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Presented by Laura Watts
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Travel-Time Use
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Travel Remedy Kit
Interventions into train lines and passengers[1]

(draft)

Laura Watts[2]
Glenn Lyons[3]

As in life, what matters is not the final destination, but all the interesting things that occur along the way.

Tim Ingold, Lines: A Brief History

Introduction

This paper concerns the shape of public transport passengers, socially, materially, temporally, spatially and economically, and how that shape changes as passengers move along down the line. This work is the culmination of a three year project into Travel-Time Use in the Information Age, which draws on very diverse methods, across transport studies and social studies of mobility, to consider travel time use across public transport in the UK.

In particular, the aim of this paper is to make an intervention into both passengers as bodies that travel, and passengers as calculated in transport policy. For there are many versions of what counts as a passenger in transport, and the relationship between aggregated bodies and moving bodies is one which is crucial to transport policy.

Shape of the Passenger

1. Shape of Model Passengers

Decisions on government transport investment, whether a road is built or rails are laid, are based on economic models of passengers. What matters is the cost versus benefit to these model passengers. Such model passengers are created through a process of translating the messy socio-material world of travel through a series of assumptions; although the translation process is necessarily elaborate, and shifts during continuous refinement and review. However, ultimately a body becomes flattened into a numeric value or a line on a graph based on the following general tenets (see Lyons and Urry, 2005):

- Only passengers who are gainfully employed have worth and are included.

- Passengers who are travelling on business are of key significance, since their time is compensated for by their employer.

- Passengers will always trade time for money; therefore they will travel as little as possible, and as fast as possible, so that they can work and earn as much as possible.

- When travelling passengers are assumed to be (economically-speaking) wasting their time.

- Passengers want to make more (economically) productive use of their travel time; therefore if they could be working for their employer they would always choose to do so.

These assumptions produce a particular model of the passenger and the world that they move through. This model passenger and model world have a very particular shape, a particular topology. Firstly, the model passenger moves along the shortest possible line from a point of departure to a point of arrival, and ideally that would be no distance at all. It's a necessarily Cartesian world, measured in time and money, that can be plotted on a graph.

Secondly, the model passenger is a logical, rational actor (with a protestant work ethic). This model of human action has been well-critiqued, particularly in human-computer interaction, where the consequences of a mismatch between an assumed rational actor in a computer program and an actual person can be highly problematic – from photocopiers breaking down to nuclear reactor meltdown (Suchman, 2007).

Finally, the line of the journey from departure to arrival is essentially straight, and ends when the passenger goes back to work. This is a line that Tim Ingold has recently explored as a *route*, a series of destination points; the kind of line that's in a hurry and 'wants to get from one location to another, then to another, but has little time to do so' (Ingold, 2007: 73). Such a line is indicative of moving over the world, racing from location to location, in an attempt to achieve pure transportation: the quickest, straightest path. The passenger on such a line is static and still until the destination, which becomes the point of activity and re-entry back into the world. For the model passenger nothing happens *en route*, everything happens before and after. As Ingold's acknowledges, this line is one of transport (*ibid*: Chapter 3). More specifically, it is the line of transport models and passenger models; that is, the shape of passengers in policy. Ingold's approach to lines is very apt and helps emphasise the transformation of the passenger as they translate from the world of physical travel to the world of transport model.

However, the results of our project heavily contest this line for embodied and embaggaged passengers, for people who travel with mobile phones, polystyrene cups of tea, suitcases, bicycles, free newspapers, books, laptops, iPods, and coins in search of ticket machines. For these passengers live in a different world to the Cartesian plane of the model. They do not travel along a straight line route from departure to destination, but walk and wait at stations

and stops, sit in trains and buses, and stare out at flashes of horizon, storm, and electricity pylons. Indeed, according to our results from a national rail survey of 26,000 passengers in 2004, gazing through the window was the second most likely activity of passengers, alongside reading and working (Lyons et al., 2007; Watts and Urry, in prep.). Passengers are not static or still, but highly active and doing things whilst travelling, only a very small percent (2%) were bored. Moreover, around 70% of passengers in the survey claimed their travel time was *of some use*, and a quarter said the journey was *very worthwhile*. Travel is not a waste of time for most passengers, but is of use and perhaps even productive.

