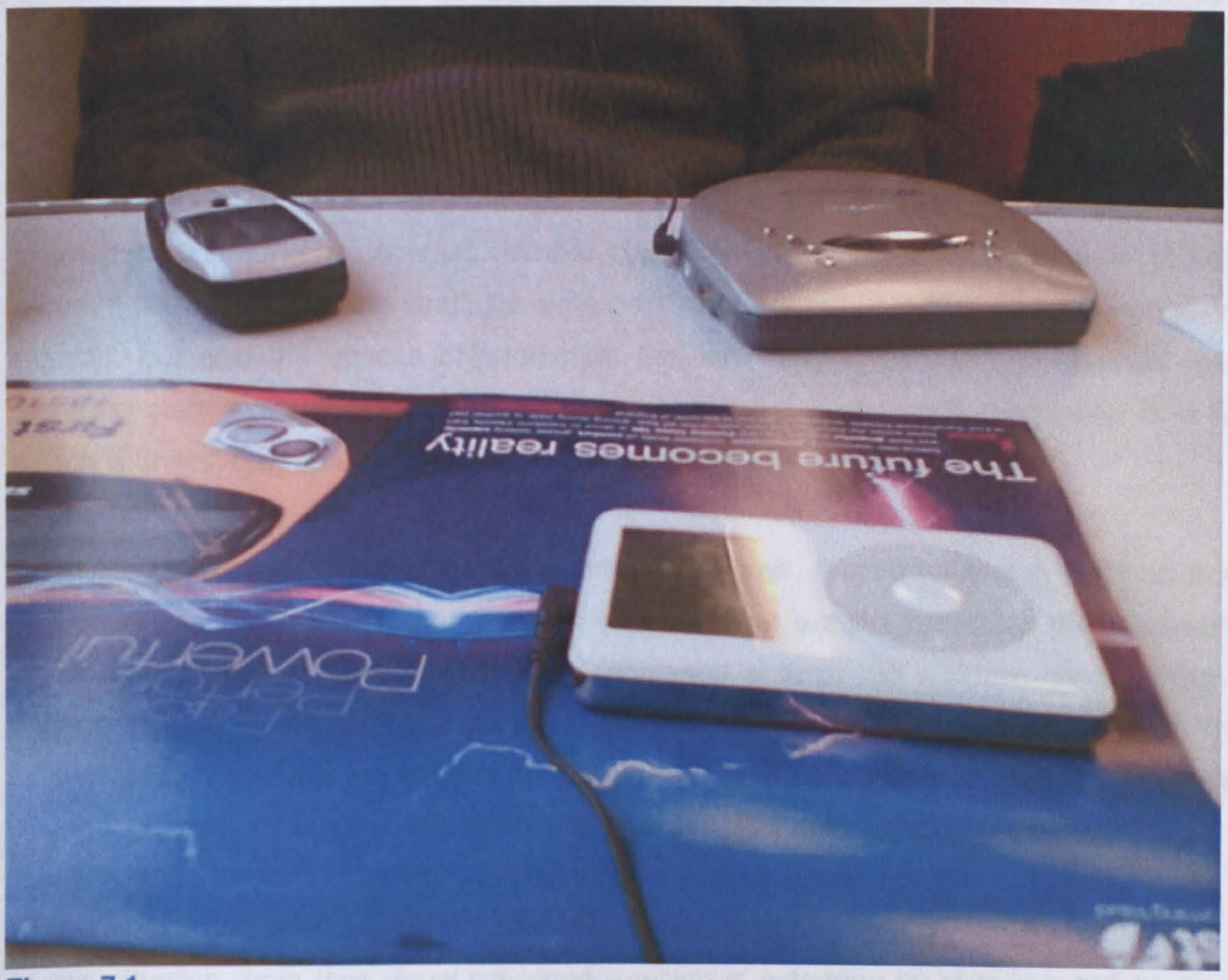

Figure 7.1
Claiming personal space between Norwich and London Liverpool Street 23-12-05 1018

Furthermore the extent to which space is claimed for an extension of the body changes as people board and alight at different stations. Whilst this passenger describes how he would like the table, he monitors the number of people boarding from which he can evaluate whether to remove his objects from the table, thereby constricting his space:

Sean: I err, if there's a lot of people coming on and I can see that there's not many spaces then I will free up the seat, but otherwise if there's still lots of spaces then I'll leave

my bag there [laughs], so I can keep that little space. Or put it on the table, even and hope that it'll claim the table and all the space around it for myself [laughs]. That's at the extreme though – I'm not always like that.

Similarly, at times where the carriage is less busy, the amount of personal space taken might be much more expansive. As this passenger describes, this can extend to the entire carriage:

James: That's an interesting question. I suppose if anything, if I'm in my seat, my personal space would be the table that I am surrounded by or the 2 airline seats that I'm sat at. I've even been at the point where my personal space has literally been the entire carriage cos there's no-one else in that carriage between two points such as Cardiff and Bridgend which is a very rare thing for me. It seems really special to think, 'I'm the only person on this carriage now'.

The above examples demonstrate how personal space is calculated, negotiated and claimed by individual passengers. Where passengers are travelling together in groups, a different set of personalising strategies emerge. These are not only marked by the presence of objects, but also the spaces of interaction that are created between themselves. As this travelling diary excerpt describes, rather than remaining seated and calculating how much space is 'theirs' they spread out and extend their sphere of influence:

At the table seats infront of us are a group of 6 guys, they're on a stag night up from London as much of the conversation has revolved around plans for the impending wedding reception. They have already consumed at least half a dozen cans of Four-X lager between them and have got a further 12 cans lined up on the table to their left. The two guys not sitting are leaning over the table, one hand hanging onto the overhead luggage rack, the other clutching the can of lager. They are laughing and joking.
Participant Observation between London King's Cross and Newcastle 04-08-05 1514

In this situation, both their visual presence – which is extended by standing and holding the luggage racks – and their audial presence, through laughing and joking, are extended into the wider carriage environment. The social performance here is more reminiscent of a bar than a train carriage. This creates a different set of power relations where others in the train carriage have less power to negotiate. Whilst this might be rather frustrating for some, at particular times of the week, this social performance can help to create an exciting and lively atmosphere as described by this passenger:

Luke: Yeah. In fact I quite enjoy travelling for that reason – on a Friday. Just cos I know...it's usually quite full, There's usually a bit of an atmosphere. Sometimes,

particularly when I get to York and I change from York, there's nearly always you know, kind of, not groups of drunks, but groups of blokes who are out for a drink in Leeds and that's kind of interesting, for me. It makes you feel like, 'right, it's the weekend, I can relax now'.

The use of alcohol in this space marks out a particular time in the week and, for him, heightens the sense of excitement. However, for others, the process of personalisation of space signifies less regard for other people in the carriage. This passenger, through finding a comfortable position to sit, takes up two seats on a busy service by placing his feet on the seat:

Figure 7.2
Anti-social practice of claiming space between York and Derby 01-05-06 1241-1251

In the act of finding a comfortable resting place, he has little regard not only for those who cannot find a seat, but also for those who will later sit where his feet have been. Similarly, where people leave traces of their presence, such as through litter (figure 7.3), this makes space less comfortable for those boarding the service later on:

Figure 7.3
Permanence of corporeal traces between Sheffield and York 09-10-05 2003

I started this section by describing the how the uniformity of the interior of the railway carriage together with the presence of unknown others can result in particular structures of feeling for individual passengers. Whilst solitude can be a welcoming experience, for many, the railway carriage can induce a sense of isolation or claustrophobia. In part, these affects might stem from the inability to control particular dimensions of space, not least the effect of giving one's self up to this technology of transit. However, these sensations also emerge from the relationship between the individual passenger and homogenous and unknown 'others'. In the second section, I demonstrated how passengers enlist strategies to cope with these affects by retreating from these unknown 'others' by processes of enclosure. Through personal stereos and the placing of objects, public, anonymous space is privatised and made personal. For those travelling with others, conversation space is a further strategy that claims space. Each of these strategies helps in the creation and maintenance of particular atmospheres which facilitate many of the practical activities outlined in chapter 5. Reading and doing business work are just two examples where an enclosed and personal space might be required. As such, these strategies constitute transient ownership of this space where control is assumed. Whilst for many, an appreciation for other passengers is demonstrated through negotiation and withdrawal from space if the carriage becomes busy, others remain unconcerned or unaware that their behaviour or control of a particular space might impact on how other people experience their journey. Ultimately this is a sociality that is characterised by self-interest and individuality – particularly since this is a duration that has cost money. In the following section I explore how these forms of disinterested sociality can transform through particular events.

7.2 Conflict and cohesion

In this section, I examine what happens when particular unexpected events serve to induce a different form of sociality. Whilst I have demonstrated how individuals perform acts of enclosure, privatising space and creating a particular atmosphere in order to do carry out particular activities, here I look at how unanticipated events during the railway journey can serve to erode this personal control over space. The two events that I explore here relate to events of irritation and events or service disruption. These events are useful since in both of these situations, experiences of powerlessness emerge that bring about particular and often contrasting configurations of sociality. Broadly, whilst experiences of irritation might enact an atmosphere of conflict between passengers, experiences of disruption might conversely serve to circulate an atmosphere of cohesion and solidarity. The issue of scale has important implications. Whilst irritation might occur at a small-spatial scale as a reaction to the practices of an individual passenger, events of service disruption implicate all the passengers travelling in that particular carriage. Whilst strategies of enclosure discussed in the previous section offer ways to stave feelings of vulnerability, unanticipated events that disrupt passengers' practices have the potential to increase these feelings of vulnerability. As such, this section serves to

illuminate the fragility of this space, the strategies that are adopted by passengers to deal with these events, and the types of belonging that emerge.

7.2.1 Spaces of conflict: irritation

In this first section I want to focus on forms of conflict that emerge between passengers within the railway carriage through the specific example of irritation. As chapter 5 demonstrated, the space of the railway carriage is unique when compared with other modes of transport in that it sustains such a disparate variety of activities. From the mobile office, through to an entertainment space or an adventure space for young children (often within the same carriage), one of the advantages of railway travel over air travel is that it supports a heterotopia of different activities. In contrast, the string of activities undertaken during an aeroplane flight is experienced more communally. Here, passengers eat when food is presented to them and passengers are encouraged to sleep as the shutters are drawn and the lights are dimmed. Not only are activities more directed, but also the absence of many personal communication devices such as mobile phones serves to curtail a wider range of practices. I want to suggest here that it is this multiplicity of different practices promised by the relative freedom of the railway carriage that results in emergence of spaces of conflict. In these situations, the personal spaces of enclosure created by passengers are intruded upon and broken down.

To begin, there are many practices that people undertake on trains that involve the production of noise. Since noise cannot be confined to the personal space of one particular passenger, the seepage of noise to other parts of the carriage has the potential to cause significant disturbance and irritation. One of the dominant practices that has the potential to rouse irritation from other passengers is through the use of mobile phones (see Love, 2001); a phenomena that Monk, et al. (2004) suggest emerges from the one-sidedness of the conversation that is more noticeable than face-to-face conversation. They argue that people pay more attention when they only hear half a conversation. This is a sentiment shared by this passenger who gets irritated by the volume that some calls are conducted with:

> *Jenny:* Yeah, especially people who have loud telephone conversations, they get on the train, it's half past three or four o'clock or half past four, and it's either the end of the week or the end of the day so you've been busy. They get on and they immediately ring whoever, back at the office to say how things have gone. You know, why can't you just leave them alone 'til the next day. They don't need to know what's been happening, right? And then you've got these guys that are telling somebody to order this and get so many tonnes worth of concrete and see about so and so doing that. Yeah, but you don't have to say it so loud. You know, it can be done quietly or you can go and stand out in the corridor and do it.

Since the passenger that she is referring to is not doing anything that they can be reprimanded over, irritation also emerges from the fact that she is powerless to prevent this from happening. Intrusion into personal auditory space does not always involve the use of mobile phones as this passenger describes her irritation at the performances she perceives whilst travelling:

> *Linda:* We know that people get a bit hyper when they're on the train but they get hyper because they're trying to demonstrate how powerful they are and how successful they've been and you know, and it gets up your nose after a while you know.

