'Finding a 'place' through dwelling in travel': Intersections between mobility, place and identity in lifestyle travel

A thesis submitted to Cardiff University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

Cardiff School of Planning and Geography

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Declaration and statements

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This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of PhD

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This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

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Abstract

The world is increasingly mobile (Adey 2006). Flows of good, services and cultures are changing the relations between people and place, leading scholars to questions existing notions of home, travel, and belonging. This thesis explores these issues by focusing on one group who epitomise the twenty-first century world of mobility: lifestyle travellers. The thesis considers the experiences of lifestyle travellers across numerous world-wide locations, drawing on primary data collected over two years. It adopts an explicitly geographical approach to studying lifestyle travel, focusing attention on the significance of place and movement for these highly mobile beings, in order to examine what this mobility means for ideas of identity and home. Complementing research in the tourism field, the research highlights how lifestyle travel is a heterogeneous and difficult to classify activity, involving a myriad of different ideas, practices, behaviours and motivations. However, by adopting Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) as an organising rather than classifying device, the thesis is able to unpack this diversity and illuminate the embroilment of 'mobilities' and 'moorings' in the practices of lifestyle travellers. It goes on to demonstrate how place immersion is crucial to lifestyle travel, illustrating how practices of mobility extend past corporeal movement between places, exploring the unique and diverse practices *within* places. This pursuit of integration within places by lifestyle travellers shows how place and mobility can be complementary rather than exclusionary, with different immersion techniques outlined to demonstrate the different depths of place experience desired by participants (ranging from 'spectating' at the peripheries to becoming 'community members' within places). From these findings, the research emphasises how place itself is mobile, as well as lifestyle travellers. By illustrating the relational ways in which lifestyle travellers continually take and make place, the thesis uncovers new ways of conceptualising 'home' that are formed through the co-constituent relationship between place and mobility. The thesis therefore demonstrates these factors to be significant and mutually enabling components to the identities of lifestyle travellers in the twenty first century.

Prologue

As an addition to this thesis, two papers based on my research findings have been submitted for publication. Such papers specifically consider the place-person dynamic of lifestyle travel, which are more broadly discussed in this research.

By way of maintaining contact with participants – both for research purposes and to sustain friendships forged in the field – such papers were emailed to those who were interested. The papers provided neat, edited snippets from the overall project, allowing participants to see what findings had been made from their contributions.

The extract below is a reply from one such participant, who notes how the paper has made a positive impact on his life. I was delighted – and indeed humbled – that my findings have provoked such an emotive response, and captured the 'essence' of a travelling lifestyle for this individual. To learn that my research has benefitted even just one of my participants is reward in itself, and I am thrilled that it can transcend academic thought and 'talk' directly to the subjects that made this entire journey possible. Happy Travels to all!

Hey Kathryn….. Finally read the chapter, and honestly, thank you! It has actually made a lot of things in my life clearer! I've had a feeling of stagnation and immobility for the past year or so, that feeling of defeat almost. Like, I conceited defeat, have settled down and am now performing this expected role; student. I tried getting a girlfriend, tried establishing these permanent relationships and ties, but the whole time it felt as though I was subjugating some fundamental aspect of my self, as if the whole time I was walking down this path I had decided years ago I wouldn't dare tread. Since then, it's been pushing me into a rut, a hole, a deep depression that at some points threatened to completely consume my identity. Like not only was I not choosing my own path, I wasn't choosing how fast I walked (semester schedule), or how I walked (essays, exams etc.), it was like there was no freedom any more. So I deferred. I bought a motorbike so that I could travel, if only for a day or so, to the hills, to the beach, just... Moving. Then I realised, I have to move, I have to keep moving, and I don't want to ever stop moving. So now I've got a job, one that threatens to be indefinite, which again created this feeling of stagnation, but I remind myself that I can quit at any time. I found myself doing that a lot while studying. Just so I'd feel like I had some freedom, I would imagine quitting, how long it would take to get money together for a flight, where I would go, how long I could go for, what I might do when I got there, just fill my mind with the thought, the escape, the freedom of movement. But now I'm half way through a degree that I want to finish, but I can't stay still anymore, so I've decided to study my own way. I plan to transfer to uni Queensland for 6 months, then study abroad for 6 months, then return to Melbourne to complete the final semester. That way there is always the definite end, there can be no feeling of stagnation, because the water will always be moving. Study, but the institutionalised study through the lifestyle of the traveller. If it's alright with you, I may even print a copy of your chapter and submit it with my application for the exchanges, I feel as though this chapter truly captures the essence of the lifestyle I fell in love with, lived, then lost, and am now just beginning to re-find; true identity.

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For Mum. You are still very much missed.

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Chapter One

Introduction

"Everything is mobile" (Adey 2006). From ideas, goods, services, cultures and pollution, the world is increasingly on the move. The consequences of this mobility and its effects on our identity and the places around us have become pressing questions for social scientists to explore. Epitomising contemporary mobile lives, this thesis argues that the lifestyle traveller presents a pronounced way of exploring the mediations between mobility, place and identity. Whilst lifestyle travel has been examined primarily from a sociological perspective in considering notions of selfhood (S. Cohen 2009), an exploration which considers geographical concerns has yet to be employed. The aim of this thesis is to unpack such relations and address the contemporary consequences of mobility for place and identity.

These consequences are vital in a midst proliferating attention which questions how place matters when the entire world is 'on the move' (Cresswell 2006: 256). Place was considered a significant crucible during modernity, with imperialism driven by the acquisition of territory and identity being 'bound' to place. However, today the exponential increase and rapidity of global flows, transcending boundaries with ease, questions such notions. Such time-space compression (Harvey 1990) has arguably resulted in rising uniformity, the erosion of place distinctiveness, and arguably the 'end of geography' (O'Brien 1992).

It is the purpose of this thesis to demonstrate that geography is far from finished. Whereas we acknowledge how sedentary concepts of space and place cannot withstand moves to mobility, examining the lifestyle traveller serves as an example of how to *mobilise* rooted conceptions in order to emphasise how place can still matter in these mobile times. Explicitly harnessing – rather than retreating – from a mobile approach, this geographical thesis seeks to unpack the mediations – rather than divisions – between 'roots and routes' and 'home and away', as well as to rework ideas surrounding home and belonging. By examining how these concepts are understood

by lifestyle travellers, as well as how their identities are fundamentally forged *between* mobilities and moorings, illustrates that place still has a 'place' in the globalising world.

This chapter intends to provide an overview of the research topic and how the thesis is structured. It first 'locates' the research context through introducing the lifestyle traveller and identifies 'gaps' in the current literature. It proceeds to consider how geography is appropriately positioned to fill academic absences through employing a spatial perspective. In this manner it considers the 'gaps' in terms of mobility, examining geographical literatures concerning resistance and freedom, as well as emphasising how this is meaningless if not conceived in relation to 'mooring'. The chapter then outlines place as a key concept of this geographical investigation, emphasising place itself as dynamic and mobile, as well as focusing on the activity that occurs *within* place. Such mediations between mobility and place are exemplified by examining their effect on lifestyle travellers' identity. Whilst selfhood has been central to previous studies on lifestyle travel, the express consideration of the role of *place* for identity is not something that has been explicitly tackled thus far. Notwithstanding these theoretical considerations, the chapter will proceed to outline how the research has used empirical material to direct its use of relevant themes and theory, considering the methods used to do so. This empirical focus combined with the theoretical context gives rise to the research aims and questions, and outlines how the thesis is structured to meet these effectively.

1.1 Introducing the lifestyle traveller

Lifestyle travel has been defined by Scott Cohen as extended leisure travel which is returned to repeatedly as a preferred lifestyle (2008a; 2009; 2010a, b, c). This definition grew from academic work which observed 'serial backpacking' (Uriely and E. Cohen 2002) and described instances where backpacking extends from being transitional to become a "way of life in itself" (Noy et al 2005: 3; see also Westerhausen 2002). In this manner, contributors have focused on documenting that travel is transformed from being an "interruption from normality" (Welk 2004: 90) to becoming normality itself "for a sizeable minority" (Westerhausen 2002: 146). However, explanation as to why individuals specifically extend backpacking into their

lifestyle is not tackled by such 'speculative evidence' (S. Cohen 2011: 1536). Whilst there has been research on why individuals make repeated backpacking trips (Uriely et al 2002), lifestyle travel which exceeds 'episodic engagement' (S. Cohen 2011: 1548) has been largely ignored in studies of backpacking and tourism.

For Scott Cohen, lifestyle travel is a distinct subtype of backpacking (2011) where individuals refuse to reintegrate back into a home society permanently. The term 'traveller' is selected to avoid connotations typically associated with 'backpacking', such as 'transitional youth' (E. Cohen 2004a; O'Reilly 2006; Simpson 2005) which imply a temporary (or liminal) state that includes an elevated return to 'normality' (White et al 2004). Indeed Scott Cohen (2010c; 2011) further notes how his chosen terminology is a way to distance work on lifestyle travel from derogatory labels previously used in relation to other mobile folk. Terms such as 'drifter' (E. Cohen 1972) and 'wanderer' (Welk 2004) may present individuals as aimless (Cohen 1973; Riley 1988), 'tramp-like' (Adler 1985) or as socially undesirable drop-outs (Jarvis et al 2010; O'Reilly 2005, 2006). Instead, according to Scott Cohen (2011), the lifestyle traveller's core objective is to be *travelling* and it is the intention of this thesis to unpack why this is so. It does so by taking a currently unchartered geographical approach.

1.2 Filling theoretical gaps

As outlined, studies on lifestyle travel at present tend to be situated within a sociological domain, focusing on defining the phenomenon and 'distilling' it from backpacking as a transitional phase. Research has concentrated on the concept of 'lifestyle' to analyse this, to unpack a distinct social identity manifesting through "patterns of meaningful consumption" (S. Cohen 2011: 1548), rejecting the implication that lifestyle travel is a deviant practice.

In this manner, studies have reported on motivations for lifestyle travel, the enduring nature of travel (reconfigured as 'normality') and the blending of work and leisure selves to understand what this means for identity. Whilst there is scope to consider these dimensions from a geographical lens (to understand their spatial implications), other avenues need to be focused on. Indeed Scott Cohen (2011) presents links to

mobility more generally in appealing to wider interests in the social sciences. In this manner, this research utilises a mobile approach (theoretically and methodologically) to understand the different forms of mobility exercised in lifestyle travel. This thesis seeks to map patterns of mobility and unpack different types of mobility in order to examine what mobility fundamentally represents to lifestyle travellers. In essence, geography seeks to 'locate' these practices of mobility, appreciating how mobilities acquire meaning when they are *placed.*

1.2.1 Mobility and geography

Leading from this we can see how geographic theory is ideally situated to address how lifestyle travellers conduct their mobilities over socially constructed space. It will explore the patterns of their travels in regard to operating outside officialdom, and focus on ideas of liminality. Whilst acknowledging that lifestyle travel has been conceived as an inversion where travel becomes normality (S. Cohen 2011), geography focuses attention on the spaces of such inversion, and whether the neat ordering of space in this way can accurately 'map' lives. Whilst 'rites of passage' (van Gennep 1966) are useful in conceiving travel as permanence, how are 'moorings' in place necessary to this process? The thesis explores these ideas to elaborate on what 'normality' is for lifestyle travellers.

iv. Mobilities of resistance

The thesis will consider why mobility is used and what it represents to lifestyle travellers. In light of the interrogation of space above, the research questions if mobility is practiced as a form of resistance (Cresswell 2006) which symbolises a refusal to conform to ordered spaces (as seen in other geographical studies on the youth (see Sibley 1995; Valentine 1996a, 1996b), travellers (see Crowley et al 2007; James, Z. 2007; Kabachnik 2009; 2010a, b) and other groups operating outside of officialdom (see Bauman 1991; Cresswell 1996; Malkki 2001; May 2000; Wright 1997). It questions whether lifestyle travellers behave in a similar way to these groups and use mobility to reside on the peripheries, or whether the practice is more about exerting autonomy over their lives and escape from societal roles and responsibilities. The thesis seeks to problematize such comparisons by examining how lifestyle

travellers may actively weave and carve their way through designated space, adapting and utilising mobility to attune to their surroundings, to blend in and test lives. It examines the multiple forms of mobility in this manner, examining how these may evolve from a resistance against settled lifestyles to immobilising lives temporarily in places elsewhere. In this way, mobility as resistance is exemplified as a way that lifestyle travellers defy fixity and embody fluid and mobile lives, not just corporeally, but by their aversion to linear and predefined life stages and spaces. Mobilities can be unpacked to see how they create their own spaces, places and individualised phases in life, drawing on a more fluid geography that caters for change rather than fixity.

v. Mobility as freedom

Through illuminating the layered ways that mobilities are utilised and exerted in space, we can further comprehend mobility as a type of freedom. As demonstrated above, resistance against an ordered home life may be better represented as the freedom to not commit to any one place or culture. In other words, lifestyle travellers may choose autonomy over their lives – where and when they moor – as opposed to resisting officialdom. As expressed above this can manifest in the ways that lifestyle travellers structure their lives, choosing particular places to moor, or communities to pause within, with the idea of 'neo-tribes' (Maffesoli 1996) and 'communitas' (Homans 1995) raised as alternatives to traditional rootings in place. Examining different sites of belonging illuminates how mobilities produce different kinds of 'normality', allowing lifestyle travellers to create the types of 'place' – spatially and socially – that they desire. In essence, geographical conceptions of 'mobility as freedom' operate by exploring processes of individualisation, where individuals may 'gap out' of officialdom but also 'gap in' to new structures. Hannerz's cosmopolitan (1990) illuminates such ideas, exploring whether lifestyle travellers can be considered 'elite beings' who capitalise on their ability to move, practice this freely and embrace cultures but never fully commit to them. Furthermore the thesis considers what *drives* this mobility. Is mobility driven by the desire to collect many places and experiences, akin to Bauman's tourist (1993)? Is it about finding a place to call home as discussed by Scott Cohen (2011)? Or is mobility propelled by the need to 'move on', akin to Bauman's vagabond (1993) and "disillusionment with the place of last sojourn" (Ibid. 240)? By exploring the

evolving and layered practices of mobility, this geographical exploration seeks to unpack whether these different forms of mobility can be relevant, appreciating mobilities as mediations rather than isolated practices.

vi. Mobilities *and* Moorings

Outlining these contrasting understandings of mobility, and appreciating how these all may be applicable at different times and in different ways enables this thesis to practice a geography that deconstructs dichotomies and embraces relationality. This is best represented by appreciating both mobilities *and* moorings within lifestyle travel. Whereas previous studies on lifestyle travel have acknowledged the role of *physical* mobility, this geographical exploration emphasises not only different kinds of mobility but also of 'mooring' as an 'active accomplishment' (Hall and Smith 2012: 1) which demands particular attention. As suggested throughout this thesis, 'moorings' play a pivotal role in serving as a comparative tool (i.e. travel as permanence, mooring as temporary), but also as sites of activity in themselves (i.e. as collective groupings). In this manner geography attempts to go beyond documenting patterns of travels (i.e. how much mobility / how many 'stops') to examine *what* these moorings represent. In particular it conceives such 'active' moorings as 'places', as literal stops or pauses in the journey which are characterised by activity rather than immobility. In essence, a relational geography – considering both mobilities and moorings – explores the different kinds of mobility that are initiated when the physical act of travel stops and interactions with place and people begins. In this manner it warrants an exploration of lifestyle travellers' experiences within place as an active rather than static encounter.

1.2.2 Place

In this manner the thesis draws attention to the relative absence of place in studies on lifestyle travel. Whereas mobility has been outlined as endemic to travel, so comparative mooring must also be examined; as the movement *to* and within place. In essence geography advocates how mobility is meaningless if not examined alongside mooring (see Cresswell 2010; Massey 2004; Sheller 2006; Urry 2003).

Geography is perfectly positioned to understand contemporary relations between people and place. A central facet of this investigation is to unpack the difference that place makes to mobile lives, and specifically how they are mobile *in* place. Whilst provision has been made for examining the experience of returning home, as well as lifestyle travel being in some way the search for a single and idealised 'Shangri-La' (Cohen 2011), little has been developed in terms of understanding the effect of travelled places for identity. To this end, consideration on how place can be significant in a life based on mobility is central to this investigation. In essence attention is directed to conceiving how places can be meaningful when they are only temporarily occupied.

Ideas about 'home' are also investigated beyond those based on 'searching', with geography focusing on how lifestyle travellers specifically feel at home 'on the road'. Teasing out and exploring paradoxical notions, this thesis seeks to identify different manifestations of home to advance understanding on this ambiguous term. Discussing 'home' further functions as a tangible concept which can illuminate place beyond abstraction.

iii. Place as mobile

Geographical literatures which can inform these ideas are systematically raised. Advocating place as an active 'mooring' lends to dismantle static and sedentary conceptions for more dynamic and mobile ideas. Geographical theories on place as *becoming* (Adey 2006; Anderson 2010; Massey 2005; Murdoch 2006; Sheller et al 2006) are discussed, shedding light on how place can still be significant in a highly mobile world because it is mobile itself. In essence, geographers now present places as 'events' (Massey 2006a) meaning different things to different people at different times (Mandanipour 2007). They are social constructions, evolving and on-going, thereby transcending 'mapped' locations. Such ideas illuminate the mobilities of place as being the feelings and values people bestow it (Tuan 1977). Whilst this is fathomable in places that we engender longstanding connections with, it raises questions as to how deep this value can be when lifestyle travellers only temporarily occupy place. Literature examining the speed of place attachment is considered

(Backlund et al 2003; Hay 1998; Smaldone 2006; Tuan 1977; Relph 1976), yet geography expands past such 'quantification' to emphasise that "different forms of mobility have different implications for peoples' sense of territorial belonging" (Gustafson 2009: 491). In this manner, geography specifically asks what methods, what activities, what relationships, what *mobilities* lifestyle travellers engender within place to acquire meaningful encounters; to make place. Furthermore it considers how people relate to place, how they may learn and develop within them and also how they are viewed in *relation* to other places, as non-tangible mobilities. In essence this thesis attempts to explore mobilities in place, both physically and emotively, and how these may correlate. It attempts to understand how lifestyle travellers make their way in the world meaningfully.

The work of Ingold (2007) is primarily drawn upon to animate such issues, introducing the 'wayfarer' as illustrative of how people take and make place. By showing the activity of wayfaring as opposed to the passivity of the transported traveller, the thesis bridges theory with empirical observations of lifestyle travel, to understand how mobility is employed as a tool for interacting with place, as a way to carve meaningful paths rather than following pre-composed plots. It is a way to emphasise lifestyle travellers as authors of their own stories (given their exit from 'official' societal structures) which can be explicitly 'mapped' by examining their relationships to place.

iv. Home

Exploring 'home' from a geographical dimension seeks to expand on ideas that have been broached in lifestyle travel research. Drawing on research which considers the impact of mobile technologies, as well as literature on migration and postcolonialism, the thesis will problematize the dichotomy between the spaces of 'home' and 'away'. This emphasises the geographical agenda to erode dualistic terms and instead advocate an embroiled relationship through considering both mobilities and moorings. Examining how strangeness can be felt at home and familiarity felt whilst away (Ahmed 1999) demonstrates home-making as a mobile and on-going practice, directing attention to the ways that lifestyle travellers specifically feel at home on the

road. The thesis also explores how senses of 'home' and 'away' may be experienced together, with lifestyle travel as an effective way to illuminate such mediations.

1.2.3 Identity

The last facet to be explored within this geographical examination is identity. Whilst identity has been central in previous studies on lifestyle travel, this thesis examines how it can effectively demonstrate the complementary mediations between mobility and place, as the unique focus of this study. In essence, exploring identity provides an outlay to understand the interrelations and significances between a life 'on the move' and movement *in* place.

iii. Freely chosen game

Identity within geography is a topical theme since traditional concepts rooting it to place have been undermined by intensifications of connectivity. Whereas identity was once determined by the 'umbilical cord… connecting us to our country of origin" (Hall 1995: 207) "the accelerated flows of goods, peoples, ideas and images" (Ibid: 176) associated with globalisation have disturbed such 'settled contours'. Instead, theorists such as Beck (1994; 2002) argue that individuals can now choose how to live their lives with greater freedom, and as a consequence, identity must now be embarked upon as a "freely chosen game" (Bauman 1996: 18). This has meant that traditional connections (or roots) between people and place can be eroded by individuals, with some choosing mobility (or routes) over traditional ties. In effect, do lifestyle travellers epitomise 'ultimate' mobile beings in terms of exercising self relocation *alongside* physical movement? Or can 'roots' still be significant? Whilst claims have been made about the utility of place in contemporary mobile lives, the thesis examines literature which posits that autonomy and self-direction will not necessarily mean the redundancy of place for identity. In effect, the "place-self relationship can actually follow a logic of more *with more"* [author's italics] (Casey 2001a: 685).

iv. Postmodern personas

In this manner, we revisit the topics of mobility and place to understand how and *where* this 'freely chosen game' is played. We explore whether this 'game' is about

testing identities through exposure to novel places, where multiple selves are 'played out' by experiencing alternate ways of life. In essence, we suggest that lifestyle travel may be practiced to facilitate on-going identity relocation, where identity is 'placed' temporarily before moving on to test other selves. The thesis explores the implications for such place based selves on exit; do these 'live on' as compilations which are continually layered? Literature on multiple identities (Bondi 1993; Rutherford 1998), hybridity (Bhabha 1988; 1994), 'nomadic subjects' (Braidotti 1994) and 'postmodern personas' (Shields 1992a) help illuminate such discussion, focusing on the strategic relocation across selves to rescue elements of the past "to trace paths of transformation" (Braidotti 1994). In essence, such literature posits that it is imperative for people to adapt to the rapidly changing contexts that they find themselves in, utilising particular strands of an identity whenever there is the demand. Given lifestyle travellers' heightened patterns of mobility, such ideas about identity can be explicitly explored to see whether physical movement incites internal relocation (see Galani-Moutafi 2000). Furthermore, examining how place operates as a stimulus for change (Shields 1992a) presents questions about whether lifestyle travel is predominately a 'search for a self' (Cohen 2009) or if constant change and on-going identity creation is desired. In effect geography may serve to 'update' previous assertions on lifestyle travel in light of these spatial implications.

1.3 Filling empirical gaps

So far, this chapter has 'mapped' how geography is usefully situated to consider the mediations between place, mobility and identity in lifestyle travel. Combining these issues originally can help fill the theoretical gaps, however this thesis offers contributions more generally by investigating this under-explored phenomenon. Indeed Scott Cohen (2009) conducted the first study specifically on lifestyle travel, with little else being offered since. This emphasises the need for further fieldwork to strengthen the empirical base from which theory can be developed. As he and other tourism commenters have stressed, there is a need for research to listen to what participants themselves say about their lives (S. Cohen 2010; Noy 2004; Maoz 2010), advocating research beyond 'armchair theorizing' (Atkinson et al 2007: 21) to instead get out into the field. This thesis has followed such sentiments to firstly extend the

geographical range of research to reach fifty participants over four continents. Building from S. Cohen's study based in India and Thailand, it primarily served to widen access to lifestyle travellers by travelling to destinations across South East Asia, Australasia, the UK, Europe and Nepal, as well as utilising mobile communications. In this manner the research caters for a more global coverage, appreciating that travel itself is a world-wide rather than geographically bounded practice.

Secondly, it operated from a grounded approach, allowing participants to direct research through discussing what was important to them. Allowing research to evolve naturally around those it sought to study made greater provision for being able to make meaningful participant-led assertions, which may uncover hidden and deeper insights into this highly diverse practice.

1.3.1 Methods used

As mentioned above, a broadly inductive approach was used to generate the themes of research. This stemmed from insider research whereby the researcher was conducting their own kind of lifestyle travel before it specifically became the focus of research. From this position the researcher could capitalise on their own experiences, as well as observations and interactions with other lifestyle travellers, shaping a more targeted ethnography as research officially commenced. From this several themes emerged (see 1.3.2) which would later help develop research aims and form interview schedules.

As outlined previously, fieldwork was conducted in numerous destinations across the world. Adopting a mobile approach, the methodology utilised a wide-range of mobile techniques to generate data. Ethnography involved participation in the activity, which essentially was a continuation of the researcher's own travels. Mobile technologies were used for both recruitment and interviewing, harnessing social networking sites and computer mediated communication. Interviewing was conducted in several ways using the traditional face to face format, paired interviewing, as well as interviews physically on-the-move through 'ride-alongs' (Laurier 2004) and walk-alongs. However, the methodology further capitalised on the mobilities of *place* during

interviewing, appreciating these 'moorings' not as passive encounters, but as ways to unpack the person/place dynamic. By allowing participants to choose their preferred method, but also *where* this was conducted meant that interviews could tap into mobilities that were important or relevant to them. In essence, the methodology was intended to be as participant-led as possible and sensitive to the many ways that people articulate their experiences. Furthermore, having a background in long-term travel, the researcher could utilise their own experiences to help facilitate the flow of interviews, and contribute to the generation of data.

1.3.2 Themes raised

Such common-ground was beneficial for identifying themes for consideration. Whilst previous studies form the platform for subsequent work on lifestyle travel, the generation of themes from the field could provide alternative insights into the practice. In this manner themes emerged around place conquering; creating selves; place integration and the techniques used to pursue this end.

iv. Place conquering

From extended time in the field, the researcher observed how several participants felt that place represented some kind of challenge to overcome; that it fundamentally had a shelf life, illuminating discussion on the temporality of place occupation. By seeing how and why 'place conquering' may account for why 'moorings' are provisional could help us understand place-based motives driving travel, as well as what this 'conquering' represents. Such examinations are not specifically accounted for at present, but serve as a key component of this study.

v. Creating selves

The idea of 'creating' rather than 'finding' selves was also expressed, with participants showing unease about the unification of identity (see S. Cohen 2010a; Oakes 2006), commonly referred to in travel studies (Neumann 1992; Noy 2004; O'Reilly 2006; Rojek 1993). The link between self-creation and 'place conquering' formed a key feature of the study, in terms of understanding lifestyle travel as an on-going activity based on

test*ing,* participat*ing,* contribut*ing* and committ*ing* rather than pursued to reach a final end.

vi. Place integration

Place integration was another theme raised, brought to attention by the various activities that lifestyle travellers used to 'get to know' a place. Hitch-hiking, volunteering, Couch Surfing and employment were frequently cited as active strategies lifestyle travellers pursued to obtain a feel of a place, or to acquire an understanding of the people. These activities consequentially form the structure of Chapter Five when examining mobile strategies. By understanding that participants desire to be mobile *in* place – rather than moving passively across its surface – presented a strong case for unpacking and focusing on the people/place relationship in lifestyle travel.

1.4 Aims of the research

By outlining the gaps in the theory, this chapter has explored some of the ways that geography can speak meaningfully and tackle some of the issues surrounding mobility, place and identity. This employed alongside empirically led research have produced the overarching research aims:

1. To explain and emphasise heterogeneity in lifestyle travel.

Rather than attempt to define or categorise lifestyle travel – as past tourism studies have demonstrated – this study seeks to embrace diversity within the practice. Taking lessons from contemporary tourism theorists (see Cohen 2010; Noy 2004; Maoz 2010) the thesis seeks to 'let the subaltern speak' (Spivak 1988) and allow participants to describe and 'locate' themselves, celebrating multiple manifestations of lifestyle travel, appreciating that one size will not fit all. Moving away from categorising techniques, the thesis seeks to blend conceptual ways of exploring tourism to show how these can be beneficial for organising – rather than defining – diverse lifestyles.

2. To add momentum to relational understandings of geography.

Exploring mobilities and moorings as embroiled rather than oppositional positions, the thesis seeks to emphasise a more dynamic geography than that of the past, to show

how key geographical concepts are still relevant in a mobile world. By exploring the intersections between place and mobility we steer geography away from oppositional categories to embrace entanglement between mobility and mooring and further understanding on this arrangement through participant-led terms. In essence the thesis seeks to illuminate ambiguous theoretical concepts (such as notions of home) by harnessing empirically generated terms, which extend beyond geography to inform the social sciences more broadly.

3. To advance a mobile methodology

The thesis further seeks to expand sensitivities when harnessing mobile methods by allowing participants to shape how they communicate their experiences. Rather than privilege methods 'on the move', the research is designed to tap into mobilities significant to the participant, thereby personalising the interview context. In this manner it appreciates that in-place interviews are not static or sterile encounters but rather can tap into dynamic and relevant mobilities. In essence the research gives participants control over how and where they are interviewed, whether those are mobile or more stationary. This in turn will aim to mobilise theory by drawing on participant-led terminology. Adopting a mobile and grounded approach in this way attempts to allow empirically generated material to condition theory, rather than imposing static and sometimes inapplicable academic concepts on those we speak of.

1.4.1 Research Questions

To satisfy the aims above, the following research questions have been devised. These are addressed over three separate empirical chapters.

Chapter Four: *Who is the lifestyle traveller, what motivates a lifestyle centred on mobility and what is the pattern of their mobility?*

These questions are intended to tackle the first aim through exploring the diverse characteristics of lifestyle travel. Whilst Scott Cohen's study has been useful for defining lifestyle travel and unpacking behaviours and motivations, the vast diversity exhibited in backpacking subtypes emphasises how provision should be made for

exploring difference. Being participant-led, this study caters for such difference by allowing participants to self-define their own lives. In this manner the thesis does not aim to provide generalizable findings but seeks to collect personal experiences to celebrate multiplicity within the practice. Indeed Chapter Four is intended to 'locate' lifestyle travel rather than define it, to allow for variation rather than fixed or rigid categorisation.

As addressed in the research aim, such variation will be organised by drawing upon Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) in conjunction with Uriely et al's 'form' and 'type' attributes (2002) to 'locate' the lifestyle traveller (see 2.7). The empirical material outlined in Chapter Four is structured by systematically considering each of Cresswell's mobile components, appreciating that travel itself is an endemically mobile practice. This tackles the first part of the research question to explore 'motive force' before considering patterns of mobility through examining 'velocity', 'rhythm', 'route', 'friction' and 'feel'. The thesis considers the diversity within each of these aspects, as well as unpacking how they inter-relate, as suggested by Uriely et al (2002). Fundamentally, each component will demonstrate a plethora of differences between individuals, and how motivations and patterns evolve over time. In this way, we aim to emphasise heterogeneity in lifestyle travel, as well as their various re-'location' over time.

Furthermore, this inter-relation between variables further informs the aim to present relational understandings of geography. Unpacking patterns of mobility in lifestyle travel stresses the need to consider mediations between mobilities and moorings rather than simply 'mapping' where lifestyle travellers go and for how long. By examining how some mobile aspects necessarily relate to others emphasises the embroiled and layered nature of mobilities and moorings, and begins to show how we must approach this entanglement.

Chapter Five: *How do lifestyle travellers carve their way in the world, how important is their mobility and what does this represent? How are senses of identity forged within a mobile life?*

This chapter builds from Chapter Four to examine mobility itself. It will examine lifestyle travellers' experiences of mobility in terms of how it is practiced and what it is used for. Specifically it capitalises on the place integration theme outlined above, emphasising this as a distinct type of mobility occurring in place. This intends to inform the second research aim in adding momentum to relational ideas in geography by showing how moorings (place) are mobile and active.

In this manner Chapter Five explores beyond corporeal movement, linking integration strategies with the desire to self-relocate, develop and change. It explores how lifestyle travellers actively carve routes in the world to incite self progression, using tactics of Couch Surfing, volunteering and employment for this pursuit. They are utilised as ways to try out alternative lives and to test different selves, to literally 'move on' one's self. These strategies further present tangible ways of understanding the person/place involvement, illustrating the various depths of place that can be obtained, as well as providing different 'vantage points' that participants access at different times. In essence, Couch Surfing, volunteering and employment show how the lifestyle traveller may demonstrate cosmopolitan type traits of peripheral spectating, but they may also 're-locate' to enjoy place participation (non-cosmopolitanism) as well. Exploring these strategies further emphasises the importance of 'placed' mobility (that is making meaningful connections and experiences within place), as well as it being important for mobility to be unrestricted.

This leads to the second dimension of the research question in illustrating how mobility is bound with freedom. Examining how participants desire autonomy over their route-making (in terms of the nature and depth of place integration), as well as the knowledge that they can re-route elsewhere emphasises how they need to be retain motility. This refers to the choice to remain in place, but also the choice to

move on (Kauffman 2002). In essence, lifestyle travellers use mobility in various forms: as a way to be autonomous in their lives, but also to be free to test selves continually.

Forging identity in mobile lives is the final dimension considered In Chapter Five. This is explored more generally throughout the chapter, entwined with discussion on route carving through place, but also route carving through identities. In this manner, the thesis advocates the place/person relationship as co-constituent, appreciating that different identities form in different places. By understanding the lifestyle traveller as travelling through 'postmodern personas' (Shields 1992a) which manifest in relation to place emphasises this embroilment, and imperatively how place matters in contemporary mobile lives.

Chapter Six "*Is place still significant to the lifestyle traveller? What can this significance tell us about contemporary notions of place? Can mobility and place operate in conjunction, and if so, how are such relationships negotiated?"*

From considering 'mobilities', Chapter Six offers a comparative look at the relative 'moorings' represented by place. This provides continuation from Chapter Five which emphasises how place *is* significant as long as one can progress within it. In essence the need for personal and place trajectories to align is stressed otherwise self-development cannot occur.

Outlining contemporary notions of place is the main focus of Chapter Six, thereby bringing the relevance of this thesis to a wider literature. Examining place/person trajectories emphasises the dynamic nature of place and how it fundamentally changes in composition over time. In this manner, we examine how place is 'achieved' (Jones 2009), appreciating it as malleable, on-going and fundamentally construed from the routes that precede it. Relational understandings and the connectivity of place are presented, exploring how places can never be seen in isolation but are tied into 'meshworks' (Ingold 2007), by 'trace-chains' (Anderson 2010).

To provide a tangible way to conceive place as on-going, ideas about home are addressed. The thesis expands from previous ideas on the paradoxical nature of home to document how one can feel 'at home' whilst away, but also feel 'away' whilst at home (Ahmed 1999). It explores participants' feelings about returning home – as point of origin – but also fundamentally unpacks the ways which lifestyle travellers *make* home on the road. This works to emphasise the idea that home is internal and is something that travellers carry with them.

In this manner, Chapter Six explores the many ways that lifestyle travellers search for home: in discomfort to obtain a relational sense of calm, through finding homes with other travellers, to forging a 'place' in Other communities. In essence the thesis illustrates a process akin to the putting down and pulling up 'roots' – comparable to 'lily-pads' – showing how both sedentary (roots) and nomadic (routes) concepts are relevant, informing knowledge across the social sciences. Such dynamic ways of home-making further illuminates geographical discussion into how we can conceive of place, and how it may still 'fit' within a mobile era. Fundamentally this is achievable through a complementary – rather than exclusionary relationship –– between place and mobility.