But perhaps most pertinent to the concerns of transport policy was the result that over 85% of business travellers, the most influential group in calculations of transport benefit, believed that there was some paid work that they could be doing whilst on the move. Suddenly (or perhaps not so suddenly for those of us who travel by public transport) it is clear that what passengers are doing is important to transport policy, and the model that passengers are simply static bodies moving as fast as possible on a straight line between two points can no longer hold.

The transport model needs to be remedied. In so doing, it has the potential to alter the cost versus benefit of transport schemes; and it has the potential to change the emphasis on investment in speed, to supporting the many and varied, and *productive*, travel time uses of passengers.

But in order to remedy the transport model of the passenger, the über-high-speed straight line, we need to understand in considerably more detail the embodied and embaggaged passenger. To understand what passengers do, we need to understand the social, material, spatial and temporal world of public transport passengers.

2. Shape of Embodied Passengers

The transport model derives from, and therefore promotes, a transport ideal. Distance is an anathema, since distance represents inactivity, a waste of time, and a loss of money. The ultimate transport network, in this model world, would involve no distance at all. The ultimate transport network would be a point to point, instantaneous translation between departure and destination, more commonly referred to as a teleport. Yet, many in transport studies have questioned teleport as a passenger ideal (Graham, 1997; Mokhtarian and Salomon, 2001). We asked passengers directly, during six focus groups, if they wanted to teleport, and the responses were, after some consideration, quite negative (Watts and Urry, in prep.). On

average participants wanted to spend at least twenty to thirty minutes travelling to and from work (with the range being between ten and sixty minutes).

Travel was planning and *sorting things out in your head* time. As participants in our later travel remedy kit research put it:

> *Yeah, definitely, I like to have the time. I don't want to teleport, cause otherwise you end up going from meeting to meeting to meeting, and you've not had time to think about the next meeting, and you just go ergh [rolls eyes] like that. So, yeah, I like the time.*
> C (business traveller)

> *The train journey always seems to go quickly, and I wish it was longer. I often think I'd quite like to carry on, stay on the train to Swindon. Swindon is another twenty minutes, and a forty minute length of time on the train would be really nice. Because I'm quite relaxed and I'm quite enjoying the journey. Sometimes I just sit and look out of the window, and think… I wish it would last longer.*
> H (commuter)

Another key reasons we heard for the defence of travel time was as *time for me* and *time to be me*. Many participants in our focus groups felt that travel time was one of the very few times during the day they had to themselves, without immediate responsibilities and demands from either home or office. Travel time was a time of transition, not merely geographically but also socially. Travel time has a social ambiguity; it's a time open to possibility. Travel time is therefore liminal (Cwerner, 2001; Turner, 1986), not in a strictly structural sense, but in its open and creative sense of possibility. This *transition time* was an important creative time for some business passengers:

> *But my ideal office is on the train… especially if I've got things to work out [and I'm] at that point when you're just getting creative with it. It's my most creative place to work because it's that, you get a bit stumped, and you get to look out of the window for half an hour… see things… The frustration is that laptop batteries don't last long enough…*
> S (business traveller)

Travel time is creative and productive as an effect of its movement, both through its changing scenes and ambiguous sense of place, and through its ambiguous social location for the passenger. The potential for productivity is therefore not in its resemblance to an office

(or home), but in its difference. Yes, tables and power sockets for laptops are important, but not to re-create the office on-the-move but rather to create a very different kind of workplace. This particular form of workplace and productive work is a unique effect of travel as a shifting place (for further discussion see Watts and Urry, in prep.).

Rather than a line that tends to zero length, passengers travel on a train line that has an ideal length. Embodied passengers, and particularly those who value travel and find it productive, articulate an ideal line of travel as one that has continuous movement for at least twenty minutes. It is not duration of the journey that matters, ten minutes of high-speed travel followed by ten minutes of stopping is no good. What matters is a sense of ongoing movement through the world; without movement there is no ambiguity of place; no transition, no liminality. Moments of waiting, pause, or connection were consistently frustrating, but the desire for speed was nuanced and not simply a case of always moving as fast as possible.