Here, the very fact that she is made acutely aware of someone else's private business against her wishes results in feelings of animosity. Whilst the practices causing irritation here are permitted within the train carriage, the enactment of other less-acceptable practices on the other hand has the potential to heighten these senses of irritation, agitation and frustration. Whilst much has been written about how staff should deal with disruptive passengers (see Williams, 2003 and Bor et al., 2001), significantly less has been said about the effect that these disruptive practices have on other travellers and the forms of sociality that emerge. Other activities that can circulate forms of undesirable affect are more unreasonable to the majority of travellers and can therefore be deemed as being 'out of place' in this specific environment (see Cresswell, 1996). This irritation emerges particularly through acoustic intrusion where other passengers who are attempting to work or relax are interrupted by the noise of other people. The event described here illustrates that even when intrusion into what is perceived as a personal soundscape does occur, despite a mutual appreciation of the problem with other passengers, there is a reluctance to take action for fear of drawing attention to oneself:

> A guy has his laptop on the table with miniature speakers plugged in. Many people in the carriage are looking very aggravated–looking around at others for a response. The woman adjacent to me gives me eye contact and raises her eyebrows, her mouth pursing and puffing audibly. Others are doing the same. The vocal silence is eventually broken "someone go and tell him to shut up". People are physically moving higher in their seats–craning their necks to get a view of the culprit. We decide to move to the next carriage but can still hear the music. On the way we squeeze past a group of girls standing at the end of the carriage. They see we are irritated and smile–it feels like a shared appreciation of the problem.
>
> Autoethnography between Peterborough and Stamford 02-07-05 1140

Here, whilst a conflict arises between the people who are being disturbed by the noise and the perpetrator, notice how this event does effect a form of collective response. People break out from their enclosures by making suggestive eye-contact and gestures. Whilst the passenger

below lists a variety of behavioural and acoustic irritations, again, there is a reluctance to rectify the situation through confrontation:

> *David:* Ok, and what is your most displeasing aspect about travelling by train?
> *Edward:* The general public are allowed to travel on them. Perhaps they should have to pass some kind of GNVQ before they can travel on some form of public transport. What I find is that things like loutish behaviour er, people who are very loud or very drunk – I hate that. I hate kids who can't behave. I'm not on about screaming babies, that annoys me, but you've also got to think it's a screaming baby, what can you do? Just move seats and stop moaning. But when like 5-6 year olds are just, their behaviour can sometimes be intolerable and you just think f*ing hell, I hate that a lot. But the thing I hate the most is people who think that they have a right to play music out loud using speakers, or watching DVDs out loud. I think, I just think that is the most rude thing I've ever come across.
> *David:* Would you take it upon yourself to tell people, to police the situation?
> *Edward:* No, I think I would normally just move carriage. I would hope that someone else would normally, to be honest.

This intensely affective relation forged between passengers is similarly heightened in this diary excerpt. However, again, the impotence to act stems from the fear of reprisal:

> We're sitting in First Class. Feeling angry that we've paid for a first class journey and being disrupted by noisy kids entering the carriage. Can feel my blood pressure rising. My breathing has become shorter and can feel anger welling up inside me. I feel powerless to act as their rather intimidating father is standing in the vestibule outside. They are shouting about football and swinging on seats.
> Autoethnography between Birmingham New Street and Newcastle 07-01-06 1703

These types of anti-social behaviour are often fuelled by alcohol which has the capacity to increase the confidence of the perpetrators, perhaps reducing their social conscience and responsibility to others as discussed by this passenger:

> *Omar:* I remember this one time I was getting the train from York and there were these – a couple of old boys and their girlfriends – were messing around – they were completely pissed. And you could just see that everyone was feeling uncomfortable. And then this guy chucked a ball down the carriage and it hit some girl on the head and her boyfriend came up to give it a bit. And they were all sitting there laughing like f*in'g children. You can sense that everyone's thinking the same thing – or you imagine that.

Notice how the irritating actions of a few passengers again creates an anticipated sense of solidarity between other passengers that might not have otherwise emerged. Perhaps such disruptive practices emerge in response to the lack of appreciation of rules and regulations within this space. The National Rail Conditions of Carriage states how 'Any person who a Train Company believes is likely to act in a riotous, disorderly or offensive manner may be refused access to, or may be required to leave, trains, platforms or stations' (ATOC, 2006, 18). However, the examples above illustrate how such rules often lack instigation. Nevertheless there are certain areas of the train where codes of behaviour are highly visible such as the Quiet Coaches, now a common feature of many long-distance train services, where rules are displayed throughout the space. However even in such regulated environments, codes of conduct are often subverted which can increase the intensity of anger experienced by some, as described by this passenger:

> *Will:* Yes. Well, actually... not consciously I don't think. I never think, oh I'll choose to sit in a quiet coach, because the only time that I've eve been in a quiet coach and I've wanted it to be quiet, there was, the train was absolutely packed and there were like kids wandering around and some woman was letting her kid watch their portable DVD player and I was like, 'this is the fucking quiet coach'. And this woman was like, some scally woman screaming. And when the conductor came around and I was [makes annoyed face], he was just [shrugs], what do you want me to do about it.
>
> *David:* More than my job's worth.
>
> *Will:* But what the f*k's the point of having a quiet coach if you're going to let some scally twat run around, you know, let their kids run around and watch bloody Scooby Do.
>
> *David:* Even if they've got the most amazing headphones with them, they won't use them, that's annoying.
>
> *Will:* Yes, that was it. Like why can't you just plug your headphones in?
>
> *David:* Did you find in that case, did anyone else take it upon themselves to confront them or not?
>
> *Will:* No, no. For the same reason that I wouldn't. I'd rather just avoid the conflict.
>
> *David:* It's amazing though cos everyone must be equally annoyed at the situation.
>
> *Will:* Yeah, I know.
>
> *David:* It's like 'there can't be anyone here who likes this!
>
> *Will:* But you sort of think, well, maybe no one else here is that bothered? Don't you, I suppose. And therefore...
>
> *David:* Yes, like am I hyper-bothered, am I too bothered?
>
> *Will:* Yes, maybe I should just chill out a bit?

In this situation, he mirrors other respondents by showing his reluctance to confront those causing him irritation. However, the anticipated sense of shared frustration voiced by others is

put into doubt by his concern that 'maybe no one else is bothered?' This demonstrates how whilst a conflicting sociality emerges between her and the people causing irritation, the extent to which this results in similar feelings being shared by others remains less obvious. The way that passengers respond to the behaviour of others is therefore often unpredictable. As this passenger demonstrates, it is difficult to anticipate how others will respond to particular practices, especially when we ourselves evaluate them to be acceptable. Even in an allocated Quiet Coach, the absence of a consensus on what is 'permitted behaviour' results in a confrontational relationship between passengers which persists long after the event itself:

Helen: I have actually been reprimanded for using my phone in the quiet carriage before we had left the station at King's Cross. Oh yes, I was.

David: Really?!

Helen: Oh yes, I was! I was absolutely furious! [speeding up] Because it's something really, it's something I hate people doing but we hadn't left the station! You know, and I didn't see that it was appropriate you know, and this woman that had a go at me was one of these loud women anyway that was having a mad conversation and the guy that was going to sit down in front of me he turned around and he joined in! And I felt all ganged up on!

David: How do you respond to that?! You know, I wouldn't know what to do!

Helen: Well, I said 'does it matter? We haven't left the station yet!' 'Oh you think that's not appropriate?'

David: Is that what she said?

Helen: No, that's what he said. I could have smacked him! I could have smacked him. Anyway, there was a guy sitting behind me and he tapped me on the shoulder and he said 'you carry on, you make your conversation'. I said, 'that's very nice of you, thank you very much'. But I was ....ohhhh, I was seething! [angrily] You know, I felt like a naughty child.

David: Absolutely.

Helen: And she'd already told another guy off for using his phone. No, did she tell him off? Can't remember now, I was so worked up about it, I can't remember whether it was before I said my piece or with... and he'd made some comment about he didn't know that the telephone police were on the train or something like that. I thought 'er, that's a bit infantile', but perhaps that's the best you can manage without swearing at the woman, you know.

She continues by describing how this initial anger created a relation of conflict between her and the man sitting in front. Notice below how she describes her intention of resolving this power disparity by attempting to find fault:

Helen: Oh yes. I was seething for quite some time. And I put my headphones on and cos I was seething about her and I was seething about him sitting in front of me as well. You know, I was watching him to see if he was going to have some misdemeanour that I could have a go at him with. But I was like 'this is stupid!' Calm down.

In her case, this irritation is sustained through practices of watchfulness over other passengers.

In sum, this section has demonstrated how particular events that intrude upon what people perceive to be their enclosed 'personal space' have the capacity to effect feelings of frustration and animosity towards fellow passengers. What is significant here is the process by which passengers become aware of other passengers and, in doing so, form particular socialities. Whilst experiences of conflict might emerge between particular passengers, other relations might also develop such as the feeling of a shared irritation. However, as described by some, these shared feelings are sensed, through often-subtle facial expressions and eye-contact, rather than made explicitly through vocalisation. As such, these shared affects are fragile and it is partly this absence of any singular apprehension that results in the lack of resolution. What if other people do not feel the same way? What if I have misread their irritation? The sense of passivity that emerges where passengers do not confront the passenger who is causing them irritation contrasts with Katz's (1999) account of irritation that emerges through the practice of driving. When car drivers become irritated or frustrated by the actions of other road-users, they become highly animated. For them, their feelings are made explicit through cursing loudly, gesturing wildly and liberal use of the car horn. The difference here is that, aside from the fact that these situations are often safety-critical, the these encounters between road-users are fleeing and momentary. Once this aggressive confrontation has passed, they will possibly never encounter each other again. In contrast, the space of the railway carriage reduces the distance between individuals. There is no protective and insulating windscreen here. Neither is there an opportunity to quickly get away after the encounter. Here, emotions have the capacity to smoulder away for the remainder of the journey. Passivity towards irritation therefore emerges as a strategy to restrain these undesirable emotions. In the second section I consider how disruption on a larger scale results in a different configuration of sociality within the railway carriage.

7.2.2 Spaces of cohesion: disruption

In this second section, I turn to disruptive events that impact on a larger number of passengers at a wider spatial scale. In contrast to events of irritation that might only affect a small number of people within the carriage in a localised area, events of disruption where services are delayed have the capacity to implicate everyone who is waiting for or travelling on that particular service. Whilst passengers might experience similar affectual responses of irritation, in the main, these are not induced by the practices of others. Rather, similar to the

unanticipated durations of waiting described in chapter 6, these events of disruption are not anticipated in advance and therefore disrupt passengers' personal organisation of time. Here, I want to suggest that the responses to these events of disruption may bring about new forms of collectivity whilst on the move where the solitary enclosures that passengers forge are momentarily broken down. These forms of sociality emerge unpredictably since no one knows how the duration of disruption will play out.

Since these events are unanticipated, it is important for passengers to ascertain as much information as they can in order to reorganise their time. As this passenger describes, rather than remaining enclosed in their own personal spaces, new forms of collectivity develop where passengers rely on the information of others around them in the hope that they might have a more detailed knowledge of how the situation will develop:

> *Mitch:* Normally I just get very frustrated... a lot of people just listen to other people who have started up conversations thinking that these other people know what's going on more than they know! Like "I wonder what's going on... is it broken down, broken down" [gestures eavesdropping], you eavesdrop on people who have equally no idea about what's going on but you think may help. A lot of time spent listening out for what's gone wrong and information as to when it's going to be fixed.

Rather than treating other passengers with suspicion, these same passengers become potential sources of information that can be of assistance. Instead of blocking other passengers out through strategies of enclosure, passengers here develop connections between each other in order to ascertain information. As figure 7.4 illustrates, the details along the right hand column invite a whole series of questions. Will these trains still run? How long will be added to these delays? What happens if they get cancelled? What shall I do in the meantime? How do I know that this information is accurate? These all require answers in order to reorganise the structure of the evening as described by this passenger:

> *Frank:* Well I just start getting nervous about when am I gonna get to where I'm trying to go... So, what I might start doing after 20 minutes or so is think well, 'what is an alternative way to get there?' 'Would it be quicker, presumably the train is going is ever gonna get past the next station, would it actually be quicker to get off there and make different arrangements.

In doing so, particular forms of attentiveness emerge where passengers begin to rely on each other.