Such a relationship is demonstrated throughout the thesis by 'mapping' the activity occurring within *place,* but also exploring the way that mobility needs to be *placed* in order to be meaningful. Quintessentially the thesis directs attention to the way that geography must attune to an (im)mobile language, located between 'mobility and mooring', 'home and away', 'roots and routes'. In this manner it can celebrate fluidity, 'freedom and lightness' (Rajchman 1998: 88) but also the rootedness of certain connections. In essence mediations between nomadic and sedentary conceptions are integral for understanding identity and home-making in contemporary mobile lives and is a message that extends beyond geography to talk to the social sciences more broadly.

1.5 Thesis outline

Contextualising the research within wider theory has presented numerous questions for the thesis to consider. Marrying these with empirically led themes has shaped the research aims and questions. These together seek to unpack new relationships between people and place, as well as inform the social sciences more broadly about mobility and spatiality. To do so effectively, the thesis is arranged over six succeeding chapters which are now outlined.

Chapter Two considers the literatures contextualising this research. As considered earlier, these are arranged within the three overarching themes of mobility, place and identity. The chapter considers each of these fields, knitting them together to provide a cohesive tapestry from which to tackle lifestyle travel. Questions which are drawn out from these literatures are compiled together in a table (Figure 2.5) to clarify the key issues which are to be addressed through investigating lifestyle travel.

The final section of Chapter Two considers literature surrounding lifestyle travel, first locating it in relation to broader tourist and traveller groups. Outlining the proliferating ways used to define these wider divisions emphasises the difficult task of trying to 'locate' lifestyle travel. Increasing heterogeneity among these groupings demonstrates the need for variation to be accounted for. In this manner the chapter considers Erik Cohen's tourist roles (1979), intended to operate as a framework which allows for various relocation across categories. Backpacking is next explored, emphasising the multifaceted nature of the group. This sets the scene for examining lifestyle travel – as a subtype of backpacking (S. Cohen 2011) – and how this study may best 'locate' it in light of entangled tourism practices and categories. Work in the tourist encounter is considered to illustrate this embroilment. Finally, the chapter draws upon Uriely et al (2002)'s 'form' and 'type' attributes, as a 'sensitive' way to unpack the phenomenon. Chapter Two concludes by outlining Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) which is used in conjunction with a 'type' and 'form' analysis, in order to maintain a mobile agenda when 'locating' lifestyle travel.

Chapter Three focuses on the methodology of the thesis, first outlining the philosophical framework, as well as the evolving positionality of the researcher. It discusses and critiques the various stages of fieldwork, from unstructured 'off the record' methods (including insider research and ethnography) to more focused interviewing. The sample, fieldwork locations and researcher biography are subsequently addressed before proceeding to recruitment methods. Interviews comprise the final section with a particular focus on the mobile / immobile techniques employed, appealing to the third research aim. In specific this outlines the contrasting sites and techniques selected by participants, and the personalized mobilities that these subsequently tapped into.

The thesis continues with the three chapters built on the empirical evidence. Chapter Four intends to introduce and 'locate' lifestyle travel, thereby concentrates on the empirical findings to present a detailed examination. Such expansive findings are structured by Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) and provides the foundation for subsequent chapters which interrogate these mobile components theoretically. In summary, Chapter Five hones in on the various practices of mobility used to penetrate place, and Chapter Six explains what the findings can tell us about contemporary notions of place.

Chapter Seven concludes the research, by outlining the main findings informing the research questions and overarching aims. It further outlines the implications of the research – theoretically and methodologically – in terms of driving an (im)mobile language forward. Whereas mediations between 'mobilities and moorings' have been stressed by commentators, this thesis proposes that such a language needs to talk beyond academia. It further calls for the advancement of (im)mobile methodologies, which are sensitive to participant requirements, and allows them to 'speak' meaningfully.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Despite the 'alternativeness' of a lifestyle that is simply committed to travel, this thesis argues that the lifestyle traveller is a useful exemplar of contemporary mobile lives. In this manner it presents an effective case study for exploring the mediations between mobility, place and identity in the twenty-first century. In particular, this thesis seeks to explore the significance of mobility to lifestyle traveller identities, as well as the difference indefinite travel makes to their understandings and relationships to place.

The structure of this chapter is designed to consider the literature on these three main theoretical facets (mobility, place and identity), whilst raising questions through their application to lifestyle travel. Mobility, as central to a 'life on the road' is first examined. This introduces a mobile turn in the social sciences, before examining representations of mobility, as well as liminality (as a mobile transition through place based roles and stages in life). The second section considers a mobile geography, directing attention to literature on place. This explores how 'static' notions have been dismantled by mobilities, with alternative and dynamic conceptions of place presented. The chapter further critiques the significance of place to highly mobile beings, and whether mobility complicates this attachment. Literatures of identity are drawn upon to illuminate such questions. This section considers identity as mobile, relational and hybrid and discusses its relationship with place. Exploring mobile and spatial facets of identity in this manner help unpack whether mobility and place are mutually enabling or exclusive. Following from considering 'place attachment', literature on home is considered to discuss its role or redundancy for these highly mobile beings. The questions proposed through each section are then compiled for clarification (see Figure 2.5) and contextualised by introducing the lifestyle traveller. This final section draws on mobile ideas – Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) – which encourage new ways to 'locate' lifestyle travel in amongst wider tourist typologies, blending this with Uriely et al's 'type and form' attributes (2002) to

understand the phenomenon and appreciate the agency of the individual in self-determination.

2.2 Mobilities

This thesis is informed by a mobile turn in the social sciences, which reflects and seeks to understand the exponential growth in the movement of peoples, goods and services in the last decade (Sheller and Urry 2006). By conceiving of 'an entire world on the move' (Cresswell 2006: 256) proponents emphasise the world and all of its contents as a process, engaged in a constant state of becoming. For them, the 'sedentarist… production of knowledge' must be dismantled[1] (Blunt 2007: 684) and a war be fought against 'frozen states' (Thrift 2008: 5) with the recognition that 'modern society is a society on the move' (Lash et al 1994: 252).

Despite such an upsurge, mobility is nothing new or distinctly modern. People have always moved; tectonic plates have altered the geography of the land; empires have been drawn and re-drawn; trade has existed for thousands of years (Horan et al 2005). The significance placed on mobilities today however could be attributed to the intensification of speed and connections, the proliferation of mobile technologies and global reach demanding a re-examination of how social science conceives and utilise mobilities, to update to what Urry calls a new 'movement-driven social science' (2007: 18). In response, work has erupted which emphasises the centrality of mobility to theoretical examination (Sheller and Urry 2006) to challenge 'both the object of its inquiries and the methodologies for research' (Fay 2008: 69).

In application to this thesis, both of these objectives are honoured by the research aims through an investigation of explicitly mobile beings, as well as the adoption of mobile methods to explore the phenomenon, which is thoroughly discussed in Chapter Three. What mobilities mean for the field of geography is also of importance (in contributing to relational geographies) and how this can influence traditional notions about space and place. Mobilities illustrate a more dynamic geography than that of the past, summarised by Thrift in writing that 'every space is in constant motion' (2006: 141; For more see 2.3).

[1] As well as 'nomadic' productions of knowledge to avoid privileging mobility. See 2.2.1

Lifestyle travellers, as the focus of this geographical enquiry, offer multiple ways to explore contemporary mobilities which transcend exploring their physical movement between places. This appreciates that a mobilities perspective rarely privileges one mode of movement over another, nor favours the fast and contemporary over the traditional and slow (Hall and Smith 2012). Instead as Hall and Smith state "…all movement, everything that moves, every way of moving is grist to the mill" (2012: 3) and worthy of exploration. As a result, we must consider the multiple mobilities visible today: the physical, the imaginative, virtual, communicative, voluntary and coerced (Urry 2002) all of which are involved in 'fluid interdependence' (Sheller and Urry 2006: 212). In essence, a mobilities approach will not simply consider how lifestyle travellers reach their destinations, but will also examine the significance of their mobility; the ways in which they are mobile within places; how they may harness communication technologies and join social networks (see Germann Molz 2005) as well as the pace and rhythm of their mobility at different times, to name a few.

2.2.1 Mobilities and Moorings

This latter consideration draws attention to the importance of immobility, especially when considering patterns, paces and speeds of movement. For mobilities theorists, immobility cannot merely be seen as an absence or suspension of motion, but as an 'active accomplishment' (Hall and Smith 2012: 1) which is just as important as mobility (Cresswell 2010: 18). For Morley, it is imperative to avoid romanticising 'all forms of mobility… as ipso facto liberatory' (2000: 51) but also to transcend the sedentary/nomadic dichotomy with relational geographical theory (Massey 1994: 154; see 2.3.3). As Casey emphasises, 'as between nomadic and sedentary space, we cannot simply choose; it is a matter of ''not better, just different"' (1997: 308).

Such immobility, or 'moorings' as is commonly used (Urry 2003; Hannam et al 2006), are argued by critical mobilities theorists to be of equal importance to speed and flow, with a focus on how the textured rhythms of dwelling, friction, turbulence and stillness are practiced (Sheller 2011) and how these may be forced or voluntary. However, whilst some scholars concentrate on the relationship between mobility and immobility, of movement and mooring (see Hannam et al 2006) others refute dualistic notions preferring to depict a more relational association, focusing on assemblages, flows and circulations (see Amin et al 2002; Deleuze 1988; Massey 2004) with Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) and Ingold's 'meshwork assemblage' (2007) outlined later.

> In essence the key point that mobilities literature appears to be making is that attention must be paid to the pauses and stillness that configure and enable mobilities. In other words, the roads, garages, stations, airports (see Adey 2006) and docks serve as 'immobile platforms' for mobilities to operate; and the 'mobile machines' – the mobile phones, computer connections, cars, trains and planes – fuel the fluidities of liquid modernity (Hannam et al 2006: 3). At the same time, 'moorings' can only occur from the mobilities 'that pave the way for it' (Ingold 2010a: 128, see also Urry 2003), emphasising how neither can be seen in isolation of the other. Fundamentally, mobilities and moorings are involved in a mutually enabling relationship.

In studying migration, Pascual-de-Sans emphasises this mutually enabling relationship arguing that:

> ***One cannot think about mobility without considering the periods of permanence spent in… places and without looking to the factors which influence the option to leave as well as the option to stay (2004: 350).***

In application to this thesis, this assumes moorings to be when travellers are 'in' place, and their mobility when physically travelling between places. Such a conception is subject to debate as it seemingly presents place as a static or immobile entity against physical movement, and will be discussed further in 2.3. However, the bones of the notion can extend to this thesis to consider the mutual co-constituence between the mobilities and moorings of lifestyle travellers and presents questions that can help us understand this relationship. For example, it asks why travellers might stay in one place at any given time, how long they may stay, as well as what fundamentally drives them to keep travelling. Are periods of stasis important to allow them to keep 'going', perhaps to internalise their experiences, or appreciate their freedom to roam? Does their movement mean they are more attune or perceptive of places, allowing them to subsume them into a sense of self? For this thesis, a mobilities perspective necessitates the asking of such questions, illustrating the reciprocity between mobilities and moorings, that both can answer questions about the other.

As an extension of this, it is also worth considering how and where lifestyle travellers 'moor' and whether this always involves a physical stop in place. Rather than conceive of 'moorings' as places (following Pascual-de-Sans) White et al in examining 'home' (see 2.5) suggest that these can no longer be seen as fixed 'geographic sites' but can be "…located' primarily in relationships between self and others" (2007: 91). In essence, this suggests that lifestyle travellers will 'moor' in other ways besides being 'physically-at-rest', especially given their lack of commitment to any one geographic site. In this

manner, they provide an interesting and alternative case study to conceptionalise moorings, as well as to investigate how 'home' could still be a relevant concept. Attention is further required on how relations can be mediated whilst lifestyle travellers are away from 'home' or the sites they forge as such, and how these are sustained and configure with new connections into 'constellations of social relations' (see 2.3.3; Massey 1994: 154).

In sum, such questions may be best answered in relation to how mobility is perceived, which in turn will illuminate the meaning of 'moorings' in lifestyle travel. Do individuals, for example, see mobility as a form of freedom, as desirable and appealing; or perhaps it is perceived as a form of resistance against a rooted or conventional lifestyle? It is to these questions this literature review now turns.

2.2.2 Mobilities of resistance

Mobility has been discussed as signifying progress, freedom and opportunity, as well as deviance and resistance (Cresswell 2006). This suggests that some forms of mobility are deemed acceptable and desirable (such as travelling to work, taking foreign holidays and student gap years) in comparison to nomadic lifestyles which are frowned upon. Such nomadism is even considered a threat to society with re-occurring moral panics (S. Cohen 1972) centred upon gypsies, tramps and other travelling folk in recent times (Crowley et al 2007; Halfacree 1996; Kabachnik 2010, b; McVeigh 1997). In the UK, the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 represents such a backlash against mobile groups, effectively criminalizing travel as a way of life (Z. James 2007; Kabachnik 2009) with instances of local authorities banning travellers from land before it has even been occupied (BBC News 2010).

Such moral panics (S. Cohen 1972) are arguably not about the disruption to public life that travellers may cause, but "rather that a sense of place or locale was being challenged by their presence" (Hetherington 2005: 249). The threat of mobility is thus associated with boundaries and borders being crossed, asserting that identities are territorialised in places with any displacement considered 'pathological' and people moving out of the place they belong as dangerous (Cresswell 2004). Such findings have been examined in relation to geographies of the youth (Sibley 1995; Valentine 1996a, 1996b, 1997) refugees (Malkki 2001) and the homeless (Bauman 1991; Cresswell 1996; May 2000; Wright 1997) examining such groups as undesirable not

because of their movement, but because they might stay and contaminate familiarity with their remoteness (Hetherington 1998a: 337). As Hetherington states "they are out of place because… they belong nowhere… unplaceable, outside time and space… (operating) between experiences of place and the moral order by which it is represented" (1998a: 338).

This demonstrates the sedentarist preoccupation evident in everyday life, conceding that there is 'a place for everything and everything in its place' (Johnston 1990: 131). For most, there is a tendency towards "…settled ideas about the spaces in which they live and the social orders through which those spaces are organised…" (Hetherington 2005: 250). When things, people or activities operate outside of such designated confines there is unrest, and can be said to operate within liminal space, as gaps within established categories of existence and practice (Hetherington 1998b).

However, notions of liminality, moral panics and distaste do not seem applicable to lifestyle travellers when they are operating outside the circumscribed parameters of 'home' and its 'conventional' life stages, occupying 'Other' rather than familiar space. In this sense, we question whether being an 'outsider' in foreign places is comparable to being an outsider at 'home'. Perhaps lifestyle travellers 'resist' conventions of organised space through their mobility, rejecting being 'in place' permanently thereby 'residing' or 'locating home in liminal space' (Dasgupta 2007: 75 see also de Mais 2002[2]). This raises the idea of inverted liminal space, as discussed by Kuhling (2007) in relation to New Age Travellers[3], where for lifestyle travellers could manifest as sporadic 'dips' back into work and routine to sustain a travelling normality. Conversely, they may show to move across, between and through different 'normalities', gapping into regularity and order, interspersed with liminal periods on the road. In essence, the thesis asks whether lifestyle travellers are dwelling in liminal space [travel as transitional] or 'dwelling in travel' [travel as normality] (Clifford 1991: 7; 1997)? Is it the routines and prescribed spaces associated with 'home life' that they

[2] This has been discussed in relation to 'accepting marginality as home' in prostitution (de Mais 2002: 3) as well as the idea of migrants dwelling in liminal space

[3] Examining New Age Travellers, Kuhling observes 'inverted' margins and centres with urban areas associated with 'deprivation and dislocation' and rural places with 'belonging' and 'fulfilment' (2007: 80)

want to escape [normal] (Pearce 2011[4])? Or is it the pull of novelty and change associated with travel that they want to adopt [transition]? As Bauman (1993) would posit, is mobility a compulsion or desire (see 2.2.6)? Literature generally suggests that it may be both, as an escape "from somewhere and something while simultaneously an escape to self-fulfilment and a new life" (O'Reilly et al 2009: 3; see also Pearce et al 2005). Indeed the relationship between 'push-pull' factors is widely discussed 'in travel motivation studies' (Hsu et al 2008: 21) suggesting embroilment rather than these operating in isolation (Kim et al 2002; Klenosky 2002; Mannell et al 1987).

Positing such questions around travel motivations further warrants an investigation into how mobilities are used, as well as the pace and pattern of mobility. The thesis explores how much movement actually configures to lifestyle travel, in light of studies on the 'nomadicism' of New Age Travellers (Kuhling 2007: 78), gypsies and other roaming folk (see O'Brien 2009) moving between rather than *within* places. Is mobility utilised by lifestyle travellers in the same way, or do they stop 'in place' perhaps to get a feel for it, to live like a local, or for work opportunities, as demonstrated by some 'backpacker' types (Ateljevic et al 2001; see 2.6.3)? Can stopping in place thus be in the pursuit of becoming an 'insider' rather than an 'intruder' living on the peripheries, thereby exercising different kinds of mobilities to nomadic groups? Attention is drawn to whether such pursuits are successful, or whether lifestyle travellers simply hover between the role of intruder and insider. This is in light of Wilson et al (2008) who explored the 'suspension' between 'tourist' and 'local' culture[5]; as a space between, bringing us back to the idea of lifestyle travellers 'residing' in liminal space. In sum, it is important to consider how lifestyle travellers are mobile within place and if they adopt place-specific positions or roles to see how ideas of liminality can be relevant.

2.2.3 Liminality

Liminality is the state of being on the threshold and is typically applied to stages of the life course, particularly ideas of adolescence; not quite child, not yet adult (see James 1986; Sibley 1995). In this way it refers to the in-betwixt position, or middle ground between two definitive positions, which is a necessary but ambivalent phase in order for

[4] Pearce suggests that 'true travel motivation is a push factor' (2011: 50)
[5] Whereas 'suspension' is discussed in relation to backpacker enclaves, it is useful for understanding where lifestyle travellers are located; to be 'away from it all' (as per New Age Traveller) or at the 'heart of things' (insider) (Wilson et al 2008: 14 – 15)

progression. van Gennep has been hugely influential on this topic and stimulated the geographical dimension of liminality through focusing on 'rites of passage' (1960). For van Gennep, individuals are removed from conventional everyday social, political and economic structures and travel through successive stages to arrive back with an elevated social position and acquire new roles. As White et al (2004) note, in relation to travel this comprises over three phases; the first being separation from an ordinary life; the second as transitional through relocating to Other places; and the third as reintegration into the home society.

For Turner, such recreational pursuits are best conceived as 'liminoid', which are outside 'the broad weave of a cohesive social tapestry' (Rowe 2008: 130) thus "felt to be freer than the liminal" in being a matter of choice than obligation (Turner 1974: 86). "Assigned to the leisure sphere" (Turner 1982) the 'liminoid' is not part of social or religious ritual but is entered into freely, and manifests as 'independent genres' or "modes of personal expression" encompassing forms of theatre, the arts, entertainment and sport (Rowe 2008: 131). Indeed, backpacking has been conceived as 'liminoid' as a chosen "pursuit informed by individualism" (Matthews 2008: 177). Lifestyle travel is thus something one opts into rather than as an enforced rite of passage; as a space of play rather than a space of work as selected and pleasurable mobility rather than coerced expulsion.

> Travel in this sense serves as a separation from societal norms and roles, as freedom from the constraints of the 'daily tempo' and escape from the ordinary (Gilbert et al 2004) where individuals can embark upon a freer form of personal development and gain knowledge and insight into the self (Noy 2004). By breaking from Becks' 'home' structures and the constraints of conformity (Burkes-Nossiter 2010) a new kind of transition can occur "…where one is free to think and behave in line with one's values and inner voice instead of one's society" (Goodnow 2011: 42). This is well expressed by Golden Gelman (2011: 38):
>
> Once I leave the US, I am not bound by the rules of my culture. And when I am a foreigner in another country, I am exempt from the local rules. This extraordinary situation means that there are no rules in my life. I am free to live by the standards and ideals and rules that I create for myself.

In relation to lifestyle travellers this liminal positioning well defines the practice. The spatial distance imposed from relocating to foreign places is used to shed official roles and responsibilities, to push the boundaries of what is familiar and regulated by society, to create and play out new and purer individualities[6]. However, what is not so relevant to lifestyle travel is the onus on reintegration, with the recognition that roles are suspended temporarily, but are restored with a return to normality. Whilst this is applicable to conventional 'gap years' and backpacking – with an abundance of research on such types (see Desforges 1998, 2000; Duncan 2007; O'Reilly 2006; Riley 1998, White et al 2004) – it is not the case with lifestyle travellers with the absence of this final stage (S. Cohen 2008a). In essence, whereas the long term traveller is arguably 'propelled' by a perceivable end to their travels (White et al 2004: 217) lifestyle travellers must hold different motivations given their rejection – rather than suspension – of everyday roles and responsibilities. This suggests that they have initiated an indefinite kind of transition which must be explored.

2.2.4 Liminality and lifestyle travel

In application to this thesis, liminality and the liminoid seem inapplicable to lifestyle travellers given their preference for being 'out of time and place' indefinitely. This is addressed by Homans (1995: 207) in discussing the work of Turner (1969):

> …all liminality must eventually dissolve, for it is a state of great intensity that cannot exist very long without some sort of structure to stabilize it... either the individual returns to the surrounding social structure... or else liminal communities develop their own internal social structure, a condition Turner calls 'normative communitas'

In essence, Turner argues that Goldman Gelman cannot reside indefinitely in a liminal phase as it frustrates its very meaning as betwixt and transitionary. An alternative to returning home for Turner (1969) is the forming of groups outside of society – 'communitas' – which challenge the rules of society and transgress 'its codes of behaviour', engendering their own feelings of collective belonging (Hetherington 2000: 64). This bears relation to what Maffesoli terms 'neo-tribes' (1996) as self-defined communities forged by 'a multitude of individual acts of self-identification' (Bauman 1992: 136). In this manner, individuals may "… hook up with other individuals with whom they share common interests" (Blackshaw 2010: 34) and travel through successions of groups to belong. This illustrates the concept of mobile communities and fluid groupings, eroding 'fixed' stages of the life course and the need for place as a requirement for belonging and identity. This will be examined in more detail later (see 2.4).

[6] Although is not to suggest that people are completely free – as per Golden Gelman – but appreciates that 'cultural baggage' (Crang 2004) and local rules will still impose structure.

As explicitly mobile beings, lifestyle travellers provide a way to explore whether 'communitas' are forged in this way and if these are specifically sought to promote a sense of belonging in the absence of place. Do for example, lifestyle travellers actively seek an alternative structure and subculture to belong to? Is this achieved through forging human relationships with fellow travellers and creating transient 'communitas'? Does this represent an act of defiance against society, or simply the need to belong? Could alternative structure be sought through dropping into 'Other' communities along the way? Or as suggested by Goldman Gelman, are lifestyle travellers content with the structure they create for themselves, advocating individuality than collectivity?

Despite the utility of the notion in raising these questions, the temporal aspect of 'communitas' emphasised by Turner (1969) again casts doubt on the pertinence of liminality to lifestyle travellers. As Lowell Lewis (2008) emphasises, we cannot follow van Gennep's schema blindly unless there is a very pronounced rite of passage nor reduce the schema to beginning, middle and end. In essence, application of it crudely to lifestyle travellers does not 'fit' as would follow a sedentary metaphysics where the process of separation, transition and reintegration are clearly bounded stages, with liminality as the gaps between these ordered categories. In essence, travel operates merely as an interval from this approach. This is problematic since travel is extended into way of life by lifestyle travellers; it is not just transitional space, but lived space. Conventional life stages cannot be applied to unconventional lifestyles, suggesting that a more fluid perspective should be utilised to appreciate the differences rather than the uniformity of social life. In essence, place and boundaries can still matter – "just not in the ways we once thought" (Cresswell 2002: 20). In this manner the thesis will explore whether liminality – as transitory – could instead be viewed as the points of stasis between a normalised mobility, as Scott Cohen has explored (2010c). It expands to explore whether travel is a dwelling place (Clifford 1991; 1997), a place to reside devoid of responsibility punctured by periods within routine and officialdom – as liminal space – suggesting an inverted version of van Gennep and Turner's theory.

In this way perhaps new types of normality and 'reintegration' are created in lifestyle travel, where transitions occur at particular times rather than indefinitely. Mobility may be punctured by retreats to familiar places, such as visiting 'home', or by engaging in seasonal employment, thereby allowing travellers to reflect upon their journey and internalise their experiences, warranting the necessity of moorings in making mobility meaningful. Perhaps they demonstrate cycles of this pattern, temporarily 'gapping'

into normality before setting off again and reintegrating back into a mobile normality, as illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Liminal Cycles

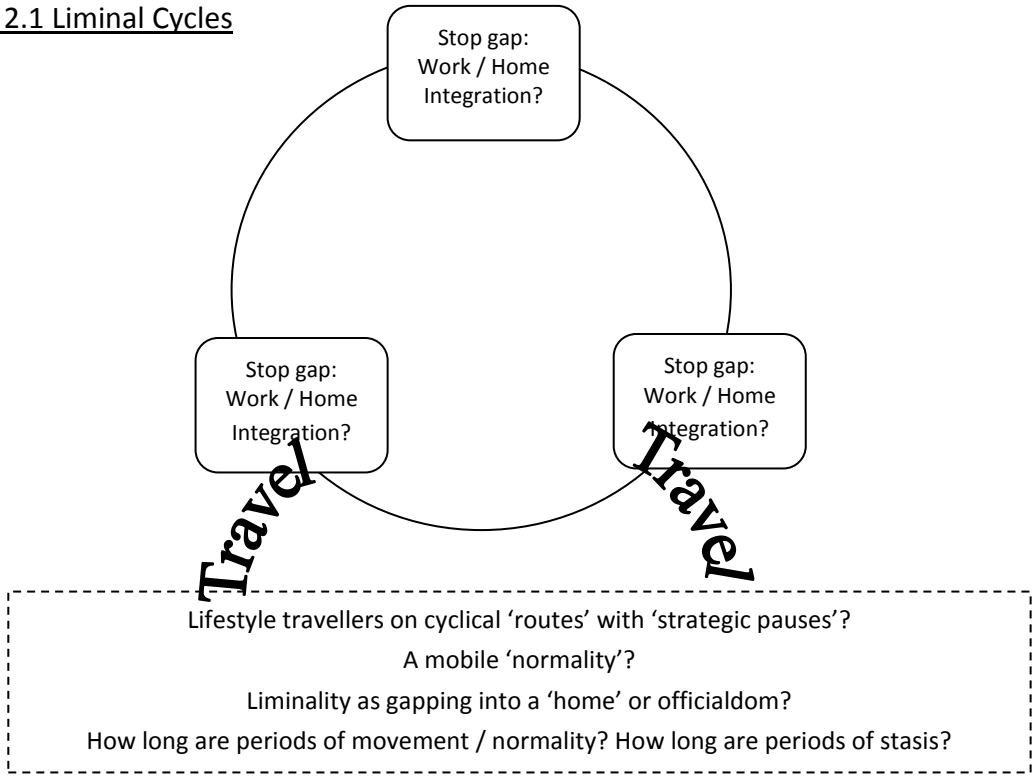


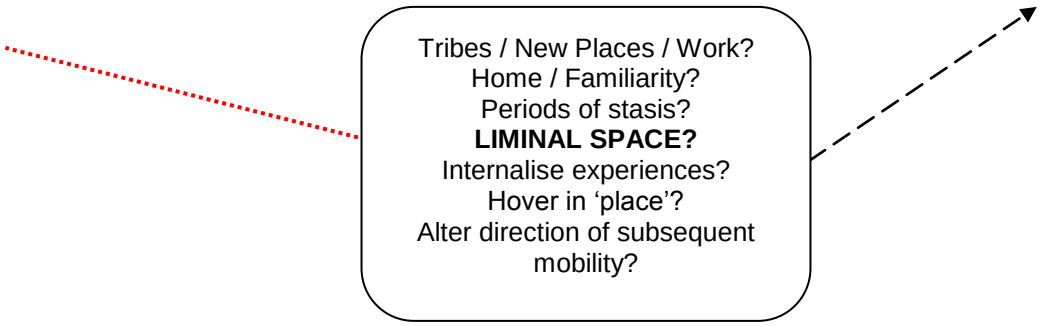
Figure 2.1 bears relation to McHughs' circle of migration, comprising of "a recurring cycle of journeys to and from home places" (1996: 530). The straight forward application of this to lifestyle travel is dubious however, since lifestyle travellers may never return to their place of origin[7]. This reminds us of the futility of 'one-size-fits-all approaches' (Arnett-Jenson 2012: 69) in the same manner that van Gennep's liminal stages failed to 'fit' with lifestyle travel. Instead theory itself must be malleable to adequately cover the complexities of individuals, emphasising mobility not just as a theme of this research, but in the ways that theory is actively applied. In view of this, we utilise these cycles differently, viewing stop gaps not as permanent seasonal homes, but as neo-tribes, 'communitas' or new places that travellers may moor.

[7] Perhaps returns 'home' are made within lifestyle travel, yet whether this can be depicted as a cyclical arrangement – suggesting that one goes back on oneself – does not seem intuitive. Instead places must be seen in relation to the processes that precede and proceed it, colouring peoples' affiliations to it. In this manner perhaps 'home' can appear new and different to lifestyle travellers based on their previous experiences, evolving senses of self and future aspirations. In essence, going home cannot be seen in isolation of the mobilities that paved the way for such a return; lifestyle travellers may relate to it with fresh eyes and a different perspective.

Rather than accepting the cycle as 'separation, experience and return' we mobilise the schema to replace geographical 'return' with a return to a pause in one's travels, or a return to being in place.

In this manner, a cyclical path – despite its utility in mapping patterns of movement – may be better conceived as an on-going linear trajectory (see Figure 2.2) with the creation of new tribes or visiting new places en route. Lifestyle travellers for McHugh may therefore be seen as 'footloose' rather than 'rooted' in a circular path or suspended between places (McHugh 1996: 545). In this manner, whether geographical returns home, or returns to officialdom are made may not symbolise a return to the start, but the beginning of a new trajectory. This further illustrates the mutual constituence between mobilities and moorings, with the latter perhaps altering the direction and path of subsequent movement, as depicted in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Linear trajectories



Linear trajectories, than cycles; returns to past places / home initiates a new 'journey'
What do moorings' represent – new tribes / new homes or familiarity?
New direction / composition and meaning of mobility 'altered' by 'moorings'?
Are 'moorings' liminal – where transitions occur? Or where these are internalised?

As outlined in Figure 2.2, such linear trajectories emphasise the importance of unpacking 'routes' – in order to understand the relationship between mobilities and moorings and the meanings attributed to each, as well as how both are viewed in relation to the wider journey. It will map if structure is sought – either from place or people – and where 'liminalities' may lie. This will consider where transitions are occurring; at inverted liminal spaces (as pauses in travel or within 'normalised' places) or whether transitions are on-going, presenting an elongated version of liminality with no discernible internalisation point? Perhaps transitions can occur on the 'move' in this way or can

happen at any time. In this manner the journey can be conceived as one continual transition with no perceivable end, disrupting liminality as clearly definable stages. By examining how travellers perceive transition and their travels overall will help shed light on these questions and may illustrate alternative types of liminalities.

2.2.5 Liminality and Employment

Further disruption of discrete liminal phases comes from leisure theory in presenting work and leisure as 'utterly entangled' (see Rojek 1985; E. Cohen et al 1992; Shields 1992b) and "release, escape and freedom from work" as 'unattainable states' (Laurier 1999: 201). This again demonstrates the increased tendency towards mobility in academic thought in promoting fluidity between categories rather viewing these aspects as fixed and separate entities[8].

In application to lifestyle travellers – who may be exercising resistance through foregoing conventional roles and responsibilities – we can see how undertaking employment and 'gapping' back in to normality may not always be divorced from the overall experience of travel as 'play', and may not always be strictly instrumental in terms of earning money (S. Cohen 2011). Perhaps the 'routine' of travel often feels work-like at times, as mundane and tiresome. Perhaps certain occupations contribute to the experience of travel by giving individuals a feel of the 'local', thereby incorporating work into 'play'. Conversely, perhaps 'play' manifests at work. Engaging in employment may allow lifestyle travellers to 'play out' different roles in the same way indigenous societies have viewed work as "an opportunity to have fun, to improvise" (Liebel 2004: 181).

Despite the difficulty defining work and play – in being socially constructed terms which yield multiple definitions – it does emphasise the blurring of boundaries between them. This is also the case for how employment is seen within travel. Where tourism was traditionally perceived as a leisure activity and therefore in contrast with work (see Allon et al 2008; Graburn 1989; Mathieson et al 1982; Urry 2002) such

[8] This is illustrated by studies on child labour where the distinction between work and play is ambiguous (see Bromley and Mackie 2009; Katz 2004; Liebel 2004; Punch 2003) and often 'seamlessly intertwined' (Jennings 2006 et al: 233).

opposition has since been deconstructed by situations where these are evidently combined. The 'working holiday' (Allon et al 2008; E. Cohen 1973; 1974) the working tourist (Uriely et al 2000) 'farm tourism' (Pearce 1990) and volunteerism (Tomazos et al 2012) contradict this dichotomous reasoning, demonstrating how work can be incorporated or even serve as the basis for travel in some situations.

How lifestyle travellers view work in relation to travel helps to examine such ideas and clarify how these can be engaged in a more complicated and interrelated manner rather than stand in opposition. In this way, conventional distinctions that once separated "different social practices within different social/spatial locations" (Rojek et al 2003) have been eroded with a mobile turn, seeing fusion rather than fixation of categories. For Allon, what can now be seen is 'a complex and mutating mix of working, holiday and residential experiences" (Allon 2008: 74) perhaps rendering liminality as outdated and inapplicable to contemporary lives characterised by fluidity between 'overlapping arenas' (Punch 2003: 277). How lifestyle travellers mediate and convey meaning to each of these practices will be of interest, as well as how they negotiate these with their overarching goal to travel. 'Mapping' such fluid phases – rather than discrete stages – may help deduce new and alternative 'mobile liminalities' which can cater for fluid lifestyles. This can further unpack whether mobility is used as a form of resistance or whether this is embroiled with other processes.