But even the straightness of the transport model line is in doubt. I alluded to the importance of windows and looking out of the window earlier. In discussions, passengers talked about the importance of views through the window, their favourite bus rides, important landmarks, and specially planned drives to the station or home. Commuters spoke of finding longer but more scenic paths from their home to the station, and how these paths changed depending on the season and the weather. Passengers do not move through unmarked space, as though in a straight line on a Cartesian plane, they move in particular and selective ways through places. Passengers move *through* the world rather than *over* it.

Returning to Ingold's analogy of the line, he argues that there are two modalities of the line: the *route*, which is the transport model of the line that moves rapidly from location to location over the world; and the *trail*. Ingold characterises the *trail* as the open-ended line of the wayfarer, always on the move, but always moving in and through the world. A transported passenger is passive and still, a wayfarer must sustain their movement through an active engagement with the world. The route is the transport ideal, defined by its destinations. The trail is ongoing and defined by the movement itself (Ingold, 2007: Chapter 3).

Following Ingold, embodied passengers are clearly not inert flesh, simply transported from departure to destination, the shape of their line includes something of the wayfarer. There is a certain open-endedness to some of their movement. Not in a idealistic unbounded way, but in the way people attend to the experience of the world, and create their journey based on moving through certain places at certain times and not others. Embodied passengers make

their own line through the world, they beat their own trail through paths, bus lanes, car parks, rail tracks, and doorways.

I'm not arguing for a third modality of line (or a third way), nor am I arguing for some hybrid line, part route and part trail. Categorising the shape of the line that embodied passengers take through the world is not what is at stake, although characterising it is. As Ingold himself says very clearly 'transport is never perfect but always entails an element of wayfaring' (*ibid*: 162). Rather, the transport route and the wayfarer trail are theoretical tools that underline (sic.) the distinct differences between the way embodied travellers move and the model of that movement. By exploring these differences, as supported by empirical research, we hope to refigure the model, and make it clear what interventions could be made to make the model include more characteristics of the embodied passenger – and hence be a better model.

This characteristic differences between route and trail is exemplified by the practices of the embodied passenger en route. In the transport model, the passenger is inactive, passive, just carried along by the transport network, and does little if no productive work. However, as a result of over 260 hours of mobile ethnography, ethnography on buses and trains across the UK (from local bus services to long-distance rail journeys), we experienced and recorded extraordinary amounts of work and labour by passengers (Jain, in prep.; Watts, in press).

Firstly, passengers were not simply bodies sitting in a seat but were distributed through space: their bags were on seats and under seats, feet were in aisles, mobile phone calls could be overheard, and connected passengers to places outside the bus (Green, 2002), smells from their hot chocolate drifted down the carriage, laptops and paperwork and books spread across tables. Passengers were always bodies plus their belongings, which had to move together.

Secondly, these distributed passengers could configure themselves in different ways, predominantly as packed passengers and unpacked passengers (Watts, in press). Packed passengers were highly mobile and tightly contained, most belongings stored in cases and bags, overcoats worn, although some items such as newspapers and mobile phones were often to hand, so that packed passengers were often well-equipped for waiting (Bissell, 2007; Gasparini, 1995). Unpacked passengers, however, were a different configuration of those same artefacts, and occupied considerably more space. They were configured for travel time use, able to conduct multiple activities on the move, read a book, drink some tea, flick through some paperwork, gaze in thought at the changing landscapes through the window. However, unpacking took both the right kind of time and the right kind of space. There had to be enough time for a passenger to unpack their things, and it had to be moving time, not

stopping time (which tended to prevent passengers from settling into an unpacked state). There also had to be the right kind of space, enough space so that they could unpack everything they wanted, without hindrance from a person sitting next to or in front of them, or a fold-down table that was too small for their laptop. Simply having a seat was never enough. In addition, there were issues of comfort that tended to affect unpacking: being too cold, too hot, or surrounded by noise, for example. But being unable to unpack severely limited the possible activities and level of productivity that passengers experienced. Productivity and activity of passengers was dependent on the environment of the bus, train, station or waiting place creating a place where it was possible to unpack.