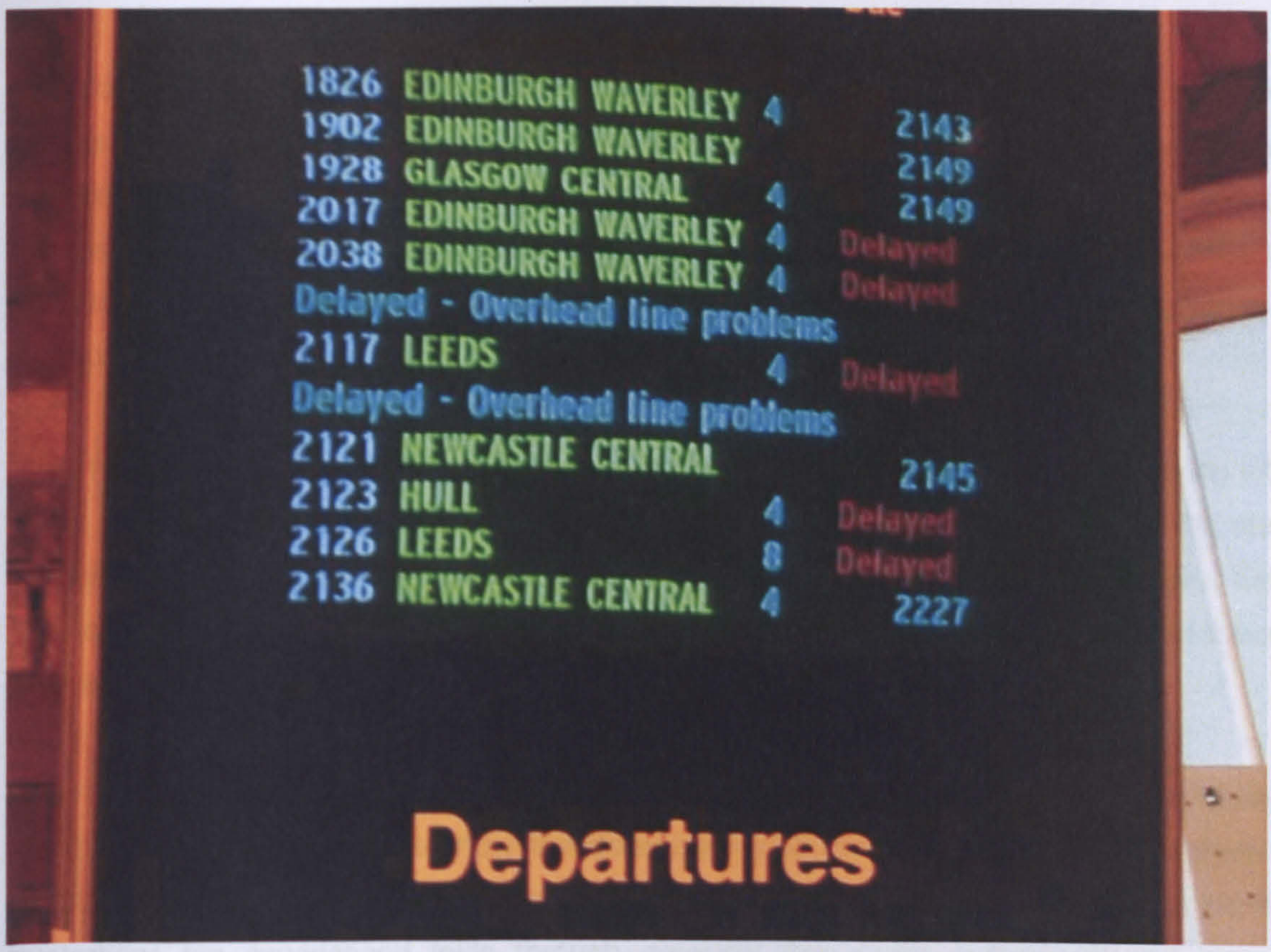

Figure 7.4
Visualising unpredictable disruption at Doncaster 24.06.05 2135

Similar to the irritations caused by other passengers, events of disruption leave the body vulnerable and relatively powerless to act. Schivelbusch describes this as a 'feeling of impotence due to one's being confined in a fast-moving piece of machinery without being able to influence it in the least… that intensifies this feeling of helpless passivity' (1979, 83).

Once armed with information, passengers might reorganise their time by coordinating with others. In order to make alternative arrangements, personal communication devices such as mobile phones are enlisted. Similar to the irritations that emerge from practices of individuals as described in the previous section, the irritation of listening to others might add a further layer of frustration. As this passenger describes it is the repetition of these practices that can result in annoyance:

David: Do you find that people…

Ruth: … start ringing people. It's so annoying. If it's a really long wait then everybody sort of reacts and then they'll all talk to each other and they'll go on about the state of the world and train travel and all the rest of it. But they get on the phone. As soon as they hear an announcement they'll get on the phone. And it's like, they might be meeting the person in two hours time but they do it the very second and it's 'moan, moan, moan' type thing, 'oh, you'll have to pick me up', type thing. And I find it really irritating cos you hear the same conversation so many times.

The fact that this is such a habitual refrain therefore intensifies this frustration. What is significant here is how such a delay impacts on all people travelling. Similar to the forms of passivity explored in chapter 6, the heterogeneity of passenger types travelling for business or leisure are reduced. Here, *everyone* is being held. As this passenger describes, where certain passengers react to the delay more explicitly or vocally, this can additionally serve to foster annoyance and irritation:

> *Amy:* There was this guy on the train and he was just unbearable. And he was talking into his mobile ranting and raving because he was late. And he kept pulling over the staff saying 'how long are we going to be?'. I wanted – I wanted to kill him actually. Cos everyone felt the same and everyone felt frustrated, but he took it personally and it was only happening to him.

Even though others may not have voiced their frustration, notice how she senses that 'everyone felt the same'. This illuminates how the delay serves to create a particular atmosphere that circulates between passengers. Similar to the time spent waiting in chapter 6, how particular frustrations are experienced folds through personal time-space trajectories and the value attributed to travel-time. As this passenger describes, the way irritation is experienced by particular individuals is, in part, mediated by whether the delay-time is part of 'work time' or personal 'leisure time':

> *Ruth:* Er, it depends really, how long you've been on the train for and whether you've got to do something the next day. So if it was a trip for pleasure and you were disrupted and you were going somewhere to meet some friends or doing something then it would be really irritating. So if you were meant to be meeting people and that's essentially your free time and you've got less free time as a result of their crappy rail disruption. Where as if you were coming back, if you were on the way to work or coming back from work, you would just be like, well I would be, 'well, I'll get there in the end, type thing' and it's a bit annoying but well, never mind type thing.

Alternatively, these sense of frustration emerge through the realisation that the passenger will be late for an important event as described here:

> *Greg:* Yes, I do [get irritated]. Especially if I've – well whether I'm going or coming back I get irritated if I'm going to be late for something that I need to be at. The rest of my bigger team work in London and I'm quite conscious if I'm not there, you know I'm missing and I need to be there and I get agitated. And I get agitated on the way home. Cos when I've

finished what I've been doing I just want to be home. You know. And if it means that I might miss [name]'s bed time or something like that then that really gets us riled.

Whilst these examples illustrate how unanticipated events of disruption can result in particularly intense affective responses – through frustration, anger and irritation, similar to the previous section on irritating practices of other passengers, particular forms of passivity are cultivated to deal with these affects. The passenger below recognises how the intensity of 'getting worked up' is undesirable. Instead, he suggests that fostering a more passive disposition to these unanticipated events is a better way of dealing with the situation:

Darren: I tend to find that if people are getting worked up about something like that; I just think to myself 'get over it'. It really is not that much of an issue, probably. Ok, you don't know what their plans are for the rest of the day but generally if somebody look like they're travelling for leisure then, and unless it's approaching that time of night when you know there's going to be last trains and things, then it probably isn't that big a deal for people and they just get a bit worked up for no real reason. I mean, delays happen.

Notice how he characterises these affects as having 'no real reason', not only demonstrating how affective responses eschew particular renditions of rationality and reasons (Massumi, 2002a), but that to take a more reflective positionality is ultimately more beneficial. This is interesting sine whilst this passenger claims not to get 'too caught up' in the agitated atmosphere of a delays, this is narrated retrospectively after the event. In this case, a period of more 'rational' reflection might not mirror her actual affectual response to the delay as it happened:

Donna: But I tend not to get too caught up in it. Cos really it's not anyone's fault is it.

For others, delays are almost inevitable and just 'part of the game' of train travel. As such, this passenger submits to the *possibility* of delays before they even happen, thereby circumventing the unanticipated dimension that causes so much consternation:

Luke: I mean, I've had delays, definitely had delays over the years, but nothing really... I mean I don't get especially upset with it. It's part of, I suppose it's part of the game in some ways.

Whilst disruption often invites conflicting responses which can lead to irritation – such as the repeated refrains of mobile-phone users – I want to close here by suggesting how, at the same time, these events may bring about experiences of cohesion between previously

unacquainted passengers. The delay forges a common experience that is shared by all passengers. It is perhaps this shared appreciation and the emergence of a particular atmosphere that prompts new forms of sociality to emerge. As this passenger describes, a shared sense of belonging and collectivity emerges that makes conversation and interaction more conducive:

> *David:* Again, I guess it's a common purpose that everyone's united behind or something?
> *Will:* Exactly. You do feel inclined to join in though don't you. I think I actually said 'I'll do it!' [laughs]. And this old woman was 'do you know how to drive a train?' And I was like 'no, but it can only be forward and back can't it', and this woman was 'yeah, it can, yeah'. So we had this jokey conversation and this woman started saying 'so are you Welsh?', and I said 'no'. And then her mate said 'you can't say that, he's good-looking' [laughs]. So I said 'are you saying that all Welsh people are ugly?' It was well funny.

Rather than the functional necessity of listening to others for information as described at the start of this section, here verbal interaction occurs in the face of communally-faced adversity. This is reminiscent of Sacks's (1992) 'potentially integrative encounters' and the forms of collectivity discussed by Brown (2005) in relation to the shared practices implicated in the minute-silence where particular collective dispositions emerge through communal performances. For this passenger, the event of disruption opened up the potential to forge new social relations between passengers through the discovery of common interests:

> *Jasmine:* That was the only time that comes to mind when I started talking to people. That's why I started talking to that lady, she hadn't been to the football but her family had and erm, yes, it transpired that we both worked in schools and we both worked with special needs children. But I mean, we exchanged telephone numbers, even though I haven't called her back.

To briefly conclude this section, I have demonstrated how the events of disruption that implicate a large number of people – either on a platform or in a carriage – can result in the emergence of particularly cohesive forms of sociality which contrasts with the conflicting socialities that emerge through events of frustration at certain people's practices. Through the unanticipated delay, these examples illustrate how particular atmospheres develop as a result of shared affectual responses to this rupture. These tend to be fairly intense expressions of agitation and frustration that are not only communicated verbally, but are also transmitted through particular performances: gestures and glances. Whilst passengers might rely on each other for information, passivity emerges as a strategy to deal with these undesirable affects. Significantly, the desire to narrate these intense affectual responses was evident for most

passengers that I interviewed. More than any other experience of railway travel, people wanted to narrate their experiences of delays at length, This can be seen more widely in the many commuter diaries and online blogs that have emerged where passengers can share their experiences and empathise with the experiences of others. Narration here becomes a conduit for emotions, perhaps an affective release where the act of narration has a cathartic effect. This vocal narration could be viewed as a contrast to the vulnerability and powerlessness experienced during the event of disruption itself.

More broadly though, this section on conflict and cohesion has illuminated how particular events have the capacity to erode the individualist, personalised spaces that passengers create whilst travelling by train. In contrast to this retreat through enclosure – the 'solitary individuality' (Augé, 1995, 70) that is characteristic of so many railway journeys – these 'minor eruptions that unsettle the expectations of passengers' (Scanlan, 2004, 389) open up space, and forge new kinds of belonging. Events of irritation caused by the practices of other passengers or disruption caused by a delay to the train service both unsettle the expected and anticipated experience of the journey. Where the habitual practices of train travel are interrupted, the passivity of habit transforms into an attentiveness to the situation. Through this attentiveness may emerge forms of sociality that react to the presence of others. Whilst Rosler comments how frustration and 'aggression must be folded into a very small space' (1994, 66), this section has demonstrated how the affects of frustration and anger transcend individuals and can spread to wider spaces. As such, many described how they could 'sense' that others were 'feeling the same'. What emerges from both these events is an appreciation of shared experience. Rather than existing in a bubble, these affects are being experienced by many. In the main, this 'sensing' of shared feelings are communicated through the face: through gestures, eye movements, smiles, or through particular gesticulations such as the shaking of the head. Occasionally, verbal interaction occurs, again serving to rework the relation between individuality and collectivity. Whilst these events demand particular forms of attentiveness and practice – perhaps changing the activity being undertaken or reorganising planned commitments – this section has also highlighted how forms of passivity offer one of the most desirable responses to quiesce the onset of the undesirability of frustration and anger. However, unlike the radical passivity of fatigue and lethargy discussed in chapter 6, this passivity is intentionally willed through the body. This is passivity-as-strategy in order to survive the disruption.