2.2.6 Mobility as a right (Access)

One alternative to mobility as resistance could be framing mobility as a right (see Braidotti 1994; Kesselring 2006; Sager 2006; Sheller 2008) although for Bergmann et al, such relations are rarely analysed within academia (2008). Mobility as a right contrasts with notions of the 'right to belong' or the right to lay roots within a place (see Moreton-Robinson 2003). For Bauman this represents "a revenge of nomadism over the principle of territoriality and settlement" (2000: 13) with mobility now conceived as the 'ideal' or the "topmost rank among stratifying factors" (Bauman 1998: 87). In this manner whilst "mobility implies a possibility and a right to move freely" (Söderblom 2008: 191) – and also the right 'not to move' (Sager 2006: 469) – this is not

the case for all, with some having more right to move than others (e.g. dominant groups over refugees / homeless / youths) presenting mobility as a highly unequal practice[9]. Whilst we are reminded that "today we are all nomads" (Larsen et al 2009: 80) our use and access to mobility varies profoundly with some moving freely and without restriction, compared to those who are forcibly 'on the move' or 'on the run' (Ibid 80). Mobility as a right is thus equivalent to the capacity to which one can move freely; the level of freedom one can exert over their direction and liberty to go where one wants (Söderblom 2008:191). Sager (2006) further distinguishes this freedom as negative and positive (see also Sen 2004) with negative freedom inferring 'absence from restraints', such as rules and conventions; and positive as freedom *to* rather than freedom *from*. As a result, mobility may better be conceived as a 'privilege' rather than a basic and universal human right and will depend on the type of freedom this represents.

In light of this, if the lifestyle traveller is considered the ultimate mobile being, this changes their status from undesirable pollutants of space (see Lieberg 1997; Matthews et al 2000; Valentine 2003) – when mobility is used as resistance – to elite beings who capitalise on their ability to move and practice it freely and at will. In essence, freedom from societal conventions [negative freedom] – achieved by leaving home – translates as the freedom to be autonomous [positive] (Sager 2006) in terms of 'where, when, and how' one travels (Ibid. 470). However, even when mobility is considered a right and imperative for a travelling lifestyle, this still warrants an investigation into the personal meanings etched to mobility – positive, negative or otherwise. Lifestyle travellers may perceive that they have the 'right' to travel, but to what extent? Why and how do they capitalise on this right to the degree they do? In essence we question whether mobility is of 'intrinsic worth', as presented in Kerouac's 'On the Road', where non-stop 'going' is celebrated as the 'main joy' (as quoted in Sager 2006: 471). Alternatively, perhaps mobility is *instrumental* for building a "tapestry of familiar places" to engender a wider geographical sense of feeling at

[9] Indeed Pritchard warns against continuing "the rhetoric of mobility when so many persons cannot move about as the elite do and when so many are desperately seeking safe shelter' (2000: 59). Whilst we recognise this critique, mobility as a central facet of lifestyle travel demands investigation as to the level of this mobile autonomy as well as what this represents.

home; to take "root in a vastly expanded area" (Ibid. 471). We further question whether lifestyle travellers desire to be mobile, or if this is compulsion. As Kesselring and Vogl outline, even when people present themselves as "makers of their own mobility" (2004: 9) empirical data has illustrated 'limits to autonomy'. These limits may be financial, geographical or political, demonstrating that performance of mobility is full of constraints. In essence, this thesis questions whether lifestyle travellers "influence the direction of their own moves or if they experience their moves as reactions to pressure and constraints? In other words: do these people… drive or are they driven" (Kesselring 2004: 10; see also Ingold 2007 below); are they autonomous in route making or are these routes in some way prescribed? Can it be both?

Bauman introduces the notion of the tourist and vagabond to demonstrate the contrast between access to mobility. The tourist is depicted as the privileged elite, travelling out of desire with the 'right to be free, and "a licence to restructure the world" (Bauman 1993: 241). The vagabond is a "pilgrim without destination, a nomad without an itinerary" (Ibid: 240) driven onward by their "disillusionment with the place of last sojourn" (Bauman 1993: 240). For the tourist, the world is their 'oyster', where life is to be lived pleasurably; for the vagabond mobility characterises need, and hope for better times (Larsen et al 2009: 82). In essence, mobility represents a push from space for the vagabond and an enticing pull for the tourist.

In application to the lifestyle travellers, we may be able to position them along this 'access to mobility' continuum, although both aspects may resonate. The lifestyle travellers may for instance, demonstrate both the need (akin to the vagabond) - albeit unforced - and desire (akin to the tourist) to travel, perhaps at different times and for different reasons. To 'locate' the lifestyle travellers we echo Kesselring and Vogl (2004) to ask how and why mobility is accessed and used. Is it a way to 'restructure' the world, accessed out of pleasure and as a way to find pleasurable places? Or can movement itself be considered the destination (see Cresswell 1997)? Is mobility pleasurable or is it compulsion; can it be both? Perhaps lifestyle travellers feel both compelled to discover new places but also the desire to 'move on' regularly?

2.2.7 Mobility as a privilege (Motility / Choice)

In this manner, mobility may be utilised because it is simply desired rather than a necessary right. For Bauman (2000) where settlement may have once been the ideal, today mobility is desired illustrated by ambitions commonly expressed around movement, such as travel, free choice of location and being able to see the world. By contrast, fears are commonly embroiled around confinement to one place, a lack of change and being prevented from places that others frequent (Bauman 2000b). With this in mind, it is little wonder that incarceration represents the most severe form of punishment in terms of prohibiting movement (Bauman 2000b). For Bauman the "'good life' is a life on the move; more precisely the comfort of being confident of the facility to move elsewhere in case staying on no longer satisfies" (2000b: 216). In essence, mobility depends on freedom, and specifically freedom of choice "…and choice has acquired a, conspicuously, spatial dimension" (Ibid. 216).

Again this emphasises that mobility is bound to notions of freedom, and may be an explicit representation of exerting autonomy over time and space (albeit in relation to Kesselring's 'limits' (2004)). This demonstrates how mobility can be embroiled in multiple meaning: freedom as practice; freedom to operate outside conventional life spaces and stages (as implicit resistance?) and fundamentally freedom of choice, or 'motility' (Kauffman 2002; Kauffman et al 2004; Sager 2005; Sheller 2008). The job is to unpack these processes, although as Bauman suggests, it is one's potential or capacity to be mobile; to know that one can (or choose not to) relocate when they so wish which is important.

In contrast to mobility which focuses on movement itself, motility refers to the potential for moving or "how an individual… takes possession of the realm of possibilities for mobility and builds on it to develop personal projects" (Flamm et al 2006: 168). By recognising the profusion of ways to think about mobility (see Kauffman et al 2004; Urry 2002) and freedom (see Sager 2005), motility offers a specific and under explored look at 'structural and cultural dimensions of movement' (Kauffman et al 2004: 750) which underpin spatial mobility. In essence, motility is the precursor to mobility, whereby the perceived capacity to move will manifest in

different ways. Just as we may examine how lifestyle travellers practice alternative forms of mobility, we must examine their motive force and their *perceived ability to move* to witness how these yield different consequences of movement, and related senses of freedom. In this regard, unrestricted motility represents ultimate *spatial* freedom since individuals *feel* that they are able to relocate at will. The consequence of which will vary profoundly dependent on motive. Lifestyle travellers thereby may not necessarily be compelled to move indefinitely or desire travel all the time, they just may enjoy the feeling of being free to choose when movement occurs. This is supported by Sager who emphasises how "attempts to achieve freedom" (2006: 466) are not necessarily realised by increased mobility, or rapid travel, but can be acquired through one's perceived ability to move. In essence, 'potential' mobility [motility] is preferable as includes the option to 'not go' (Ibid. 466).

Such freedom bears relation to the 'cosmopolitan', described by Hannerz as a highly mobile elite being who embraces multiple cultures, but fundamentally, always maintains a way out from them*:*

> The cosmopolitan may embrace the alien culture, but he [sic] does not become committed to it. All the time he knows where the exit is (1990: 240)

In this manner, the cosmopolitan represents motility in being able to sample cultures, but is assured that this is temporary and at their preference. Similarly the lifestyle traveller may demonstrate such tendencies, choosing not constant mobility but to 'moor' within places, reassured by the knowledge that they can leave again. In this respect freedom is attributed not to 'excessive travel' (Sager 2006: 466) but an unfettered ability to move; they can relocate as they please, never fully committing to a community. Independent of the ties and commitments that root or anchor them to place, this freedom is perhaps what underpins their commitment to a mobile lifestyle.

Reiterating Sager, Flamm acknowledges that motility may not always manifest as physical travel (Ibid. 168) appreciating that choices will materialise differently across varying socio-cultural contexts (Kauffman et al 2004: 750). In essence, different mobilities may occur at different times with lifestyle travellers perhaps being mobile

within place rather than physically moving between places. As we are taught by Urry (2002) mobilities are multiple and cannot be reduced to simple corporeal movement. In this manner considering the mobilities exercised within place opens other dimensions for research, as well as emphasising the activity rather than fixity within place (see 2.3.3).

In light of this, 'non-cosmopolitan claims' may still be relevant (Gay y Blasco 2010: 404). Lifestyle travellers may show preference to remain in place at certain times, where mobility is about making 'routes' within a place rather than relocating between them. Rather than residing at the peripheries, where "they taste the fruit of multicultural policies (the festivals, the ethnic foods, the clothes) but are not ever considered local" (Wemyss 2009: 110), lifestyle travellers may in fact utilise mobility to ascribe to the norms and conventions of a locale – 'to live like a local' temporarily – before making an 'exit strategy'. Perhaps their onward movements are less prescriptive than this with exit strategies not necessarily being imperative or consciously made. These may even be enforced, as per Kesselring's 'constraints' (2004) such as visa expiration. This thesis will explore whether mobility for lifestyle travellers is about finding places to *be* rather than temporarily embraced. It explores whether they forge ties and make routes within localities, representing a deeper and more self-engulfing experience based on adopting or 'living' a culture.

In this way, it may be possible for lifestyle travellers to demonstrate cosmopolitan *and* non-cosmopolitan traits by establishing connections and making routes within many places, whilst maintaining movement – albeit different variations of it – at the same time. Perhaps they do not view movement as 'exit' or escape but a form of 'moving on' or 'progression', which may not necessarily infer physical relocation. This warrants an investigation into the activities occurring in place to understand the significance of lifestyle travellers' mobilities and how they perceive and use them.

2.3 Mobility & Geography

Throughout the previous sections, several references to place – as a key geographical concept – have been made emphasising a complementary rather than exclusionary relationship with mobility.

Recognising this relationship presents new ways of approaching both concepts – fundamentally in relation to the other – such as the fact that mobility is not reducible to corporeal movement but can manifest in other ways, such as the mobilities *within* place or in terms of personal progression and development. Correspondingly, a more dynamic geography is presented, characterised by movement and change, giving rise to new ways of understanding space and place. The chapter now proceeds to trace the advent of a mobile geography, before proceeding to place as central in this investigation.

2.3.1 Mobile Space

The critical re-evaluation of space and spatiality has been brought to the forefront of geographical enquiry recently, with the advent of a 'spatial turn' in the social sciences (Arias 2010). Such a turn has come about with a rising dissatisfaction of privileging time over space (see Soja 1993) and the abstraction of space as a passive, smooth surface (Massey 2005, 2006) "…that is simply moved through or mapped (geometrically) from the outside" (Preston 2003: 74).

This Euclidean preoccupation to map space neatly and passively to promote 'clarity' (Massey et al 2003) has arguably been a way of 'taming space' (Massey 2005) reducing it to a controllable entity whereby "…'cultures', 'societies' and 'nations' were all imagined as having an integral relation to bounded spaces, internally coherent and differentiated from each other by separation' (Ibid: 64). This 'territorial trap' (Agnew 1994) has coincided with the heightened flows of goods, capital, people and services associated with globalisation, with the widespread assumption that states stand in opposition (Barkawi et al 1999) to this coercive 'out there' force (Smith 2001: 207). Such a response has led to spatial retreatment to conceive '…a world made up of blocks of space' (Agnew 1998: 51 - 2) – be this nations, regions or localities – which are controlled by territorial actors to achieve their goals.

However, rather than mobility necessitating the defence of an outdated and sedentary geography – which merely legitimises Imperialist goals to conquer space (Massey 2005) – mobility has been harnessed as a way to free "…the frozen geometries of spatial analysis" (Warf et al 2008: 3) and emphasise spatial complexity rather than

simplicity (Massey et al 2003). Mobility encourages this through advocating the malleability and 'plasticity of space' (Warf et al 2008: 3) disrupting space as fixed and given. Instead it is understood as 'produced and reproduced' (Urry 1996: 391) and central to the construction of social life rather than a passive void for these to operate in. For Massey, space is conceived as "open, multiple and… always becoming" (2005: 59) produced through and by mobilities. Space, then, is the product of interrelations between moving things, and "…not a surface but a constellation of on-going trajectories" (Massey 2006b: 92).

This is explored by Ingold (2006: 47) with his portrayal of 'the inhabitant', as

> …one who participates from within the very process of the world's continual coming into being and who, in laying a trail of life, contributes to its weave and texture.

In essence, space is a tool through which people infuse their story into the world, "generating new meanings and decoding existing ones" (Anderson et al 1992: 5), altering space through a continual 'process of becoming' (Murdoch 2006: 22). "Territories are subject to deterritorialization: the chalk is washed away, buildings are demolished, nations are invaded" (Dovey 2010: 17) and new 'assemblages' created through combining new and existing elements. Space is thus "an open arena of action and movement" (Cresswell 2004: 20) coloured and shaped by these intersecting interactions.

An embroiled mutual relationship is thus presented between space and its inhabitants, conjoined by processes of activity and movement, realised through a mobile outlook. Space is "…constructed out of sets of interrelations, as the simultaneous coexistance of social interrelations and interactions at all spatial scales" (Massey 1994: 264). It is constituted by networks interweaving with space 'rather than covering it' (Marston et al 2005: 417) since life cannot be contained, but "….threads its way through the world along the myriad lines of its relations (Ingold 2006: 53). People are authors of space and space is the stage for their stories; they are involved in 'zones of entanglement' (Ibid. 53).

2.3.2 Making space: routes and trails

Ingold illustrates such zones and the concept of space creation through using lines as an analogy. He depicts "meshworks of interwoven lines" to emphasise dynamism, vibrancy and interconnectivity rather than "the line of Euclidean geometry", which "has neither body nor colour nor texture… its nature is abstract, conceptual" (Ingold 2007: 47). Such 'ghost lines' are conceived as straight lines and connected dots, such as geodesic lines which have little consequence for people's movements (Ingold 2007).

To personalise this, Ingold introduces the 'wayfarer' as a freehand drawer and the 'transported traveller' as someone who connects the dots (Ingold 2007: 161). The 'wayfarer' is creator and inhabitant of the lived world, who leaves winding and irregular lines through footprints and paths, pausing here and there before continuing, contributing to the "reticulate meshwork… that is continually being woven as life goes along them" (Ingold 2006: 47). By comparison the 'transported traveller' plots the route before setting out. They are a passenger of 'destination-orientated' transport (Ingold 2004: 315) who is moved, rather than *moving;* journeying across rather than *through* pre-established networks of roads and railway tracks, skimming "the surface of the world" (Ingold 2006: 46) rather than penetrating it. Whilst the 'wayfarer' forges trails within the world, the 'transported traveller' skirts from one point to the next, devoid of any engagement with the environment; a passive consumer than composer of space.

In this manner the 'transported traveller' represents Euclidean and sedentist notions of space, as those who view space two-dimensionally and fail to recognise the interactions that colour it. For Ingold, such severance is typical of modern societies and personified by those following fragmented co-ordinates and route plans, occupying the world rather than inhabiting it, and seeing things from a single and sanitised 'vantage point' (Ingold 2004: 323) rather than from 'the path of observation' (Gibson 1979: 197). By comparison the 'wayfarer' can represent the post-modern *individual,* constructing their own freehand story, tracing paths and threading narratives into the weave of the world rather than following a 'pre-composed plot'

(Ingold 2006: 46). In this manner "while on the trail the wayfarer is always somewhere" (Ingold 2006: 47) thereby "dwelling in travel" (Clifford 1991: 7). In contrast the transported traveller "who departs from one location and arrives at another is, in between, nowhere at all" (Ingold 2006: 47). Whilst we may be cautious of such a divide, the ideas can be useful for conceiving how lifestyle travellers' may carve their way in the world.

In this manner, the lifestyle traveller perhaps embodies the 'wayfarer' in the fact that the journey is the destination. Whereas others may view mobility as a necessary inconvenience between points, the lifestyle traveller constructs their life around this activity, serving as a corporeal way to trace trails and understand how 'wayfarers' make their way in the world. In keeping with a multiple mobile approach (see Urry 2002) it further expands trails / travels beyond corporeal movement to examine the journeys made *within* places, to examine how they endow landscapes with meaning when they are moored. In essence, how are 'wayfarers' / lifestyle travellers mobile within place? How do they take and make place? This will be examined in section 2.3.3.

Before this, we outline further implications that 'wayfaring' / 'travelling' may present for this thesis. The first is evidently methodological in terms of how to trace trails (see Chapter Three). The second resonates with ideas discussed previously about lifestyle travellers' mobility as a form of resistance. Whereas the 'transported traveller' follows pre-ordered or sanctioned routes, the lifestyle traveller rejects traditional and rooted lives, selecting 'wayfaring' as a way to abscond from the rigidity of official life, as a form of freedom which seeks to explicitly carve more individualised routes in the world[10].

In this way the lifestyle traveller may be likened to the 'wayfarer', devoid of pre-composed plots due to their separation from the prescriptive and fragmented nature

[10] Whilst this is not to suggest that lifestyle travellers will literally concentrate their travels off the 'beaten trail', individualisation relates to their capacity to follow *and* un-follow popular circuits at their discretion; it is their autonomy – or motility (see 2.2.7) – over their course as well as their refusal to inevitably return home.

of conventional society. The analogy of transport Ingold uses may be extended in this instance to societal structures, which perhaps constrain people's flows of movement through imposing order, predisposing roles and behaviours, and determining what is 'acceptable' in everyday life. By expelling roles and everyday practices through leaving 'home' and embracing mobility, the lifestyle traveller is relatively free to craft their own trails, weaving their own way in the world rather than along it, allowing freedom of movement rather than following a pre-ordained life along successions of moments.

Henceforth, this thesis will document such fluid journeys and unravel travellers' trails to shed light on how these threads are woven into the weave of the world. Exploring unique 'trails' will help inform the research aims by emphasising heterogeneity in lifestyle travel, as well as illuminate a dynamic understanding of geography. This will illustrate how space should not be regarded as a 'palimpsest for the inscription of cultural form' (Ingold 2004: 333) but as "…condensations or crystallizations of activity …like the identities of its inhabitants (Ibid. 333; see 2.4.1). In this manner we explore how travellers leave such trails and what this means for their sense of belonging in the postmodern world of fluidity. Furthermore, by viewing space in terms of trails which cannot be contained, we must view such activity within a relational field, and what this means for the concept of place. In essence, if we are mobile across space, we must also be mobile in place.

2.3.3 Mobile Place

As attention shifts to questions of 'mobility' in this way, Kabachnik has stressed that "…there is a danger that 'place' may become subsumed or ignored in research" (2012: 210). On the contrary, rather than movement necessitating the annihilation of place (Usher 2002), "place has burgeoned throughout academia" (Kabachnik 2012: 210) with a mobilities perspective offering fresh and alternative notions on how place (like space) can be conceived. Rather than ignore place, mobilities bestows it a pivotal role, conceiving place as a 'node' where mobility flows intersect (Adey 2006: 75).

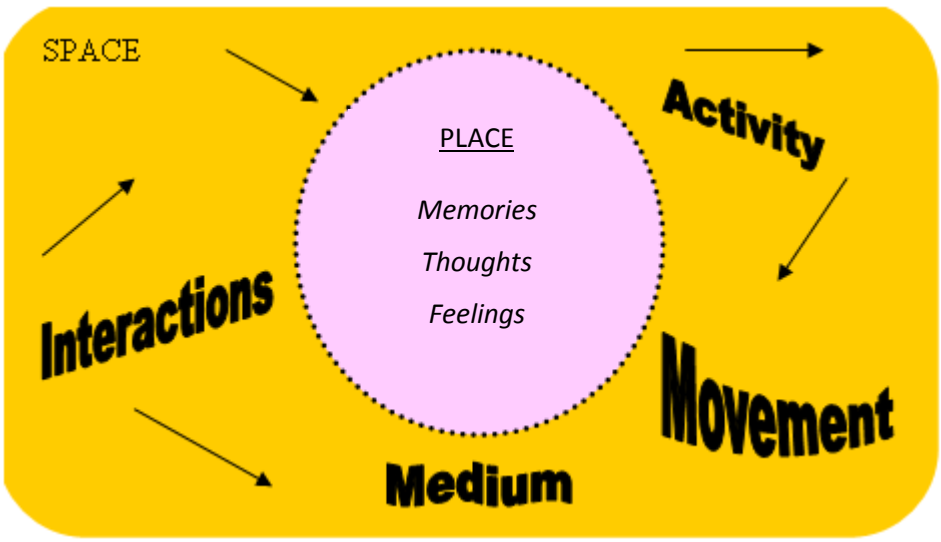
However, can place simply be conceived as a mooring in amongst mobility? Whilst this may suggest a dichotomous relationship with place presented as somehow more stable; an immobile 'dock' to facilitate mobile space (the 'dots' in Ingold's 'lines'; a physical halt to lifestyle travellers' corporeal movements) Adey is quick to emphasise that 'everything is mobile' (2006: 76). Instead a relational

perspective must be adopted for "…things can be at once moored and immobile, or indeed mobile and moored" (Adey 2006: 91). In essence, it is the relationship between mobilities and moorings that determines how places 'appear and act' (Ibid. 91).

A relational geography thereby presents notions of place in comparison to notions of space since both require 'each other for definition' (Tuan 1977: 6). Space is the platform for culture to be lived and place the result of this unison (Lippard 1997). Space becomes place when humans 'imbue it with meaning' (Kaltenborn 1997: 176). Space is the movement of interactions "…while place is about stopping and resting and becoming involved" (Tuan 1974 as cited in Cresswell 2004: 20). Whilst this may infer the fixity of place, Cresswell's latter point of 'becoming involved' emphasises activity and how different kinds of mobilities may be witnessed, suggesting that place can be moored yet still be mobile in echoing Adey. In essence, rather than travel simply being about 'getting to the destination', performances within place are 'intermittently mobile' (Sheller and Urry 2006: 214). In this manner, it is important to investigate the mobilities lifestyle travellers exhibit within place, their practices, their relationships, their 'meshworks' and what this means to their sense of place.

For Tuan, mobility thus represents *feeling* a place and endowing it with value (1977: 6). While space is activity, place is where these activities converge, a point where one can 'pause' to internalise activity, initiating a different kind of mobile process based on attuning to these unique constellations and bestowing them with personal meaning. Places are thus collections of thoughts and memories culminating to create meaningful entities across the passage of space (Cresswell 2004). They are the sentimentalised, politicised and "'humanised' version of space" (Anderson 2010: 38) that is encountered, felt and altered by people. It is a mobility of meaning and place making rather than mobility of activity and movement. Such a relational understanding between space and place is depicted below:

Figure 2.3 Place as a 'node' "*within a 'relational setting" (Amin 2002: 391*)



The figure portrays a 'snapshot' (Bergson 1911) of the relation between space and place, and must not be seen as bounded or closed. Place is encircled by a broken boundary to emphasise its provisional stability, but demonstrates it is different – although not separate - from space. Relational geographies emphasise the comparative difference of space and place which is bridged, not divorced, by mobility. Movement and action characterise space; ` mobilities of knowing, feeling and experience characterise place. "Place is associated with security, subjectivity and situatedness, while space is associated with movement, freedom and expansiveness of possibilities" (D'Mello et al 2007: 164)

or fixed, but as provisional "stabilisations of processes and relations" (Murdoch 2006: 21) or temporal 'permanences' (Havey 1996a). Place is never static since it is continually made and re-made as new and existing relations come into contact and are "enfolded into each other" (Dovey 2010: 22). For Anderson, they can be conceived as "imbroglios of *traces"* [author's italics] (Anderson 2010: 5) constituted of material and non-material substances left by cultural life, interacting and intersecting, formed by traces arriving and leaving and processes converging and diverging (Ibid. 2010). Such continual production emphasises places to be dynamic entities of movement (Sheller and Urry 2006: 214) likened to ships moving around (Hetherington 1998), disrupting place as an 'enduring site' (Amin et al 2002: 30) or a fixed 'form' since "…form is immobile and the reality is movement. "What is real is the continual change of form: form is only a snapshot view of a transition" (Bergson 1911 as cited in Adey 2006: 77). In essence, a mobilities approach challenges us to conceive new ways of seeing place, to dismantle sedentary preoccupations and advocate place as an on-going process, as a verb 'always active' rather than a 'fixed and solid' noun (Anderson 2010: 52). Furthermore it emphasises that place is different things to different people in "different relational contexts", thereby never "singular in the meanings given to them…" (Mandanipour 2001: 7).

Such sentiments are echoed by Massey in arguing that although place may have its own distinct character, "…it is absolutely not a seamless, coherent identity, a single sense of place which everyone shares" (Massey 2001: 174). Sense of place varies profoundly with peoples' understandings and meanings that they ascribe to them, determined by the numerous and contrasting connections, relationships, routes and

feelings they have about a place. In essence, place is 'achieved' (Jones 2009) in relation to the routes that precede it, the trails that are made through it, and the future paths that will be made following it.

Examining the lifestyle traveller thus presents a mobile way to unpack such 'constellations of social relations' (Massey 1993) to discover the peculiarities and particularities of place through an exploration of the routes that "pave the way for it"(Ingold 2010a: 128). Imperatively it asks whether such processes are demonstrated by inherently mobile beings; are senses of place still acquired given their temporality in place? Do they have time to internalise connections, to fuse meshworks, to 'stop' and "endow place with value" (Tuan 1977) when their life is founded on mobility?

Relational geographies takes an expansive and fluid view of this. Rather than seeing place as discrete and isolated, it warrants an overview of the entirety of processes; the meshwork of mobilities and moorings, and the constellations of interactions to understand how place is seen in relation to travel and other places. In essence, no place can operate in isolation or be seen as an 'island', since they are tied into "…at least thin networks of connections that stretch beyond each such place" (Sheller and Urry 2006: 209). Anderson expresses such connectivity as trace-chains which link places into "networks of similarity and difference" (2010: 47) where a place is defined not only by internal traces, but by broader connections to the wider world. Place is thus given definition by practices of movement, by making evaluations in light of other places, assimilating them into personal meshworks which obtain relational meaning. Fundamentally, mobilities give meaning to moorings.

However, understanding the *importance* of place to lifestyle travellers, and particularly to identity, is still subject to question. Whereas the compilation of place must be seen in relation to mobilities, we must examine how 'deep' affiliations to such nodes are when they are only ever temporarily occupied? Are connections to place complicated by the process of mobility; are 'provisional stabilisations' experienced as mere snapshots (Bergson 1911)? Or are travellers simply more in-tune to the 'journey' than concerned with the attuning to place? Fundamentally, how is place important to

lifestyle travellers when they are so mobile? Are they seen as necessary 'connecting dots' for a life based on movement, or are places more meaningful than this? Does a mobile lifestyle necessarily divorce attachments made to place? Is mobility the stronger component of identity for these individuals, or is place still important? Can these be negotiated or are these in opposition? A turn to examine identity will help explore such ideas.

2.4 Im/mobile Identity?

So far we have outlined the two central concepts of this thesis being mobility and place and how they provide complementary definition rather than being mutually exclusive. However, what this means for identity presents complicated questions. Whilst we have discussed various meanings of mobility – as resistance, a right / privilege, freedom – and how place acquires (relational) definition, a look at identity will examine the *significance* that both hold for engendering senses of self. Furthermore it will provide a way to examine whether mobility and place are still compatible (D'Mello et al 2007; Easthope 2009) or whether explicitly mobile beings render place as obsolete in terms of selfhood. In this manner we first outline mobile notions of identity before specifically examining this in relation to place.

2.4.1 Mobile Identity

In the same way that a mobilities perspective presents place as 'on the move', it necessarily follows that identity will also be conceived as subject to change and viewed in relational terms. Giddens (1991) and Bauman (1997; 2001) describe the transition from prescribed, 'place-based' identities in modernity to view twenty-first century identities as 'achieved' (Easthope 2009: 61), on-going and thus mobile. To summarise, contemporary forms of globalisation, migration, the re-drawing of territorial boundaries and 'innovative technologies' which transform traditional notions of time and space, have disrupted 'settled' certainties, posing questions about who we are and what this means for belonging (Alexander et al 2012: 1). In essence, today people actively 'forge' identities, 'selecting' who they are in relation to the proliferating influences spanning from the local to the global. Identity is no longer bounded in territory, but a product of the mobile elements that transcend geographical borders; it is mobile and reactive to such continual movement.

Such mobility is advocated by post-modernism through stressing the dynamism of identity formation. For post-modernists, the self is viewed as unbounded and unstable, caught within a state of 'fluidity and flux' (Jackson 2005) and constructed from non-linear relationships (Hetherington 1998b). For Bauman, identity is comparable to 'bio-degradable plastic' (1996: 18) that is under

continual reconstruction and redefinition, emphasising the agency of the self by seeing identity as more of a "freely chosen game" (Ibid. 18). However, for Beck and Beck (2002), such agency must be seen within the confines of society; that the game is played within societal structures, which mould – and is reciprocally moulded by – the individuality of its members (Bauman 2002).

This offers interesting implications for the lifestyle travellers when vacating from such structure, suggesting that by leaving 'home' society a new kind of 'game' is to be played, and new kinds of individualities to be explored and created. As Golden Gelman (2011: 11) explains:

> One is no longer wife, mother, daughter, writer, anthropology student… but a woman in limbo, whose identity has been buried in her roles. Away from these roles and alone, she is someone she doesn't know.

In essence, 'she' is someone who must be discovered devoid of these overarching and conditioning structures. This relates to literature examining travel as a way to 'find oneself' (see Desforges 1998; O'Reilly 2006) or as a quest for self-realization (Rojek 1993). Rather than reiterate extensive critiques on the staticity of this concept – identity as something to be 'achieved' – (Easthope 2009) rather we hone in on the idea of transformative travel and the idea that "journeys provide the opportunity to acquire experiences" (Neumann 1992: 182) which induce personal change (see Lean 2009), or the testing of selves. In the spirit of Bauman (1996) we advocate that there is no end to such 'game playing', and instead we should examine the impact of indefinite travel on identity creation.

As such we return to Beck and Beck (2002) to unpack whether substitutes for societal structures and roles are sought - if this a requirement for identity - or if lifestyle travellers invent 'the rules' as they go along. How exactly do these people give structure to their identity when it is characterised by movement? Or is such a lifestyle a resistance against convention, structure and agency associated with home life (see 2.2.5)? Perhaps going their own way in the world means travellers will instead form 'neo-tribes' (Maffesoli 1996) with those of 'common interest' (see 2.2.4). Rather than lifestyle travellers dipping into predetermined 'normalities' perhaps they actively forge 'unforced communities' (Thrift 1992: 26; see also Halfacree 1997: 86) along their journey, demonstrating the malleability of community as well as identity in an individualised lifestyle. But are 'neo-tribes' important for lifestyle travellers to affirm a sense of identity or are such collections just a way to provide company? Do lifestyle travellers locate themselves in relation to others, or do they demonstrate highly individualised identities that do not require external affirmation?

2.4.2 Relational Identity

If self is achieved in relation to 'neo-tribes', identity formation must involve "…sets of meanings and qualities that we convey in order to establish recognition and difference with others" (Panelli 2004: 138). Following from Bauman, it seems as though we actively make connections from ourselves as discrete individuals to society as a whole, thus locate ourselves as part of a wider community to determine who we are against what we are not (Hetherington 1998a, see also Hall 1996). This suggests that lifestyle travellers may in fact not necessarily acquire identity from those that are similar, but rather from those that are different, appreciating that "it is often easier to say clearly what one is not than what one is" (Wilson et al 2004: 125; see also Galani-Moutafi 2000). Thereby, this thesis will explore whether lifestyle travellers demonstrate identity founded on *not* being committed and *not* being rooted to place? Do they acquire a nomadic sense of self by *not* being sedate? Or is this too simplistic and ignorant of the complexity and fluidity of continual redevelopment that Bauman and Hetherington advocate? Do lifestyle travellers locate themselves primarily with others that demonstrate nomadic tendencies or are group selections more complex?

The latter seems intuitive in light of warnings to avoid reducing "always diverse and hybrid insides to a stable unity" (Clifford 1997: 65). Instead, identity tends to cross cut activities, breaking down rigid boundaries such as age, race, nationality, gender [and mobility?] merging aspects from multiple groupings (Smith 2005). In this manner it is likely that 'neo-tribes' will be formed through 'common interests' not confined to lifestyle travel, especially given its rarity, but perhaps are formed with backpackers, other types of travellers and maybe even local people. This process disrupts travel as the unwavering and definitive trait of identity if affiliations to sedentary people can be made, and seems likely when recognising the interconnectivity between aspects of selfhood. In essence, identities are malleable and can transcend simplistic binaries to develop "in-between or on the boundary of a category" (Smith 2005: 28). In this manner, the lifestyle traveller may sample different components of identity within different (immobile and mobile) 'neo-tribes', serving as a way to test lives and different identities rather than to establish commonality and belonging with other lifestyle travellers. Perhaps this demonstrates a kind of inverse formation of 'neo-tribes' – correlating with inverse liminality – which is about trying out alternative lives, gapping back in to immobile 'normalities' and living out difference rather than commonality, presenting mobile senses of 'us' and 'them' in line with mobile understandings of selfhood. Based on these ideas, this thesis explores whether the pursuit of lifestyle travel is thus about experimentation, independence and self-reliance than establishing a sense of belonging? Perhaps a mobile lifestyle represents a preference for individual and 'hybrid' identities than belonging to discrete categories and 'neo-tribes'. Such questions warrant an investigation into the types of people and communities lifestyle travellers are drawn to and in turn how this effects where they go, as well as how they mediate connections *between* identities. What are the *routes* of their personhood?

2.4.3 Hybrid identities

Appreciating identity as multiple, layered and as a continual process – similar to place – suggests it to be a composite of "different elements of experience and subjective position" (Rutherford 1998: 19) constructed by a process of 'articulation' where multiple traits are bound together within a 'third term'. This introduces notions of 'multiple identities' entwined within us (Bondi 1993: 96) as amalgamations of past relations and existing ones, shaped by the "economic and political relations of subordination and domination" (Rutherford 1998: 20) that intersect our daily lives. This seems particularly pertinent to lifestyle travellers given their heightened exposure to multiple influences within their travels, suggesting that they have more identities to draw upon, and a greater density of elements to choose and incorporate into their identity. How they amalgamate such elements due to the rapidity of their movement will be an interesting angle to consider.

Such entanglements for Bhabha create 'hybrid identities' (1988) as a myriad of experiences, moulded by environments and coloured by relations and the social positions inhabited (Smith 2005). Drawing on the colonial encounter, Bhabha (1994) illustrates how identities and ideas diffuse between camps, provoking a clash of cultures, whereby 'coloniser' and 'colonised' reciprocally shape each other's wavering identities. Indigenous populations would often 'borrow' ideas from invading cultures to mix with pre-existing ideas and beliefs, which were subsequently analysed through their own interpretative lens, stimulating new and complex 'hybrid identities' (Loomba 1998). Perhaps lifestyle travellers demonstrate a heightened version of hybridity given their relocation across many cultures, infusing identities, ideas and influences in unique and dynamic ways, promoting a continual rather than 'fixed' hybrid self.