Through the activities that unpacking (or not) made possible, passengers made their travel time. As has been argued at length elsewhere, time is not uniform but is enacted and located in particular practices (Adam, 1990; Thrift, 1996). Clock-time, for example, is not *a priori* universal but must be made and measured in particular places. Time is an effect of tasks (Ingold, 1995). Similarly, travel time is situated in the practices of passengers. Time might tick slow for a passenger squeezed into an aisle seat and only able to stare ahead. In comparison, for the passenger next to them on the same journey, who is thinking and looking out at the scenery, jotting down ideas in a notebook, time may tick fast. Travel time is made in travel time use.

The corollary of this is that travel time can be stretched or compressed, depending on the activity of the passenger. And the more active a passenger is, the more their time tends to compress. To create a faster journey, then, does not necessary require a shorter clock-time, but could involve compressing time for the passenger through particular practices.

The embodied passenger is not static on their line of travel. Rather, like the wayfarer, they are actively making their line, making the passage of time from moment to moment, through their engagement with the world; with their seat, with the view through the window, with their notebook, newspaper, with their imagination. The speed of the embodied traveller is not a straight line, made without their involvement. Rather the speed of the embodied traveller wanders, is variable (although not completely so), and is altered by their environment and how they engage with it.

The social and material qualities of the passenger world make a difference to the speed of their journey – alongside the social and material qualities of the transport system itself (the driver, crew, train, bus, road, rails, and so on). It follows that it is possible to remedy the passenger's journey through those social and material effects, through their belongings, the

space and time to unpack and so on, and make a difference to their experience of travel time.

Travel Remedy Kit

Having reviewed the results of the project, there remains the issue of how to conduct the two proposed remedies into both. How to intervene in passenger models, and improve the experience of passenger travel time, and how to alter transport models, and their calculation of passenger travel time.

We conducted an in-depth interview-based piece of empirical research, loosely based on the concept of travel planning in transport studies. We worked with six participants in the south-west and north-west of the UK, who volunteered to have a familiar journey remedied by the team. The only selection criteria was that the journey involved public transport, and in fact, all journeys comprised train travel. We did not attempt to select a representative sample (this would have been meaningless with such a small number), but it is important to note that although we had a mix across gender and cultural background, all our participants could be roughly categorised as articulate middle-class and middle-aged.

The travel remedy kit research involved three stages.

Pre-Interview

We translated our research findings into a set of thirty-three concepts to create, essentially, a deck of cards with four suits. We then invited participants to tell us the story of their journey, by reflecting on each of the thirty-three cards in a structured interview. The participants chose to either place the card on the table, to create a visual representation of the journey, or discard the card if they felt it was not relevant. The aim of the cards was to articulate in detail the mundane and everyday aspects of travel, and to begin to transform participants conceptions of those mundane activities, and so re-conceptualise that familiar journey. Finally, we also wanted to articulate specific aspects of the journey we might remedy.

The first two cards placed on the table were *imagine departure* and *imagine arrival*. These were the start and end points for the story of the journey. We used these to explore the discontinuous moments of planning, expectations for the journey, and the often prolonged experience of arrival. Participants did place other cards before and after these moments, emphasising how much of the journey occurs before or after actually stepping out of the house, or inside the office.

The first third of the deck was a suit categorised as *Story*. These cards were conceptual results relating to overall aspects of the journey, which we used to talk through the story of the journey. For example: *Making the transition* raised the issue of transition time, as discussed earlier; *Gift* opened discussion of the journey as a gift of time for oneself (Jain, in prep.); *Routes* asked participants how they choose different routes and paths during their journey; *Adaptation* reflected on how travel always requires ad hoc actions, and considered how they respond to unexpected circumstances on the way.

The second third of the deck was categorised as *Space & Time*. These cards explicitly referred to how participants managed their space and time during the journey. For example: *Things to hand* opened up discussions of what participants usually had to hand at different moments, from walking and waiting to sitting on the train; *Stretch/compress time* raised the issue of which parts of the journey people wanted to slow down and savour, and which parts they wanted to speed up; *Ready and waiting* asked participants to talk about what they did when waiting, and consider what they would prefer to do; *Making space* framed issues of the amount, shape, and qualities of personal space that participants preferred, and their many tactics for creating and maintaining it en route.