7.3 Responsible passengers

In this final section, I want to move beyond these events of disruption, where bodies are coerced into particular types of sociality as a result of unanticipated events. Here, I want to consider forms of sociality that emerge through dispositions of responsibility and conviviality towards fellow passengers. I want to think through how these dispositions have the capacity to foster more desirable forms of belonging between people whilst on the move. As such, this

section takes its inspiration from recent geographical work on citizenship and responsibility towards others. Much as been written about civic spaces of citizenship (see Painter and Philo, 1995 and Staeheli, 2003, for example), and how different forms of citizenship are enacted at different spatial scales (Desforges et al., 2005). One of the central themes of this body of work has been the commitment to care for distant others (Massey, 2005) where caring relationships and practices are enacted over distances and between people who are unacquainted. As Lawson (2007) points out, an ethical responsibility of caring for others is nothing new in geographical literature. In this section I want to build on this commitment by looking at how social obligations and responsibilities play out in the space of the railway carriage. In contrast to responsibility at a distance, this section looks at responsibility at the scale of the railway carriage where particular forms of obligation and responsibility are enacted towards others who are physically very close. Responding to Lawson's (2007) call to form new caring relationships and practices, the aim of this section is to move beyond conceptualising passengers as dwelling within enclosed and isolated bubbles and instead open up thinking on how more sociable kinds of belonging can emerge. As Urry notes, 'the railway carriage is a socially-organised environment, involving new sociabilities' (2006, 363). Here, I want to examine the extent to which these 'new sociabilities' align to enact particular dispositions of responsibility and care towards other passengers. This section comprises two parts. First, I look at how practices of railway citizenship emerge and the types of atmosphere that are created. Second, and in response, I look at how brief, light-touch forms of sociality can bring about more pleasant transient relations between passengers.

7.3.1 Railway citizenship

The railway carriage has often been characterised as a 'microcosm of society' (Bishop, 2002), the heterogeneity of society condensed and represented by the range of passengers travelling in the carriage. Ryman's *253* (1998), for example, illustrates the different backgrounds and trajectories of people travelling on one underground train. However, what Ryman's piece also demonstrates is how most of this biographical information is unknown to other passengers. As the previous section highlights, when submitting the body to the space of the railway carriage, everyone becomes a 'passenger': the generic PAX of planners and architects (Cresswell, 2006). We can speculate about the lives of others – this serendipity being one of the delights of people-watching – but ultimately this is a time and place where people, usually unknown to each other, are temporarily forced to co-exist. In the early days of railway travel, the novelty of this social arrangement necessitated the need for guides instructing people how to behave towards others (see Anon, 1862, for example). These were often highly prescriptive in order to create a particular kind of citizenship within the carriage. Today, interpersonal conduct in these spaces relies on sets of norms and values that have been developed through repeated performances over time. However, in this section, I describe how these unscripted forms of civility are fragile and always liable to rupture.

To begin, the individualism implicated in the process of enclosure, for some, creates an absence of responsibility towards other passengers. This passenger attributes this lack of responsibility to wider shifts in society where relations between unacquainted individuals in other spheres of everyday life are mirrored in the railway carriage:

> *Maxine:* I think, I guess it relates back to the whole idea of how people interact on trains. And whether they see if they are responsible citizens? Maybe that's going on? Cos there are some people who get on trains, as you mentioned that don't see themselves as being responsible at all to anyone else. And they will just, 'I've got my ticket, I've got…' and they do it in exactly the same way that they've always done it, so without that level of responsibility.
> David: Do you think that's…?
> Maxine: Well I don't know, we don't know that because they're maybe like that when they're outside.
> David: Absolutely, yes yes.
> Maxine: You know, they may not change just to get into the train. I mean there are so many people these days that just won't move aside at a door or on the pavement and they walk three-a-breast without thinking one of us needs to give way cos there's somebody coming towards us. You know, it's just the way that society is these days.

Whilst this response might be more symptomatic of a romanticised, lost 'golden age' where people were more civil to each other, it does reveal how the rights of having a ticket might not always be met. The inadequate capacity of some trains often forces people into standing – sometimes for long durations – and this perceived absence of responsibility (such as making sure of boarding the train first) might be a temporary strategy to ensure that the journey will be as comfortable as possible. However, these forms of individualism can serve to break down convivial relations between passengers:

> *Gareth:* People behind you, you can feel they are pushing you a bit, sort of like cut in front of you, even though you've blatantly… if the train pulls up and you're waiting for the doors to open, you'll be standing there, say you're first in line or second in line, there'll be someone trying to like get in front of you and you're just like 'what?! Where's your etiquette? …I always feel, if I see an old lady struggling with her bag, I try to give her a hand and, cos if she's 'thank's very much', some people are like 'get off my bag!'

Here, he describes how generosity is sometimes mistaken for other acts, illuminating the heterogeneity of ways that interpersonal relations are interpreted. Whilst, again, this passenger takes recourse to a perceived loss of 'common courtesy', what is significant here is the parallels of the depersonalised, disembodied, unfeeling PAX with the actual way that interpersonal

relations are enacted and experienced by bodies. As passengers scramble to board a train, codes of conduct and 'common courtesy', as suggested here, are temporarily withheld and responsibility to others is acquiesced. Perhaps the depersonalising (and often insulting) effect of scrambling onto a busy train and having to stand absolves individuals of their responsibilities. This passenger equates this with 'bystander apathy' in the context of trying to decide whether to help a small child whose mother had fallen asleep:

> *Donna:* There's a lot more people, yes. Actually that's interesting cos there was only two of us in the carriage except for her. There was me and a man and her with this toddler and the staff were at the end of the carriage. So actually that is interesting cos I probably wouldn't, yeah, yeah. It's bystander apathy isn't it, you just wait for someone else to do it.

More positively, however, inside the carriage itself, practices of responsibility and civility towards other passengers emerge in ways that are subtle and rarely vocalised. As this passenger describes, much of this involves anticipating what others sitting nearby might want to feel, such that a reciprocal understanding emerges. For him, it is about making other people feel comfortable in the hope that this disposition is reciprocal:

> *Richard:* If you are wide awake, and the person opposite to you is fast asleep it's almost equally uncomfortable because, because you feel as through you are in a very confined environment, in a place where you would only be with an intimate partner and you are very aware of that and as soon as... you are very aware of when they wake up, you instantly want to make them feel as comfortable as possible by what you are doing so you wouldn't stare at them, you would be engaged... you would go out of your way to be engaged in an activity that would put them at their ease. Cos I think that you would want them to do the same to you.
> *David:* So it's almost like a sort of unspoken performance.
> *Richard:* Yes it is. And infact if someone, if you were sitting in a carriage, if you're sitting opposite someone and you woke up and they were staring at you, you'd think they were totally and utterly weird, cos they're not playing the game, not the game, but they are not playing, er, yes, the game of social interaction in that instance, in that circumstance, the unsaid laws.
> *David:* So do you think that there is some kind of instinctiveness of knowing how to act in the space of the train carriage?
> *Richard:* Oh yes. I think there is... I mean if someone's asleep opposite to you, er, if you were deciding whether to make a telephone call, I don't think you would cos you would take their situation into account. I don't think you are going to... you don't want to be disturbed or you equilibrium rocked by those who are travelling close to you.

As intimated here, civility and responsibility involve a consideration of what others will find most comfortable. For him, this is about maintaining equilibrium and preventing disturbances of the kind discussed in the previous section that give rise to negative affects. Here, this is enacted most effectively through non-verbal responses. This is analogous to Goffman's (1971) 'body loss' where gestures form the presentation of the self. It is these gestures that 'help us make apparent what might otherwise be missed' (Laurier and Philo, 2006). Practices are therefore enacted with other passengers in mind. These forms of mundane responsiveness to other passengers not only increase tolerance towards others, but also reduce negative affects that have the potential to disrupt the journey. Responsible forms of sociality that respect other bodies can therefore be played out with little verbal communication but make one's self and other bodies feel more comfortable. This travelling diary excerpt demonstrates this responsibility in action. Here, the microdynamics of gestures are central to making others feel comfortable:

> A young lady joins me in the seat next to me. She smiles at me and I smile back. She asks if she would like my bag moving to the overhead luggage rack to which I oblige. I move further towards the window giving her more space. She has a copy of the Guardian. The way I read her is based on her visual appearance and gestures. After a while it feels like I've formed a bond of trust between myself and the lady sitting next to me who after Ipswich sits in the seat adjacent across the aisle since carriage is emptying. Both of us were thinking the same thing but it was difficult to move without vocalising reason specifically to avoid embarrassment – without making a verbal gesture it might have appeared rude–being repelled by my presence. After a minute or so, she turns to me and says "I'll move over here, that gives us both a bit more space". I smile and respond "of course, that's no problem". She also offers to bring my bag worn from the overhead compartment–again this reassures me that her movement away from me is not personal. Shortly after I go to the toilet leaving my bag and writing equipment at my seat. Later, she does the same, leaving her rucksack and belongings at her seat. I interpret this as an unspoken gesture to keep an eye on her possessions due to the rapport fostered through earlier exchanges.
>
> Autoethnography between London Liverpool Street and Norwich 22.10.05 1930

Whilst the dialogue is important, the smile at the start is a critical moment in fostering comfortable relations here. Similarly, I interpreted the act of leaving her personal possessions at her seat was a way of telling me that she trusted me.

These examples have illustrated the important role that dispositions of responsibility towards others have in making a comfortable journey. Strategies of enclosure that this chapter began by describing are not impenetrable and 'bubble-like', and are juxtaposed with important gestures of responsibility (see also Laurier and Philo, 2003b). These gestures tend to be non-

verbal and passive in their conduct. Indeed it is this passivity that, for some, characterises this responsible disposition – not intruding on the practices of others – but putting them at ease. In the final section I want to explore some of the less-passive and more engaged forms of sociability that have the potential to occur where interaction is not understood as a disruption, but creates new forms of belonging whilst on the move.

7.3.2 Transient relations

Here, I want to think through the implications of forms of conviviality that go beyond the more passive strategies of making others feel comfortable and at ease. Whilst as Laurier and Philo assert, people have 'a right to be left alone in public' (2006, 199), and people might find this solitude comforting and desirable, there are other moments when the sociality of the railway carriage itself facilitates and brings about pleasant and often unexpected forms of collectivity. Similar to the events of disturbance discussed previously, these moments cannot be anticipated or planned in advance. But instead of being disruptive and inducing frustration, these moments can be enlivening, exciting, and even fun. Furthermore, for some long distance railway travellers, these encounters are the *raison d'être* of travelling by train (see Diski, 2004 and Marchant, 2004).

These encounters do not necessarily involve verbal interaction but are characterised by a disposition of openness towards other passengers. Far from creating a personalised option, these encounters demonstrate an interest in other passengers. Fujii (1999), for example, describes how the 'intimate alienation' of the railway carriage provides a place for people to fantasise about unacquainted others. Whilst not being quite so seedy, this diary entry describes a series of non-verbal encounters that illustrates these relations:

> On walking to the buffet car a guy is sitting alone stares at me and follows me with his eyes as I move through the carriage. My eyes briefly meet his and I continue walking through the carriage. On returning I notice the guy's head is turned towards the aisle but I try not to catch his eye since I don't want to give him a misleading impression. I sit down and don't think anything more of it. When I arrive at Leicester I leave my seat and step of the train. Suddenly I notice the same guy standing on the platform near the waiting room staring at me. I can't help but glance back as I walk. To see if he is looking at me, I look again and he is still staring straight at me. I begin walking along the platform. After a moment I can sense that he is walking right beside me trying to get my attention. He then walks a little faster and I slow to let him pass. He reaches the bottom of the stairs and stops, turns and looks for a final time.
>
> Autoethnography between Derby and Leicester 15.09.05 1104

Similarly, this passenger illustrates how the presence of other people can act as a source of entertainment:

Omar: Yeah, watching other people. Yeah, that's a good laugh. Erm, yeah, I tend to get a lot of funny stories from travelling on the train. And I trade off them quite a lot.

Such a sociality based on humour rather than irritation echoes Garrett's analysis of train travel and Yiddish literature where 'the over-packed train car increases the opportunities to be entertained' (2001, 76). However, neither of these examples involve verbal dialogue between people. This invites further questions about what is the most expected or acceptable form of interaction within the carriage. Whilst Quiet Coaches are often provided, the absence of 'noisy coaches' or 'sociable coaches' where people can go who want to talk might suggest to passengers that to talk to others is not encouraged. Moreover, the absence of verbal dialogue may arise from the fact that many people find the idea of interacting with strangers daunting, echoing Laurier and Philo's sentiment that 'when [passengers] are unacquainted, they have limited rights to, and resources for, talk to one another' (2006, 197). For this passenger, a reluctance to verbally interact with others emerges from a fear of 'looking daft':

Leo: Er, let me think. I don't, errr. No, I don't think I've ever talked to anyone on a train who I don't know. I'm just trying to think now. I've seen like other people do it, like strike up conversations and stuff but it's not something I've ever done.
David: Would you not be inclined to do it?
Leo: Erm, I would just never make the first move. I'm not that kind of person. I'm fearful that I'm going to make myself look daft.