This is expanded upon by Braidotti in her work on 'nomadic subjects' (1994) advocating human agency as integral to the relocation of self, resonating with identity as a 'freely chosen game' (Bauman 1996: 18). For Braidotti, identities are in a constant state of becoming, with people strategically moving between subject divisions "…to rescue what (they) need of the past in order to trace paths of transformation of (their) lives here and now" (Braidotti 1994, 6). Given the highly individualistic and multi-cultural times we now live in, she argues it is imperative for us to adapt to the rapidly changing contexts we find ourselves in, utilising particular strands of an identity

whenever there is demand for it. Essentially, these highly global times symbolise a "…rhetoric of privacy, choice and the individual" (Joyce 1995) which is embodied by an examination of the lifestyle travellers.

An alternate way to conceive 'nomadic subjects' is of 'postmodern personas' (Shields 1992a: 107) travelling though 'a succession' of temporary (Bennett 1999: 605) 'site-specific gatherings' (Shields 1992a: 16). Rather than groups, or 'neo-tribes', being central to individuals, sites are conceived as the catalyst for stimulating new roles before relocating to alternative sites and fostering new identities. Such 'floating memberships' (Ibid: 600) thereby imply that place is central to identity formation through forcing individuals to review their identity, invoking some kind of change or 'relocation' rather than individuals assessing identity in relation to others. For Shields (1992a) environment is the impetus for the revision of selfhood, where individuals must adapt roles to suit their current context. Questions are raised around the extent of such environmental impact however, when 'sites' may be experienced from comparative familiarity, or within safety enclaves (see Galani-Moutfai 2001; Maoz 2007).

Nevertheless, for Shields lifestyle travellers may indeed demonstrate pronounced self relocation in order to cope with their continual exposure to new places through indefinite travel. His ideas suggest that lifestyle travellers present a pronounced example of transient identities because of this mobility, whereby external relocation necessitates internal relocation or a development of the self. Conversely, can lifestyle travellers' physical movements mimic their own personal transition (see Galani-Moutafi 2000)? For example, do they 'pick' certain places to go primarily to induce change? Are they attracted by places perceived as challenging, or seek immersion in 'Other' places and venture off the beaten track? Do they demonstrate a preference for less 'stimulating' places at times, choosing similarity rather than difference, perhaps found in tourist trails, backpacker haunts or returns to 'normality' (see 2.2.4) to take a break from such challenges? Such questions are imperative to explore and demonstrate the importance of 'mapping' routes to understand the relationship between identity and place.

A tangible way to investigate identity relocation is by examining employment within the travel encounter (see 2.2.5). This appreciates that most lifestyle travellers will have to work at some point in order to sustain their travels – a 'limit' to their motility (Kesselring 2004) – thereby providing a good example for examining how identities are mediated to cope with external stimuli. For instance, how do lifestyle travellers cope being 'out of place' in a work or community environment? Do they suspend their role as traveller to adopt the role as employee, or can these be mediated and

negotiated into complimentary hybrid identities? To tackle such questions we must first consider literatures involving the relationship between identity and place.

2.4.4 Identity and Place

In geography, place is widely acknowledged for its role in shaping identity. For Casey, the two are conceived as 'thoroughly meshed' with there being "…no place without the self and no self without the place" (2001a: 684). Just as place is created through inscriptions made by its inhabitants (see 2.3.3) so human identity is simultaneously altered by being in place, suggesting a 'constitutive coingredience' (Casey 2001a: 684). This suggests that identity is bound to place by varying degrees, dependent on personal experience and the subsequent meanings that people give to place. For Relph (1976) "people's relationships to places are just as significant as their relationships to other human beings" (cited in Birkeland 2005: 9) stressing the centrality of place to identity; that it can "possess us – in perception, as in memory – …insinuating themselves into our lives, seizing and surrounding us, even taking us over as we sink into their presence" (Casey 2000: 200).

However, as earlier suggested, is identity as susceptible to place as Casey would suggest in today's highly mobile times? Whereas "life revolved around pre-defined social roles and norms" (D'Mello et al 2007: 166) in traditional societies, where identity was conceived as an "'essential' unchanging core" linked to "bounded notions of place and community" (Ibid. 166), today this does not seem valid in appreciating the fluidity of identity, as well as the increased movement of people and the compression of 'time and space' (Harvey 1990). Is identity still achieved in relation to place, 'rooted' in the local culture and social environment (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977) when peoples' movements and networks transcend the local area (Aronsson 2004)? Indeed questions have been raised as to the significance of place for contemporary identities given the supposed eradication of place distinctiveness and rising uniformity associated with globalisation. The condition of 'placelessness' (Relph 1976) and places becoming 'thinned out' (Sack 1997) warrants an investigation into whether this has resulted in some kind of identity loss, whether individuals are finding alternative parameters for

identity – such as 'neo-tribes' – and whether this can promote a stronger sense of 'self' to readjust the balance from the deficit of place.

Casey promotes the latter arguing that 'levelled-down' place can be remedied by exposure to many places, recognising that the 'cosmopolite' through learning about the larger world will be "more sensitive to cultural diversity" (2001a: 685) than the person who refuses to leave the hearth (Tuan 1996a). As corroborated by Starobinski "one's sense of place is never more acute than when one is away from home" (as cited in Tuan 1996b: 453) advocating exploration as a way to heighten sensitivity by seeing 'home' in relation to other places. Indeed, Said writes how "one's self-consciousness as an outsider can provoke… an active comprehension" of Other places, since distance and being 'out of synch' (1986: 49) with its processes will afford a "better view of its contours" (Persram 1997: 206), endorsing the privileged position of the 'cosmopolitan' (Hannerz 1990). For Urry, generally "people are more sensitised to what different places in the world contain or may signify" (2000: 125) with the removal of temporal and spatial boundaries. For Casey (2001b), people have become more attune to variation with rising interconnectivity and responded by forging personal meanings of place with renewed vigour (Harvey 1996a). In this manner the virtue of 'postmodern nomadism' (Casey 2001a: 685) across actual or virtual place is endorsed, suggesting that lifestyle travellers will actually be more perceptive of place *because* of their mobility. Will this mean these new places are subsumed into identity however, or is identity founded on being a 'postmodern nomad'?

For Casey, this is not necessarily so given his argument against the "compensatory logic of loss" (2001a: 685). Instead of assuming that the more autonomous, self-directed and independent an individual is the less one is reliant on place for identity, he argues that the "place-self relationship follows a logic of more *with more"* [author's italics]. The more places are levelled down, the *more* – not the less – selves will seek out thick places for… personal enrichment" (Casey 2001a: 685). In this manner, lifestyle travellers may be experiencing pronounced enrichment and a greater appreciation of place because of their relocation.

In this manner we can see that the solution for maintaining connections between place and identity is ironically by adopting a mobile approach and embracing the notion that

'everything is mobile' (Adey 2006). Indeed for Rajchman 'postmodern nomadism' is a way to dispel the notion that "…social life has roots in the ground or soil… that the lifeworld is in the first instance a grounded world" (1998: 86). In essence rather than signifying corporeal movement, 'postmodern nomadism' represents dismissing 'place' as the 'centre of orinetation' and identity as an 'anchor' weighing us down to instead "freedom and lightness that finally allows us to move" (Ibid: 88).

Such a fluid outlook essentially demonstrates how mobility bridges the relationship between place and identity, rather than severing it. Mobilities in this way promotes a geographical turn from 'roots to routes'; a move from being 'rooted' in place to forging routes across and within *places* where identity "should be concerned with 'routes'… as maps for the future than [roots as] trails from the past" (McCrone 1998: 34). It represents a rejection of fixity to explore the fluidities of 'liquid modernity' where culture and identity must be located in mobility rather than fixed in place (Cresswell 2002: 18). Just as the nature of place is understood through compositions of connections, "articulated out of multiple routes" (Rose et al 1996: 1) the collection of places rather than the roots of one place can sometimes reflect an 'individual life path' (Gustafson 2001: 674).

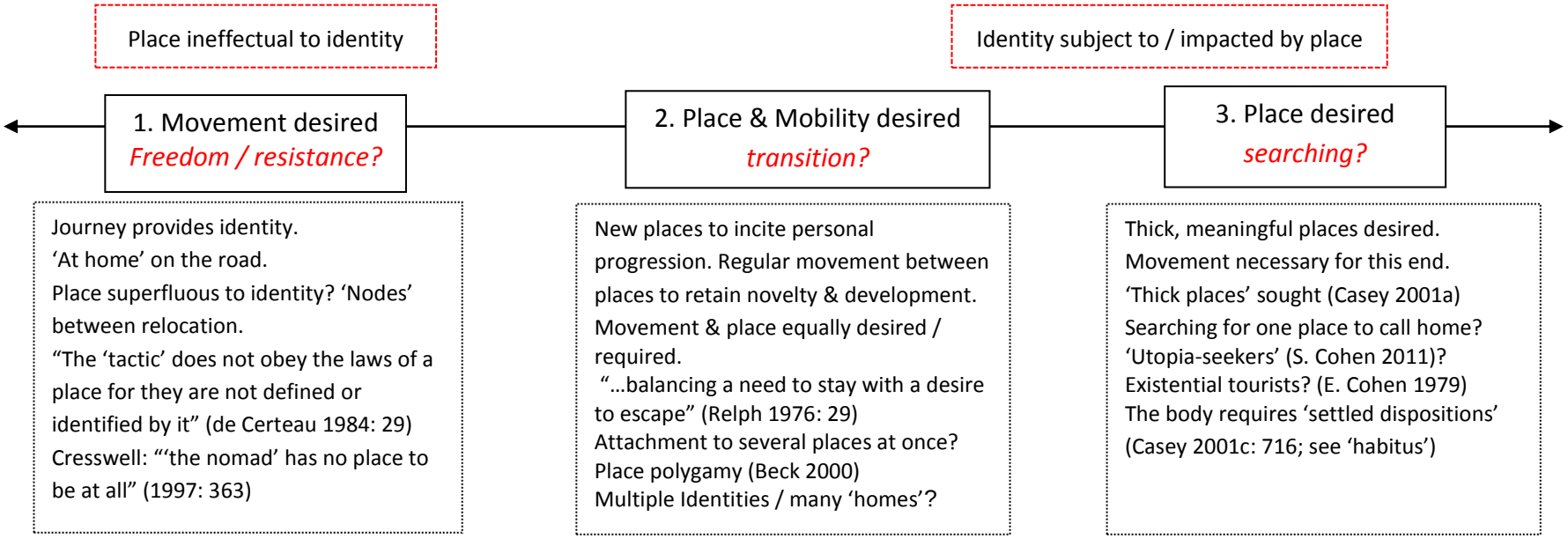
Lifestyle travellers – as highly mobile beings – thus offer a tangible example of such freedom in their physical – rather than metaphorical – relocation across time and space, with their preference for a lifestyle based on movement, shedding such 'roots' and 'anchors'. Tracing their routes may therefore help document such free and floating identities along their physical journey; that they drift across and utilise different personas based on the changing contexts that they find themselves in. Making comparisons between personas across different places – i.e. travel versus work situations – will help trace aspects of identity, to see if and how components are mediated and manifest in these contrasting contexts. Similar to Ingold's 'wayfarer', it is the object of this thesis to document these personal transitions, to see how personal stories are woven into the fabric of the places traversed, as well as to explore the networked context these 'tales' are written within.

2.4.5 Place attachment and Identity

Despite such arguments, for some 'nomadism' may imply a lesser reliance on place, "…that there is no place but the place of movement itself" (Cresswell 1997: 362)[11]. This sits in contrast to Casey's 'thick places' (2001a) as central for personal fulfilment, supposing that some places are meaningful and other places are not. Others discuss identifications with multiple places – e.g. Gustafson's 'routes' (2001) – that people experience 'place polygamy' through their movements across different locations (Beck 2000). This suggests that many places, rather than just 'thick' places, are important for identity. In this manner, we present a continuum of place attachment which takes account of these contrasting positions, to understand how lifestyle travellers may relocate themselves variously along this scale at different times. The scale ranges from minimal place significance [left] which progressively increases as we move along the scale, with a corresponding decrease in the importance of mobility. In essence, the continuum seeks to illustrate whether identity is forged on the movement *between* places (mobility as significant), whether identity is acquired from many and novel places (middle position) or if identity is achieved through relations to meaningful places (place as important). Or indeed if combinations of these positions are demonstrated.

[11] Whilst Cresswell does not infer that place is redundant – merely that place itself is mobile – it neatly summarises ideas which question the role of place to identity. In essence, it provides an alternative 'position' that we can explore in relation to the lifestyle traveller.

Figure 2.4 Place attachment and mobility



Rather than the figure representing a movement / place dichotomy, it is intended to be illustrative of what travel *represents* to lifestyle travellers. For example the act of motion could be why they choose this lifestyle, or as a by-product of searching for one / many meaningful places. In this manner, mobility is imperative for all aspects of the scale – it is required to obtain a sense of freedom by not being *tied* to places, as per the cosmopolitan (Hannerz 1990), but it is also necessary to *find* places being a fundamental attribute of the 'postmodern nomad'. In the same manner, places may give relational meaning to mobility; movement may be appreciated in light of provisional stops. In this way we advocate how such positions may be relevant at different times, although emphasises how we can never present place and mobility as mutually exclusive. The scale is intended to 'map' the evolving significance of travel than categorise lifestyle travellers.

As Figure 2.4 demonstrates, lifestyle travellers may acquire a sense of identity through the journey rather than by collecting places, illustrated at the far left of the scale. In this way, movement is what defines and gives meaning to their life; home is found 'on the road'. This posits that it is the act of relocation that is significant rather than in the 'nodes' *between* mobility or any perceivable 'end point'. Perhaps this signifies *freedom* as explored earlier, where movement is desired to avoid committing to place, as per the cosmopolitan, or as a rejection of conventional and settled lives.

Further along the scale is a desire for place *and* mobility with lifestyle travellers seeking constant relocation to *new* places to promote some kind of identity transformation (see Bruner 1991; Desforges 1998; C. C O'Reilly; Noy 2004). In this manner travel provides a challenge as induces personal progression through continual exposure to novel places (Neumann 1992), where multiple selves can be explored and tested, and multiple 'homes' perhaps established along the way by this 'geographical promiscuity' (Heller 1995).

At the far right of the continuum, place is depicted as central to identity, where travel is primarily about the *search* for meaningful places. Rather than travel consisting of relocation across places to invoke internal transformation (Neumann 1992), it is specifically about finding places to call 'home' (S. Cohen 2011) to obtain a sense of belonging, echoing traditional sentiments. Furthermore, perhaps strong connections can be made to multiple sites; a 'marriage to several places at once' (Beck 2000: 73). This is seen in migration research (see Gardner et al 2012; Lam et al 2004; Portes 1999; Staeheli et al 2006) and studies on expatriates, seasonal workers and 'third culture kids' (Ussem 1976) where 'home' is not always "inexorably related to country of origin" (Relph 2009: 191). In this way, the acquisition of a meaningful place does not necessitate an end to the journey, as new homes can be made during the journey. Alternatively, lifestyle travellers may anticipate completion of their travels on discovery of that one perceived ideal place that will override their desire to move on (S. Cohen 2011).

Of course, there may be interchange across this continuum, appreciating that motives are fluid and malleable. An examination of lifestyle travellers will help explore such ideas to discover which are applicable; to understand whether mobility is the main

motive for travel and how place remains significant. Can many places be subsumed into an identity, how are these mediated by lifestyle travellers and what does this mean for notions of 'home'? Or are they consciously searching for one place to belong? Can mobility and place operate interchangeably, do they operate in conjunction, or are they mutually exclusive? The types of places lifestyle travellers 'moor' at as well as how these are perceived in relation to mobility will help answer such questions.

Indeed using the concept of 'home' can be useful to allow lifestyle travellers to convey their thoughts and feelings about place using this as a tangible referent. Is 'home' generally thought of as a place of origin "always visible at the end of the bridge… therefore a relatively unambiguous concept" (Harrison 2003: 37)? Or has the term lost meaning in a lifestyle where one is constantly 'on the move', as 'detached mobile subjects' (Germann Molz 2008: 325)? Can there be different 'types' of home, perhaps 'on the road' or wherever one 'lays their hat' (Gaye et al 1962) or located "in relationships between self and others" (White et al 2007: 91)? Can lifestyle travellers feel at "home anywhere and everywhere" (Germann Molz 2008: 325) operating "easily in different cultural worlds" (Armbruster 2002: 18) thereby rendering notions of 'home' and 'away' obsolete? Or does the term still hold value with certain practices employed to facilitate a sense of home (Germann Molz 2008) whilst 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991: 7)? Such ideas are of interest, and seek to demonstrate how mobile meanings of home may differ to sedentary ones, thereby addressing the research aim to illuminate ambiguous concepts.

2.4.6 How rapid is place attachment?

Exploring the significance of place to lifestyle travellers' identities further raises questions about how quickly attachments can be forged when they are only temporarily in place. Are attachments complicated through the rapidity of travel, or can affiliations still be significant despite their continual relocation between places? Whilst suggested that lifestyle travellers may be more *attune* to places since they are seen *in comparison* to other places, does this necessarily mean that they are subsumed into a sense of self? Or is "…having the ability to move… enough to shape identity as nonsedentary" (Kabachnik 2010: 97)?

There are contrasting findings about the length of time and frequency of visits needed to instil attachment with place. Some consider attachment to develop slowly over time (see Relph 1976; Hay 1998), whereas others has have found that "…not all forms of attachment… demand a long term experience with place (Guiliani 2003: 154) and some may occur immediately. For Tuan (1977: 184):

> …a man can fall in love at first sight with a place… a brief but intense experience is capable of nullifying the past so that we are ready to abandon home for the promised land.

This perspective suggests that lifestyle travellers could form significant attachments elsewhere.

Literature is mixed on this point. Whilst some studies have found that attachments become stronger with multiple visits to places (Eisenhauer et al 2000, Smaldone 2006, Walsh 2000) others found little correlation (Backlund et al 2003). Such ambiguity reinforces the notion that different places mean different things to different people at different times, and how place attachment can change over time (Rubinstein et al 1992). The way people relate to and assimilate place into their sense of self is highly subjective and variable, and will depend on the individual, place and time at which connections are formed. Furthermore, as Gustafson outlines "different forms of mobility may have different implications for peoples' sense of territorial belonging" (2009: 491) thus cementing mobility as central to understanding the connections made with place, as well as how senses of 'home' may be altered through the process of travel. For Gustafson, there is a distinct lack of empirical material on the subject (2009) supporting the investigation of lifestyle travellers as a corporeal example of mobility and how this translates to their sense of place and identity.

By examining the kinds of places travellers develop affiliations to – out of the many that they encounter – why these attachments occur and how quickly they are forged will serve to unpack some of these processes. This will also determine how much place configures to identity as well as if mobility promotes or hinders this. In order to consider how "both roots and routes ['mobilities' and 'moorings] play a critical role" (Usher 2002: 47) in lifestyle travel, we must unpack the relationship between dwelling and travelling / place attachment and mobility, with identity as an expression and 'measure' of this.

This leads the thesis to consider notions of home as a tangible referent of 'dwelling', to understand how mobility can be seen as complementary rather than exclusionary. Furthermore, considering the relationship between 'home' and 'away' can help us understand the mediations between place attachment and mobility, to investigate the 'roots' and 'routes' of belonging and identity.

2.5 Home and Away

Such embroiled relationships – between mobility and attachment – have altered the distinction of being 'home and away' with White and White (2007) noting how social networking both promotes and erodes distance. In their study of long-term travellers, participants reported feeling a sense of being at home through emails about the daily goings on of friends and family, but also a conflicting sense of distance often when talking on the telephone. Such a continuation of links with the "home base and normal routines" (2007: 98) demonstrates the collaborative nature of mobilities as technological communications facilitate the 'networking' between relationships at home and away. This demonstrates how the complex interplay of mobilities can shape how travellers view their position in the world, as well as change the understandings and meanings that they ascribe to home and away in relation to their interactions with others. Can a sense of closeness or distance to 'home' for example alter their experience of a place or travel? Are new places viewed or measured in relation to their place of origin? Is this more pronounced when retaining links to 'home'? Or is 'home' as an definitive marker an empty term – as discussed previously – with lifestyle travellers essentially leaving home indefinitely, eroding any sense of closeness or distance as time progresses?

Such approaches rate 'home' as inseparable from being 'away', as the former serves as the counterbalance in weighing up the experience, and giving meaning to being 'away'. However, as outlined above, this seems problematic in application to lifestyle travellers given their lack of a "…stable point of reference from which to perceive or measure movement" (White and White 2007: 91). For White's long-term travellers, it was important to sustain relations at home in order to feel that they could re-integrate at a later stage, whereas this would be of less importance to lifestyle travellers. If away is gauged by home, what kind of oppositional elements would lifestyle travellers draw upon given their expulsion from a conventional lifestyle? How do lifestyle travellers frame their experiences with this comparative absence? Are new routines imposed on a life on the road to engender a sense of 'home', and what kinds of activities are these?

2.5.1 'Home' and 'Away' or 'home and away'?

Such approaches insinuate a dualistic relationship between 'home' and 'away' with meaning attributed to what the other is not, often apparent in migration literatures. This is discussed by Ahmed who demonstrates unease with such reductionism, where it is usually simplified to a case of "those who stay at home and those who leave" (1999: 340). Furthermore, some postcolonial literatures promote home as "pure and uncontaminated by movement" (Ahmed 1999: 339) as a place of rest and "respite where there is being, but no longing" (Persram 1997: 213). Such perspectives suggest home to be safe and secure space (Dovey 1985) in contrast to imposing, threatening away space. Home is presented as a "…family, a neighbour (or) a friend" (Ahmed 1999: 340) 'away' is presented as a 'stranger'. This illustrates the tendency to privilege 'home', as well as to fix and bound spatialities – home being dichotomous to away – which has been previously discussed as erroneous. Furthermore, such segregation suggests that strangeness cannot be felt within home, undermining the strategy to understand who we are through establishing recognition and *difference* with others (see 2.4.2).

Instead Ahmed argues that both movement and strangeness are present within home, manifesting in the multiple 'trajectories' "…between those who stay, those who arrive and those who leave" (1999: 340) that it is 'diasporic space' where locals and strangers meet. In this way, home can never remain the same or familiar as it is involved in an on-going and complex process of inhabitance – home as verb rather than home as noun – making it is possible to be 'homeless' within a home space. Furthermore, like place (see 2.3.3) home is "…not necessarily a singular place or state of being" (Mallett 2004: 79) but can be multiple places and relationships of varying "symbolic meaning and salience" (Ibid. 79).

This however, reverts to presenting 'home' and 'away' as mutually exclusive terms, suggesting that one either feels a part of place as an 'insider', or they do not and feel like an 'intruder'. Feeling 'at home' is somehow positive, and feeling away is a negative experience. Counter to this is 'cosmopilitanism' (Hannerz 1990; see 2.2.7) where 'home' is referred to only in comparison to the preferential state of being

'away', with those with the means and resources seeking mobility, whilst those without seeking refuge and solitude in place.

Such opposition – where one can only embrace cosmopolitanism or localism – seems to resonate with 'absurd' scalar notions of 'space' and 'place' and dichotomies of 'mobilities' and 'place'. Perhaps this natural gravitation towards categorisation is a way to grasp the meaning of such terms and is worthy of retention for analytical purposes. Despite this utility, could it be possible to conceive – like 'space and place', 'place and mobilities' – that 'home' and 'away' could be more embroiled than simply oppositional; that the relationship is more entangled and inter-related than conflicting entities at different ends of the spectrum? In essence is it ever possible to be both at home and away?

> This leads to examine what constitutes 'home' specifically for lifestyle travellers, in comparison to the more widely discussed migration literatures. How and when do lifestyle travellers feel 'at home', where and when do they feel 'away'? Can such terms be used interchangeably or do they necessarily occur at different times and spaces? Are lifestyle travellers comparable to the 'cosmopolitan' in their rejection of 'locality'? Do they embrace alien cultures but never fully commit to them? Or do they show a different kind of mobility based on integration within place where they can become 'local' temporarily? Is a sense of distance felt by lifestyle travellers, and from what? Or should these be considered irrelevant altogether given their expulsion from any one home? Is it possible for lifestyle travellers to feel at 'home' anywhere in the world?

2.5.2 At Home in the World

Feeling 'at home' in the world perhaps relates to ideas of a 'shrinking world' (see Allen et al 1995a, 1995b; Bauman 1998; Giddens 1990; Harvey 1990) where societies have arguably become more integrated and intermixed due to mass global migration over hundreds of years, as well as the modern cultural impetus to 'modernise, urbanise and capitalise' (Rapport 1998: 25). As a result, societies can no longer contain cultural distinctiveness within their geographical boundaries, but combine with other influences to produce socio-cultural 'creolizations' (Rapport et al 1998: 24) or synthesised ways of life, resonating with the notion that we are 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991: 7). In this way, Lyotard discusses that one is free "…to listen to reggae,

watch a Western, eat McDonald's food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner…" (1984: 76) emphasising that it is possible to be 'at home' within the 'entire globe' (Rapport et al 1998: 26) to be a 'global citizen' (Rapport 2007 et al: 225; see also Germann Molz 2005) as well as experience global movement 'at home'. Notions of "home and abroad, self and other, colonizer and colonized" (Vernerey 2012: 171) are dismantled in this manner as cosmopolitan identities can be formed during this process of cultural fusion, where home is not necessarily one's point of origin but is found in other cultures too.

For Lyotard, instead of this symbolising increased homogenisation or the 'McDonaldization' (Ritzer 1993) of cultures, he reiterates Harvey and Casey in arguing that such processes lead to a "greater global appreciation of local difference" (Cummings 2003: 22). In essence he advocates individuality and echoes Bauman in presenting identity as a 'freely chosen game' (1996) where people are able to transcend 'singular international styles' (Cummings 2003: 22) and develop unique and personalised identities through the acquisition of these multiple influences, arranged into webs of relationships which marry the local and global. In this way, everyone is conceived to be 'on the move' / 'dwelling in travel' whereby people will construct their own particular paths through drawing upon the vast "…treasury of behaviours and beliefs that different cultural traditions hold out to them" (Rapport et al 1998: 25). In this manner, lifestyle travellers may demonstrate a particularly explicit 'path' given their continual exposure to new influences during their travels, manifesting in highly hybridised identities selected from a myriad of global 'traits'. Conversely, perhaps they retain a more durable component or consistent 'core' identity to withstand this overwhelming exposure. Perhaps their point of origin is all the more important to not feel awash by the influences that they are exposed to, that their place and personal history is what provides a constant for their identity, as an unwavering component to help them 'embrace freedom and lightness' (Rajchman 1998: 88) whilst they are on the move. In this manner, perhaps 'home' can still be meaningful to lifestyle travellers, albeit in a different manner to the traditional sense.

This presents implications for notions of 'home' with alternative suggestions conceived in light of 'compressing cultures' and 'hybrid identities' within a 'synchronising society' (Rapport 1998: 27). For Berger, 'home' has been dismantled in its meaning as a safe and fixed 'centre of the universe' (1984: 64) to instead envisage a 'mobile habitat' (Rapport et al 2008: 27) which can be packed up to accompany the traveller. Home is thus located within "…a routine set of practices, in a repetition of habitual social interactions, in styles of dress and address, in memories and myths, in stories carried around in one's head…" (Rapport et al 2003: 158). Home in this guise is conceived as "the untold story of a life being lived…" (Berger 1984: 64) of 'personal biographies and wrinkles in the skin' (Ahmed 1999: 343) which manifest through the "words, jokes, opinions, gestures, actions, even the way one wears a hat" (Berger 1984: 64).

In this manner it seems possible that lifestyle travellers can make a 'home' whilst being 'away', as well as when they on the move. Their corporeal travel offers an interesting lens to document such transient homes to see how they negotiate new influences with a more constant 'mobile habitat'. As expressed earlier, is such a habitat subject to greater changes alongside physical relocation, or is it important for travellers to maintain constancy in their habitat as everything else changes around them? Are they conscious of such 'emotional' or 'cultural baggage' (Bhucha 1996: 284) that they carry with them and does this help them cope with their transition? Or is it important for lifestyle travellers to maintain roots/routes outside of their selves, suggesting that 'home' must have a physical or 'out there' resonance which supersedes the body?

In discussing migration Said notes that "exiles cross boundaries (and) break barriers of thought and experience" (as quoted in Chambers 1994: 2) thereby interrogating the relationship between home, belonging and identity with the former only ever being provisional. Through likening lifestyle travellers to the migrant, home is argued as an impossibility (Ahmed 1999) given the uncertainty of origin and destination, where dwelling – to resonate with Rapport – is located in mutable language, histories and identities (Chambers 1994: 4). For Ahmed (1999) home is viewed as the journey, it is about transit, the getting somewhere rather than a space of inhabitance, which is argued as unreachable.

A physical omnipresent 'home' is therefore expelled for an internalised version (McCaig 1996) that travels with the traveller. In this view the world becomes the lifestyle traveller's home, a 'global abode' (Germann Molz 2008) by their rejection of belonging to any single place through their ability to see and move past national borders. Such an expansive view suggests that their movement is perceived as a privilege rather than a transgression of societal structures. Is essence for McCraig it is a conscious decision made by lifestyle travellers to choose movement rather than practice it as a rejection of conformity, or deviation from 'normality'. For him, lifestyle travellers have essentially chosen to recreate their own normality based on mobility rather than sedentarism, where the world is selected as their home. An exploration of lifestyle travellers will test such notions to see whether movement is intrinsically chosen rather than selected as an act of resistance. Perhaps it could be both? Furthermore, the thesis will explore whether the world is viewed as 'home' and always with the traveller, reinforcing rejection of dualistic notions of home and away.

2.6 Lifestyle travel: the context for examining mobility, place and identity

Before proceeding to examine lifestyle travel, the thesis will first compile the main questions posited throughout this chapter and ask these in relation to the phenomenon (see Figure 2.5). Questions are arranged within the corresponding chapters that they will be specifically answered within.

Figure 2.5: Theoretical questions

Chapter	Emerging questions from literature
Four:	**What fundamentally drives lifestyle travellers to keep travelling?**
Locating lifestyle travel	Is travel a compulsion or desire? – 'tourists or vagabonds'?
	Comparable to the 'cosmopolitan'?
	Do the 'routes' of lifestyle travel correspond to self-development?
	How and where do lifestyle travellers 'moor'?
	Why do travellers stay in place?
	Are periods of stasis important to drive mobility?
	Do lifestyle travellers 'reside' in liminal space or is travel a transitional phase?

	Are places meaningful when occupation is temporal?
Five: Mobilities of lifestyle travel	**What does mobility represent?** Freedom? Resistance? A right? Can these be embroiled?
	Is mobility instrumental or intrinsic? Can it be both?
	Is motility (one's capacity to move on) the most important 'mobility'?
	How much does movement configure to identity? Nomadic identities or is place significant?
	Does movement increase sensitivity to place?
	Can mobility be about place immersion: 'non-cosmopolitan claims'?
	How are 'traveller' identities mediated in non-travel situations?
	How is identity forged in a life 'on the move'?
	Can mobility and place operate interchangeably or are they mutually exclusive?
Six: Places of lifestyle travel	**How significant is place in highly mobile times?**
	How are places mobile?
	Are places 'measured' in relation to point of origin?
	What is home: when do lifestyle travellers feel at home?
	Is it possible to be both 'home and away'?
	Are they 'searching' for one place to call home?
	Is home internal? Is this subject to change or required to be consistent? What does this mean for identity?
	Do lifestyle travellers make a 'place' through forming communitas and internal structure? (Cosmopolitanism) Or through external (temporal) normalities? (existentialism'?: E. Cohen 1979)
Seven: Conclusion	**Is liminality applicable to lifestyle travel?**
	Is being an 'outsider' in foreign places comparable to being an outsider at 'home'?
	Liminal cycles or liminal trajectories demonstrated?
	Place / Mobility scale: the 'place' of mobility; searching for many places? Searching for one place?

To ask these questions, we must first unpack what lifestyle travel is. As outlined in the introduction, definitions on lifestyle travel have already been made. Instead, this

thesis asks individuals themselves to 'locate' their lifestyle, appreciating that they will often do this in relation to others. With this in mind, wider categorisations of tourist / traveller / backpacking are outlined. Indeed S. Cohen's foundational research on lifestyle travel (2009) provides an expansive account in describing such distinctions before narrowing the focus to lifestyle travel. It is beyond the scope of this geographical enquiry to replicate such an in-depth sociological examination. Instead the key works will be outlined before moving onto how lifestyle travellers distinguish their way of life by the patterns of mobility that they demonstrate.

2.6.1 Tourist / Traveller

Beginning to locate lifestyle travellers theoretically is highly problematic given the academic ambiguity surrounding the wider category of the tourist (McCabe 2005) and the increasingly segmented nature of the tourism market (Salazar 2004). Debates arise in considering whether the traveller should be considered an alternative form of tourism[12] (Eadington et al 1992) or whether the traveller is fundamentally different to the tourist (Boorstin 1964).

The latter is corroborated by many, with Richards (2001) viewing the 19th century traveller as adventurer and risk taker compared to the passive modern tourist in their comfortable 'bubble'. Rojek (1993) saw travel as a quest for self-realisation, and defined tourism as about recognising and confirming a view of the world rather than transforming it. A similar distinction is made by Galani-Moutafi (2000) where for the traveller it is the "journey rather than the destination that is important" (S. Cohen 2010c: 68) advocating an 'inward voyage' and transformative qualities which the mass tourist lacks (C. O'Reilly 2005). In essence, arguments which present a traveller/tourist dichotomy tend to portray travel as somehow superior to the tourist and based upon what the tourist is not (S. Cohen 2010c). This is seen by those wanting to experience local life styles (Maoz 2007), those seeking an 'authentic' experience (Welk et al 2004)

[12] Bruner dismissed the distinction between tourist and traveller as a 'western myth of identity' (1991: 247) as well as Fussell who believes that "we are all tourists now" (1980: 49). Others occupy a middle ground and have attempted to present travellers as a distinct type of tourist (see E. Cohen 1972) such as 'Youth Tourists' (Loker-Murphy et al 1995) 'non-institutionalised tourists'(Uriely et al 2002) and the budget or economy tourist (Elsrud 2001).

and those distancing themselves from the roles and associations of mass tourism (Dann 1999; Jacobsen 2000).