The final selection of cards were *My Travel Kit*. Each of these were artefacts that could be carried by participants during the journey, and which might remedy particular issues that had become clear during the interview. Sometimes they were items participants already carried with them, such as *mobile phone* or a *book*. Sometimes they were less familiar such as a *landscape guidebook*, a *mobile office*, or *earplugs and eyeshade*. However, although each card was generic, discussions concerning the artefact were not. What mattered and made a remedy was the specifics, the details. So not food, or even a sandwich would make a difference, but,

> *Special things, special things for the journey… you know, might have made something at home, or buy it from the nice sandwich shop, not the one at the station, that's crap.*
> C (business traveller)

> *The waiting room is not that great, and the coffee is appalling, and the food is rubbish, so I don't relish being there… Waiting at London Euston, I really enjoy: there's food, there's good [coffee]. But at this end it's a frustration…*
> S (business traveller)

To remedy a participant's journey required an extremely detailed understanding of how they travelled, and what their particular desires for an ideal journey were. Perhaps surprisingly, the ideal journey for all our participants was not very different from their current experiences, and not unachievable by careful preparation or by the transport sector (although we are aware that the complexities of the industry might inherently resist their these).

The Kit

On the basis of the detailed discussions concerning the journey and its potential artefact and conceptual remedies we created a Travel Remedy Kit. This was a small shoulder bag containing a series of carefully selected, and often hand-crafted items, designed for each individual participant. Each bag contained a personalised set of step-by-step instructions for the journey. Often they began with maps, suggesting a new route to walk or drive to the station, suggestions for parking, or they began with a bus timetable alongside a map of bus stop locations and the cost of a bus ticket, to help participants catch a local bus to the station. Then the instructions would make suggestions for where to wait, where to buy a good cup of tea or coffee. It also explained, for example, where to stand to board the quiet coach of a train. Once on board, the instructions then gave a list of possible activities, often broken down into sections (for a long journey they might be by hour), the first part of a journey might be about unpacking into a productive shape, and suggestions for reading the books provided or thinking and making notes. The next part might suggest something to eat and drink, through a particularly interesting piece of scenery, perhaps whilst listening to the music player provided, and so on. Each bag came with a specially personalised snack pack, which included favourite morsels from baklava to chocolate-covered ginger biscuits to chilled white wine! We often provided a *landscape guide*, with photographs taken from the train and information on visible and often unusual landmarks the train passed by. We also asked each participant to describe or draw one thing that had never noticed on that journey before, as a very explicit form of intervention. Finally, the step-by-step instructions gave explicit directions for buses, walks, or underground transport, and what to do whilst waiting and onboard these, to help participants get to where they wanted to be.

The kit was designed to be used once, and only on the one journey we had discussed with participants.

Each Travel Remedy Kit was designed to create the passenger's ideal journey, supporting participants in planning and packing (the shoulder bag had almost everything they needed), and in flowing from one mode of transport to the other; we even offered an *emergency*

number, so that if there was an unexpected problem they could obtain up-to-the-minute information and suggestions from us on the best way to get moving again.

Post-interview

After participants had experienced their remedied journey, we conducted a post-interview a few days later to discuss how effective the kit was. Although the cards from the initial interview were on hand, this was an unstructured interview which we opened by asking the person to tell us the story of their remedied journey. We then explored particular artefacts or moments that arose during the discussion.

Resulting Story Lines

These are three stories from our participants using the Travel Remedy Kit, which highlight key aspects of travel time that affect the both the passenger and the transport model of the passenger:

Slow Scenery Story

> *From here to Preston could last a lot longer, and the rest of it could be quicker... It comes down to scenery… It's not the most beautiful journey… (compared to going north, which I would happily stretch that one out, going through the Lake District).*
> S (business traveller).

> *I quite like the bit through Bath up to the White Horse. That bit's good. The picturesque bits really. And the rest of it's just dull, so if you can compress that…*
> C (business traveller)

> *Had a bit of a dream out of the window and did a bit of work, for five minutes… There was quite a lot of wildlife outside, so I was looking out of the window… Just billions of rabbits… That was good, quite nice… [Then], there, you see: Swindon [I was] bored… So at Swindon got out the baklava and some tea, and that was good.*
> C (business traveller) post-interview

The desire to stretch or compress time was often related to the scenery, to what was outside of the window and the places that participants moved through. As wayfarers they wanted to move more slowly and attentively through some places, inhabit them (transmuted through their carriage window) for longer. Passing on down the line through areas that held less

meaning for them, was where they became more prone to boredom, introverted, and these were the places on the journey where they wanted a plethora of activities to engage in.