The implication here is that passengers are actually more fluent and verbose in gestural interaction than verbal interaction – preferring to converse through body language rather than submit to the unpredictabilities of conversation. This mirrors Laurier and Philo's (2006) point that visual markers act as evaluatory tools for different bodies. This contrasts with Simmel who argues that 'what we see of a person is interpreted by what we hear of him, the reverse being a much rarer case. Therefore one who sees without hearing is far more confused, undecided, upset than one who hears without seeing' (Simmel quoted in Schivelbusch, 1979, 80 original emphasis). Similarly these anxieties relate to Goffmanesque questions about 'how long will we spend in the company of others? What sort of others are they? If a conversation begins, how will it be sustained? Can or should it be sustained? Can or should we back out?' (Laurier and Philo, 2006, 201). Yet such apprehensions of fear that are engendered by the prospect of having to talk to strangers are often juxtaposed with the *desire* to engage with people as described by this passenger:

Luke: I'd like to sometimes – sometimes there's times when I really want to talk to somebody [laughs], or you know, you think 'oh, I could chat with this person'. But I won't openly make a move I must admit.

Similarly, this passenger describes how taking the plunge and starting a conversation with his fellow travellers turned a potentially boring journey into one that was more enjoyable:

James: Yeah. Coming back from Manchester, the two girls sat opposite me noticed I had a timetable pile about this big [20cm] – an awful lot of timetables which I'll say now, the only reason I had the timetables was to make an all-line-rover plan... But they ended up chatting to me about the timetables and I made up some story about I'm using these to plan a trip up to the far north of Scotland for a photographing trip later in January rather than saying that I'm getting an all-line-rover card... which seemed to be a sensible decision to do really. We ended up having a bit of a chat anyway about student life in Manchester for them and other various things although it did end up being a discussion on how late are we now and looking through the timetable and seeing oh, we're only 4 minutes behind timetable now. It was still nice to actually chat to someone on the train rather than just sitting there thinking 'I've got three hours on this train, what am I going to do?' Sometimes you just wanna talk to somebody but you don't have the guts to actually go up and talk to them whereas they might be as friendly as anyone you've ever met before, just a nice friendly chat all the way home cos they might be in the same situation as you. But if you haven't got the guts to ask them, you're never going to know and you end up getting off the train not actually chatting to anyone and being really bored and getting off moody about the fact that it was such a boring trip which really is a bit of a sad fact that people are like that.

For him, the anxiety associated with 'having the guts' is rewarded with the pleasure of making acquaintances. Alternatively, this passenger describes her willingness to assist other passengers who are less familiar with train travel than herself:

Ruth: For example a couple of times I've been on the train and there's been somebody sat behind me like a tourist or something and they've got a problem with their ticket and they've got on the wrong train and they didn't know. So they go and ask somebody and they say it's alright but they're not sure and then the ticket officer comes and if they get into trouble or something then I'll always get involved and say something. So you know what I mean, if there's a little trouble going on or something or if they're a tourist or something then you generally do start talking to them cos they're more willing to talk. So say, somebody will be sat next to you and there was this guy from South Africa and I was just talking to him just because it was different... Yeah, its really nice. Actually yeah, with

older people or if say you've done something wrong and got on the wrong train then I think there is a compulsion to tell somebody about it you know what I mean? Like I got on the wrong train and I was just like 'oh shit', I went out into the corridor and I was like 'oh God' and this guy was just like 'what's wrong' so I said that I'd got on the wrong train so I'm going to Darlington to get back to Durham to change and he was just like 'oh that's terrible' then we had like a ten minute conversation'.

These forms of interaction therefore provide consoling refrains. In her example, conversation emerges as a consolation of boarding the wrong train. Whilst not only putting bodies at ease, these emergent relationalities provide passengers with the opportunity to share experiences and talk through problems related to the journey to positive effect. In this case, these relationships emerge as enjoyable occurrences, forming new types of belonging on the move. Forms of conviviality that emerge through these relations also have the effect of compressing time as described by this passenger:

Gareth: I've spent a train journey chatting to a complete stranger the whole way, and the train journey's just lasted five minutes, we just talked about anything and everything...

The type of sociality fostered in these encounters is also mediated, in part, by the transient dimension of this collective. These events of sociality are temporally-discrete and bounded periods that are sustained only within the train carriage. Rather than being continued and worked-at beyond the railway carriage, these forms of relationality are fleeting and cannot be held on to. As such, they are momentary and situated. As this passenger describes, an appreciation of the boundedness and finite nature of this encounter may have a cathartic effect, similar to that experienced when narrating experiences of delays. In this respect, their fleetingness is also their strength:

Jean: So we just started chatting as you do. But I can honest to god say it's one of the few conversations that I've ever had and I can pretty much remember everything that we talked about. I'd just been going through a pretty rough patch with [name] and err, it was just so liberating to be able to sort of say what I was thinking and that it wouldn't be taken elsewhere like. I just found myself discussing things about my life that I wouldn't even kind of share with close friends. Yeah, it is definitely an experience that I'll never forget.

The space of the train carriage provides a unique opportunity for a range of social interactions that cannot be achieved in other public places. Notice how this passenger singles out the railway journey as permitting forms of sociality that do not tend to occur elsewhere:

Mitch: Yes, yeah, and it feels as if you're doing something good [laughs]. It fills time ... you're feeling that you are doing something that you should be doing on a train. You know.

David: Yes, it does seem like there are a restricted number of places, actual places where that particular type of interaction could occur and are, maybe acceptable?

Mitch: Yeah, not even a pub, or even the underground. A train, possibly an aeroplane and that's it. Not even in a shopping queue would you do it really. The last bastion of a truly public space, maybe.

In sum, this section demonstrates how the railway journey provides opportunities for light-touch social interaction and that these interactions can themselves form part of the pleasurability of the journey. Far from the presence of others being an issue of consternation, interactions with unacquainted passengers have the potential to provide cathartic value together with speeding up the perception of time during the journey. Whilst these interactions might be bounded by the duration of the journey, their effect on individuals can endure and train travel can become associated with convivial atmospheres – a disposition that can potentially fold through future journeys. Important here is how these dispositions of conviviality arise not by apprehending other passengers as disembodied PAX, but as emotional and affective beings that can inspire a mutual affection. This enjoyment of railway travel emerges through a particularly convivial style of belonging that is not apprehended in advance, but worked at with and negotiated in the context of people nearby.

Conclusion

This chapter has described how particular forms of sociality and collectivity emerge within the space of the railway carriage. These forms of being-with-others are enacted by and mediated through a range of factors. Investigating these forms of sociality that emerge whilst on the move is important because they influence the particular type of atmosphere that is produced..Consequently, the type of sociality that results impacts on what travel-time can be put to use for. More broadly, this chapter illuminates how we deal with and interact with those we are unacquainted with and the types of belonging that emerge. As such it provides a way of coming to understand the relations between individuality and collectivity whilst on the move and how this affects perceptions of time and space. Therefore the significance of this chapter lies in the particular forms of sociality that affect what passengers can do during the railway journey; how space is perceived; and how experiences can shift over time.

In the first section of this chapter I described how one effect of the space of the railway carriage on the passenger is though fostering particular atmospheres of anonymity. Here, passengers might experience feelings of loneliness and isolation, or claustrophobia and threat. In response, I described how these complex public spaces can be privatised by individuals through the negotiations and performances of enclosure and ownership which isolate the

individual further and result in the effect of a 'travelling bubble'. Whilst this might be conducive to many of the practices discussed in chapters 5 and 6, section two described how these enclosures are always at risk of being eroded and intruded upon by the practices of others. This demonstrates how the heterogeneity of expectations, motivations and practices of different passengers can at times result in a sociality of the railway carriage characterised by conflict. This is revealed by the irritation and animosity that is felt and directed towards other passengers that are creating particular disturbances. Other unanticipated events of disturbance, however, might result in a more cohesive sociality, forged through a collective affectual experience that results in a reliance on others and the emergence of social interaction between unacquainted passengers. In the third section I considered how being with unknown others in the space of the railway carriage is bound up with obligations, consolations and responsibility towards others. Rather than considering the railway journey as a duration that is characterised by enclosure, this section demonstrated how particular dispositions towards others acts of civility with others help to make these spaces more pleasant and less anonymous.

More broadly, this chapter has illuminated how the body-in-public in the space of the railway carriage is highly vulnerable in terms of how unanticipated dimensions of travel such as the practices of others and service delays can affect the experience of the journey. As Raffel confirms, in these public places 'we allow ourselves to be exposed and vulnerable to others when in public and vice versa' (quoted in Laurier and Philo, 2006, 202). As such, I have explored how particular practices and dispositions of passivity might be enacted by passengers in order to better cope with these unexpected events. These are not the radical and unwilled passivities associated with lethargy and fatigue, or the passivities of habit or delegation associated with wayfinding, but are forms of passivity that are actively called upon by the body in order to manage the onset of undesirable affects such as anger and frustration.

Whilst this chapter has focused on the sociality of the railway carriage, many of these experiences are replicated in certain spaces of the railway station as discussed in chapter 4; particularly spaces where passengers remain stationary for significant durations such as on the platform or queuing in a booking office. Indeed the implications of these transient socialities extend beyond the space of the railway journey and could be applied to other situations in the everyday urban environment where unacquainted individuals are momentarily held and particular collectives emerge. What is special, however, about the space of the railway carriage is that, whilst this temporary collective has a universal goal – to be transported to the destination and illustrated through the logic of PAX (Cresswell, 2006) – the uses of time and space whilst on board are multiple and heterogenous. Whilst transient collectives of unacquainted people emerge in many time-spaces of urban life; from queuing in a shop to taking part in a protest march; their sociality is characterised by a singular commitment to a particular cause. In these events, individuals do not tend to engage in other activities. In contrast, through this chapter I have demonstrated how the sociality of the railway carriage is intimately linked to the variety of

practices undertaken by different passengers within the carriage as described in chapter 5 and 6.

Paralleling other descriptions of the sociality of the railway carriage (see Schivelbusch, 1979; Letherby and Reynolds, 2005), I have described how the multiplicity of motivations for travel, and the variety of activities undertaken whilst on board results in different expectations of the atmosphere of the railway carriage. Different motivations and activities demand different types of atmosphere within the carriage. For example, whilst at times a passenger travelling for business might require solitude and quietness, the type of atmosphere desired by passengers travelling for leisure-based motivations might be at odds to this. Whilst some parts of the train explicitly attempt to encourage particular atmospheres such as the Quiet Coach or first class, much of the train is characterised by this heterogeneity. This heterogeneity created by diverse passenger motivations and practices is also multiplied by the particular mood each passenger approaches the railway journey with. This not only highlights the persistence of emotions but also demonstrates how affects bound up with other time-spaces can be woven through the railway journey. This has many parallels with Katz's (1999) work on anger, particularly the way that a person experiencing anger attempts 'take out' this anger in a variety of different settings; driving being a particularly effective conduit. Additionally, frequent travellers might have different expectations of the travelling atmosphere to those travelling infrequently. Each of these aspects contributes to the heterogeneity and 'messy business of living together' (Hinchcliffe and Whatmore, 2006, 134) that characterises the space of the railway carriage.

Ultimately, and in response to this heterogeneity, this chapter demonstrates that to be a travelling body comes a series of responsibilities to other travelling bodies. As such, it compliments many recent geographical engagements with citizenship and social responsibility. Whilst Desforges et al. (2005) describe how the politics of scale and mobility makes the issue of citizenship and responsibility less fixed and more complex, this chapter has demonstrated how particular forms of civility and sociality emerge when bodies are fixed in place and remain relatively stationary for a period of time. Notwithstanding how the railway carriage can be a place 'where an individual can be left alone by in relative comfort by others' (Laurier and Philo, 2006, 204), this chapter has illuminated how small moments of conviviality do enhance the atmosphere of the railway carriage and can actively facilitate the practices discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Whilst the very transience of this collective – of only being together for a limited period of time – might be both the reason for the relative absence of any sustained investment in inter-personal relations for some, and the lack of respect towards fellow passengers for others, fostering convivial dispositions towards others is what makes this complex space work. This is reminiscent of Thrift's account of routine friendliness, which is not an intense emotional investment – indeed many might feel threatened by such an impassioned encounter – but rather a 'kindness and compassion [that are] elements of modern life we could want to nurture and encourage' (2005, 147).

Chapter 8

Conclusion: making sense of the railway journey

To supplement the individual summaries that are provided at the close of each chapter, this final chapter provides an overview and evaluation of the research project as a whole. As such, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section emphasises the value of the conceptual and methodological approach and how it enables us to expand on current understandings of the railway journey. Rather than re-summarising the findings of each individual chapter, the second section outlines and summarises the significance of the *major themes* that emerge through this research in line with the research aims and questions outlined in chapter 1. These themes relate to: choice, travel-time and productivity; heterogeneity and responsibility; immobilities and dwelling; and ease and passivity. The third and final section provides some final thoughts on the limitations and possibilities that this research offers.