However, further complications arise with the concept of 'mass tourist' arguably becoming outdated as more people travel overseas and become "more sophisticated in their demands [and] more importantly, they have the confidence to travel independently" (Poon 1993: 21). "Homogenous group package tours" (Ibid. 21) are no longer the norm since "it is not in line with the trend toward individual expression" (Quest 1990: 137). Instead Poon describes a growing group of 'new tourists' as "consumers who are flexible, independent, and experienced travellers, whose values and lifestyle are different from those of the mass tourists" (1993: 114). They are spontaneous, adventurous and "want to be different from the crowd" (Quest 1990: 137) therefore more akin to the traveller.

This emphasises the difficulty in making definitions and questions where the 'new tourist' may lie on the tourist / traveller scale. In essence, the terms are becoming increasingly blurred in relation to proliferating travel styles demonstrated by individuals, exhibiting characteristics that can represent both tourist and traveller.

2.6.2 How to define tourist / traveller

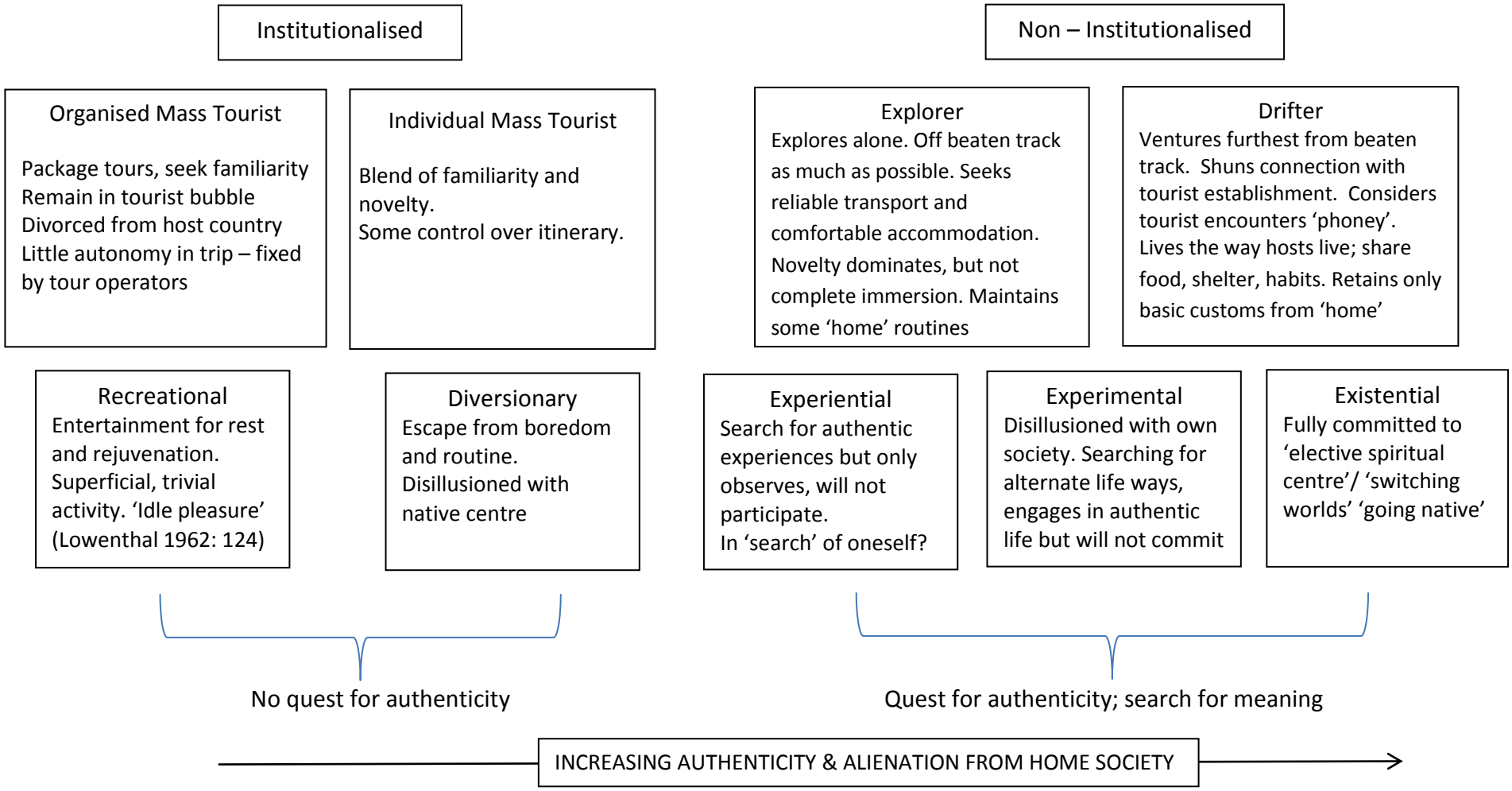
Further complications arise from the proliferating assortment of criteria used to define tourist and traveller. For example, Tourism New Zealand (2009) categorises the 'package traveller' and the 'independent traveller'[13] – disregarding the tourist – where the distinction is based on the amount of preparation made before the trip, with the former booking accommodation, flights and transport in contrast to the latter who 'like to make arrangements as they travel' (2009: 3). Hyde states that it is more telling to look at behaviours exhibited on the trip, with the independent traveller showing more flexibility in their plans compared to the package traveller who will have a little autonomy over their trip once booked (2003).

[13] Full and Semi-independent traveller distinguished. The former makes all travel arrangements after arrival and the latter makes at least one element of preparation before arrival.

For Gray (1970) distinction is made between motivations to travel. 'Wanderlust' describes the desire to seek out exciting and novel places and cultures, and 'sunlust' is the desire to stay in one location, primarily for rest. Alternatively Plog (1991) presents the 'psychocentric' traveller as seeking safety and the familiar compared to the 'allocentric' traveller seeking adventure and the exotic. Other tourist typologies make distinctions based on lifestyles (Lee et al 2007), personal values (Madrigal 1994; Pizam 1987; Thrane, 1997), motivations (Loker-Murphy 1996; Park et al 2009), novelty seeking (E. Cohen 1972; Weaver et al 2009), expenditure (Mok et al 2000) and benefits sought (Frochot 2005; Loker-Murphy et al 1992). Indeed we could outline hundreds of segmentation techniques which have been employed over the years, emphasising how homogenised groups can never encompass for all individuals, and that caution should be exercised when using discrete categorisation. Instead we must appreciate that "heterogeneity is manifest, whether viewed in terms of nationality, age, purpose, motivation, organization of trip, or life cycle standing" (Sørenson 2003: 848). All can be useful tools for exploration, but should never be seen in isolation, resonating with the aim of the thesis to blend conceptual distinctions.

Instead a fluid continuum may be better conceived which does not limit individuals to one distinct group, but allows them to variously re-locate along this scale at different points in their journey. Erik Cohen (1972) introduces four distinct tourist roles and later extended this classification into five groups (1979) (see Figure 2.6) which could form the bones of such a fluid scale. These are split between 'institutionalised' and 'non-institutionalised' tourism, with the former involving "almost complete elimination of individual responsibility" and the latter accepting responsibility as well as spontaneity, freedom and seeking novelty rather than familiarity.

Figure 2.6 Tourist Roles (E. Cohen 1979)



Despite the utility of these categorisations for organising groups, Erik Cohen acknowledges the "fuzzy nature of tourism as a concept" (2004b: 9) suggesting that experiences may be located variously along this continuum. In this manner, 'tourist' and 'traveller' – as discrete and stand-alone camps – are made redundant since people "easily shift between terms" (Maoz et al 2010: 435) thereby will re-position themselves along this scale at different times in their journey. For example, lifestyle travellers may exhibit characteristics from all of these groups, such as the ambivalence of the 'diversionary' type in seeking escape from roles and conventions, but also 'idle pleasure' (Lowenthal 1962: 124). They may sometimes pursue engagement with host communities, experiment with 'different lives' or 'go native', but at other times retreat to the 'beaten track' of familiarity. In essence, a sliding scale of positionality allows for fluidity in motivation and practice, thereby catering for heterogeneity within individual lives, as well as between lifestyle travellers (sees 1.4).

2.6.3 Backpacking

Such heterogeneity encourages us to pay closer attention to traveller subtypes and examine backpacking (Hyde et al 2003) which has received much academic attention of late (E. Cohen 1973; Desforges 1998; Hannam et al 2007, 2010; Loker-Murphy 1996; Murphy 2001; Riley 1988; Richards et al 2004; Sørenson 2003; Uriely et al 2002). However, such increased interest presents proliferating ideas about how to 'locate' this group. Nevertheless, backpackers are conceived as possibly the best known type of independent traveller (Sørenson 1999) on a "prolonged multiple-destination journey with a flexible itinerary" (Maoz 2007: 123) on a budget (O'Reilly 2006), and often trying to escape the tourist bubble (E. Cohen 1972). Welk (2004) introduces a 'five pillar' backpacker criterion consisting of: travelling on a low budget, meeting people, freedom and open mindedness, organising trips independently, "and to travel as long as possible" (as cited in Paris 2010: 45). This again emphasises the expansion of ideas about the backpacker as they are "increasingly diverse in motivation and demographics" (Jarvis et al 2010: 24) which Sørenson argues cannot be subsumed under one uniform category. Such an all-encompassing term "would be so broad as to

be devoid of significance" (Sørenson 2003: 848), with it being unlikely that individuals could ever 'match' to every single parameter throughout a trip[14].

Indeed literature advocates the non-homogenous, multifaceted nature of the backpacker 'group' (Nash 2001; Sørensen 2003) and how people relate to the term differently. For example, O'Reilly found that "'traveller' is the term preferred by most backpackers" (2005: 156; see also Desforges 1998). Richards (2004b) observed how younger participants are more likely to accept the label 'backpacker' in contrast to Davidson who discovered that this label was often received as an 'insult', given its association with "privileged gap-year students" (2005: 35).

Backpacking certainly does appear to be becoming synonymous with 'gap-years' as a prominent and popular feature of contemporary youth culture (Huxley 2003), with a large percentage of backpackers believed to be taking a year off between school and university (Huxley 2005). This emphasises the evolving associations made with such terms, that new ideas and practices frame our understandings and identifications with them. In this way, such labels can never be seen as fixed or shared by all, but subject to interpretation across time and space, much like the evolution of the 'new tourist' from mass tourism.

However for Sørenson, most individuals will "generally acknowledge that they are backpackers or at least (budget) travellers and even those who do not accept such label still relate or react to them" (2003: 848). This shows how 'backpacker' and 'budget traveller' are often used interchangeably (see Larsen et al 2008; Loker-Murphy et al 1995) and carry connotations that exceed merely disassociation from the 'tourist'. In essence, affiliation is made to the terms and ideals shared, perhaps in terms of identity, philosophy, values, motivations, styles or practices, where people can connect to at least some aspects conjured up by the image of the backpacker. Indeed Scott Cohen 'places' lifestyle travel this within the backpacker label to rival works which tend to institutionalise the backpacking

[14] For example, Riley 1988 posited that backpacking trips must equal a year or longer disqualifying most present day backpackers. By contrast Sørenson 2003 views trips to be between 2.5 and 18 months illustrating contrasting ideas.

phenomenon and "compartmentalise travellers as mainstream backpackers, resembling mass tourists" (2010c: 70). By promoting lifestyle travel as a subtype of backpacker, he seeks to reignite the notion of the 'drifter' as a contemporary backpacker, and emphasise the heterogeneity within this group rather than homogenise all travellers "under the broader rubic of the institutionalised backpacker" (Ibid. 70).

2.6.4 Lifestyle travel

As Scott Cohen (2011) suggests, it is useful to see lifestyle travel as a subtype of backpacking, albeit is fundamentally different to the gap year and transformatory styles outlined earlier which assume reintegration into a home society on completion. As lifestyle travel is extended into a way of life rather than being a temporal break from normality, it cannot be seen as a contemporary rite of passage, with reference of this made by Erik Cohen (1979) discussing 'eternal seekers'. Indeed, for Welk (2004) distinction was made on these grounds, whereby the backpacker only *becomes* a traveller once travel has developed into a way of life, adding to the mix of theories in this categorising task.

Given this notable distinction, lifestyle travel can only be considered a loose 'subset' of backpacking. Backpacking has arguably become 'more mainstream' – despite reservations about homogenising this group – suggested by the establishment of backpacker enclaves (Maoz 2006) and services that cater specifically to backpackers (Desforges 1998: 183; O'Reilly 2006: 1000). Indeed Erik Cohen emphasises how backpacking is just one particular manifestation of the 'drifter' ideal and introduces four different subtypes[15] to emphasise how very few succeed to the 'original' version. For Erik Cohen, backpacking requires less "competence, resourcefulness, endurance and fortitude" (2004a: 45) and tends to be more structured (S. Cohen 2010c) than 'drifting'.

[15] 1. Full time and Part time drifters. Full time comprising of outward orientated 'adventurers'; inward orientated 'itinerant hippie'.
Part time comprising outward orientated mass-drifter, often students who sticks to tourist establishments.
Inward orientated: associates with hippies but returns to ordinary life following trip.

But whilst backpacker activities have arguably become popularised, its users are arguably "more composite and multifaceted than ever" (Sørenson 2003: 848). Furthermore, it cannot be akin to mainstream tourism since backpackers will not exclusively shelter in the tourist bubble, but will seek authenticity and "real encounters with the inhabitants" (Maoz 2006: 234) crossing "physical and cultural barriers with ease in search for difference" (Richards et al 2004: 5).

Again as suggested previously, a fluid scale may be appropriate to locate lifestyle travellers "along a continuum of ideologies of its own" (S. Cohen 2010c: 78). Typologies will always leave "…many kinds of tourists outside its scope (as) each individual trip does not always reflect the innermost needs and aspirations of people…" (Wearing et al 2010: 25) with Uriely (2002) noting how other factors and circumstances – such as financial constraints – will have an impact on the way that travel is structured and played out. In this manner, travel is "not necessarily related to exclusive dispositions and moods" (Urry 2002: 521) of individuals, and "one's purpose as a traveller [will vary] from one locale to another" (Riley 1988: 323). This was demonstrated by Uriely et al (2002), finding that many repeat backpackers switch from an initial recreational position to an experimental type across successive trips. People may also move in and out of typologies throughout the course of a trip, therefore cannot be contained in one discrete category but locate themselves variously along a continuum "dependent on their lived experiences" (Wearing et al 2010: 25) and shift in relation to these. In this way a more "sophisticated utilisation of Erik Cohen's tourist types" (Wearing 2010: 25) is required which consider practices and experiences of individuals than "qualities attributed to individuals" (Ibid: 25). It is useful for typologies to be employed for analytical purposes, and to make meaningful distinctions between 'groups', yet we must examine individuals' understandings and what they say about themselves (S. Cohen 2010c) to allow for subjective self-location rather than

imposed categorisation. As Maoz et al (2010) reiterate, it is imperative to listen to how tourists describe themselves when (de)constructing social categories.

2.6.5 Locating the lifestyle travellers: Form and Type Attributes

Uriely follows such advice by expanding Erik Cohen's phenomenological typologies to provide a more "sensitive and systematic tool for classifying tourists" (Uriely 2008: 108). Such a tool pays respect to the varying meanings and motivations of the travel encounter, to stress diversity and 'pluralizing conceptionalizations' rather than homogeneity (Uriely 2005). For Uriely et al, it is imperative to consider both the 'form-related attributes' – as "the institutional arrangements and practices by which tourists organize their journey" (2002: 521) – as well as the 'type-related attributes' being the "less tangible psychological" features (Ibid. 521). Uriely (2008) notes how these 'form' and 'type' attributes are often used indistinguishably in literature (see Loker-Murphy 1996; Loker-Murphy et al 1995; Riley 1988[16]) whereas he differentiates between the two. This is in order to unpack how much the form (i.e. length of trip, flexibility of itinerary, accommodation and destinations visited) is related to the type (i.e. attitudes towards a home society, motivations to travel and meanings ascribed to the experience). For Uriely, it is imperative for 'form' and 'type' attributes to be considered separately in order to avoid the assumption that all tourists who demonstrate similar behaviours will also "share the same motivations and meanings" (Uriely et al 2002: 535).

Uriely's analysis of type attributes involves a revision of Erik Cohen's five-fold typology (see Figure 2.6), to include an additional mode, ranging from pleasure seeking to the search for meaningful experiences. Erik Cohen's modes are based on the different worldviews people have predicated by their "relationship with the 'centre' of their own societies and the centre of 'other' societies" (1979, cited by Wearing et al 2008:

[16] Riley 1988 considered backpacking a 'form' of tourism, grouping all under a non-institutionalised categorisation despite those who demonstrated similarity to mass tourism in their hedonistic goals. Whilst she discussed 'type' attributes such as motivations, she failed to distinguish backpackers on these grounds and essentially avoided unpacking heterogeneity of this sub culture.

24) and range from the 'recreational' to the 'existential' (see Figure 2.5). Authenticity and alienation from a home society are additional components of this scale, and sought by increasing degrees.

Besides fluidity between groups (see 2.6.2) there are several problems with such conceptions. The first is addressed by Uriely in positing that alienation need not occur from a home society in lieu of an alternative life, especially when acknowledging that multiple homes may be forged (see 2.4.5). To compensate for this, Uriely (2008) posits a sixth mode, the humanistic mode (see Figure 2.7) which encompasses for more than one spiritual centre, where those can occupy the experiential, experimental and existential without being alienated from home. They retain meaning from their routine lives, yet still search for profound experiences when travelling.

Figure 2.7 Uriely's revision of tourist experiences

		Travel Motivations	
		Mere Pleasure	**Profound Experiences**
Attitudes Toward Daily Life	**Alienated**	*Diversionary*	Experiential Experimental Existential
	Meaningful	Recreational	(Humanists) (Dualists/Pluralists)

A second critique is the assumption that theoretical concepts can adequately cover the complexity of actual lived practice. Indeed Uriely (2008) notes in his study on Israeli backpackers that some did not comply with any form or type attribute. Similarly, trying to 'place' lifestyle travellers within this continuum will be problematic. Instead, examining motivations seeks to allow 'complexities' to surface, demonstrating how empirical data should inform theory rather than attempt to 'fit' individuals into academic concepts (see 1.4).

Placement of actual lived practice is problematic on several accounts. First, the applicability of the modes to lifestyle travel is questionable as they assume that those

'alienated' from a 'home' society are searching for self-realisation and an alternative place to belong. In essence, it infers that the primary objective of lifestyle travel is to seek meaning from 'Other' centres, which may not be true for all. Furthermore, this 'quest' supposes that there will be an end point to travel, whereby lifestyle travellers will cease their exploration once their objective is realised. However, this does not seem intuitive, especially if travel itself is the appeal of this lifestyle rather than as a by-product of self-discovery or belonging (Welk 2004; see also Desforges 1998; Galani-Mouta 2000; C. O'Reilly 2005 for transformative travel / travel as an internal voyage).

Secondly, it suggests that a return to the place of origin will be made – even by existential types – raising doubts on its relevance since lifestyle travellers may never return home. It further presents a dualistic relationship between being at 'home' and being 'away' which has been discussed previously as too simplistic (see 2.5).

Despite these reservations, the continuum can help us to explore attitudes and motivations of lifestyle travel by providing a template on how to conceptionalise the group and others in relation to it. As Uriely suggests, the 'forms' Erik Cohen (1979) considers are simply institutionalised versus non-institutionalised which are far too encompassing to allow for heterogeneity, and creates confusion in teasing out subtypes. For example, backpackers (as a broad term) can fall within both groups given the different ways that individuals use backpacking, ranging from recreation to self-discovery (see Riley 1988). Examining lifestyle travellers as a very specific non-institutionalised subtype of backpacking can help emphasise heterogeneity and provide a more accurate distinction between practices and motivations. Examining the relationship between trip characteristics and the attitudes of lifestyle travellers can examine the intricacies within non-institutionalised tourism to provide a better insight into this group.

An exploration of the many 'versions' of lifestyle travel will further introduce multiple manifestations of this non-institutionalised practice, for instance those who continually travel compared to those who puncture trips with living in place. In this manner we can unpack how different meanings are derived from different experiences

as well as how different motivations result in different travel styles. As a result, the thesis commits to 'pluralizing' (Uriely 2005) lifestyle travel rather than generalising it.

2.6.6 Multiple positionings

As we have examined, categorisation is complicated by tourists changing 'groups' at various times in their travels, i.e. from recreational to experimental (Uriely 2002) as well as occupying more than one 'spiritual centre' (Uriely 2008). To complicate this further, lifestyle travellers may adopt multiple positions within tourist groups, combined with those which transcend tourist roles altogether. This acknowledges the overlapping nature of identity formation where components of many tourist types may be employed and hybridized into new forms of (indefinite) travel. Lifestyle travellers may also marry these with elements outside of the tourist remit. They may amalgamate many positions, such as employee or volunteer over the course of their journey, emphasising fluidity and entanglement between categories (S. Cohen 2011). Such on-going entanglement through on-going travel may generate pronounced self-relocation by lifestyle travellers, in order to adapt to the many environments that they are exposed to. In this way, they may embody intensified hybrid identities which encompass the myriad of roles that are utilised, fostered and played out within their journey.

2.6.7 Work in the Tourist Encounter

In this manner this thesis will explore the meanings ascribed to such 'un-tourist'[17] like practices within lifestyle travel, drawing from research that has viewed work and leisure as embroiled (see 2.2.5). We seek to unpack the dynamics of when such roles, like employee, are practiced within 'out of place' and typically leisure based environments. Furthermore, it explores whether different personas are adopted to cope with such transgression and to order experiences? Or whether it is possible for lifestyle travellers to mediate identifications easily within the work / travel encounter?

[17] Not to be confused with Corrigan's (1997) 'untourist' as those on an environmental mission in reaction to the problem of mass tourism (see also Fürsich et al 2001). This thesis uses 'un-tourist' to emphasise practices not commonly associated within leisure travel.

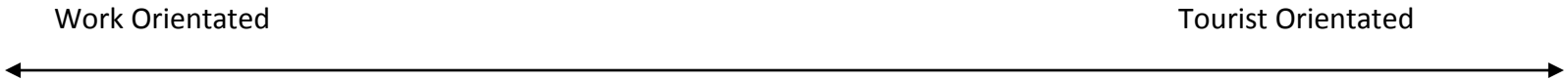
Indeed there has been academic debate as to whether it is possible to remain a tourist whilst engaging in employment, or whether the two actions are mutually exclusive (see 2.2.5). Traditionally tourism, as a leisure activity, has been viewed in contrast to work with Graburn proposing that "our conception of tourism is that it is not work" (1989: 22). Urry (2002) further defines tourism as being based on the difference between the ordinary/work and the extraordinary/leisure, while Mathieson and Wall (1982: 1) define tourism as "the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence". One of Loker's (1991) defining characteristics of backpackers is that they must be travelling primarily for holiday rather than work or education. For Jenkins however, this 'sits uncomfortably' since backpacking trips can be 'multi-purpose' and often include work or study (2003: 310). This relates to binaries discussed between home and away (see 2.5), and work and play (see 2.2.5) where elements of both can be found in the other, disrupting strict 'modernist' divisions (MacCannell 1989; Frow 1991).

As discussed previously (2.2.5) distinctions which allocated certain practices to certain spaces have been eliminated in accordance with a post-modern cultural paradigm (see Harvey 1990; Lash 1990; Lash et al 1994). For Jenkins, the backpacker, the migrant or child workers can embody the 'post-modern lifestyle', characterised by "…constant movement and change in the environment of the individual with episodes of work, travel and learning frequently interspersing" (2003: 310). In essence these individuals exemplify the fluidity and flux of post-modernity, showing how life cannot be contained in discrete categories, such as "'tourist', 'migrant', 'seasonal worker' or 'resident'" (Allon et al 2008: 76) but transcend such dualistic divisions (Bianchi 2000). Life threads through many of these intersections (Ingold 2008: 1808) or on the peripheries, leaking and penetrating "surfaces that form temporarily around them" (Ingold 2010b: 4) into hybrid creations. In essence, lifestyle travellers may bleed, amalgamate and fuse roles as they go rather than suspend identifications at the arrival of another.

In order to 'map' such fusion and provide meaningful analysis, continuums are again suggested to show the relationship rather than paradox between work and leisure, to

emphasise mobility in the categorisation process. Continuums suggested include pure work through to pure leisure (see Jackson 1989; Stebbins 2007) and 'work orientated' to 'tourist orientated' (Uriely 2001). Uriely outlines the 'travelling professional worker; 'migrant tourism workers' the 'non-institutionalised working tourist' and 'working holiday tourist', as presented below.

Figure 2.8 Types of 'travelling workers' and 'working tourists' (Uriely 2001)



	Travelling Workers		**Working Tourist**	
Comparative Features	**Travelling Professional Worker**	**Migrant Tourism Workers**	**Non-institutionalised working tourist**	**Working Holiday tourist**
Motivations	Travel for work. Recreation by-product	Travel to make a living and have fun	To finance a prolonged trip	Work recreational. Part of tourist experience.
Work attributes	Professional, business related, well paid	Semi-skilled work often in tourist industry. Repetitive seasonal employment	Unskilled. Unpleasant Low paid. Occasional	Unskilled but recreational. Manual
Demographic	Middle or upper class adults	Working class, single and unemployed at home	Middle class young adults	Middle class young adults

Whilst continuums present a methodical way to organise and distinguish subtypes, evident categorisation of individuals is still occurring, notably by Uriely's use of class distinction and employment type. This can be erroneous since it is doubtful whether a class system can even apply to those operating outside of traditional society. Furthermore, lifestyle travellers may show to occupy different forms of employment at different times of their journey. For example they may use previous skill sets to acquire 'well-paid' work when they can, but also engage in low skilled labour when required. They may start off as seasonal workers within the 'migrant tourism' type and switch to a 'non-institutionalised' type, similarly to Uriely's recreational to experimental backpackers (2002).

Moreover, meanings ascribed to work situations will "…vary across different events" (Uriely 2001: 7) whereby one experience of employment, such as fruit picking, may be perceived differently to fruit picking elsewhere, advocating differentiation within groups rather than simply between them (Uriely 2001). This leads to another of Uriely's own critiques; that it is imperative to examine "which types of work may be incorporated in the working holiday experience" (2001: 7). Similarly we must consider the different work roles undertaken by lifestyle travellers. Are some jobs avoided which may compromise their status and ability to travel, or is employment as varied as the individuals that practice it? Does an overarching commitment to travel mean that any kind of employment over any duration is considered; or do they generally show a preference for short term, occasional and 'unskilled' work?

A further critique is the neglect of those untied to place in practicing their work. 'Mobile employment' through a "professional involvement with the internet" (Mascheroni 2007: 531) is becoming increasingly viable with the proliferation of wireless computing (Wellman et al 2002) and occupations that require only an internet connection, such as journalism or web development (Mascheroni 2007). Such methods free travellers from requiring traditional stops or 'brief forays' (Riley 1988: 320) which facilitates indefinite travel and the move towards 'professional backpacking' or 'global nomadism' (Mascheroni 2007: 531). This proposes an additional group that Uriely has not conceived of: the mobile working tourist (see

Tseane 2009; Wilson et al 2008). Again this group could vary in composition where recreation may be a 'by-product', or conversely may be the incentive to select mobile employment.

In essence, examining lifestyle travel may show how individuals weave through categories at certain times and out of them when they are not working. Furthermore, they may occupy the peripheries of categories, or create new hybrid groups which encompass elements of many, emphasising how life cannot be "contained in things" but is movement itself (Bergson 1911 cited in Ingold 2011: 13). In essence, the thesis will demonstrate how work is perceived and practiced differently among individuals. It will investigate the various roles lifestyle travellers take on and in what circumstances to help us understand the meanings that they etch to these experiences and what this means for identity. As Uriely (2005) himself argues, the types of work incorporated into the travel encounter demand further investigation.

2.7 Locating lifestyle travel

To draw these ideas together, the thesis will use Uriely et al's (2002) 'form' and 'type' attributes as a systematic approach to investigate lifestyle travellers, to methodically examine how their travels are structured, and how their different practices are related to attitudes and motivations. Rather than follow previous categorisation tasks which seek to construct rigid groupings, we use this method as a way to unpack the phenomenon and emphasise multiplicity across individuals. This is encouraged by Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' – encompassing Uriely's attributes – which will play a significant role in organising empirical data. Cresswell's 'constellations' serve as a valuable tool for this task as expressly maintains a mobile agenda in focusing on aspects of mobility (with mobility as a central theme of research), as well as being a way to ensure fluidity rather the categorisation of people.

2.7.1 Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility'

Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' explores 'the fragile senses of movement, meaning and practice' (Cresswell 2010: 17) to view mobility as comprised of interconnected elements (Ibid 19). Following from Benjamin (1999), 'constellations'

are intelligible yet transient compositions of points (Gilloch 2002), which evolve over time. For Cresswell it is important to unpack such elements, although acknowledge their fused nature to appreciate the dynamic nature of mobility. To do so, Cresswell outlines "six facets of mobility that can serve to differentiate people and things into hierarchies of mobility" (2010: 27). These include motive force, velocity, rhythm, route, experience, and friction (Ibid. 17). By exploring these composite and interconnected elements can help understand lifestyle travellers' mobility and appreciate this as a fluid practice.

2.7.2 Six 'aspects' of Mobility (Cresswell 2010)

The first 'aspect' is motive force, which examines why people move, corresponding as a 'type attribute' (Uriely et al 2002). Specific motives for travel have been a longstanding topic of interest in tourism studies (see Dann 1981; Hsu 2008; Loker-Murphy 1996; Park et al 2009; Pearce et al 2005; Richards et al 2003) with some outlined earlier (e.g. Gray 1970; White et al 2004). For Cresswell, an important component of this lies in whether individuals feel compelled to move or if they choose to move. As addressed earlier, Bauman examines these contrasting forces, with the 'tourist' being able to choose their destination at their 'heart's desire' compared to the vagabond being 'thrown from the site', unwelcomed due to their limited resources and participation in consumer societies (1998: 87). In essence, "the tourists travel because they want to; the vagabonds because they have no other bearable choice" (Bauman 1998: 93).

This calls for an examination specifically into motivations for lifestyle travel, with little explanation so far – besides S. Cohen's contributions (2009) – as to "…why people might want to turn their experiences from tourism into a way of life" (Benson et al 2009: 614). Cresswell draws our attention to explore how lifestyle travellers may both want and feel compelled to travel. This could depend on where they are, their current aspirations, as well as if they integrate and become accepted by a society. Essentially the thesis explores whether lifestyle travellers alternate between 'tourist' and 'vagabond'. It explores whether they ever feel 'wanted' in a community and if this dependent on being an active consumer as Bauman suggests. The thesis further

considers how they may variously shift along the tourist / vagabond continuum, and if being a vagabond can be more akin to feeling at home 'on the road' rather than from feeling pushed from a place.

The second aspect considers velocity. This can be regarded as a 'form' attribute in considering how fast an individual moves. For lifestyle travellers, this could examine how quickly they travel and their mode of transport. In this manner the thesis explores whether slow means (i.e. hitch hiking / walking) or high speed transportation (i.e. planes and trains) is utilised by lifestyle travellers, thereby comparable to Ingold's 'wayfarer' engaging with places, or the 'transported traveller' in journeying between places. The thesis further considers how quickly lifestyle travellers 'move on' and whether they prefer being in transit to being in place. This relates to considering the meaning of their movements and whether it is the act of motion that they enjoy and being on the road indefinitely, or if travel is about pausing and absorbing new places? Is prolonged rapid travel even sustainable? Furthermore the thesis explores the speed lifestyle travellers operate within places; do they prefer high paced 'consumption' of place, or do they like to tune into the everyday practices and routines of local life, perhaps demanding a slower speed to tap into these?

The third aspect relates to velocity in examining the rhythm which a person moves and the "components of repeated moments of movement and rest" (Cresswell 2010: 23). This will examine the mobilities and moorings of lifestyle travel to present an overall pattern of how these play out over the course of their lifetime. Do they have frequent periods on the move, for example taking trips every few months interspersed with work to sustain this? Or is movement less frequent, perhaps demonstrated by a regular travel pattern, such as six months travelling and six months working at a time. Do lifestyle travellers often stop to immerse in a place? Or do they demonstrate elongated stretches 'on the road' with high paced relocation across places? Perhaps regular rhythms are not demonstrated at all, and they exercise mobility and immobility at various times depending on circumstance. As suggested, a break-down of duration and frequency of travel will help unpack this, as well as the pace at which lifestyle travellers move *within* places. Pace of place will further be examined from this to

emphasise the mobilities operating within places; that movement is not restricted to the corporeally moving.

The fourth 'form' aspect considers the 'route' of mobility. The thesis explores where lifestyle travellers go, what influences their move in one direction and not another, and their preference for some places and not others. The types of places that appeal to travellers have been investigated by some (Desforges 1998; Richards et al 2003), although closer inspection to the routes that lifestyle travellers forge – rather than the isolated places that they visit – is required. Do they forge routes based on geographical proximity, travelling from one country to the next with little planning involved in their movements? Or are they more prescriptive about where they go, perhaps attracted by employment or favourable weather? Is the route even important to them, or is the act of being *on* any route the attraction?

The fifth aspect – as a 'type' attribute – considers how movement feels, recognising that human mobility, like place, "surely has the notion of experience at its centre" (Cresswell 2010: 25). Cresswell compares the experience of first class to economy air travel to illustrate this, outlining how the experience of good food, more space and better facilities in the former is considerably different to the "cramped and uncomfortable conditions of travelling 'cattle class'" (Adey 2004) of the latter. Ingold further discusses the experience of walking and how this was once considered 'drudgery', "endured for the sole purpose of reaching a destination" (2004: 321). In this sense, movement was a necessary chore in the pursuit of exploration and discovery. However, movement in lifestyle travel cannot be seen as unworthy of investigation since it is at the core of the practice. Neither can it be considered a simple by-product, with mobility perhaps being specifically why individuals engage in the activity. How they feel in transit between places as well as within them will be explored, to emphasise mobility as omnipresent rather than finite, as well as to understand the feelings attributed to being in motion. Perhaps lifestyle travellers feel most at home 'on the road' and more in tune with motion than being at rest.

The sixth aspect as a 'form' attribute examines "when and how mobility stops… what kind of friction does the mobility experience?" (Creswell 2010: 26). This aligns with velocity and rhythm of mobility outlined above, considering the relative pauses that are experienced. Do lifestyle travellers choose to halt their corporeal movements perhaps to absorb place, or is this often enforced by a lack of funds or exhaustion from a life on the road, perhaps necessitating trips home? Such questions illustrate how this must be considered alongside mobility, that we cannot separate pauses from the movements that give them meaning.

The thesis also explores employment as a kind of friction, as a necessary pause in one's travels whilst having to work in place. How lifestyle travellers cope with being at rest in this way will be examined, as well as how this friction may bestow subsequent movements with value. Perhaps individuals only appreciate their freedom to move when they are at rest, that a sense of adventure or novelty is only acquired in relation to being immobile. Perhaps time out from travelling is a way to keep it new and fresh, to avoid travel becoming routine and normalised. In essence, mobility may only be appreciated when compared to an immobile position, alluding to the importance of considering mobilities and moorings together.