Speed-up Time Story

> *The journey in the morning is really, really quick. The journey in the evening is really, really slow… Sometimes [in the morning] I just sit and look out of the window, and think. And sometimes I want to do that plus I want to send a text, plus I want to do some reading, or all of those things… And before you know where we are we're approaching [Bristol] Parkway and I've got to get my coat on… And on the way back, it just takes an interminable length of time.*
> H (commuter)

> *I can keep going for about two hours… But after that I put the paper down and I'm bored of it, and I don't want to read anymore… It's the end bit, when, after you've been travelling for two or three hours, you just want to get there… So those were the times I guess when I'd like… the time to go by more quickly.*
> D (business traveller)

> *Third hour, I was still very keen to listen to things [on the music player]… I had a go at some of the games… I got the pillow out for about the last hour, and I felt a bit self-conscious, but it was very comfortable, it was very good… So I enjoyed it a lot, it was very good. It certainly made the journey seem quicker. I was sort of there, you know...*
> D (business traveller) post-interview

> *But to be honest once I've looked for my landmarks, read my book, drawn some pictures, made a few notes, we're there! …But it went very quickly. It was great. And I was there before I knew it…. It was fun actually. It was quite fun. Other people were just sitting there, reading, or looking at their mobiles, and I've got plenty to do.*
> J (leisure traveller) post-interview

Simply, the more activities participants wanted to do, or undertook, the faster time was experienced. Travel time was compressed by travel time use. The length of the line is dependent on the activities of passengers, on the uses of time, which is in turn (as I have discussed) affected by the potential that travelling spaces create for unpacking and having many things-at-hand (from adjacent seats, to windows, to tables, to power-sockets), and, indeed, the range of artefacts and things that passengers can immediately make use of.

Wayfarers Story

> *Taking notice of it as a journey, as opposed to something that you just do… If you see what I mean… I wouldn't ever remember my bus journey as I go to and from work, because its just always the same. Whereas this made it all different.*
> C (business traveller) post-interview

> *Apart from [starting] the diary… also asking me to draw something, notice something… And as I was drawing it, I could remember the details… So this was precious, this particular exercise… What I learned was that I shouldn't just do one thing, on the journey, that I could diversify my activities; that the journey is an opportunity to do a number of things.*
> M (commuter) post-interview

> *I think I'll probably get a [music player] now, because I'm convinced that I'll use it… I felt that it was more <u>my</u> journey. I guess that was because it was planned, you sort of planned it…. But it became less of a journey… less of an ordeal… And I sort of found if I was getting bored, there was something I could do. I could listen to something else. So that helped. And it made it go much more quickly. So it seemed a much quicker journey.*
> D (business traveller) post-interview

Through the activities and suggestions made by the Travel Remedy Kit, passengers became much more active participants in their journey. Rather than almost passively accepting their ordeal, the kit pointed to ways for passengers to manage their travel time, and in so doing make their journey go more quickly. In essence, the travel remedy kit was a wayfarer's toolkit, it comprised technologies for engaging with the world whilst moving; it transformed transported, and sometimes bored, passengers into equipped and alert wayfarers.

Overall, the Travel Remedy Kit seemed to affect passengers in the longer term. It did not simply alter one journey, but shifted how they engaged as a passenger more generally. Through the Travel Remedy Kit, participants were equipped as wayfarers far more than simply transported passengers, they were given constant suggestions to alert them to the journey as an ongoing experience. Wayfaring, as an approach to travel, seemed to promote a more alert and enjoyable experience of travel time. As one of the participants said:

> *I was a bit more alert at the end of the journey… because usually I'm in a bit of a daze at the end of the journey, because I've got bored and then I've got in a bit of huff…*
>
> C (business traveller) post-interview

Conclusions

There were two forms of intervention that the Travel Remedy Kit hoped to make as a validation exercise of the wider research programme into Travel-Time Use in the Information Age. The first remedy was simply into passenger's experiences of travel time use itself. The second, and perhaps more difficult, was into the transport model of passengers.