8.1 Value of the conceptual and methodological approach

Within the popular media, railway travel in Britain is frequently lambasted for being too expensive, unreliable and uncomfortable. Countless passenger surveys have consistently underlined how affordability, performance, overcrowding and, ultimately, value for money, are seen as the most important aspects of taking a train journey that need attending to; an opinion often reflected in many online blogs and newsgroups. Whilst huge sums of public money are invested in railway services through the provision of subsidies to Train Operating Companies, increasingly expensive walk-up tickets and a restrictive fare structure has arguably resulted in travel exclusion for those who cannot afford to pay (Hine and Mitchell, 2001). Taking an

approach to the experience of railway journeys that, on the face of it, side-steps critical issues of cost and affordability might be viewed by some as irresponsible: not doing the important work of upholding and exposing issues of social justice.

However, by focusing on the experiential dimensions of the railway journey actually serves to *compliment* studies that have spearheaded these more economic issues (see Lyons, 2003; Kenyon et al., 2002; Schönfelder and Axhausen, 2003; Merrifield, 1996; Lucas, 2004). This is not just because this approach adds another layer of complexity to these debates, although this of course is also the case. Rather, to focus on the overlooked experiential and performative dimensions of how people actually travel by train serves to re-focus and adds depth to these debates. Whilst a recent quantitative survey demonstrates that 60% of passengers are 'dissatisfied' with the 'value for money' that they receive when they travel by train (Passenger Focus, 2007), rarely are these categories actually explored and made explicit. These two approaches, survey-based and experiential, are therefore not divorced. To illustrate, part of the reason why passengers might by dissatisfied with the value for money that they receive, is the relative levels of (dis)comfort that they experience whilst on the move. This research draws attention to the often-neglected but important emotional and affective dimensions of railway travel that cannot easily be captured through survey-based methods. By focusing on rich description of people's travel practices and habits through a multi-method approach that attends to the processual, ongoing and performative dimensions of experience rather than explanation through a series of numerical indices serves to illuminate exactly what it is about the experience of travel itself that is both desirable and undesirable.

8.2 Evaluation of research themes

8.2.1 Choice, travel-time and productivity

By adopting a conceptual approach that privileges dimensions of practice and performance over discourse and explanation, this research has demonstrated that the railway journey is *valuable time* for passengers. Rather than the railway journey being conceptualised as a wasted duration, this research echoes other recent studies that have underscored the value that travel-time has (Lyons and Urry, 2005; Lyons et al., 2007). However, through its focus on the relations between *different parts* of the railway journey, this research has demonstrated how certain durations and places during the railway journey are *more valuable* than others. For example, chapter 4 illustrates how the railway station is designed to sort passengers and move them from the entrance to the train as quickly and efficiently as possible. This highly mechanised space where passengers must submit to the probabilistic design of the built form contrasts with the space of the railway carriage which offers *choice* to passengers in terms of what they can do. One passenger's mobile office can be another passenger's space of entertainment. However, for many, to be valuable this duration must be organised and planned-for in advance, particularly if undertaking business-related activities that demand the presence

of large amounts of paperwork. More importantly, though, chapter 5 highlighted that the valuation of travel-time and the type of activity undertaken depends upon the perceived ownership of time. Whether travel-time was perceived to be 'work time' or 'non-work time' not only motivated the type of activity undertaken, but also conditioned the types of affective response to the journey. For example, reading for pleasure during 'work time' might arouse feelings of guilt. This illuminates how other times-spaces are woven into the event of railway travel. Whilst Watts (2007) problematises the boundedness of travel-time, arguing that a journey begins the moment that the idea of it emerges and is relived in memory, perhaps much more significantly, both chapters 5 and 7 illuminate how the affectual persistence of *other time-spaces* has a significant effect on how a journey is experienced. This is not only effected through ascribing ownership to travel-time, but may also occur through the persistence of a mood that materialises prior to the journey. Additionally, and in contrast to other studies that have drawn attention to the virtues of travel-time, chapter 5 showed how the spatiality and materiality of the carriage itself exerts a significant influence over the ways that travel-time can be put to use. How the spatiality of the carriage permits some activities but restricts others serves to illuminate how agency is distributed, often unevenly, between bodies, objects and space. Furthermore, travel-time is not always spent engaged in activity. Whilst chapter 5 illustrated that the level of engagement in a particular task can shift over the duration of the journey, chapter 6 demonstrated the importance accorded, by some, to forms of relaxation where the body can temporarily withdraw. Rethinking productivity beyond an economically-productivist conceptualisation highlighted how these durations of relaxation can have an important restorative function. In sum, for many, the railway journey is not a wasted time but is valuable and put to use in a variety of different ways that fold through and are integrally-linked to the commitments, motivations and obligations of other time-spaces.

8.2.2 Heterogeneity and responsibility in public space

This heterogeneity of different practices has significant implications for the type of sociality that results and forces us to consider how being-with-others on the move is actually experienced. In turn, this relates to the 'publicness' of public transport and the extent to which the railway journey can be conceptualised as an inclusive public space. Whilst many journeys are heavily subsidised and substantial discounts are given to those who are less financially-secure (through various railcard schemes), the railway journey is far from inclusive. On long-distance routes, ticket pricing structures necessitate that peak-time travel in the morning and early evening is expensive and aimed at commuters or those travelling on business. Cheaper tickets tend to be available only during off-peak periods. Furthermore, new ticket restrictions introduced by some Train Operating Companies to reduce overcrowding and increase revenues have squeezed the off-peak period into an ever-narrower duration (Modern Railways, 2006, 24-5). Diurnal differences created partly by these economic sorting strategies result in different atmospheres within the train carriage as discussed in chapter 7 which constricts or permits

certain practices: passengers travelling on business tend to travel during peak hours during weekdays; more family and group travel tends to happen at weekends; whilst off-peak travel can leave the carriage relatively empty. What is significant here is the extent to which these differences can be anticipated and woven into the planning and preparation of a journey. These diurnal and hebdomadal variations might, for example, influence whether the passenger books tickets in advance or whether they take bulky luggage. Chapter 4 demonstrates the importance of these anticipatory knowledges and how they are developed over repeated journeys. Chapter 7 illuminates the multiple and sometimes unpredictable responses to these different social formations together with the propensity to privatise space through practices of enclosure and Goffmanesque 'civil inattention' (1971). However, what is important here is how passengers respond to each other and the types of responsibility that are forged, particularly in the absence of policing by staff that is perhaps more characteristic of air travel. An implication of this 'publicness' is that in the railway carriage, *everyone* is a passenger. With the exception of the division between first and standard class, there is no passenger hierarchy. Chapter 7 demonstrates that this conceptualisation of others which reduces heterogeneity to homogenised 'others' is enacted through the type of interpersonal relations that sometimes occur. Anti-social behaviour and practices that restrict the activities of others highlights a lack of recognition of the needs of other passengers. In these cases, the heterogeneity of business and leisure practices of others are reduced and parallel the generic PAX (Cresswell, 2006) of modellers and planners. As such, chapter 7 illuminates the importance of conviviality in maintaining an atmosphere where heterogeneous practices can be enacted in a way that respects others. These forms of conviviality differ to those implicated in systems of automobility and are light-touch and often non-verbal. In sum, this demonstrates how how agency is distributed *between* bodies in the confined spaces of the train carriage and that the publicness of dwelling-with-others needs to be responded to in the way that individual practices are carried out.

8.2.3 Immobilities and dwelling

Whilst the train carriage itself invites and permits a multitude of different (and often highly productive) practices, Sheller and Urry point to the 'many gaps between the various mechanised means of public transport', claiming that these 'structural holes in semi-public space are sources of inconvenience, danger and uncertainty' (2000, 745). Furthermore, they argue that modes of travel such as train travel are 'inflexible and fragmented' (2000, 745). Chapter 4 demonstrates that this particular space of flows does indeed stop a lot and is often a necessary flip-side to the mobility of the train journey (see Adey, 2006a). Within railway stations there are many places where passengers must change speed or trajectory, stalling to purchase tickets, check departure boards and traverse barriers. Furthermore, passage with luggage or a bicycle encumbers and puts an additional burden on the travelling body, limiting where it can go and what it can do. Chapter 6 highlights how durations of waiting can bring about many

undesirable affective responses associated with frustration, impatience and agitation. Whilst the architecture of the station might be designed to promote easy wayfinding, and encourage seamless and efficient movement from entrance to train and vice-versa as described in chapter 4, chapter 6 demonstrates how the lasting experience of the railway station is often associated with waiting and immobility. However, chapter 4 also demonstrates how the problematic effects that may emerge from these 'structural holes' for the passenger can be reduced through the use of various ICTs. These can assist in reorganising the journey through the provision of constantly-updated, real-time information. Similarly, chapter 4 also describes how the increasing popularity of internet ticket booking not only reduces the amount of time that it is necessary to be in the station, but also provides passengers with the freedom to browse all available tickets and times. Furthermore, structural holes may not always be bad. Indeed, many larger stations have capitalised on the temporary relative immobility of passengers whilst waiting for a train through the provision of commercial opportunities. The creation of high-quality retail environments that extend beyond the ubiquitous chain coffee and pasty outlets are at the heart of many station redevelopment plans (Modern Railways, 2007, 60-1) which aim to change passenger's everyday routines so that they make time to dwell in the station. For example, the new St Pancras International, modelled on the romance of New York's Central Station, fuses a farmers' market and high-quality shops with exclusive restaurants, bars and cafes. The imperative here is to transform these stations from structural holes, where frustrated passengers are coerced into dwelling through unanticipated delays, into enjoyable and uplifting environments within which passengers choose to dwell of their own accord. Whilst chapter 4 highlights various thresholds between different parts of the station (such as ticket barriers, for example), these thresholds are not as daunting or immobilising as those in other transit terminals. Passage through railway stations does not involve the often-lengthy and invasive security procedures associated with airports (although see Transit, 2007, 1, in light of increased security concerns in the wake of the London Underground terrorist attack of 7 July, 2005). Although passengers remain objects of surveillance systems (see, Müller and Boos, 2004), most people are freer to move through these spaces of transit as they wish.

Returning briefly to Sheller and Urry's problematic, they suggest that in contrast to public transport, 'the car enables *seamless* journeys' that 'makes older ways of travel seem slow and inflexible' (2000, 245, original emphasis). Whilst from a productivist door-to-door measure some car journeys over certain distances *might* be faster than more public modes of transport, systems of automobility also experience immobilities that temporarily halt onward motion such as traffic lights, queues, car parks and petrol stations. Furthermore, and perhaps most significantly, driving a car where 'person and car kinaesthetically intertwine' (Thrift, 2004a, 47), demands particular structures of attentiveness that differentiate it from travel by train. Although the increased technicity of automobility systems serve to *assist* the driver in the practice of driving and thereby contribute to new modes of embodiment (Thrift, 2004a), driving a car still demands *effort*. Driving requires forms of attentive vigilance that does not easily accommodate

fatigue or attention-lapses. Sometimes this effort is shared through the collective work of driver and passengers (see Laurier, 2005), but even in these cases, the driver maintains overall responsibility for the safety-critical task of driving the car. Whilst one of the many delights of driving might stem from the position of power that the driver assumes through the driver-car assemblage as a 'micro-engineered personal possession' (Katz, 1999, 44), driving a car places significant demands on the body.

8.2.4 Ease and passivity

In contrast to the effort required to drive a car, this thesis demonstrates how a train journey should not be a difficult undertaking. Chapter 6, for example, illuminates how many Train Operating Companies emphasise how travel in their trains should be effort*less*. Furthermore, this is reflected in the strapline for National Express East Coast, the new operators of the East Coast Mainline, which is '*making travel easier*'. The emphasis placed on 'ease' shows a commitment to reducing impediments from the moment that the idea of the journey emerges, through the booking process and traversal through the station, through to the travel-time on board the train itself. Although, as chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate, vigilance can certainly form part of the experience of the journey, train travel does not require the same degree of acute, sustained and *focused* vigilance that is demanded from car drivers. Similarly, train travel does not involve the lengthy pre-travel formalities that, for most, are associated with air travel where inevitable queues for check-in are proceeded with prolonged and often-intrusive surveillance procedures and yet further waiting. In addition to extolling their environmental credentials, GNER as current operator of the East Coast Mainline has capitalised on exploiting the simplicity of train travel through extensive marketing campaigns that highlight how passage through the station can be stress-free and easy when compared with the hurdles associated with airport check-in processes. Even when comparing technologies of transit themselves, Symes compares Latour's (1997, 177) description of how the smoothness of the high-speed train has minimal impact on the body compared with 'more turbulent forms of transport such as buses and cars' (2007, 448). This could arguably be extended to encompass air travel too. However, as demonstrated in chapter 4, this *ease* is mediated a complex variety of factors. What luggage or other large objects passengers take with them during the railway journey, knowledges gained through previous journeys together with degree of experience with ICTs all influence the extent to which the railway journey is experienced as an 'easy' undertaking.