Blending Uriely and Cresswell's contrasting but complementary ways to differentiate people is intended to allow numerous 'versions' of lifestyle travel to surface. Furthermore, these tools help unpack the various meanings that lifestyle travellers etch to their activities and practices over time. Whether movement is the desired goal of travel or if place is of central significance are the key questions that this thesis seeks to answer. Such questions will be answered by systematically unpacking the aspects of mobility that Cresswell outlines, to build a fluid picture of the 'constellations' of activity that lifestyle travellers' 'demonstrate.

2.8 Conclusion

As we have seen in this chapter, mobility is the underlying theme of research which draws attention to the numerous ways that lifestyle travels can be mobile – corporeally, virtually, developmentally and within place – as well as the significance of

such motion. It has outlined the importance of considering mobilities *and* moorings together, appreciating these as embroiled and mutually enabling, and has critiqued place as a relative immobility. Drawing on fluid conceptions of place, the chapter has attempted to demonstrate how 'mobility is everywhere' (Adey 2006) and it is the task of this research to further such understandings, to identify the mobilities present *in* place, as well as the moorings which facilitate these.

The chapter further presented various ideas about what mobility may mean for lifestyle travellers in terms of resistance, right and freedom. This further drew attention to how travel is structured; whether lifestyle travellers present an inverse version of liminality through 'gapping back' into normality, as well as questioning if 'neo-tribes' are formed to promote belonging. In essence, the research seeks to understand if mobility promotes individualism and autonomy, or if it is about finding a 'place' to fit in.

The significance of mobility to identity expands from this. Appreciating identity as a 'freely chosen game' (Bauman 1996) questions how lifestyle travellers forge a sense of self when operating outside officialdom (Beck 2000). Literature posits that identity is often achieved in relation to difference. The thesis builds on this premise to explore the various kinds of difference that lifestyle travellers may immerse in, or whether it is important for them to seek out similarity, such as in backpacker enclaves. We question whether place provokes self relocation in light of the notion of hybrid identities, as compilations of absorbed elements which are drawn upon when required. By mapping the 'route' of identity transition, we seek to understand if place is still significant to lifestyle travellers, or if such elements are accrued from other facets, such as relationships with people, or founded on mobility. In essence, lifestyle travellers as an embodiment of 'nomadic subjects' (Braidotti 1998) or 'postmodern personas' (Shields 1992a) serve to explore identity as compiled from on-going routes (rather than rooted in past places and roles), and how the role of place configures in such processes.

Investigating the connection between place and identity is of central importance to this thesis, to tackle whether claims of co-constituence are still relevant when places are arguably becoming more homogenised. We aim to unpack if lifestyle travellers seek 'thick' places (Casey 2001a), if they collect 'many places' (Beck 2000) or if it is merely the 'place' of mobility (Cresswell 1997) that is central to their lives. Of course the very notion of 'place' is problematized by literature on 'home' which dismantles static conceptions to suggest that one can be both at home and away, that home is not always a 'friend' but can also be a stranger (Ahmed 1999), as well as the idea of multiple homes (Heller 1995), home as being relationships with others (White et al 2007) and home as a 'mobile habitat' (Rapport et al 1998: 27). In essence, this presents questions on what lifestyle travellers conceive of as 'home' – is this still a retainable concept when they are constantly 'on the move', or can it represent different things at different times? Such answers are intended to develop contemporary notions of place, which can still be meaningful to highly mobile beings.

The last section of the literature review attempted to 'locate' lifestyle travellers in relation to tourist and traveller groups. Emphasising the difficulty of such a task given the heterogeneity manifesting within all segments of travel gives rise to finding a new fluid way to allow individuals to self-define and convey their lifestyle. In this manner, the chapter drew on mobility as a way to break down and unpack behaviours and attitudes exhibited by lifestyle travellers, appreciating that Uriely's 'form' and 'type' attributes alongside Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' is just one way of analysing this group. We attempt to avoid classifying or categorising people by allowing participants to speak in their own words, and harness numerous methods in the generation of data to provide different outlays for conveying experiences. It is such methods that we now turn to in the following chapter, to outline how the research was undertaken.

Chapter Three

"I never thought of it that way, but you're right…"

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

As we have seen, lifestyle travel is a unique and under explored subgroup within the broader category of backpacking. In order to explore lifestyle travel, extended fieldwork was undertaken over two years informed by Uriely's 'form' and 'type' attributes of backpackers (2002) in conjunction with Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010). In this way, this thesis seeks to provide a systematic approach which can be applied to help locate this phenomenon.

In order to do this and subsequently inform the research aims (see 1.4) a unique methodological approach was taken. This chapter first outlines the philosophy informing research by examining the types of questions the thesis asks. This considers a relativist ontology and constructionist epistemology, although fundamentally emphasises fluidity in the philosophical approach. It continues to examine the key methods of insider research, ethnography, interviewing and computer mediated communications before the application of a mobile methodology.

3.2 Philosophical Framework

The types of questions the thesis asks seek to unpack subjective accounts about lifestyle travel, to make sense of or interpret actions (Denzin et al 2003) rather than assume that there are 'objective truths' to uncover (Crotty 1998). As well as examining measurable attributes (e.g. velocity / rhythm of mobility, see 2.7.2) we are primarily interested in the thoughts and feelings of lifestyle travellers, to grasp their relation to life and vision of the world (O'Reilly 2005: 49), to interpret the contrasting meanings

that are generated through travel. The generation of such 'multiple realities' locates research within a relativist ontology (Denzin et al 2005).

From this perspective the researcher is viewed not as neutral observer, but as a component of the evidence through being a co-producer of knowledge where data is socially constructed (Charmaz et al 2010). Questions such as the significance of place to identity and what mobility represents to the lifestyle traveller do not infer a pre-existing hypothesis to test, but instead propose that theory will be generated during the research process. In light of this, a grounded approach is adopted where theory is 'discovered' from data (Glaser et al 1967: 1). Such positions locate research within an 'interpretative constructionist epistemology' (Denzin et al 2005). However, the application of a grounded approach within other interpretive epistemologies – such as hermeneutics and phenomenology – emphasise the fluidity of qualitative knowledge; that it cannot always be located within discrete and isolated disciplinary boundaries.

3.2.1 Evolving Positionalities

Such fluidity in terms of philosophical approach resonates with the positionality of the researcher in this study. My "…orientation to and involvement in the lived world" (Palmer et al 2010: 107) changed over time, influencing belief systems during fieldwork. For example, an ethnographic position was initially taken where arising empirical data formed the object of enquiry (O'Reilly 2005) with unfolding observations and exposure to lifestyle travel shaping the research. A more structured agenda was subsequently taken, where a grounded approach served to organise and streamline fieldwork and move ethnography towards theoretical interpretation (Charmaz et al 2001). Here research aims could be developed, reworked and modified through reflecting on 'native' beginnings (see 3.4.4) and emerging themes. Finally, an interviewer position was undertaken where a more refined and focused research approach was adopted, facilitated by the full description of ethnography, alongside a grounded approach to sharpen its 'analytical edge' (Charmaz 2001: 161). Of course

these positions were oscillated between during fieldwork, with personal journals promoting a continual process of self-reflection (Dummer et al 2008) and revision of the research agenda in relation to the shifting vantage points of the researcher.

The types of questions asked were designed to allow participants to speak in their own words, to allow the 'subaltern' – as those operating outside of hegemony – 'to speak' (Spivak 1988) to uncover inside perceptions of lifestyle travel. By engaging initially with them as a traveller and identifying with this practice (see 3.3.1) the role of 'native informant' (Spivak 1999) was fostered prior to becoming an 'inside researcher' (Brannick et al 2007), with ethnography employed as a tool to allow voices to be heard before forging a research agenda. Ethnography in this respect was bottom up (Agar 2006) and allowed travellers to discuss what was important to them, whilst the researcher could observe their practices and participate in their lives prior to interviewing. This emphasises the fluidity rather than the rigidity of positionality; that it is problematic to pigeon hole the researcher (given their evolving roles), as well as those they seek to represent.

3.2.2 Paradigms of Research: Post modernism and Post structuralism

Fluidity in philosophical approach and researcher positionality resonates with postmodern sentiment, stressing a subjective enterprise characterised by "…diversity rather than unity, difference rather than synthesis, complexity rather than simplification… as truth gives way to tentativeness" (Rosenau 1992: 8). This is expressed particularly in regard to fluid and relational notions of place (Chambers 1994; Massey 2001; 1993) and identity (see Bauman 1996; Lyotard 1984; Maffesoli 1988; 1996; Sheilds 1992). In this way, postmodernism supports the view that the researcher can occupy multiple positions throughout the research process, or form hybrid identities, where "there is little or no distinction between the roles" adopted in the field (Brannick 2007: 71). This reiterates identity as an on-going and collaborative process rather than an achievable end that can be categorised. Such a view suitably

aligns with the researcher's changing position and advocates the merits of a mobile perspective.

Postmodernism further requires researchers to be as "close as possible to their research sites" (Brannick 2007: 71) defending the researcher's introduction to the field, as well as appreciating how they "…are participants in creation of the data" (Tierney 2003: 304). This usefully reminds researchers to be critical of the effect they have on the production and interpretation of data, and encourages reflexivity in the process. The research further affiliates with a postmodern agenda through a focus on the meanings ascribed to a phenomenon, as well directing attention to "…the marginal, the peripheral, the excluded" (Rosenau 1992: 8) all of which "the modern age has never cared to understand in any particular detail…" (Nelson 1987: 217). An exploration of lifestyle travel aptly follows this pursuit since it operates somewhat outside the confines of society, as an unconventional and under explored activity.

Cleanly separating postmodernism and post-structuralism is problematic (Agger 1991) with the two often used interchangeably, with some considering post-structuralism as a variant of postmodernism (Best et al 1991). As 'mutually informing' (Aitchison 2003: 31) perspectives, tendencies towards post-structuralism in the research are detected. For Rosenau, postmodernists are concerned with 'cultural critique' whereas post-structuralists focus on 'method and epistemological matters'. Furthermore, post-structrualists "…concentrate on deconstruction, language, discourse, meaning and symbols while post-modernists cast a broader net" (1992: 3). In this manner, whilst postmodern notions of identity are outlined, the thesis also falls within the remit of post-structualism through advocating the continual deconstruction/reconstruction of identity; conceived as pluralised, fractured and layered (Hetherington 1998b). By stressing the agency of the individual over predetermined societal structures, the lifestyle traveller could be conceived as an explicitly post-structural being given their exit from residing in society and its associated norms, to instead exercise a self-referencing system (Koch 2007).

3.3 Methods: Unstructured data collection

From outlining the general theoretical paradigms and perspectives used, as well as how research was approached from evolving positions, we now look at the methods of data collection. This describes how research was conducted, with this section focusing on unstructured methods of insider research and ethnography. The following section (3.4) examines interviews as a planned method of data collection.

3.3.1 Insider research

Insider research is undertaken by those who are already members of the group they are researching (Davies 2010). This was seen in this study where the researcher discovered and participated in lifestyle travel before it became the focus of research (see 3.4.4). Had the researcher not come across the activity in their own travels, this thesis may not exist, showing how an inductive strategy has been fundamental to the research.

Immersion in the practice prior to research gave the researcher access and first hand understanding of the lifestyle. This came about from changes within the researchers' own travels, where the original plan of a 'gap year' was extended to over 18 months. From initially planning a year abroad between MSc and PhD research, the researcher discovered a much slower pace of travel, preferring to venture away from typical backpacker routes, to engage with local communities and undertake employment, thereby elongating the gap year which, at the time, had no foreseeable end. In essence the researcher was practicing their own kind of lifestyle travel, disregarding any discernible itinerary, sacrificing pre-booked flights to immerse in places for longer periods and visit countries which had not previously been planned for. At this time the prospect of returning to the UK was very much questioned.

Preconceptions about alternative lifestyles were also challenged during this time when a foot injury meant that travels were suspended temporarily whilst the researcher recuperated in Vientiane, Laos for over a week. During this inactivity, time was spent

outside a local guesthouse which became a 'hub' for travellers to congregate and where the researcher met several lifestyle travellers who became friends over this time. Such individuals unravelled the researcher's preconceptions about those undertaking a travelling lifestyle as participants were educated, well presented, had a sense of purpose, were focused and seemed 'normal', rather than the envisaged directionless hippie or wanderer types. In essence, this made lifestyle travel somehow more real, and a more viable and permissible way to live, unearthing a different understanding of the phenomenon by engaging with people practicing it. By identifying and forging affiliations with people that would later be the focus of enquiry, the researcher could be considered 'native' (Brannick et al 2006) through experiencing the daily occurrences, practices and compromises that a life on the road entailed, before it was critically explored.

Insider research further meant contacts were established prior to research. Friendships were formed with six participants whilst travelling who were later revisited for interviewing. In this manner, rapport was forged and knowledge about the practice acquired before interviewing, facilitating more targeted, in-depth and meaningful questions to be asked based on researcher insights and understandings (O'Reilly 2005).

Such preliminary exposure – serving as a kind of unstructured and 'off the record' ethnographic interview – is considered by Stebbins as the "most effective way to explore the values, attitudes and orientations used to explain and justify lifestyles" (1997: 358). Extended 'lived' time spent with such individuals in those months exploring, chatting, eating, drinking, being on the road and experiencing places provided the researcher with access to this life world. They could understand the feelings and motives of these individuals, as well as see the phenomenon through their own eyes and live their own version of lifestyle travel.

Whilst this demonstrates the utility of being submerged in a phenomenon, especially to compensate for the difficulty in accessing mobile beings, 'insider research' is often "disqualified because it is perceived not to conform to standards of intellectual rigor

because insider researchers have a personal stake and substantive emotional investment in the setting" (Brannick et al 2007: 71). Similarly, Denzin proposed that an insider perspective may be "too close to the culture to ask critical questions" (2005: 111) "too similar to those being studied" (Kanuha 2000: 444) and therefore too involved to be objective.

Such critiques are opposed in two ways. The first is that the notion of 'insider/outsider' is "…inadequate to capture the complex and multi-faceted experiences of some researchers… who find themselves neither total 'insiders' nor 'outsiders' in relation to the individuals they interview" (Song et al 1995: 243). In essence, since contemporary identities are characterised by a multiplicity of roles, appreciating "the complexity of selves of both researcher and researched" (Hopkinson 2005: 132), doubts are placed as to whether anyone – including lifestyle travellers – can ever be deemed an 'absolute insider' (see Appendix 5 for full discussion).

Second, the object of research was to uncover subjective accounts about lifestyle travel, appreciating that researcher interaction and interpretation was a component of the evidence. Consequentially, objectivity was not appropriate for this thesis since it is aligned with positivism and a quantitative rather than qualitative analysis (Hays et al 2011). For this research, being 'involved' was a way to harness rich and meaningful data from a co-present position, to tap into the nuances of the phenomenon that objectivity may fail to find. As Strauss has written, "mine your experiences, there is potential gold there" (1987: 11) encouraging researchers to entwine their personal encounters with those they study.

Researcher involvement is specifically encouraged within travel studies, where for Noy participants stressed "that I should travel as they did. Only then, they claimed, will I be truly able to learn what it means to be a 'backpacker'" (Noy 2008: 338). This research follows such lessons, appreciating how experiencing the practice will provide better insight and understanding than an objective report. For Noy taking advice from those he studied to 'get inside' backpacking ensured getting to the heart of what he sought to understand. It further allowed participants – as experts in their 'field' – to shape

how research was conducted, giving them ownership on how the phenomenon was reported.

Having similarity with those studied further proved advantageous with 'common ground' promoting camaraderie between participant and researcher, encouraging participants to divulge their story (Welk 2004). For Welk, partaking in the 'adventurous trip' – or rather travel as a lifestyle – engenders feelings of affinity between a few 'chosen ones' (Welk 2004: 82) where travellers are pitted together against the 'commercialised mass tourist'. In essence, lifestyle travellers seemed more willing to divulge their experiences and feelings because there was an "assumption of shared distinctiveness" where the researcher was considered as 'one of us' (Hay et al 2009: 58). Rather than seeing the researcher as another 'tourist', they were viewed as an equal and perhaps opened up to a greater depth through having this affiliation. Had an insider position not been obtained, participants may have been reluctant to share personal stories and opinions, or not felt comfortable talking about their alternative lifestyle to a conservative researcher.

Participants further expressed enthusiasm for discussing their way of life with someone who understood the practice, as well as offering a different and theoretical way of thinking about their experiences. Marrying this insider position with academic enquiry later in the process proved an interesting angle for participants, encouraging deeper reflection and allowed them to discuss things they previously may not have considered: *"I've never thought of it like that" (Kai)* which sometimes was remarked as therapeutic!

To summarise, whilst insider research has been questioned in terms of credibility and rigour, for this research it has been beneficial and outweighed any potential problems largely by the depth of access it has provided. Triangulation with other methods further compensated for any perceivable weaknesses. In this manner, it should be regarded as a different, rather than a better or worse, type of research (Corbin Dwyer 2009).

3.3.2 Ethnography

Ethnography involves participating "…in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of research" (Hammersley et al 1995: 1). In this research, ethnography evolved from an 'insider' position to capitalise on the researcher's 'full-time involvement' and continued interaction with the research subject (Sibley 2004) to compile data through field notes once research objectives were realised. The map below shows the locations where the researcher conducted ethnography.

Map 3.1 Ethnographic locations

Here the researcher 'lived out' the lives of those studied as a participant-observer, sharing their environment, problems, rituals and relationships "…to bridge the world of the ethnographer and the world of the target culture (Brannick et al 2007: 65). By already having access to this life world, a kind of preliminary ethnography was conducted which provided the foundation for later, more targeted ethnographic research and for future interviewing. Collecting ethnographic data – through field notes, journals and photographs – was thereby facilitated since the researcher was

more attune to the key issues to be addressed, and could utilise their 'insider' knowledge to target data which may shed light on such issues.

In this way, describing social realities was accelerated due to the researcher's previous exposure – a commodity advocated by Vail (2001) – since one can reference ethnographic material back to their own experiences and make more effective use of the data. Ethnography was more targeted than entering the field with a blank canvas, and provided a more systematic approach in the production of themes and focus of research, thereby preventing a grounded approach "from dissolving into quick and dirty qualitative research" (Charmaz 2001: 160).

Ethnography in this research was employed differently to other studies since there was no locatable 'culture' to target. Whilst most ethnographic research targets specific areas such as schools, hospitals or offices, thereby delimiting subjects by "location or cohesive continuous social interaction within a clearly defined group" (Sørensen 2003: 850) the 'un-territorialization' of lifestyle travel meant neither demarcation was possible. Instead, stumbling into the practice meant that the researcher accessed several participants prior to research and prolonged interaction with those individuals ensued for a time. Contact was then sustained online and through occasional meet ups given the nature of travellers going their separate ways. A kind of retrospective ethnography was employed based on this, facilitated by the researcher's own personal diaries and experiences which provided compensation for the lack of a sustained target group. Ethnography was also conducted via 'impromptu interactions' (Sørensen 2003: 850) – as seen in backpacking research – with lifestyle travellers when contact was made, and field notes compiled about these encounters.

The merits of ethnography came from providing a bottom up entry into lifestyle travel, to develop theories rather than to test an existing hypothesis. Indeed, many theorists advocate the advantages of "systematic empirical investigation rather than by relying on armchair theorizing" (Atkinson et al 2007: 21). This previous exposure which predated research further ensured more targeted data collection when research officially commenced, as well as encouraging a reflexive research design (Atkinson et al

2007). In this way the researcher reviewed progress and assessed the gathered material frequently to see how it might affect the direction and focus of research, encouraging forward thinking. It also refined interview skills as a reflexive agenda "…requires a researcher be an active listener and to respond to both the answers and behaviour of the interviewee" (Palmer 2001: 306) and sometimes alter the interview approach depending on the situation and participant (Atkinson et al 2007). In this manner, ethnographic interviewing provided practice for later semi-structured interviews through attuning to the issues that were of importance to participants, as well as to be flexible and participant-focused when interviewing.

Most importantly, ethnography provided extensive insight into lifestyle travel through encouraging immersion into the lives of others, as a way to understand "…the world from the point of view of those studied" (Palmer 2001: 301). Ethnography in this manner compiled all available data to be able to paint a detailed picture of lifestyle travel, drawing on different sources including participant observation and conversations – written up as field notes – and the researcher's own first hand experiences and personal journals. This provided an invaluable background and insight into the phenomenon from which meaningful and focused research could be conducted.

Such observations and understandings accrued from ethnography were also drawn upon in interviews for several reasons. The first was as a way to naturalise the encounter by offering ideas in conversational exchange rather than a question answer format. This also served to put participants at ease and could help 'rekindle conversation' by indicating that the researcher knew something and sometimes offered different opinions to stimulate reaction (Ellen 1984). This also meant that ethnographic findings could be validated by participants, with interviews compensating for the critique that ethnography only focuses on a small number of cases and lacks scientific rigour (Atkinson et al 2007). Triangulating methods in this way caters for this 'deficit', although as addressed previously, the object of this enquiry is not to be representative but to tell subjective stories.

Generally, open ethnography was employed where participants knew they were being observed and talked to for research purposes, although this often overlapped with casual conversation since these individuals were friends prior to research. The risk of open ethnography is affecting attitudes and behaviours of those observed since they are aware they are being 'researched'. This was witnessed particularly when recording encounters with participants. To compensate, efforts to relax participants were made, and generally done so by revisiting topics that had been discussed previously with participants, or by bringing the researcher's personal role into the encounter to share their knowledge and experience (Cotterill 1982). Such methods demonstrate the utility of ethnography in easing researcher effects and naturalising the interview encounter, whereby background information and previous conversations can be drawn upon to stimulate discussion. In this manner, reservations about 'open ethnography' are appeased by its strengths.

From outlining the unstructured methods of insider research and ethnography which relied on informal encounters and observation; interviews will now be addressed. Interviews were utilised as a complementary way to generate more focused and systematic data.

3.4 Structured Methods: Interviews

In this section, a description of interviews will be made before outlining the sample, fieldwork locations and researcher biography in order to situate how interviews were conducted. This leads to examine recruitment techniques – particularly Couch Surfing as a valuable tool – before examining the specific interview techniques that were used. Here, mobile methodology is focused on principally, to advance such techniques and satisfy a key aim of research (see 1.4).

3.4.1 Interviews

Interviews are a set of questions designed to elicit responses specific to the aims of research. This demonstrates how they can deliver more targeted data than insider or ethnographic material which risk collecting "too much data" (Fine et al 2009: 615). Qualitative interviews are generally focused around a "set of topics to be discussed in depth rather than based on… standardized questions" (Maxwell et al 2011: 300) thereby are designed as "conversations with a purpose" (Webb et al 1932, cited in Burgess 1982: 165).

Semi-structured interviews were chosen for this research to "combine the flexibility of the unstructured interview with the directionality of the survey to produce focused, qualitative data" (Schensul et al 1999: 149). By working from predetermined open ended questions which could be elaborated and expanded upon, interviews operated to produce "descriptive reports of individual's perceptions, beliefs and feelings" (Hakim 1967: 26) rather than standardised and restricted responses.

The semi-structured format was administrated in various ways including 'face to face' interviews with individuals and in pairs (3.6.3) 'in' place and on the move (see 3.6.4) and over the Internet (3.7.1) as well as computer mediated ''voice to voice'' interviews (Jennings 2005: 101). Further synchronous on-line interviews were achieved through instant messaging, as well as asynchronous email questionnaires. Such computer mediated methods (CMCs) were necessary to reach less accessible participants and tapped into mediums travellers themselves were using. Factoring in for both synchronous and asynchronous styles further allowed participants to select whichever method suited them, with email questionnaires primarily used as a follow up for interviews, to fill in any 'gaps' and as a complementary alternative. These contrasting interview methods will be considered in more detail later after addressing the sample, recruitment techniques and researcher biography.

3.4.2 The Sample

In order to gain findings that would answer the research questions in depth, it was important to interview a wide selection of lifestyle travellers in order to identify common themes about the practice. As discussed, it is impossible to generalise about the topic given the contrasting and subjective ideas about what lifestyle travel means, as well as the different ways individuals practice travel within their lives. It was therefore imperative to interview as many participants as possible to build up a bank of collective knowledge that may inform our understandings about the phenomenon. Consequentially, 50 interviews were undertaken. The table (3.2) below shows the interview timeline, showing where interviews were conducted chronologically, the specific interview methods used, as well as a summary of each stage. The following tables (3.3) show participant demographics to consider age and place of origin in lifestyle travel.

Table 3.2 Interview timeline

Research Stage	Location	Interview F to F	Interview Paired	Mobile	CMC	Description
Phase 1						21 face to face interviews.
Jan – Jun 2010	Australia	14	4 (2 pair)			
February 2010	New Zealand					15 individual and 3 paired. One during boat and bus journey.
July 2010	Indonesia		2 (1 pair)			
July 2010	Malaysia			1		

Phase 2 UK Jun – Sept 2011 Oct 2010	Bristol Cardiff Bridlington Harrogate Brighton INTERNET Slovakia	1 1 1 1 1	 1	 2 2	5 face to face UK interviews. 1 on a train in Slovakia. 4 further 'accessed' at this time and interviewed by Skype (2) MSN (1) and email (1).
Phase 3 Europe September 2011	Berlin Krakow Budapest	1 1 1 2(1 pair)		4	5 interviews in Eastern Europe. 3 individual. 1 paired. 4 'accessed' and later interviewed by Skype (3) and Skype IM (1)
Phase 4 UK Nov – Jan 2012	Weymouth INTERNET		1	3	1 face to face + walking interview. 2 via Skype and 1 Skype IM.
Phase 5 Nepal February 2012	Kathmandu Ghorepani	5	1		6 interviews in Nepal. 5 interviews in place and 1 in place + trekking.
Participant total		**27 8** (4 pairs)	**4**	**11**	**50 interviews obtained –** 27 face to face interviews; 8 paired. 4 explicitly mobile. 11 computer mediated.
Follow up emails				**13**	13 follow up questionnaires (3.7.4) Allowed participants to reply in as much detail as desired at their leisure.

Table 3.3: Participant Demographics

Age	No. of Participants
≤ 20	1
21 – 25	8
26 – 30	28
31 – 35	8
36 – 40	3
41 – 45	1
46 +	1

Place of Origin	No. of Participants
Europe	26
America	14
Asia	2
Africa	1
Australasia	7

The vast majority of participants were white, western and well-educated, with most being in their twenties (31) 16 in their thirties, and three in their forties. The majority were British (16), ten were American, ten European, seven were Australian, four Canadian, two from Asia and one from South Africa.

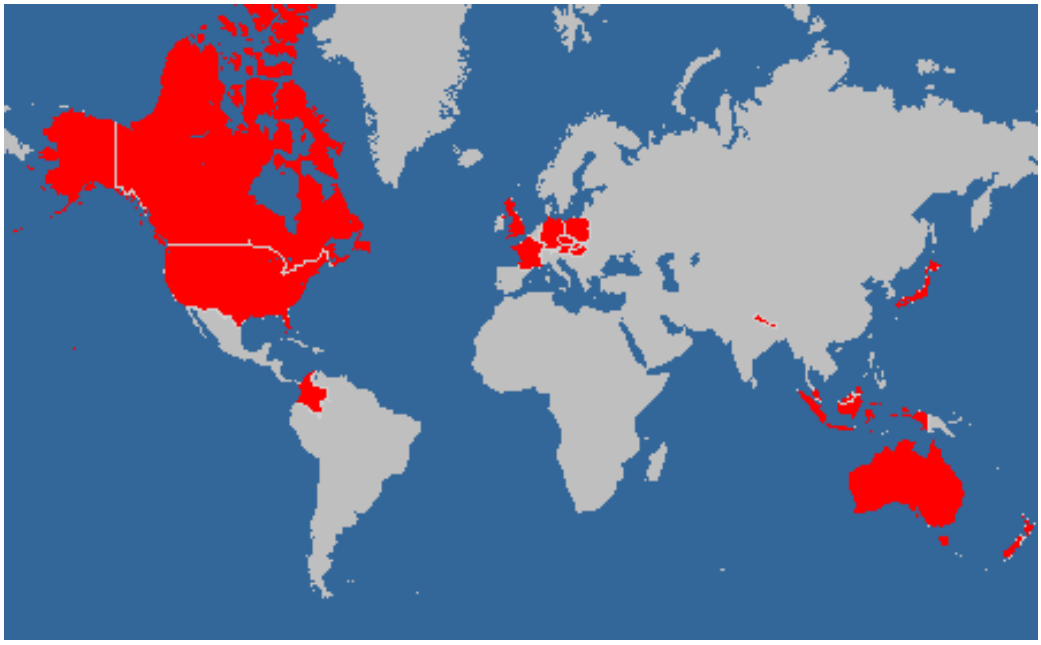
31 participants were male and 19 were female. Travel times varied significantly with most having travelled for over twelve months, although some had continuously travelled for over nine years. Some could not identify a clear time scale given the punctured nature of their travels. All participants have been given pseudonyms to preserve their anonymity and to respect their privacy. Furthermore participants were made aware that they had the right to withdraw participation at any stage of the research.

3.4.3 Locations

To provide for an expansive and wide ranging sample, numerous places for interviewing were selected. Australia, New Zealand and South East Asia were first chosen given the researcher was conducting their own version of lifestyle travel in this area and extended the trip in order to conduct fieldwork. These locations were considered valid and useful for enquiry with previous studies in this area focusing on long term budget travellers (Loker-Murphy et al 1995) and backpackers (see Riley

2002, Mohsin et al 2003; Uriely 2002). In fact the backpacker industry is said to be concentrated in Australasia and South East Asia (Richards et al 2003) with the latter considered as the "most popular region for international backpackers' (Sørensen 2003: 847). In this manner it was deduced that lifestyle travellers, as similar to backpackers and long term travellers (Uriely 2002), may also congregate in these areas. Map 3.4 below shows the locations where interviews were conducted.

Map 3.4 Interview locations (Face to Face and CMC)



Interviews undertaken in the UK were mainly through computer mediated methods (11) to follow up with contacts established in the field, although some were recruited through social networking sites (see Couch Surfing 3.5.4) and travel blogs. This meant that inaccessible participants were still able to be interviewed at a mutually convenient time. In this manner it was possible to access participants in North and South America, Canada, Japan, France, Austria and Australia, as well as within the UK (see Map 3.4). This emphasises the benefit of harnessing online methods to access participants in many countries rather than limit the sample to fieldwork destinations (see Paris 2013). It further shows how it was important to not confine the sample to conventional 'backpacker' areas as lifestyle travellers were often found outside of these places, appreciating that the longevity of their travels perhaps opens up all places. CMCs also

provided a solution to the problem of 'catching' participants and meeting them at a particular place at a particular time, given their mobile nature.

The six face to face interviews conducted in the UK were acquired through the Couch Surfing website by posting on message boards or messaging people directly and subsequently meeting up. At every opportunity efforts were made to meet participants in person to build rapport and interact within a 'natural encounter' (Irvine 2012 et al: 2). This was to encourage continued participation (see 3.7.4) as well as to pick up non-verbal cues and reactions (see Berg 2007; Fielding et al 2008) in order to deliver rich and thorough data (VanderStoep et al 2009: 89). Consequentially, these interviews were mainly concentrated in and around the south, the south west and Wales as close to the researcher's home. The majority of these were UK nationals who were back home temporarily therefore research could tap into a different stage of the travel encounter, and further examine the pace and feel of being 'home' to complement interviews 'on the road'.

Europe was selected as a second site for interviewing given its accessibility from the UK, as well as lifestyle travel being witnessed in this area (Cohen 2011: 1539). Locations such as Berlin, Krakow and Budapest were chosen as alternatives to locations previously visited, as well as diverging from sites predominately used in other backpacking and long term travel studies (Loker-Murphy 1995; O'Reilly 2006; Riley 1988; Uriely et al 2002;).

The final location selected was Nepal. Although research in India was the original intention (as a popular destination for backpacking (Maoz 2004)) alternative travel and lifestyles (Davidson 2005) Nepal was continually mentioned during interviewing, with some participants regarding India as somehow clichéd or exhausted in terms of its 'alternativeness'. By comparison Nepal was considered a less 'ruined' hub for alternative lifestyles, and those exploring 'spirituality' (see Haviv 2005) therefore offered the potential to find lifestyle travellers. As *Martin* suggested: *"I'd hit Kathmandu, you'll find loads of people like that there"* emphasising this point. A good

response rate was also achieved from the Couch Surfing message board for Nepal, where recruitment was advertised prior to fieldwork.

3.4.4 Researcher Biography and Positionality

As well as wide-ranging fieldwork which accessed participants over sixteen countries, the researcher has extensive backpacking experience over the last six years interspersed with education and employment, with trips ranging from six weeks to 18 months. Destinations, as well as those mentioned include China, East Africa, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos where exposure to other travellers has helped provide a foundation and entry to exploring lifestyle travel. Map 3.5 below illustrates the destinations travelled by the researcher.

Map 3.5: Destinations travelled by researcher

Because of such exposure and an increased awareness of alternative travel practices, the focus of study developed from 'gap years' in MSc research to lifestyle travel as an under explored phenomenon. Furthermore, from the researcher's own elongated travels in Asia and Australasia between January 2009 and August 2010, their own practices, travel patterns and motivations seemed more attune to that of the lifestyle

traveller, with the researcher gravitating towards and feeling more 'at home' with others who aspired to this way of life (see 3.3.1).

Immersion also meant that the researcher could 'live' this world through their own eyes, conduct ethnography complemented by diaries and field notes, and interpret findings based on their own thoughts and experiences. Personal accounts such as these have been entwined with scholarly enquiry in the past, with Hampton using his experiences as a former backpacker to produce an 'explicitly reflective academic journey' (2010: 8).

In this manner, a process of critical reflection has ensued, particularly following such 'lived' time, where the researcher has had to forego their travel 'hat' and return to 'normality' in order to focus on the thesis and devote sufficient time to research. Exiting this world has encouraged reflection upon their time in the field as both traveller and researcher, as well as their plans for the future. For example, the researcher still aspires to travel following PhD completion, although with less vigour to adopt it as a way of life than was apparent at the beginning. This holds implications for interpretation and analysis which is now conducted from a more critical position. By comparison, the researcher initially spoke from a more involved stance through embarking on their own kind of lifestyle travel which, as outlined earlier, challenged their preconceptions about the practice.

This emphasises the self-reflexive process apparent in the research process, where prior exposure to individuals can condition the vantage point of the researcher; field experiences can shape how they approach and perceive subjects, and how their own feelings can colour what is explored. In turn this will have an effect on what is considered meaningful and how this is interpreted. For example, an insider perspective generated a more sympathetic and appreciative stance characterised by involvement and co-present participation rather than neutral observation.