1. Embodied Passenger Remedies

Transforming passengers into active wayfarers, at least in part, altered their experience of travel time. Active wayfarers were able to compress their travel time, and experienced a quicker and more engaging journey.

But public passengers can never be pure wayfarers, in the same way that they can never be purely transported. They are not wayfarers as Ingold uses the term, since they cannot move completely freely, they are in transition, they do have a destination, and speed remains an issue. However, by adopting the toolkit (or a travel remedy kit) of a wayfarer they can actively engage with the world of travel, with its seats, tables, views, people, and things, and move differently, make time variably, and experience some places faster than others. If they want to get to their destination faster, they can do so.

These equipped wayfarers of public transport are engaged with the world. They move through the world of travel; they are inseparable from its bus stops, stations, waiting rooms, paths, doorways, cafes, tickets, online booking systems, and so on. Like any wayfarer their movement is always within a world that resists, that pushes back. They cannot take a train that does not exist, any more than a walker on a mountain can leap up a vertical cliff face. There is never the possibility of some ideal complete freedom of movement, of being able to drive any where, or arrive at any time. But by being well equipped for, not just waiting or travelling, but also wayfaring, a passenger is able to engage with the richness of their travelling world, and move with a more nuanced set of possibilities. The line of movement for wayfarers of the public transport system is one that arrives with a flourish, rather than one that has got there as a bored and tired straight line.

2. Transport Model Remedies

The desire of transport policy is to accurately represent the cost versus benefit of a transport scheme. The benefit is a monetary one, which is measured on the basis of the value of time to model passengers, as discussed at the start of this paper.

But if the model of the passenger is not simply along straight line route that moves as fast as possible from departure to destination, how else might it be modelled?

There is nothing inherently wrong with straight lines in transport, of course. Straight lines are absolutely necessary for transport networks to connect up, for computer algorithms running signalling to work, for trains to stay on rails, and bus wheels to move forwards rather than sideways. This has not been an argument for adding curviness to transport. However, not everything is straight, and understanding passenger movement, and passenger travel time, seems to benefit from being considered as a shape other than a straight-line from A to B.

Firstly, the ideal for passenger movement is not based on speed and instantaneous transport. It is not based on zero length, but on an ideal duration of more than twenty minutes at constant velocity (as an ideal, passengers prefer not to slow down).

Secondly, travel time is productive not wasted. Its productivity is dependent on the environmental qualities of all the places of travel, including waiting as well as moving places. The material, social and sensory experience of waiting and moving places makes a difference to productivity, and should be a factor. However, the measure of productivity is not simply equivalent to office work. Travel has its own unique qualities as a work-place that are based on its liminality, as a moving place that is constantly between social and geographical locations. Value of office time should not equal travel time, nor vice versa. It's possible that, in terms of innovation and creativity, travel time might be more valuable than office time, depending on the specifics of both environments, of course. Moreover, the value of travel time to those who are not travelling on business is substantial. Productivity is not necessarily a matter of earnings but a matter of personal experience.

Finally, to increase both the productivity of passengers, and the speed of their journey, requires supporting passengers as they move in their own way through the transport network. The line of passengers is multiple. The model of passenger movement should be a flux from point to point, a mesh of tumbled and variable lines, that slow down and speed up at different moments. The model should support the widest possible array of movements between two points. Appropriate spaces and environments for unpacking are crucial, for

example. Unpacked passengers are more active and can compress their time more effectively, than those who are squashed and must remain packed up.

The transport model of passengers is a knowledge that is based on the situation of the modellers (Haraway, 1991). It is ostensibly a view from nowhere, that is, indeed, derived from very careful calculations and heavily-debated assumptions within transport modelling. Those debates have, so far, removed the social, material, spatial, and temporal richness of travel, but in so doing the model no longer does it job; it no longer models passengers. The travel remedy kit research suggests that passengers can be, and often are, well-equipped to speed up travel, and make it productive; that they are wayfarers moving through the extraordinary, and almost never straight, world of travel.

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