Related to this notion of ease, one of the central aims of this research has been to problematise the dualism that many studies on travelling places have made between passive and rational, and agentive and powerful bodies. This is significant because it forces us to consider, ontologically, what bodies *become* during transit. In turn, it serves to illuminate some more general observations about the phenomenology of lived experience. As outlined in chapter 2, at the inception of this research, I was conscious that I did not want to produce an 'overwritten' account of railway travel. On reflection, one of the dominant sentiments expressed

through the empirical chapters is that quite often, railway travel does *not* involve making decisions or engaging in particularly meaningful practices. Through a focus on the relationship between engagement and disengagement whilst on the move, this research has moved away from privileging intentional corporeal action where the active accedes the passive as being the most desirable way of being-in-the-world. Rather than viewing docile or passive bodies as an undesirable state of being-in-the-world where bodies are duped or coerced into subsumption beneath the agency of some super-structural power, this research demonstrates how passivities emerge as necessary and 'intrinsic rather than contingent aspects' (Harrison, 2007b, 3) of life on the move. These are not the aggregate passivities that are constructed through the models of planners, architects and designers which characterise bodies as impotent and disembodied PAX (although as chapter 7 describes, these apprehensions can come into play when considering the inter-personal relations between bodies on the move). Rather, this research illuminates how *multiple configurations of passivity come into play at different points during the railway journey* to assist in making the process of travel easier. Whilst they are not mutually-discreet, this research has outlined five forms of passivity that are enacted during the railway journey:

First, chapter 4 highlights the importance of the *passivity of delegation*. Here, passengers delegate agency to objects and technologies in order to make passage through the railway station easier (see Andrejevik, 2005). Whilst negotiating timetables, mobile phones, journey planners and itineraries requires a degree of active engagement prior to arrival at the station, passage through the station is more passive in the sense that passengers have delegated trust and agency to these objects and technologies. Rather than devote time and effort in the station to confirm journey plans, look up train times or purchase tickets, these activities have already been undertaken. Instead, these travel knowledges are carried with the body through the station in the form of scribbled notes, printed itineraries or pre-consulted timetables. Second, chapter 4 also illuminates the importance of the *passivity of complicity*. This form of passivity refers to the way mobile effects are engineered into the design of station environments to make wayfinding more intuitive. Probabilistic design through a combination of particular surfaces and signs guide passengers through these environments in ways that require less reflective thought and effort. Far from undesirable or oppressive, this complicity assists in making passage through the railway station a calmer and more comfortable experience. Third, chapter 6 demonstrates the centrality of *radical passivity* to the experience of railway travel. Here, the effect of movement impresses itself upon the travelling body through the withdrawal associated with fatigue and lethargy. This chapter highlights how Train Operating Companies respond to these forms of withdrawal by engineering an environment that helps to accommodate these passivities. The muted colours of the carriage interior together with comfortable seats assist in providing a comfortable place within which the body *can* withdraw with greater ease. Fourth, chapter 7 illustrates the importance of *passivity as strategy*. Here, passengers actively choose to withdraw to shield themselves from the activities of other passengers. This is bound up with

processes of enclosure where passengers retreat to prevent undesirable intensities such as frustration and anger from taking hold. This chapter highlights how passivity as strategy is also used by passengers to intentionally acquiesce from the effect of delays and service interruptions. Indeed this passivity as strategy might even be cultivated in advance of delays and therefore emerges as a particular anticipatory disposition. What this form of passivity demonstrates is how disengagement is not opposed to engagement. From this, we can think of the various engagements that emerge *from* and *within* disengagement and vice versa. For example, disengagement from the surrounding environment can increase an openness to engagements of daydreaming. Fifth, and related to each empirical chapter through all parts of the railway journey, this research emphasises the importance of the *passivity of habit*. Here, many of the practices undertaken by passengers both through the station and on board the train are outside of active, intentional thought, and instead are embedded with particular routines. Through routine encounters with the railway journey, practices become increasingly non-cognitive and the skills required for accomplishing the railway journey reside in body-memory. In part, this is illustrated through the way that so many participants during this research talked about their railway journeys as generic events rather than clearly memorable events that were situated in particular time-spaces. Indeed this tension between the general and the particular is a theme that pervades the entirety of this research. This passivity of habit is perpetuated by the *predictability* of railway travel and, from this, what passengers *expect* to happen at certain points during the journey. The effects of habit have important implications for what passengers *become* whilst on the move. Habit can serve to blanket and comfort the body. In contrast to the thrill and excitement of speed in the early days of railway travel (Schivelbusch, 1979), habit can serve to erode intense affectual responses. As Rosler points out, 'after a century of fascination with the ever-increasing speeds of transportation and information, we find speed alone not especially discomforting, indeed possibly reassuring. Motion parallax, no longer confusing, is simply another special effect of travel. We have learned to cope with the rapid passage' (1994, 64). Paradoxically, for passengers today, it is not speed that is discomforting, but rather stillness. Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate that where unanticipated ruptures to passengers' routines occur, a different set of affective responses can potentially take hold.

Each of these forms of passivity constitutes a means of making the train journey *easier* and therefore could be viewed as a set of mobile 'tactics' of contemporary everyday life, to draw on de Certeau (2002). Perhaps most significantly though, and emphasising the passivity of habit, these tactics are cultivated and refined through repeated engagements with journeys: journeys in the plural since these tactics are not necessarily developed though the *same* journey in terms of the specific departure and arrival locations. Rather, and importantly, the structure of the journey always comprises a particular and predictable sequential set of practices that are framed around the logic of departure and arrival. Echoing Katz's (1999) example of shrewd driving tactics, we could consider how passengers develop strategies to ensure that they find the *easiest* possible way of travelling by train. As chapter 4 demonstrates, these might involve

finding the best possible route to leave a station to avoid the crowds or knowing where to position ones-self on a platform ready to board the train in the best possible location to maximise the potential to get a good seat, for example. Through repeated encounters, where passengers become increasingly travel-savvy, these tactics become increasingly unthought and, thereby, increasingly passive. At the same time, and significantly from the point of view of how we conceptualise travelling bodies ontologically, this research has illuminated the tensions that these forms of passivity set up between vulnerability and security. Specifically, on one hand bodily passivity is bound up with the notion of corporeal vulnerability. This progressive decentring of the body, where agency is distributed between a complex constellation of different objects and materialities, implies a particular form of susceptibility and an openness to be affected. Both the passivities of delegation and complicity mark a withdrawal of agency away from the notion of a sovereign agentive body and describe a parallel openness to be guided and moved by the built form of the station, for example. However, this vulnerability and openness to be affected contrasts with the figure of the 'hardened' passenger whose repeated journeys render them relatively *resistant* to those events that might bemuse or frustrate the infrequent passenger. This echoes Scanlan's description of the narcotic effect that results from being trafficked which he claims 'leaves us insufficiently alert to our surroundings' (2004, 395). This inspires many further questions centred around the precise processes and experiences that serve to 'harden' passengers. How long does this process take? Is this a result of *specific* events or just the effect of habituality? What type of resistances are developed and how are they maintained? Whilst some of the answers might be hinted at in chapter 7, these questions are outside the scope of this research project, particularly since they are more an acutely commuter experience. As such, they invite further research to explore these experiences in greater depth.

8.3 Final thoughts

Of course there are countless dimensions of railway travel and associated literature that are relatively absent from this project. Through its focus on long-distance journeys, many of the implications that arise from this project may not reflect the experience of shorter-distance commuter journeys. Although similarities *do* exist, other types of railway journey may precipitate very different types of planning, organisation and valuations of time. Similarly, and although extremely interesting, I chose not to explore the activities and experiences of fare-dodgers, train staff, station staff, train-spotters and others who are bound up with the railway journey in other ways. Additionally, chapter 4 tends to focus on passenger experiences at larger stations and processes of departure as opposed to arrival. In the main, this reflected choices made by respondents and what they wanted to talk about. However, and inevitably, space does not permit the inclusion of all respondent accounts and photographs.

Focusing on everyday practices of railway travel also tends to neglect broader, discursive renderings of railway travel. For example, there is the important historical heritage of railway

travel and its relation to discourses of nostalgia (Strangleman, 1999). Associated with this is the role of the railway in transporting people against their wishes, perhaps most poignantly illustrated in their role during World War II (see Presner, 2007 for an excellent and moving account). More contemporarily, there is the involvement of the railway in catastrophic events bound up with global politics, such as the terrorist attacks in Madrid and London in 2005. Similarly, and although implicated throughout this research in many places, it does not attend in detail to the discourses and politics of railway governance and privatisation. As such, this account is highly UK-centric and does not aspire to reflect the experience of train travel on networks outside the UK. Whilst this reveals the problems associated with generalisation and extrapolation of the findings of this project to other contexts, it also draws attention to areas of further research that can explore these neglected dimensions further.

As I have previously indicated, a lingering concern that has pervaded this research concerns how drawing on a performative and practice-based conceptual approach risks reifying and elevating the *eventfulness* of railway travel: as a duration where *events happen*. In their excellent account of work, play and politics on the railways, Letherby and Reynolds challenge 'the widely held perception that trains are merely vehicles which transport us from A to B' (2005, 190). On the contrary, they suggest that 'all of life can be found on a train' (2005, 190). Their dual focus on discourses and practices of train travel highlights the 'personal, public and political *significance*' of railway travel for many people (2005, 191, my emphasis). Indeed the remit of their research more broadly is concerned with providing a 'more complex understanding of the place of the train and train travel in people's lives' (2005, 192). Whilst our respective projects share many similarities, this research has attempted to move away from the view of railway travel as particularly eventful and exceptional. Although I have highlighted that at times railway travel *can* certainly be eventful, and how experiences of train travel *are* sometimes bound up with particular discourses, a focus on the everyday practices of the railway journey reveals just how predictable and *unexceptional* this particular mobility can be. This research demonstrates how the habituality of railway travel, for many, is embedded into wider practices of work and leisure where the railway journey really is just a way of getting from A to B. So much so, that when invited to testify to these experiences, actually voicing what *happens* can be extremely difficult, illustrated most lucidly through the respondent who accused me of making him think 'way to much' about what he did. However, this research has also illustrated how the routine-ness and habituality of these experiences, for some, renders them no less uplifting and enjoyable. Habituality can be exceptionally comforting and, as chapter 7 demonstrates, it is precisely the occurrence of *unexpected* events that can bring about anxiety and discomfort. To illustrate this point a final time, for me the *most* troubling concern that haunted this research was the fear that through extensive research, the experience of railway travel might become tiring, boring and a chore. Whilst I could not have predicted how this

research would affect my experience of railway travel, I am extremely relieved that I am as passionate today about railway travel as I was at the outset.

2 December 2007
Newcastle upon Tyne

Appendix A

Fieldwork journey list

Journeys undertaken for autoethnographic participant observation and visual methodologies

Whilst other train journeys were made, the journeys below were planned and undertaken specifically for fieldwork purposes:

01.06.05 Newcastle – Durham *ticket purchasing and journey preparation*
07.06.05 Newcastle – Glasgow Central
08.06.05 London King's Cross – Newcastle *business meeting and mobile office*
14.06.05 Newcastle – Durham *tourist travellers and novelty*
02.07.05 Peterborough – Stamford *audio entertainment systems*
27.07.05 Peterborough – Newcastle *business meeting and mobile office; families on trains*
27.07.05 Newcastle – Peterborough *security and surveillance*
28.07.05 Reading – Didcot Parkway *segregation of carriages*
04.08.05 London Liverpool Street – Norwich *disruption and collective rupture*
12.08.05 Norwich – North Walsham *delays and rupture*
14.08.05 Leeds – North Walsham *food and consumption; quiet coach regulation*
20.08.05 North Walsham – Norwich *intimate alienation*
25.08.05 London Liverpool Street – Norwich *leisure and consumption*
10.09.05 Carlisle – Crewe *first-class and spaces of luxury*
15.09.05 Newcastle – Derby *business travel*
15.09.05 Derby – Leicester *travel gaze, intimate alienation*
23.09.05 Newcastle – Durham *food and consumption - breakfasts*
24.09.05 Marton – Whitby *rural leisure travel*
01.10.05 Newcastle – Birmingham New Street *location; weekend travel; rupture*
02.10.05 Hereford – Worcester Foregate Street *alienation*
03.10.05 Birmingham New Street – Newcastle
06.10.05 Newcastle – Durham rupture *hierarchies of trust; technological systems*
09.10.05 Newcastle – York *division of train; status*
09.10.05 York – Sheffield *waiting rooms; overcrowding; frustrations*
11.10.05 Alnmouth – Newcastle *technology; rupture*
16.10.05 Newcastle – Edinburgh *conductor; fluid spaces and rules*
16.10.05 Edinburgh – North Berwick *technological rupture*
16.10.05 Edinburgh – Newcastle *night travel, food, aesthetics*