However, as the research has progressed, researcher positionality has similarly evolved (see Campbell et al 2006) and these alternating vantage points can be 'mapped' to see

how they have shaped the research agenda. This was outlined in section 3.2.3 where roles progressed from pre-research 'traveller', to 'ethnographer / traveller' or participant observer, to interviewer in 2010. Later a more pronounced researcher/academic role was fostered back in the UK, with data collection as the prime objective, demonstrating the renegotiations that have been undertaken. As Goodman (1999) emphasises, the boundaries between theory and practice are becoming blurred, with the once conceived stable distinction between "…the personal and the professional, self and other, theory and experience" (Galani-Mouta 2000: 216) now acknowledged to be increasingly dissolving.

In light of this, positions were weaved in and out of and 'identity games' 'played' in relation to 'where' the researcher was. Entering the 'field' and into new societies and social groupings did not necessitate that the role of 'researcher' was shed, but was re-moulded and layered with other roles, redrawing the boundaries of self-definition. As a consequence rather than researcher and traveller considered separate entities, they are seen as interrelated and of blurred boundaries. Such blurring depended on how others positioned the researcher "and how she positioned herself by her own biography and experience" (Galani-Mouta 2000: 217).

In this manner the researcher could never really divorce from their position as traveller, although the researcher 'role' was more pronounced in later fieldwork (and when analysing data) after significant engagement with theory and literature. Such knowledge would of course hold implications as to how the researcher interacted with subsequent participants, in trying to theorise their activities and behaviours. This may have also affected how participants viewed the researcher, perhaps seeing her in these rounds not so much as a fellow traveller, but as an 'Other' individual on a temporal break with a perceptible 'agenda' (i.e. research) to be engaging with them.

In this way, the first round of interviews were more casual and more conversational (albeit still semi-structured) and built on friendships forged during pre-research travels where experiences were discussed more generally. Once research objectives were refined and the theoretical foundations had been laid, interviews took a more direct

and focused approach, with specific academic notions thrown into interviews to see if they resonated with participants (i.e. 'cosmopolitanism'). Furthermore the method of entry into 'life worlds' later in research was perhaps more contrived since participants were generally contacted for the specific aim of being interviewed, rather than meeting by chance or after friendships were forged. Indeed this was flagged up by one of the participants in his preference for letting things happen naturally, demonstrating a case for less directive and unstructured strategies:

> *"I realised it would be better instead to find people either by chance encounters or meet them through other people instead of just looking for people through your own like mind and motivation, but to allow the threads of the world to cross… I've met some amazing people through other people or chance encounters, and I think those relationships tend be way more deeper and fulfilling." (Tyler)*

Despite these evolving roles during fieldwork, flowing from traveller to 'insider' to ethnographer to interviewer, such different approaches do not necessarily mean that one set of interactions are more useful or reliable than another, or yield more 'real' or authentic material. They are just different methods of tapping into individual life worlds, a different means to produce the similar end of uncovering the multiplicities and intricacies of peoples' stories. Some may prefer an informal chat about their lives (first round), whereas others may need more encouragement and insight into the project to be able to disclose meaningful responses (second round).

Such narrated stories are of course subject to change, not only by how they are accessed, but also because narrations can never be delivered within a neutral context. Participants are "biased in favour of their own values and interests" (Lindlof et al 2011: 173) and will react differently depending on whom they are communicating with, as expressed by one participant:

> *"I kind of treat myself as a series of stories woven together… and I like to sort of take it from one story to the next and see which character I feel like being today… I like playing with people's expectations a little bit, I like painting masks" (Oliver)*

As this suggests, social realities are often manipulated with *Oliver* emphasising how he conditions his responses depending on what he perceives the listener to want (or not

want) to hear. Playing on expectations in this way illustrates how it is impossible to collect 'pure' knowledge (Mullings 1999) or deliver a neutral account of reality as any kind of interaction with others (research based or otherwise) is never passive or impartial but laden with personality, based on biographies, conditioned by attributes such as gender and nationality, dependent on expectation and motive and on the level of rapport between individuals (Tesch 1990). In this manner, "people do not behave in a neutral situation, but in specific physical and social settings to which they react emotionally" (Ibid. 65). This recognises that there is never one 'truth' to be delivered, but many and multiple 'versions' dependent on context and social interactions. As researchers "we share in constructing what we define as data" (Charmaz 2005: 509). In this manner the validity of such a qualitative enquiry or the reliability of personal stories can never be measured. It is just a case of being reflexive and appreciating the evolving positionality of players in the making of data.

In summary, researcher positionality has evolved from a bottom up approach (Agar 2006) to a more targeted research driven strategy. This has developed from a personal preference to immerse in the field before consciously turning unfolding experiences into the focus of research. Ethnography and a grounded approach began the process of evolving from insider to researcher, and later theoretical insights and objectives shaped the course of the travels. In essence, the thesis has grown from a focus on people rather than data, whereby relationships have been forged not for the pursuit of research but for their own intrinsic worth; to get to know the person rather the 'participant' and the phenomenon. The foundations of this research thus developed from the acquisition of experience rather than the acquisition of knowledge, of which were subsequently married during the process. However, subsequent data analysis has largely been made from the position of 'researcher', with re-integration back into academia conditioning how the researcher conducted and indeed 'saw' herself.

From considering the researcher's positionality and setting the scene of research, we now outline recruitment techniques for interviewing.

3.5 Recruitment

Table 3.6 below illustrates the recruitment methods employed over the course of research.

Table 3.6 Recruitment Methods

	Prior to Research			**During Research**			
Stage:	1. Pre-established			1. In field		2. Online	
Method:	*Chance Meetings*	*Snowball Sampling*		*Chance Meetings*	*Snowball Sampling*	*Couch Surfing*	*Weblog*
Total:	4	3		2	6	34	1

As Table 3.6 demonstrates there were three stages of recruitment which occurred prior to research, within the field and online. The first drew on pre-established contacts that were met by chance or through acquaintances whilst the researcher was travelling (7). The second was similarly conducted, although this was after research had officially commenced (8). The third was via online methods of which accounted for the majority of participants (35). The methods within these stages shall now be addressed.

3.5.1 Pre-established contacts

Since the researcher evolved the research to focus on lifestyle travel after meeting lifestyle travellers[18] (see 3.3.1) contacts were established prior to research and were later revisited specifically for interviewing. These contacts helped shape the object of enquiry and actively contributed ideas, they were 'observed' during ethnography, were the subject of field notes and personal journals, and were friends and travel companions throughout the process. Such involvement and interest has been pivotal and has shaped the foundations for this thesis, as well as cementing "friendships in the field" (de Laine 2000: 108). This has further given participants a sense of ownership over the research through their active contributions. This falls within the remit of "participatory action research", placing them on an 'equal footing' (Ibid. 107) with the researcher, which is celebrated within feminist ethnography (de Laine 2000: 108. See

[18] Two were friends of friends who the researcher was 'aware' of prior to research and were targeted later for interviewing

also Finn 1994; Maguire 1987, 2006; Healy 2001) again emphasising the multi-disciplinary and methodological sympathies of this thesis.

3.5.2. Chance Meetings

As seen in many studies, some participants were recruited "on an ad hoc and chance basis" (Rapley 2007: 38) using the researcher's position as traveller to gain exposure to lifestyle travellers in the field. Such shared attributes and common ground with subjects (Bravo-Moreno 2003; Merriam 2009; Renkema 2004) has shown to be beneficial in terms of securing participation and rapport in the interview context (Daymon et al 2011; McCrady et al 2010; Remenyi et al 2003). Chance encounters often occurred in guesthouses (see 3.3.1), bars and restaurants, as well as whilst trekking, advocating the merit of mobility and activity in recruitment as well as within interviewing (see 3.6.4). Like Cohen's method, casual conversations with individuals helped identity lifestyle travellers where 'introductory dialogues' focused on how long one had travelled, as well as how long they intended to travel for (2010: 124).

3.5.3 Snowball sampling

Accessing participants was also achieved through snowball sampling (3) where informants referred the researcher to other subjects, or provided contact details for those they thought would be suitable. This technique was particularly effective in hostels where receptionists and residents could sometimes offer assistance, allowing the researcher to tap into "…natural and organic social networks" (Noy 2008: 329). This was helpful in accessing 'hidden populations' (Ibid. 330) such as lifestyle travellers who are continually on the move (Sørensen, 2003).

Snowball sampling further emphasises fluidity within research, echoing sentiments expressed throughout this thesis since it is 'inextricably interrelated' to interviewing (Noy 2008: 341). Methodological divisions are disrupted in this way, with data access and its subsequent collection considered 'complimentary facets', where research 'phases' are pursued simultaneously (Ibid. 334) promoting a holistic rather than dissected practice. In essence, the interview is not a sterile encounter (Noy 2008: 339)

since initial contact made either directly or indirectly with participants will frame the subsequent interview encounter. Judgments and perceptions about what is expected, how to present oneself, what information to divulge and whether rapport is formed can all be pre-determined even before participant and researcher meet. This advocates the "dynamic nature of knowledge" (and centrality of mobility to this thesis) based on "interactions, moments, networks, partial perspectives, fluidity and embodiments" (Noy 2008: 341).

3.5.4 Couch Surfing

A further method of recruitment was through Couch Surfing. Couch Surfing is a social networking website aimed specifically for travellers and generated the majority of interviews in this research (34). In light of this prominence, it shall be considered in detail.

Couch Surfing is much like other social networking sites with personal profiles, the ability to upload photographs and join interest groups. The unique and defining function of the site is as:

> a non-profit organisation[19] dedicated to making it more accessible for all people to explore the world and share inspiring experiences (Couch Surfing 2011)

To promote this objective, Couch Surfing provides an informal service which allows people (hosts) to offer a spare room or couch to surfers (travellers) at no financial cost, or to just to meet up and show them about a place. Hosts will post details of themselves, their accommodation and availability of their couch, which surfers can look through on a location specific search and make a request. Hosts can then decide if they want to accept or decline a request based on the surfer's profile. In this manner Couch Surfing is a tool designed to bring people together as a cultural exchange based on mutual reciprocity rather than as a free accommodation service. Furthermore, surfers can join a place group (i.e. Bristol UK, Melbourne Australia etc.) and post message to see if anyone is free to hang out or to show them about a place,

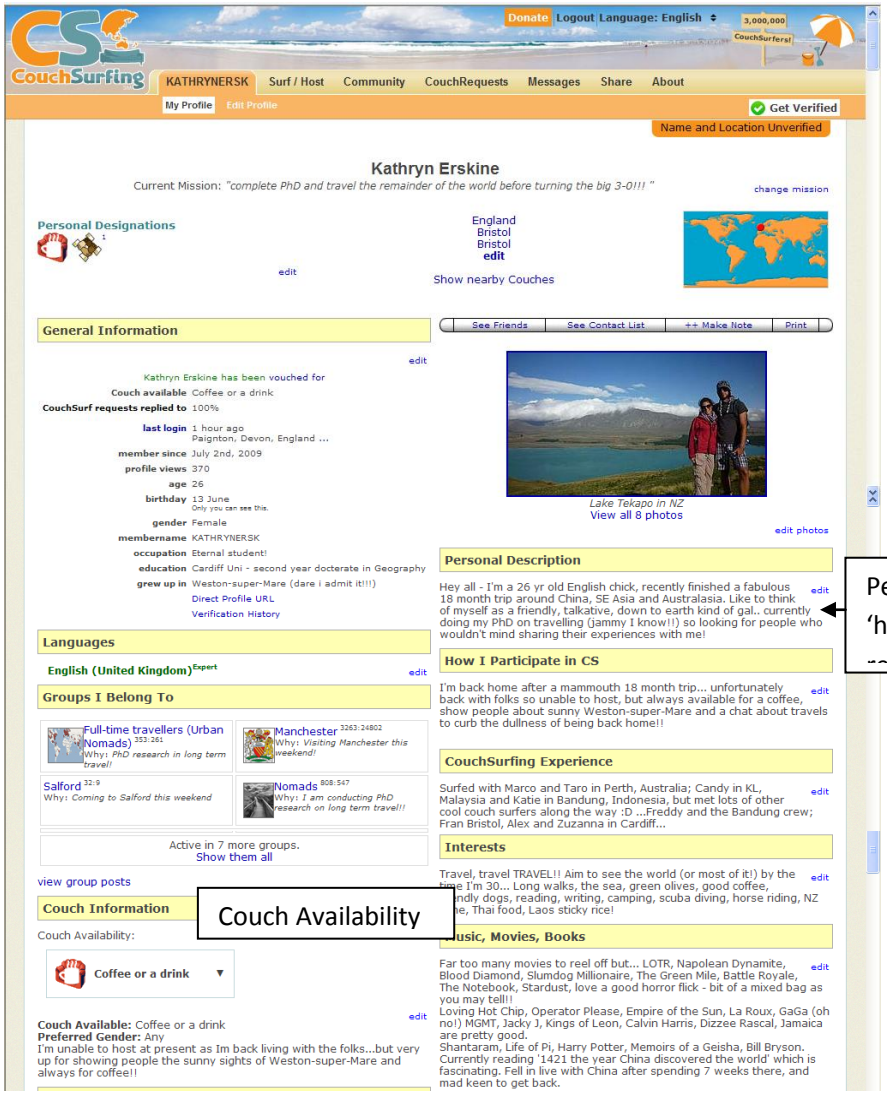
[19] As from the 24th August 2011 Couch Surfing changed its status to a B-Corporation to assist in its growth and development. However its goal for free cultural exchange remains with members not financially obligated to contribute to the site (see http://www.couchsurfing.org/news/article/144)

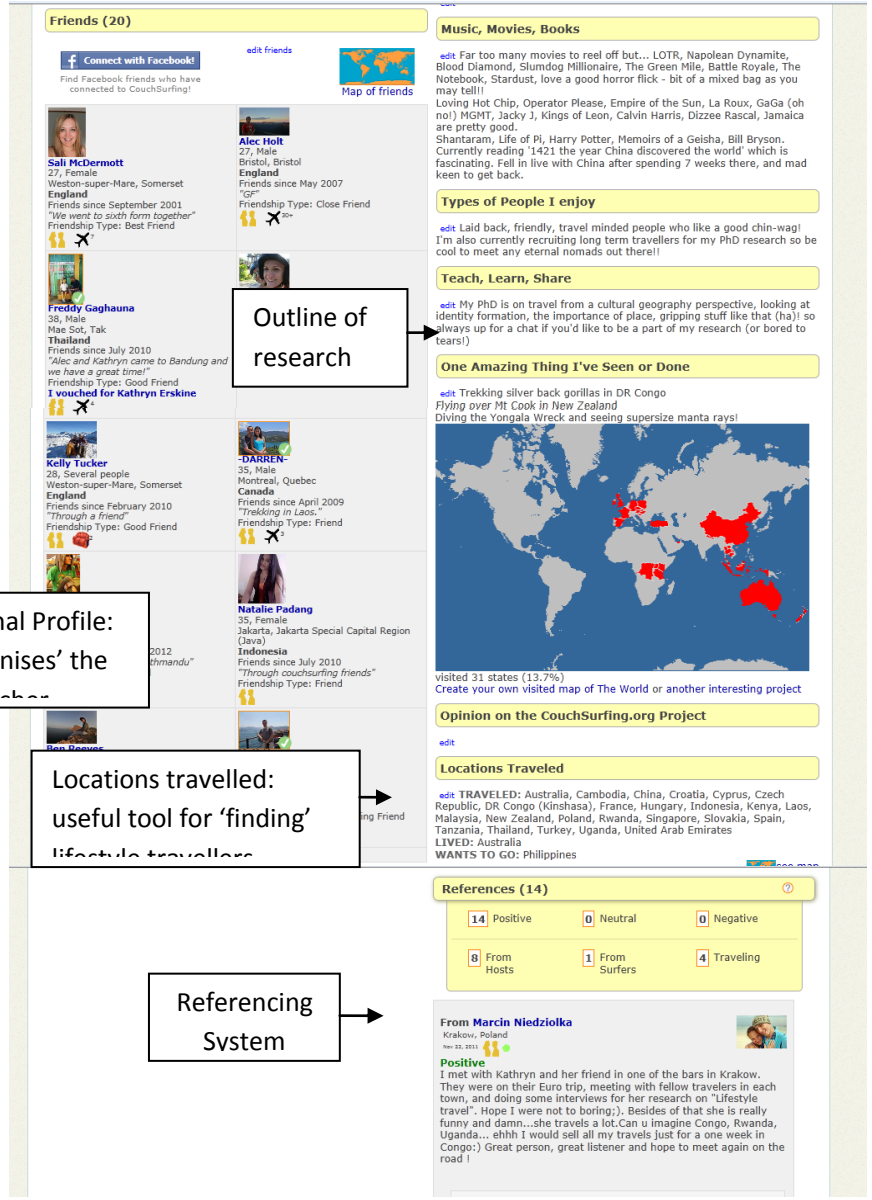
emphasising that it is not just about getting a bed for the night, but about sharing experiences.

Couch Surfing was utilised for recruitment once the researcher had learnt of the site during their travels, with it being widely talked about and often praised in the travel community they were engaging with. It further appeared to have a much greater following and prevalence than similar sites such as The Hospitality Club and GlobalFreeloaders, which were discovered much later after interviewing had started.

Couch Surfing was an effective tool to utilise given its huge global coverage across 207 countries with over 4.8 million members to date (October 2012) and an average sign up rate of approximately 30,000 new members per week (Statistics CS April 2012). The largest Couch Surfing territory is the US with over 20% of surfers located there, followed by Germany (9.5%) and France (8.6%) with the top surfed cities being Paris (1.8% surfers) and London (1.5%). Approximately 53% of surfers are male, and 47% are female, with the average age of surfers being 28 years. The majority of Couch Surfers are young with most being between 18 and 24 years old (37.1%) followed by 25 to 29 years (32.7%) with only 8% being over the age of 40. Figure 3.7 below shows the researcher's Couch Surfing profile to illustrate various components which assisted research.

Figure 3.7: Couch Surfing Profile





i. How it was used: surfing couches

In the first round of interviewing overseas, the researcher used the site to surf couches in the places that they were in. Hosts were selected by reading local profiles to see if they could be considered lifestyle travellers based on what they'd written about themselves. The number of countries visited was also indicative in terms of if they had travelled extensively over a longer period, or if they were a frequent traveller. Requests were made alongside explaining the nature of the research and whether they felt they could contribute. Three interviews were made in this manner, whereas the majority were recruited by posting messages in a group, advertising participation.

ii. Group message boards

The largest and most active Couch Surfing groups tend to be place groups. For example there are over 27,000 members in the Paris group, and 25,000 in London. Advertisement was therefore generally made in the geographical place that the researcher was in (e.g. Melbourne or Kathmandu) in order to access nearby travellers. A simple message was posted (see Appendix 4) outlining the nature of the research, whether anybody identified themselves as a lifestyle traveller and if they would be willing to participate in the study. People could then respond either publicly on the message wall or by emailing the researcher through the site. As groups were place based, this meant 'stationary' lifestyle travellers - as those perhaps residing temporarily in place - could be targeted alongside mobile visiting travellers (surfers). Interviews were then set up, arranging a time and place to meet and be conducted.

Couch Surfing was also used principally for recruitment whilst in the UK. Message boards were used to access participants locally in Bristol and Cardiff, and also when visiting other parts of the UK (York, Brighton, Manchester). By using the 'Couch Surf' facility, the researcher could search for people in that area – both hosts and surfers - that may be suitable for research and were contacted directly. Face to face interviews were then arranged in the same manner as the overseas round, with computer mediated interviews set up for people who were unable to meet in person (see 3.7). Interest was also sparked with people that had seen the post but were not in that particular geographic area. In this manner CMCs were an effective tool to overcome

problems of distance and time. Recruitment further snowballed from the UK message boards with a couple of participants passing on researcher contact information to individuals they considered suitable for research, leading to interviews with people overseas.

Relevant interest groups were also joined within Couch Surfing – such as the 'Nomads' and 'full time travellers' groups – to find potential interviewees. Profiles were scanned for lifestyle travel 'traits' – as discussed earlier – or by how they described their lifestyle, and were contacted directly to ask if they would like to participate. This served as a way to find mobile and stationary travellers, and often relied on CMCs as a way to conduct interviews.

3.5.5 Weblogs

The weblog, or 'blog' is a website dedicated to frequently updated posts, listed in reverse chronological order, generally by a single author which can be commented on by others (Hookway 2008: 92). As a tool for online self-representation, blogs are typically used as online diaries or self-narratives to disclose personal thoughts, feelings and experiences regularly. In this respect, weblogs are a good way to access mobile individuals through their entries, and find 'uncontaminated' personal accounts devoid of researcher interest (Ibid. 96). Posts could therefore be considered an accurate way to recruit lifestyle travellers based on longitudinal entries that predated research.

As a recruitment tool, blogs were not used so much given the success of Couch Surfing in accessing participants, although were often used as a side-line method to find out about individuals and their suitability for participation, as well as to acquire background information which could be of use during interviewing. One participant was recruited from a 'blog spot' however, found through running a simple internet search for travel blogs (i.e. travelblogs.com) and reading their entries before sending an email to ask for their participation. Unsurprisingly, this 'blogger' wanted to be interviewed via email rather than talking via Skype or other synchronous methods, perhaps given their preference for the written rather than spoken word, suggested by their commitment to blogging. This takes into account the virtual identities that are

produced online (Hookway 2008), allowing alternative avenues for expression to be included in research.

3.6 Interviews

From the outlined recruitment methods 50 participants were interviewed through a range of techniques, used in various combinations to generate different types of primary data. 46 were spoken in-depth interviews, each lasting between one and two hours which were recorded using a dictaphone. The remaining four interviews were achieved through written communication via the internet. The techniques used to generate these will be addressed after providing an overview of participant numbers as well as the interview schedule. Table 3.8 below shows interview numbers achieved offline, and Table 3.9 online.

	Offline Interviewing Techniques				**Description**
Interview Type	*Im(mobile)*		Mobile	Mobile & Immobile	39 offline interviews conducted. 35 face to; 8 participants interviewed in pairs. 2 interviews carried out in transit; 2 combining place and mobile interviewing. Mobile interviewing was conducted only with individuals.
	Individual	Paired			
Face to face	27	4	2	2	

Table 3.8: Offline Interviewing

	On-line Interviewing Techniques				Description
Interview Type	Skype	MSN	Email	Follow up	11 online interviews conducted in total. 9 Skype interviews with 7 as face to face or voice to voice and 2 through instant messaging (IM). 1 MSN interview and 1 email interview conducted. Most interviews were synchronous (conducted in real time) with just 1 asynchronous email interview at participant's request. Follow ups were designed to be asynchronous to offer an alternative medium for participants. 12 obtained via email and 1 via Skype telephony at participant's request.
Face to face	3	N/A		/	
Voice to voice	4	N/A		1	
Written Responses					
CMC synchronous	2	1	/	/	
CMC asynchronous		/	1	13	

Table 3.9: Online Interviewing

3.6.1. Evolution of interview schedule

As discussed, the focus of research was shaped by the researcher's exposure to lifestyle travellers before research began. Observation, co-present immersion and discussion with these individuals whilst travelling helped form the interview schedule through attuning to topics that were important to them, acquiring background information and finding effective ways to yield information. In a way these encounters – recorded as field notes – served as a pilot study for subsequent research through the conversations and questions that were informally asked prior to interview development.

When the research focus was established, targeted encounters functioned as 'ethnographic interviews', as friendly conversations where elements of research are gradually introduced (Spradley 1979 in Flick 2009), to '…uncover the contextual and culturally embedded meaning of the phenomenon under study' (Mendelson 2005: 57). Such preliminary and naturally occurring methods ensured a "'bottom up' process of

developing goals and objectives based on participation and involvement" (Cunningham1993: 88) thereby forming the foundations for interview development (see Shecter et al 2010).

3.6.2 Interview Schedule

All interview types (on and off-line) followed the same schedule, although were sometimes supplemented with additional questions as topics evolved during fieldwork or as ideas were acquired from theory (see Appendix 1). Interviews were semi-structured to facilitate dialogue with participants (May 2011), to encourage them to elaborate or discuss topics that were important to them and not feel constrained to the schedule, motivating them to tell their story in their own way. Questions were predetermined, although served more as a framework to ensure all topics had been adequately covered by participants, and to allow the researcher to "probe beyond the answers" (May 2011: 134). In this manner the researcher could ask for "clarification and elaboration" (Ibid: 138) where required, to generate more in-depth and considered answers.

In practice, some participants would tell their own travel history or life story from the outset which sufficiently answered some topics, therefore it was unnecessary to ask certain questions and avoid repetition. In this regard, each interview was tailored to the participant and unique in the way it progressed in terms of what was discussed in detail, and how much contribution or probing the researcher needed to make[20]. 'Double attention' was paid in this regard to ensure that issues that were important to the participant were understood, as well as adequately covering all the questions that the research sought to address (Wengraf 2001).

Allowing free flowing conversation further served to yield topics that the researcher may not have previously considered, as participants could deviate from the questions and talk specifically about what was important to them (Jennings 2005). This was beneficial as meant the researcher could re-examine any preconceptions or taken for

[20] See Appendix 5 for extended evaluation of self disclosure in interviews.

granted assumptions that they may have had based on their background as a traveller. In light of this, subsequent rounds of interviewing were sometimes modified based on the evolving understandings of the researcher, encouraging reflexivity in the process through recognising how their changing contributions could affect the data generated.

To encourage free flowing conversation, interviewing further took a self-disclosing format to initiate 'intimate reciprocity' (Rapley 2004) where the researcher contributed their own story based on their inside experiences (3.3.1) to stimulate responses (Ellis 2004). By harnessing their own thoughts and experiences the researcher could further build common ground with participants and put them at ease to encourage more natural conversation.

The interview schedule began with background style questions, to serve as ice breakers to "get the ball rolling" (Johnson 2001: 111) and to "set the scene" before probing deeper into the participants feelings and experiences, to "…uncover what is usually hidden from view" (Ibid. 111). Starting with easier biographical questions further promoted a chronological sequence whereby peripheral material and 'commonsense perceptions' (Johnson 2001: 106) were first covered before progressing to deeper insights. This was further hoped to aid participants' memory so that nothing important was missed out, as well as encouraging them to think beyond the apparent and reveal deeper insights about their travels.

3.6.3 Face to face interviews

This section describes face to face interviews conducted with individuals and in pairs. The chapter proceeds to examine mobile versions of interviewing and emphasises how interviews 'in place' should not be seen as an immobile or static encounter. Table 3.10 below outlines the locations of face to face interviews, as well as the number that were conducted with individuals and in pairs.

Table 3.10: Interview location

Interview Setting	Individual (27)	Paired (4)[21]	Description
Café / Restaurant / Coffee Shop	10	1	Face to face interviews generally conducted in public settings, such as cafés or bars for convenience / safety purposes. Interviews recorded using a dictaphone at the agreement of participants. 3 interviews conducted in participants' homes at their request or if 'hosting' the researcher.
Pub / Bar	9	2	
Participants' Home	2	1	
Public Building e.g. art gallery	1	/	
Public Space (Park / Riverside)	2	/	
Hostel	2	/	
Other	1	/	

Individual interviews were conducted between the researcher and participants to examine personal experiences of lifestyle travel, to delve deep into each distinct biography and acquire thoughts and feelings about the matter.

Generally all participants were very enthusiastic and willing to partake in research, making interviewing a "relatively easy task as offered participants an outlay for their 'travel-narrative performances" (Noy 2008: 328). Merely asking participants about their travels generally elicited lengthy accounts of their adventures, narrow scrapes, humorous episodes and descriptive tales about their experiences, allowing them to convey what was important and meaningful to them. There were generally no awkward pauses or reluctance from participants once they got into the interview but if there were, these were mostly covered in the "lively flowing and informal interaction" (Noy 2008: 336), supporting the case for less structured interviewing which replicates natural encounters.

Paired interviewing involved "two related persons in an interview, such as a couple" (Jennings 2005: 100) talking about their experiences in a shared dialogue. In this

[21] Which accounted for 8 participants

research, two of the paired interviews were couples who therefore could relay their joint travel experiences together and fill the gaps in each other's story. Whilst this may have caused issues such as one participant dominating the interview, efforts were made to include both participants and all individuals contributed eagerly. Sometimes disagreement occurred within couples and different subject matters raised that were of personal importance, demonstrating how participants did not necessarily 'go along' with their partner. Such contrasting views of the same experience was further beneficial as it emphasised how people perceive the world differently and take different things from an experience.

Two paired interviews were between individuals who had not previously met, although were familiar with one another as Couch Surfing members. Paired interviewing was chosen in this instance for convenience, as well as introducing a different dynamic to interviews which focused on evoking discussion between participants (Keegan 2009), as well as acquiring each of their personal accounts. Interviews started with participants telling their story one after the next before issues were raised for discussion. This produced different outcomes in the way interviews progressed, with one being more polite thereby requiring more researcher input, compared to the other which manifested into a friendly debate (see Appendix 5 for extended discussion). Overall, both generated good ways to incite conversation, as often the other participant would probe on aspects of a story in places the researcher may not, thereby raising alternative topics.

3.6.4 Mobile interviewing

As a key theme of research, mobility configured prominently within data collection. As implied, mobility was apparent during pre-research immersion and ethnography through the researchers own travels and interactions with lifestyle travellers, her evolving roles in the field, her own personal development and changing perceptions of lifestyle travel. Such participation in movement (Urry 2007: 40) demonstrates how various mobilities were woven into the research tapestry long before the actual recording of data began, recognising that mobility is everywhere (Adey 2010: xvii) and

not just within the actual act of travel. This prior awareness ensured sensitivity to mobilities within methods, motivations and analytical orientations of research.

Besides such 'organic' mobilities, it was imperative for mobility to be explicitly harnessed in the interview encounter to explore its importance to lifestyle travellers. This appreciates that "…it is not just about how people make knowledge of the world, but how they physically and socially make the world through the ways they move and mobilise people, objects, information and ideas" (Buscher 2009: 112). In essence, research needed to be mobile in order to simulate the "many and independent forms of movement" (Urry 2007: 39) that manifest during lifestyle travel.

Rather than this be reduced to interviews in transit, it was important to harness a variety of ways that captured the multi-sited nature of mobilities (Marcus 1995; Buscher et al 2009). Simply utilising methods on-the-move would have privileged movement and not paid respect to the relative (im)mobilities of individuals, as well as the movements characterising place. In respect of this, interviewing was conducted in various ways to include for mobile and immobile sensitivities. These would examine the varied practices of movement and the meanings lifestyle travellers attach to these (Bergmann 2008), and contrast responses to understand negotiations between mobilities and moorings.

Techniques were utilised that respected travellers' pauses as well as their movements, to present a relational view of their mobility and their ideas about place. As examined in the literature, place has been conceived as a 'node' where mobility flows intersect (Adey 2006; see 2.5.2). Pausing in place could therefore be a way to spectate these flows and encourage reflection about 'temporal permanences' (Harvey 1991) from an objective stance. Place spectating, or copresent observation (by researcher and participant) in this manner can serve as an "active trigger to prompt knowledge recollection and production" (Anderson 2004: 254) – as photographs, diaries and other visual methods have served in the past (Benzie et al 2005; Harper 2000) – by being in the thick of activity but remaining apart. This further confirms Said's idea that being

an 'outsider' for some participants grants a better 'view' since they are able to observe at distance (1986). This certainly resonated with some of the participants, and efforts were made to mould the method to suit the individual:

> "like a train for me is the best way because I kind of like to be observing, I don't like to be part of things you know…" (Hannah)

This relates to Ingold's notion of wayfaring (2006; see 2.2.2) where *Hannah's* preferred position as 'transported traveller' is defended as a different, rather than inferior, way of viewing mobility. This recognises that whilst lifestyle travellers can be conceived as 'wayfarers' in being free to compose their own journeys, their actual position can weave between being mobile and immobile / 'wayfarer' and 'transported traveller', with neither being of detriment to their appreciation and interaction with place; they are just different standpoints. This is summarised by Adey who advocates that "spectators can be mobile too" (2007: 520) addressing how processes and engagements with place, people, actions and objects do not stop, even when we are at rest. For some, the mobilities of place are best witnessed when immobile. As a result, methods were used to cater for this objectivity, where participants were interviewed in place at rest. We will now address the various ways that mobility was employed within interviewing.

3.6.5 Interviews on-the-move

To provide clarity between different types of mobility, corporeal movement harnessed within interviews are referred to as interviews-on-the-move. This was a necessary component since lifestyle travel is an inherently mobile practice therefore a method which could tap into and explicitly use movement to generate data was considered beneficial and naturalistic. "To be moved by and to move with" lifestyle travellers ensured that the researcher could "tune into the social organisation of 'moves'" (Buscher et al 2009: 103) and engage with their worldview, underpinned by mobility. This further promoted 'double transparency' (Ibid: 111) where mobilities could be

studied and described, while simultaneously drawing both researcher and participants' attention to such methods (Lynch, 1993).

Two different types of interviews-on-the-move were conducted. The first was the 'ride along' (Laurier 2004) where a range of observation and recording techniques were employed whilst engaged in activity. This involved co-present immersion with participants on public transport, tapping into a routine travel practice which would have been made regardless of interviewing, thereby naturalising the encounter. The second was participation-whilst-interviewing where the researcher partook in patterns of movement prior to and during interviewing (see Bærenholdt et al. 2004 and Kusenbach 2003) and involved walking with participants. This was beneficial as the distraction of walking and talking aided the flow of conversation.

'Ride-alongs' were conducted during a boat and bus ride between Tioman Island and Kuala Lumpor, and during a train journey between Kosice and Bratislava. Whilst Ingold may discourage the use of such methods through his critique of the 'transported traveller' following pre-composed plots, we cannot reject such modes of moving since these are necessary to lifestyle travellers in varying forms and degrees[22]. In essence, the research harnessed methods that were already in use. Further defence against this critique was suggested earlier where participants sometimes preferred the activity of spectating rather than participation: "*It's more that I like being in transit, it's the best way for me to be able to think" (Hannah).* This emphasises how we cannot adopt methods which privilege one type of activity since individuals themselves will often change their preferred position depending on the situation or how they feel. Sometimes they may be in the thick of activity and weave trails; sometimes they may like to step out and observe from afar. Fundamentally, this method cannot be considered of any less worth than other mobile techniques; it just offers an alternate lens to view the world. As Simmel (1997) has stressed "different types of travel produce different forms of sociality and different experiences of time and place" (Vannini 2011: 289) which this research attempts to make allowances for.

[22] All participants have used public transport in their travels. Some demonstrate a preference for hitch hiking, but this could also be included under the banner of the 'transported traveller'

'Participation-while-interviewing' was used in Weymouth where the interview began in a café and covered background information and biographical details. The interview then proceeded to a 'walk-along', where the participant and researcher strolled along the beach and a more conversational style interview progressed. This was considerably longer than other interviews due to being a more relaxed, less intense encounter where breaks in conversation did not necessarily conclude the interview. Such a multi-sited interview was effective in providing a holistic understanding of mobility by incorporating relative pauses in movement, as well as sensory elements of "vision, sound, taste and smell" (Law et al 2004: 408) to contrast with the kinaesthetics of being interviewed *in place* (see below).