22.10.05 Newcastle – London King's Cross *disruption; waiting room; music on train*
22.10.05 London Liverpool Street – Norwich *night travel; interpersonal microdynamics*
26.10.05 North Walsham – Norwich *Soundscapes*
26.10.05 London King's Cross – Newcastle *seating in stations; premium spaces*
27.10.05 Newcastle – Durham *first class; status; suspicion*
01.11.05 Sheffield – London St. Pancras *first class travel experience*
01.11.05 Brighton – King's Cross Thameslink *commuter travel*
01.11.05 London Euston – Inverness *Caledonian sleeper; travel romance*
02.11.05 Inverness – Kyle of Lochalsh *tourist travel*
03.11.05 Inverness – Newcastle
11.11.05 Newcastle – London King's Cross *identity and sociality between people*
13.11.05 London King's Cross – Newcastle *idle time and leisure experiences*.
05.12.05 Newcastle – Berwick upon Tweed *leisure spaces; soundscapes; waiting rooms; postures*
05.12.05 Berwick upon Tweed – York *leisure spaces; reading; rhythms; thought; inactivity*
05.12.05 York – Newcastle *visual gaze; soundscapes*
08.12.05 Newcastle – Sheffield *working spaces*
08.12.05 Sheffield – Berwick upon Tweed *leisure spaces; work spaces*
12.12.05 York – Hull *intimacy; cracks in vision*
12.12.05 Hull – Doncaster *ritual spaces*
07.01.06 Birmingham New Street – Newcastle *first class disturbances*
20.02.06 Durham – Newcastle *station encounters*
28.02.06 Derby – Newcastle *working spaces; disruption*
12.03.06 London Liverpool Street – Shoeburyness *history of a seat; fellow travellers*
12.03.06 London Paddington – Penzance *sleeper, neo-colonial relations*
13.03.06 Penzance – St Erth: *threats and danger*
13.03.06 St Erth – St Ives *waiting; solitude*
14.03.06 Penzance – Newcastle *history of carriage and endurance*
20.03.06 Newcastle – Birmingham New Street *working spaces; first class*
21.03.06 Worcester Foregate Street – Hereford *anticipation and business travellers*
21.03.06 Birmingham New-Street – Five Ways *first class lounge, therapeutic spaces*
27.03.06 Newcastle – York *discussant spaces, supervisory space*
27.03.06 York – Liverpool Lime *Street rapport developing; danger, fare-dodgers*
29.03.06 West Kirby – Liverpool Central *children and animation*
02.04.06 Liverpool Lime Street – Manchester Piccadilly *escape; tired clubbers*
02.04.06 Manchester Piccadilly – Leeds *alternation of activity*
02.04.06 Leeds – Newcastle: *running for train; dash*
04.04.06 Newcastle – London King's Cross *ticket conductor interactions*
04.04.06 London King's Cross – London Bridge *commuter services*
04.04.06 London Bridge – Waterloo East *running for trains*
04.04.06 Waterloo – Portsmouth Harbour *interaction with landscape; window gazing*
04.04.06 Portsmouth Harbour – Portsmouth and Southsea
04.04.06 Portsmouth and Southsea – Brighton *soundscapes and antisocial behaviour*
04.04.06 Brighton – East Croydon *commuter; business travel*
04.04.06 East Croydon – London King's Cross *crowds; standing; silence*
04.04.06 London King's Cross – Ely *eavesdropping; arranging theatre*
04.04.06 Ely – Norwich *nervous anxiety; connections; delays*
05.04.06 North Walsham – Norwich
05.04.06 Norwich – London Liverpool Street *education, grandparent and grandson*
05.04.06 Paddington – Cardiff Central *wide vistas and speed; festival memory; Volo media carriage*
05.04.06 Cardiff Central – Bridgend *shopping interrogation*
05.04.06 Bridgend – Vale of Glamorgan – Cardiff *picturesque tourist train*
05.04.06 Cardiff Central – Newport
05.04.06 Newport – Severn Tunnel Junction *staff integration*
05.04.06 Severn Tunnel Junction – Gloucester *conductor interaction*
05.04.06 Gloucester – Cheltenham Spa
06.04.06 Cheltenham Spa – London Paddington *early morning commuter business travel*
06.04.06 London Euston – Glasgow CT: *delays; sickness; claustrophobia; dizziness; anxiety*
06.04.06 Glasgow Queen Street – Edinburgh *bird-flu anxiety*
06.04.06 Edinburgh – Newcastle *window gazing*
07.04.06 Newcastle – York

07.04.06 York – Leeds
07.04.06 Leeds – Barnsley
07.04.06 Barnsley – Huddersfield *shopping train; rural branch*
07.04.06 Huddersfield – Manchester Piccadilly *new train, proximity, ipod disturbance*
07.04.06 Manchester Piccadilly – East Didsbury
08.04.06 Manchester Piccadilly – Stockport
08.04.06 Stockport – Stalybridge *enthusiast train; photography; bashing*
08.04.06 Stalybridge – Leeds
08.04.06 Leeds – Sheffield *standing; vestibule ends; electronic anti social behaviour*
08.04.06 Sheffield – London St Pancras *domestic activities; nail clipping (again)*
08.04.06 London Liverpool Street – Norwich *delays; missing connections; information delivery*
09.04.06 North Walsham – Norwich
09.04.06 Norwich – Colchester *newspapers; media*
09.04.06 Colchester – London Liverpool Street *newspapers; media; lack of tables*
09.04.06 London Charing Cross – London Bridge
09.04.06 London Bridge – London King's Cross
09.04.06 London Euston – Wembley Central *standing, aggravation*
09.04.06 Wembley Central – London Euston: *station dangers; safety*
09.04.06 London Liverpool Street – Norwich
09.04.06 Norwich – North Walsham
10.04.06 North Walsham – Norwich
10.04.06 Norwich – Ely
10.04.06 Ely – Birmingham New Street *journey tracing*
10.04.06 Birmingham New Street – London Marylebone *guard; planning; rushing; speed*
17.04.06 Norwich – Peterborough *family outings*
17.04.06 Peterborough – Newcastle *novel journeys; reading; immersion*

Appendix B

Interview participants

Participant's names have been changed to protect anonymity

Aaron	Cambridge. Student. Frequent traveller between Cambridge and many destinations.
Albert	Doncaster. Retired. Frequent leisure traveller.
Amy	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Occasional traveller to London.
Brian	Leeds. Professional. Regular traveller to Newcastle upon Tyne.
Carol	Darlington. Professional. Occasional traveller between Darlington and York.
Darren	Birmingham. Professional. Commuter to Birmingham and regular to London.
Dean	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Occasional traveller to London.
Donna	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular traveller to London.
Edward	Newcastle. Student. Regular leisure traveller.
Francesca	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Frequent traveller to London.
Frank	Nottingham. Professional. Regular traveller to many destinations.
Gareth	Newcastle upon Tyne. Student. Frequent traveller to Edinburgh and South West
Greg	Sunderland. Professional. Regular traveller to York and Edinburgh
Helen	Durham. Professional. Infrequent traveller to Edinburgh and London.
Iain	Birmingham. Professional. Infrequent traveller to London.
Ivan	London. Professional. Regular traveller to Cambridge.
Jack	Liverpool. Professional. Regular traveller to London and Glasgow.
James	Hereford. Student. Regular traveller for leisure.
Jasmine	Norwich. Professional. Infrequent traveller to London.
Jean	Newcastle upon Tyne. Retired. Infrequent leisure traveller.
Jenny	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular traveller to London.
John	Darlington. Retired. Occasional traveller to Newcastle and London.
Julie	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Infrequent traveller to York.
Kevin	Sunderland. Student. Regular traveller for leisure.
Leanne	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular traveller to London.
Leo	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular travel to London.
Linda	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular traveller to London.
Luke	Newcastle. Professional. Regular traveller to Leeds.
Marika	Norwich. Professional. Occasional traveller to Birmingham.
Max	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular traveller to London.
Maxine	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Frequent traveller to London and Edinburgh.

Mitch	Norwich. Student. Frequent traveller between Norwich and Birmingham.
Mohammed	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular traveller to York.
Neil	Middlesbrough. Student. Frequent traveller to Newcastle.
Omar	Durham. Student. Frequent traveller to London.
Rebecca	Durham. Professional. Regular traveller to Newcastle and London.
Richard	Norwich. Professional. Occasional traveller to London.
Robin	Durham. Professional. Frequent traveller to many north-east locations.
Rumina	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Infrequent traveller.
Ruth	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular traveller to London.
Scott	Newcastle upon Tyne. Student. Infrequent traveller to London.
Sean	Coventry. Student. Frequent traveller between Coventry and London.
Terry	Cambridge. Professional. Frequent traveller between London and Cambridge.
Therese	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Regular traveller to London.
Uri	Newcastle upon Tyne. Professional. Infrequent traveller to London
Will	Newcastle upon Tyne. Student. Regular traveller to Manchester.

Appendix C

Interview discussion topics

Foundation information
• **How often travel** by train? Is train travel principal mode of transport for you? • What is the **main purpose** of train travel for you? Business, leisure, etc.

Recent Journeys

1 Planning journey
• **Where** was the journey from and to? When did the journey take place? • What was the **primary purpose** of undertaking that particular journey? • How decide on **date/time** of travel? What if anything determined choices for this? Are there particular (times of) day(s) avoided?

2 Booking tickets
• **Who** booked the tickets for the journey? • **How** did you book tickets? Phone/web/booking office? Which method prefer? • Did you request any specific **requirements** such as seat type? Was a seat reservation made? • Aware of different **ticket types** and their various terms and conditions? • How decide **how long** in advance to purchase? • Once booked did you have to **inform** anyone about the details of your journey? • If in advance, once received tickets where **keep** them?

3 Preparation

- **What prepare** before journey? **Objects** to take? Food and drink? What goes into the process of preparation?
- **How long** did it take to prepare objects for the journey?
- Any items prepared **specifically** for the period of transit?
- What put the objects in? **Suitcase**, rucksack etc.
- How **remember** details of travel? Maps, diagrams, on mobile, pda, timetables, etc.

4 Transit to station

- **How** did you get to the railway station?
- How much **time** did you leave yourself to transfer to the station?
- Did you take any steps to see if your train is **running on-time**? Use of WAP, Live Departure Boards etc?

5 Station concourse

- What did you **do**? Step-by-step. Where did you go?
- Did you **purchase** any items?
- How did you know where your train would be departing from? **Where** do you **wait** for the train and how do you decide on that place?
- Any **spaces** in the station you would **avoid**?

6 Station-train interface

- How decide **where to stand** on platform? Routine? Do you stand or sit?
- How **long** did you wait? Use **waiting room**?
- What did you **do** during this period?
- How tell when train is arriving? What do you do when you see the train?
- How do you **decide** where you intend to **board**?
- When do you being **approaching** the **door**? Bothered about getting on first? **Priorities**?
- How decide where to **sit**? Make use of quiet coaches?
- Ever been a time when **couldn't find seat**? How cope with/rectify this situation?

7 During the journey

- Where did you put your **baggage/objects**? On seat or overhead luggage etc?
- What did you **do once seated**? Listen to music/headphones etc? Eat, drink, read, entertainment, etc.
- Use train as a **mobile office**? How do you work? What type of **equipment** used?
- Use **catering** facilities on board? At-seat trolley or buffet-car? Or take food on board?
- If **smoke**, how cope with new smoking ban?
- How did you know where you were at any one point? **Location**? Time?
- Did you know the **duration** of your journey?
- What do you consider to be **personal space** on board, if any?
- Talk to/**interact** with/eye contact with fellow passengers during journey? Topics of conversation?!?
- Strategies of **sleeping**?

8 Changing trains
• **Where** did you change trains? • **What** did you **do** during this period? • How did you **find out** about where and when your connecting services would depart from? • Did you **leave** the area of the station whilst waiting for your connecting service?

9 End of journey and arrival
• **How** did you **know** when you were **arriving** at your destination? • How did you **prepare** yourself for disembarkation? • What did you **do** and where did you go when you **arrived** at your destination station? How did you navigate?

General

10 Rail discourses
• From your experience of **mainstream media**, what impressions do you get of the UK railway system as a whole? Different parts of network the same? • Do these media impressions **reflect** your **personal experience** of rail travel? Better/worse/same? • Have you travelled with a **variety of rail operators**? Are there any you **prefer**? Why?

11 Journey rupture
• Has your train journey ever been **disrupted**? Delays/cancellations? • How do you **deal** with disruption to a journey? What do you **do** during periods of disruption? • Do you take **measures** to **prevent** your plans from being disrupted? • Ever a time when have **not felt safe** travelling by train/waiting in station?

12 Value preferences
• What do you find most **displeasing** about making journeys by train? What could be improved to make the journey a more pleasant experience? • What is your **favourite** aspect of travelling by train? What do you particularly like/enjoy? Prefer travelling during the day or night/evening?

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