Such sensory elements strongly characterised the second participatory interview. The participant was met and discovered to be practicing lifestyle travel whilst trekking the Annapurna circuit in Nepal. Conversation was struck up and peripheral details were obtained *before* the participant was recruited and subsequently interviewed. This follows Noy's argument that recruitment can never be detached from the interview encounter (see 3.5.3) where meeting the participant whilst trekking and learning of his three years of travel quite naturally evolved into an interview. Harnessing mobility was therefore the most instinctive and natural method to employ, as a continuation of how the researcher met and recruited the participant to ensure a relaxed ambiance in the interview. Interviews were continued at rest in a guesthouse, promoting naturalism, as well as explicitly harnessing mobilities and moorings within the encounter. This encouraged examining meanings *between* being in motion and being at rest, to uncover the relationship between trekking and resting rather than separating practices. Entwining methods in this way unearthed that "which slips and slides between one place and another" (Law et al 2005: 402) and how thoughts and feelings take shape and evolve across 'different places'.

As noted, this fluid process encouraged interaction with the environment where the interview engaged and capitalised on the sensory elements of trekking in Nepal. With the co-present experience and activity of physically trekking over four days, the

interview really captured the thoughts and feelings of the participant and researcher as they ascended the range, and the emotions they felt along the way. Furthermore, rest stops served as time to pause and reflect on the activity and appreciate the natural surroundings. This was particularly poignant at the overnight stop in Ghorepani where participant and researcher could enjoy the scenery of the Annapurna Range together at an altitude of 2874m and reflect on the mobilities that had facilitated this vista. In essence, since the goal of the trip had been to reach the summit and experience such natural beauty, discussion at this point really tapped into the emotion of the experience and the mobilities that were central to this achievement. Pausing in this place effectively evoked reflection on the accomplishment of mobility, as well as sharing the spectacle of the anticipated site. Photograph 3.11 and 3.12 below aim to capture these contrasting methodological positions.

Photograph 3.11: Interviews on-the-move: trekking

Photograph 3.12: Interviews on-the-move: views at Ghorepani

This emphasises the importance of capturing mobilities *and* moorings to evoke deep, holistic and emotional responses in interviews. It further served to 'marry' mobilities and the experience of place by allowing outlays for different kinds of experience; on-the-move in terms of interaction, and pausing for absorbing and internalising. Such methods were complementary in this way and were moulded to suit each participant rather than the participant fitting within a method. It allowed participants time to focus on specific topics whilst at rest through a more involved encounter with the researcher, but allowed fluidity and naturalism whilst on the move, where co-experience could generate further ideas or conversation. These interviews followed the same schedule as traditional interviews, although progressed in a different way and in a different dynamic (see also Appendix 5 for implications of recording interviews on the move).

3.6.6 Interviews in place / (Im)mobile interviews / Moored interviews

To avoid presenting interviews conducted at rest as somehow devoid of mobility, these shall be referred to as 'interviews in place' or (im)mobile interviews, to emphasise different types of mobility within the encounter. For these interviews, participants generally sat facing the researcher, answered questions in sequence and followed the interview schedule more closely. However, as discussed previously, (im)mobile interviewing can be a strategy to spectate flows, where mobilities of place can be observed from an objective stance; being out of movement in order to appreciate it (as per trek stops in Ghorepani).

This was examined by Prince (1977), cited by Adey (2010), who discussed whether fixed reference points are required in order to "identify the mobilities that temporality animates" (2010: 22). This was the case for *Hannah,* (see 3.6.4) who found it more comfortable to be observing rather than being a part of things. Similarly, another participant remarked how one of her favourite things to do when in a new place was to "*find little cafes, hang out, people watch and you know start chatting with people" (Sheila),* which was replicated in many interview situations. In this manner, perhaps (im)mobility provides a more pronounced and holistic view of the movements around us; being immobile can attune our sensitivity to place specific mobilities, to get a feel for its rhythm and pace. By catering for these contrasting experiences of place, the methodology thereby appreciates that different locations and positions present different 'senses of mobility' (Adey 2010: 22). Such different sites are now outlined to emphasise how provisions for contrasting mobilities were made.

i. Religious Site

The first immobile interview was at a religious site in Kathmandu. The participant, as a practicing Buddhist, requested to meet at Boudhanath Stupa as a site of special significance to him. The interview was conducted at a rooftop café overlooking the stupa which receives hundreds of visitors every day. Therefore the site served as an effective vantage point to observe the spiritual flows of activity that were of importance to the participant and became a prominent theme of discussion. In this way, the interview setting was personalized by the participant, "as a place most appropriate to (his) story" (Beaman et al 2009) thus inciting conversation about the mobilities that were meaningful to him. The power of place in evoking memories and feelings has been documented in this way (see Anderson 2004; Anderson et al 2009). Harnessing the stupa as a multi-sensory cue thereby served as an effective way to evoke insights into participant feelings and relationships with the place.

Photograph 3.13 from Interview vantage point

ii. Rooftop

A second interview which capitalised on personal vantage points included a meeting at a rooftop garden of a guesthouse in Kathmandu, where the participant sought solitude from the hum drum of the city.

> *"I do seek more solitude now and even that can be hard to find when you're doing this kind of trips, it's difficult cos everyone wants to speak to you, like 'where you from, la la la', please I just want to be on my own, it's really hard" (Hannah)*

Despite *Hannah* seeking this respite, as earlier noted she still liked to be observing and witnessing the mobilities of the city. In this way the rooftop afforded the best of both, with views over Kathmandu to spectate the daily commotion, but from a peaceful distance. In this manner, the interview could use unfolding activity as a stimulus for conversation.

iii. Hostel

In comparison to *Hannah's* solitude, another participant was quite the opposite in what she wanted out of her trip at this particular time, with a preference for meeting people and being amongst activity. In this manner the method replicated her preference with the interview being conducted in the garden of a backpacker's hostel in Melbourne, where this participant had been living, working and socialising with other guests, thus tapping into the mobilities that characterised her current situation. Interviewing was dipped in and out of amongst socialising with others, providing a natural setting that the participant was accustomed to, as well as being able to spectate the unfolding backpacker mobilities whilst discussing the participants' travels.

iv. Eating / drinking establishments

Similar to this were interviews conducted in pubs and bars, where the interview schedule was punctured by conversation and sometimes interaction with others. Such encounters were often 'lubricated' by the social atmosphere, and were generally free-flowing and natural with previous studies demonstrating the richness of interviews generated in such settings (Trauth 1997). Furthermore, interviews conducted in the evening also could draw upon the different kinds of mobilities within place. In this way, occupying night-time leisure spaces offered an alternative perspective to daytime experiences of place (Hubbard 2007).

A few interviews were conducted over dinner as a convenient time for participants to meet in an informal and relaxed manner, which was more akin to a natural travel encounter rather than a sterile research interview. Conversation naturally flowed often about what the researcher and participant had done during the day, observations about the food and surroundings, and any subsequent plans alongside interviewing.

v. Public Space

A final example of (im)mobile interviewing was conducted in the National Art Gallery of Victoria as a place where this participant often visited for periods of reflection and time out, but also as a place where he brought visiting Couch Surfers. A quiet and tranquil place, the gallery was in the centre of Melbourne and therefore was relatively busy with visitors passing through the open space of the 'reflection room'. In this manner it served as a point to observe the mobilities that characterised this space. Whilst appearing a less dynamic interview setting than the others addressed, it emphasises how the method was tailored to the participant, with this individual feeling comfortable and 'at home' within this place.

As emphasised by these examples, mobilities of place may sometimes be best witnessed at rest, where observations of intersecting mobilities can be made as well as participants' ideas about them. By meeting at sites that were of relevance to participants sought to tap into mobilities that were of significance to them, to engender "multi-sensual dimensions and embodied practices" (Trell et al 2010: 94) which passive interview settings omit. As Tuan (1975), Thrift (2008) and this thesis emphasise, such nuances are central to the significance place holds to people, and how it impacts on them.

However, understandably the significance of interview locations will vary with Boudhanath stupa perhaps affording more meaning to the participant than a generic bar to others. This appreciates the difficulty in harnessing place in this thesis since a study on travel will inevitably mean that travellers will not always be occupying significant places when being interviewed. Furthermore, this makes the assumption that place is still meaningful to lifestyle travellers, which this thesis of course questions (see Chapter 2). Consequentially some participants may have had "…no direct contact with the place or objects s/he is talking about" (Trell et al 2010: 94). However, the impetus for this thesis was also to tap into various mobilities. Whether these were mobilities of significance (Boudhnath stupa) or mobilities of place (spectating the

mobile flows and activity of central Kathmandu) or mobilities that embodied their experience (being in a hostel surrounded by backpackers) was of equal importance as they offered contrasting experiences of mobility. Both objectives to harness motion (mobility) and the 'hubs' that enabled this motion (mooring) were met, adding momentum to relational understandings of geography (see 1.4).

To summarise, co-present observation of manifesting mobilities essentially worked as a prompt to incite knowledge and understanding. In this way, place could be seen as a dynamic memory cue for lifestyle travellers to discuss or reflect upon their experiences in a similar way as interviews on-the-move provided. A 'polylogic approach' was thereby taken which moved interviews from being mere dialogues to explicitly capitalising on "researcher, researched and the place of methodology" (Anderson et al 2009: 590) to invoke deeper insights and a more encompassing methodology. The key was to allow participants to decide on where and how they were interviewed, to allow them to choose a method that was pertinent to them; if mobility (in motion) or (im)mobility (place/mobility spectating), or a mixture of the two was appropriate for them at a particular time. This appreciates that as well as one's location being unstable, so too are their feelings and attitudes towards place, mobility and (im)mobility. Whilst participants may appreciate, feel 'at home' or content within place / 'on the road' one day, they may feel differently the next, especially given their highly transient status. In this regard a method that is malleable and respective of the participants was the best approach, with strengths lying in the utilisation of all these methods rather than the privileging of one. As we have noted, triangulating methods means 'non-overlapping weaknesses' are conciliated by their 'complimentary strengths' (Brewer et al 1989: 17). In essence, fostering a multi-sited ethnography encompassed for both the mobilities and moorings of lifestyle travel.

3.7 Computer Mediated Interviewing

In contrast to place interviews, this section now explores computer mediated communication as a tool for conducting interviews. CMC is "…a process where

messages are electronically transferred from sender to one or more recipient(s) both in synchronous (in real time) and in asynchronous (independent from time and place) setting" (Opdenakker 2006: no page). The growing popularity of CMCs (Kim et al 2011) as well as their overcoming issues of distance were strong incentives for use in research. CMCs were used to access and interview a wide range of participants unrestricted to geographical proximity, thereby "giving a voice to (people) who would otherwise be difficult to contact" (O'Connor et al 2008: 278). This was extremely important to this research given the highly mobile nature of participants and difficulty in catching them within a particular place.

The research further acknowledged the highly intermittent presence of lifestyle travellers where connections are not always based on propinquity but often on an 'imagined presence' sustained by multiple technologies during periods of absence (Buscher et al 2009). Face to face interviews replicate meetings and friendships forged in place, whereas CMCs tap into the ways that connections are maintained over distance. In this manner the research harnessed mediums that travellers themselves use to sustain relationships, making it a credible and realistic way to collect data. Furthermore, it meant that virtual as well as corporeal mobilities were tapped into (Urry 2007) providing a way to examine alternative and on-line versions of identity and how these were mediated with physical expressions of self.

Such methods appreciate the performance of identity and its various guises, emphasising that online versions of 'self' are no less valid than offline. Criticism that online methods cannot check participant claims or verify who they say they are (Blank 2008) is challenged since identity can never be tested for accuracy as would render it fixed rather than dynamic and malleable. In essence, identity is performed differently in different situations, thus is just as easily fabricated offline as online, as *Oliver* outlines:

> *"…it's a case of thinking OK what reality am I in today? Well that's the mask that I'll wear today"*

Whilst we can be aware of such problems surrounding deception, credibility and authenticity in online research, these too are common throughout all social research regardless of being on or off site (Johns et al 2004; O'Connor et al 2008). Offline environments merely serve as a different medium to project selves, which manifest in different ways. Whereas we can check for visible markers of identity in offline situations (Blank 2008), thoughts, feelings and attitudes are easily masked whatever the context.

From evaluating CMCs, we now explore the variations of these used in research.

3.7.1 Synchronous Skype Interviewing

Skype was utilised given its global use (Gaiser 2008) and popularity (Pan 2010: 4) with it being a common feature in internet cafes, observed whilst travelling. In light of this, using Skype, as a free source of visual and audio communication, was a naturalistic way to harness data given its wide use by travellers (Dholakia 2012).

Three Skype interviews were conducted as video calls where "…both users can see and hear each other (O'Connor et al 2008: 286) making this a more 'realistic' CMC (Ibid: 285) through retaining extra-linguistic devices such as visual cues and body language (Hewson et al 2008). Despite the lack of *multi*-sensory stimulation and the co-experience of place (as important dimensions for research) the benefits of access and retaining *some* stimuli outweighs this limitation, especially since it triangulates with interviews that do account for this. Furthermore, participants sometimes showed to describe and interact with their setting during video calls, more so than during face to face interviews, in order to provide context for their story. In this manner, place may actually be enhanced during Skype calls since researcher and participant are not able to co-experience place in its entirety. Place may thus become a more explicit feature in interviews rather than as a shared backdrop (see Anderson et al 2009).

Four Skype interviews were conducted as VOIP (voice over Internet protocol) or 'internet telephony' (O'Connor et al 2008). This was due to limited web camera usage by participants, as well as being down to their preference, allowing participants to

choose their method and have ownership over how they told their story. Studies have further showed that "visually anonymous participants disclose significantly more information about themselves than non-visually anonymous participants" (Joinson 2001: 177), suggesting that richer information may be obtained than in face to face interviews. Furthermore, whereas considered less realistic (O'Connor et al 2008) voice to voice interviews account for the majority of Skype calls, therefore may be more representative of how participants themselves generally use Skype[23] and present their 'online' persona. There were also fewer external distractions and complications during VOIP than video calling.

VOIP was further used as a follow up technique at the request of one participant who did not wish to complete an email questionnaire (3.7.4). In this manner, rapport built from meeting in person facilitated later communication over Skype, with an easy flow of conversation characterising the follow up. This further proved a quicker way to obtain material than email exchanges, as probing could occur whilst talking.

3.7.2 Synchronous Instant Messaging (IM): Skype and MSN

Instant Messaging is a type of written communication over the Internet where text messages are exchanged back and forth between parties (Tran 2010). Recent studies have showed that IM is replacing phone calls and email "with a new modality that combines the two forms" (Kozinets 2006: 140) as a faster communication than email and allows participants to multi-task if busy, which is not possible in telephony and video calling. In this manner IM offers a way to conduct interviews in real-time, replicating conversation where "exchanges are usually immediate" (Janetzko 2008) generating more frank than contrived and crafted responses, although allowing the user time to reflect if required. In this regard, it works as a good 'middle ground' between synchronous and asynchronous methods, where the pace of conversation is determined by the participant.

[23] Just 34% of total Skype calls include video (Pan 2010: 4)

Instant messaging was sometimes easier than other CMCs, especially if participants did not have the hardware to support 'voice to voice' interaction; if they were in a noisy environment or if they expressed a preference for this method[24], perhaps to retain their anonymity. 'IMterviews' (Kozinets 2006: 136) further seemed to proceed faster than face to face and Skype interviews since they removed the need to build rapport. The 'disinhibiting effects' (Joinson 1998; Suler 2004) afforded through preserving anonymity meant that participants were more open and friendly from the offset as they relayed responses to a screen rather than someone they had just met, removing time to feel comfortable with the researcher. This was offset by the fact that these interviews were nearly twice as long as spoken interviews (Markham 2004) due to being a written dialogue. However, such lengthy exchanges provided reassurance that thorough answers had been obtained, and removed labour intensive transcribing. It also gave participants greater ownership over their story since 'IMterviews' could be analysed directly rather than interpreted by the researcher when speech was arbitrary.

'IMterviews' could further be resumed if the internet connection dropped out at any time with messages 'logged' in chat history screens. This meant that if other tasks were imminent, interviews could be completed at a later time to re-engage the participant. This also gave the researcher time to check if all topics had been sufficiently covered.

IM attracts criticism for the lack of personal contact and social cues presenting it as a "limited register for communication" (Bampton et al 2002: 8). However proponents argue this can engender confidence, engagement, honesty and reflection as Clarke (as quoted in Hinchcliffe et al 2009: 321) argues since:

there are no nods, frowns, or yawns to discourage or distract. There are no misread social cues that result in second-guessing the expectation of the 'other'.

[24] One participant was a writer therefore was used to articulating herself through the written word

In general, IM presented less socially conforming answers, as well as findings that were more participant focused, rather than generated from the researcher / participant encounter.

Furthermore, IM offers alternative ways for expression with the use of emoticons as "graphic representations of facial expressions" (Walther et al 2001: 324) to convey the participant mood. 'Phatic communication' is also used "such as 'gee', 'hmm' and 'lol (laugh out loud) which is typical of speech, not of writing" (Stewart et al 2005 305). In this manner IM replicates the spoken word, offering a more naturalistic online method. This was seen by participants often deviating from the interview schedule to tell their own story punctured by colloquialism and 'chat', akin to traditional interviewing, thereby retaining a realistic feel. However, IM did have the advantage over spoken interviews since there was less 'rambling' as written responses took longer. IMterviews were therefore generally more concise as meaningless chatter was filtered out.

3.7.3 Asynchronous Email Interviewing

Email interviewing was adopted as it is one of the most widely used and simplest CMCs. Participants are sent a list of questions in an email - or split over several emails – to reply at their convenience (O'Connor et al 2008), which was useful for individuals across different time zones. Online interviewers claim that asynchronous approaches generally deliver "…richer, more detailed, elaborate and reflexive data" (Hewson et al 2008: 68; see also Kenny 2005; Kivitis 2005; Conrad et al 2011), due to increased narrative than synchronous methods (James et at 2006).

In this research, email interviewing was used for just one participant, as it was primarily designed as a follow up tool after interviewing, rather than as a stand-alone method, to increase the chance of continued participation. This was designed in light of previous studies that show difficulty in sustaining commitment which solely use email interviews (see Bampton and Cowton 2002). It was hoped that obtaining in-depth interviews in person or through Skype before emailing would generate rapport

with participants and harbour their interest to increase the likelihood of receiving a later response from them.

The email interview was conducted at the request of the participant, given their busy travel schedule. The participant answered questions at their convenience which coincided with taking a train journey. In this manner, the method served as a good way to harness their mobility whilst generating data. Like other CMCs, higher levels of spontaneous self-disclosure may be achieved from the "protective cloak of anonymity" (McKenna et al 2000: 62) it offers, therefore email interviews may have produced more personal thoughts and feelings at a quicker rate. This seemed probable for this participant since he admitted that "*I have always been an introspective, fairly quiet person and lacking in confidence in some respects" (Steve).* Therefore a less direct and interrogative method such as this was ideal, emphasising how the method must always attempt to 'fit' the participant.

3.7.4 Asynchronous Email Follow Ups

Email follow ups served to promote a longitudinal account of participants' 'life worlds' rather than a snapshot of their travels. Participants were contacted with a list of 'personalised' questions (see Appendix 3) based on their interview after a period of time had elapsed. This was generally between 6 months and one year to gain a reflective account of how their life had progressed. Questions were designed to incite a continuation of their story, as well as to elaborate on what had been previously said and to check whether this was still accurate, appreciating the evolution of people's thoughts, feelings and behaviours. In some instances participants were contacted immediately prior to an interview to clarify certain aspects of their stories (see Appendix 2), or to probe further on particular issues to ensure accurate interpretations were made rather than assumed by the researcher.

Email follow ups were used to give participants the opportunity to present their thoughts and feelings across a variety of methods. This appreciates that people are receptive to and will communicate their experiences in different ways (Rainbow et al

1987). Participants often expressed enjoyment when conducting email follow ups, as offered a different and novel way to convey their experiences.

Follow ups were primarily designed to fill the gaps and triangulate with interviews. However it was also hoped that emails would deliver more polished and considered answers to complement instantaneous responses. Each email questionnaire was different depending on what needed clarification or elaboration, thus was personalised for each participant and varied in length and detail. Contact was also more frequent with the participants who are considered friends. This contact has consisted of updates and informal exchanges, mainly through social networking sites, offering a more natural follow up tool. This provides an alternative and perhaps more realistic means of mapping lifestyle travel, since it is not confined to isolated emails. Instead frequent travel updates were obtained, and further tapped into the ways that contact is maintained with family and friends.

Despite the benefits of longitudinal research to continue participant 'stories', this is dependent on continued interest and participation. This was problematic in this research with only 28% of the sample maintaining contact. Despite initial interest with nearly all immediate follow ups obtained, later emails often lacked the richness of earlier rounds and receiving replies from participants after a year or more was difficult. Perhaps this was because some had lost interest over time, or was due to emails being easy to ignore or overlook. Harbouring continued participation is certainly something that could be addressed in future research.

A further potential limitation of email is that they may paradoxically incite "socially desirable answers" (O'Connor et al 2008). Rather than obtaining carefully considered responses, emails may be 'engineered' since they are subject to revision and redrafting. This did not seem applicable in this research however, as questions were designed to incite narration (rather than corroborate a hypothesis) through being as open as possible and probing on what participants had previously said rather than asking fresh questions. Furthermore, participants sometimes bucked the trend in their

approach to lifestyle travel, discrediting the idea of conformance, with one individual revealing that:

> *"Instead of having to challenge myself with a new language and culture, I've to challenge myself to learn the "normal" things of life… Now it's time for this gypsy to trade her tent in for a real home. It's all new to me, and so it's still exciting :)" (Gem)*

In this manner, new ideas were raised demonstrating participant ownership over research through this unexpected direction. This shows how email can sometimes be more flexible in giving participants free rein to discuss what is important and appropriate to them, and can provide the researcher with additional topics to consider (James 2007).

3.8 Triangulation

This section outlines the methodological advantage of using multiple methods in tandem, before outlining how data has been analysed. Different methods have been used as a way to produce stronger research findings since they demonstrate 'non-overlapping weaknesses' in addition to 'complimentary strengths' (Brewer et al 1989: 17) (see Appendix 5 for overview). For example, interviews compensated for the lack of personal contact online, whereas online methods offered participants the "protective cloak of anonymity" (Spears et al 1994: 435). Furthermore, instantaneous 'gut reaction' answers from synchronous methods were triangulated with carefully considered and 'polished' asynchronous responses, presenting a well-rounded view of the phenomenon.

Employing an "an arsenal of methods" (Brewer et al 1989) further ensured that participants had a wide array of mediums to convey their experiences. This appreciates that some individuals prefer traditional interview settings and will articulate lengthy narratives, in comparison to those who prefer on-line methods and expression through the written word. As a result, the methodology was designed to promote multivocality, where numerous interpretations could manifest and be compiled to produce robust findings to "form a comprehensive whole" (Morse 2003:

190). In conclusion, it was hoped that a wide range of methods would deliver a good insight into the practice of lifestyle travel to be able to effectively answer the research aims and questions.

3.9 Data analysis

Interviews were transcribed whilst at home in the UK, and organised thematically using the qualitative software package, Nvivo. Analysis was based on a grounded approach (Glaser et al 1967) which was led by the data rather than from preconceived hypotheses. Emerging themes were created as nodes in Nvivo, of which were systematically scanned for in transcripts. The themes were developed using participants' own words for category names, such as 'freedom' and 'escape'. These were then sorted across the main overarching themes of locating lifestyle travel, mobility, place and identity once established. As subsequent rounds of interviewing progressed, more codes were added within these overarching themes, such as 'employment', '*pace* of mobility', and 'immersion', as they surfaced. Theoretically constructed codes, such as 'cosmopolitanism' were also added later in this process. In total, there were 29 codes which fell within the overarching themes, although overlap was often seen between groups. Furthermore, researcher discretion was often required when trying to match text to 'codes', for example if participants implicitly made a 'cosmopolitan' claim. In essence, Nvivo was primarily used to organise analysis rather than operate as a stand-alone tool. It provided a base from which the researcher could expand, elaborate and explore concepts which were not so easy to 'code' or categorise (see Appendix 7 for more details).

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has described and evaluated the methodology applied in this research. It has outlined the approach taken, as well as researcher positionality to contextualise research and demonstrate how this has shaped the findings. Close inspection was paid to researcher positionality to emphasise her active involvement in the production of data, appreciating that findings are never universal but are representative of one view and one interpretation of the material at a specific time. Extending the scope of research to examine lifestyle travel from different angles, and employing participant

focused methods that allowed individuals to tell their story in numerous ways meant that findings were expansive rather than restricted, and triangulated to produce strong findings. Data was organised using Nvivo through compiling data around emerging themes in order to answer the research questions. The following chapters will now proceed to present the research findings. Findings are split across the next three chapters to answer the three research questions systematically which inform the aims of research. The first describes and locates lifestyle travel; the second specifically examines mobility and the third explores place as the main themes of this thesis.

Chapter Four

"Define my lifestyle? That's the job for people like you!"

'Locating' lifestyle travel through mobility

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Two provided an overview of the literature surrounding the phenomenon of lifestyle travel, yet the importance of continued research on specific subtypes within the broader backpacker concept has been stressed by Sørenson (2003). In this manner it is imperative for further exploration to be made on lifestyle travel as a relatively under explored group. Research will build from Scott Cohen's foundational research (2009) to specifically examine lifestyle travel from a mobile perspective, as well as to understand what this means for notions of place and identity. In specific, this chapter considers who the lifestyle traveller is; motivations for their lifestyle and the patterns of mobility that they demonstrate. Indeed questions raised from the literature (see Table 2.1) are encompassed within these overarching questions.

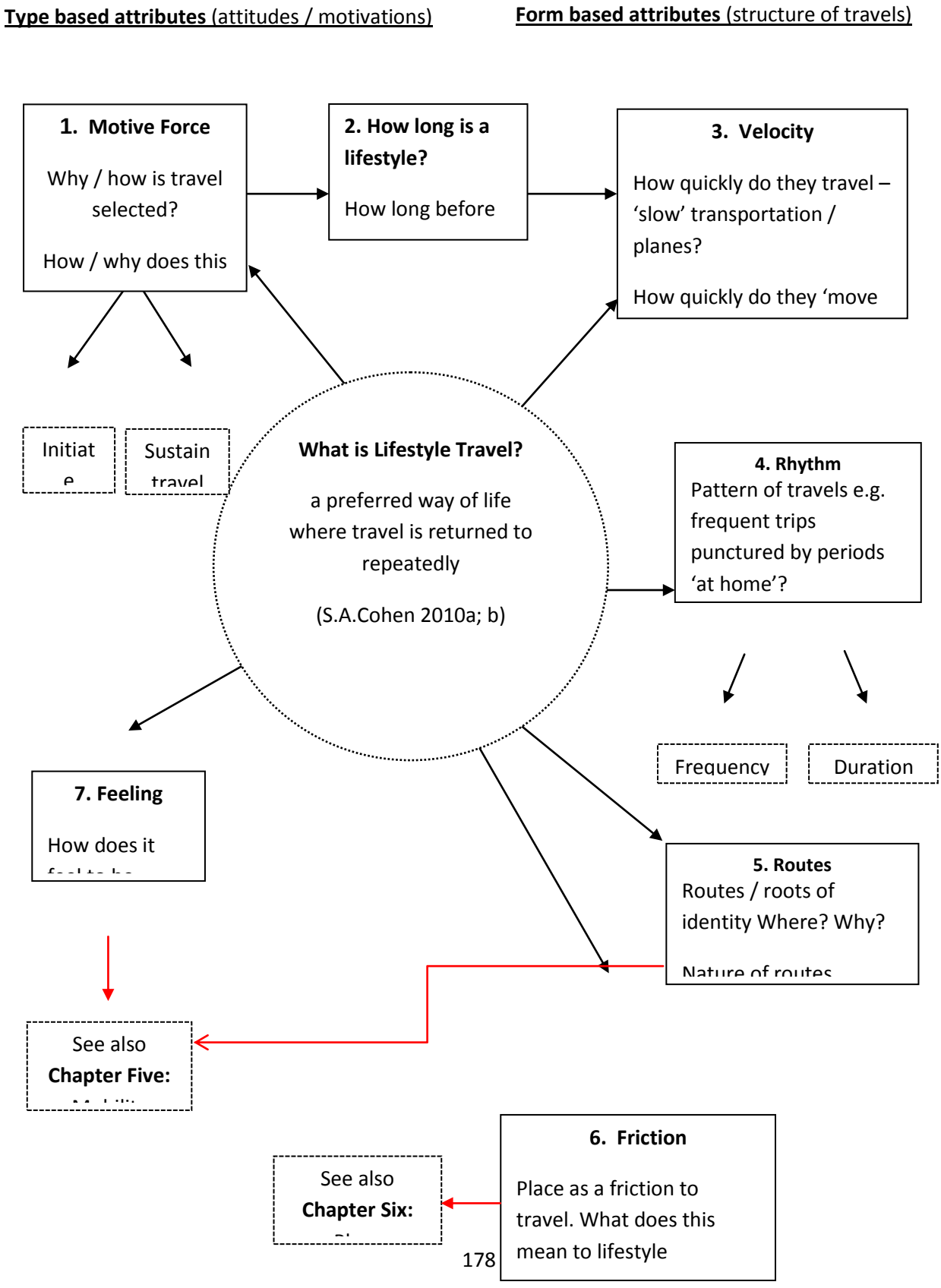
4.1.1 Defining (?) lifestyle travel

Beginning to define the lifestyle traveller is a problematic venture since it must be appreciated that there can never be a homogenous overarching criterion applicable to all. Whilst typologies are useful for analytical purposes, we must be sensitive to what individuals say about themselves (S. Cohen 2010; Maoz 2010) and how they attribute meaning to their travelling lives, rather than sticking religiously to codified schema. In this manner, we examine how participants define and explain their lifestyle in their own words, to understand who the lifestyle traveller is (see Figure 4.1).

Being led by empirics in this manner, the chapter seeks to organise ideas specifically by unpacking different practices of mobility outlined by Figure 4.1 below. Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) and Uriely's 'form' and 'type' attributes are used for this purpose (2002), to provide a neat structure for the chapter to follow, and clarity for the reader. As we will see, these broad organising themes allow for the diversity

and multiplicity in lifestyle travel to be demonstrated, whilst being able to make meaningful assertions about the practice.

Figure 4.1 Mobile 'aspects' of lifestyle travel



The diagram shows how this chapter is designed to expand and unpack Cohen's definition of lifestyle travel. It is designed to allow diversity to manifest through exploring mobile practices.

4.1.2 Constellations of Mobility

The mobile 'aspects' – which make up the 'constellations' of lifestyle travellers' mobility – are numbered in the diagram. These are systematically analysed in accordance to Cresswell's arrangement, structuring this chapter. 'Motive force' is the first 'aspect' to be explored, split between examining motivations for *initiating* travel, as well as why it *evolves* into a way of life. Such factors illuminate whether participants feel compelled or desire to travel (Bauman 1993) but primarily show how there is embroiled and multiple reasoning as to why participants chose travel as a way of life.

Linking from this we consider *when* travel becomes a lifestyle for individuals, as an additional component to Cresswell's constellations. This acknowledges that there are other mobilities extending beyond his 'framework' which could be explored, with this dimension added for its utility in distinguishing lifestyle travel from majority groups where returns to 'normality' are made. By comparison, lifestyle travellers reject this return, transforming their travel into a way of life. We explore the point at which individuals make this transition and whether this is a consciously made decision or if this simply evolves into an indefinite practice. This provides the context for the subsequent 'form' attributes to be examined, to 'measure' patterns of travel from perceived start points.

'Velocity' as Creswell's second aspect is next explored, outlining contrasting ideas about the 'speed' of travel through the example of hitch hiking. It further introduces different kinds of mobility exercised in lifestyle travel, examining how participants generally prefer a slow pace of travel with*in* place, in terms of immersion.

The chapter proceeds to consider 'rhythm' which is unpacked by exploring duration and frequency of travel trips. Deconstructing patterns of travel in this manner

illuminates how lifestyle travel can be conceived as an inverted version of normality where participants are essentially 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991: 7). In this way, the importance of considering both mobilities and moorings is emphasised, in order to be able to 'map' patterns in lifestyle travel. However it also stresses how quantifiable traits such as frequency do not bestow lifestyle traveller status in isolation, but rather how these are interpreted by individuals.

'Routes' are next examined, with different kinds of routes systematically outlined, first in terms of identity to emphasise how mobility is not simply corporeal movement. This demonstrates how goals of self progression can shape *where* lifestyle travellers go, as well as their routes *within place* (see Chapter 5). It proceeds to outline geographical routes and how changing aspirations alter paths, emphasising how type attributes can condition form. It continues by considering the *nature* of routes – as recreational, tactical or open – and illustrates that the 'journey' is sometimes as important as the destination.

'Friction' is next addressed, examined primarily as a mooring within place. We examine the temporality and nature of such friction, unpacking perceived negative types, such as returns home, as well as positive representations, such as testing identity. In essence, friction is evaluated by the difference mooring in place makes to self-progression, either in terms of constricting identity or allowing it to grow. Imperatively we conclude how friction (as place) has a shelf life in terms of the positive contributions it can make to identity, before it becomes restrictive.

Finally, the 'feel' of travel, is outlined, summarising how this has been explored throughout the chapter, and how such 'type' attributes condition structural arrangements of travel. It emphasises diversity of feeling, appreciating that this is perhaps the most expansive aspect to 'unpack'. It further explores how feelings evolve

over time, perhaps due to increasing autonomy, different aspirations or what participants 'get' from place.

We conclude by illustrating how this relatively compact framework has worked to emphasise diversity within lifestyle travel, thereby satisfying the first research aim (see 1.4). Rather than restrict participants to categories, it provides ways to unpack difference, to stress how constellations are 'meshworks' in themselves, imbued and overlapping with each other.

4.2 Motive force: initiating travel

This section considers why individuals begin to travel. It will outline the main motivations discussed by participants including childhood interest; genetics; personal growth; identity games and escape. The chapter will then proceed to consider motives for extending travel into a lifestyle, emphasising evolution of motives, as well as embroilment between these two 'phases'.

4.2.1 Childhood Interest

Some participants expressed that travel has been prominent in their lives since childhood, and they have grown up with a continued enthusiasm for it. As S. Cohen also observed, such 'enduring involvement' has meant that travel has become "extensions of life rather than means of escape" (2011: 7).

> *"I think I got a taste of travel from an early age" (Mark)*

> *"I grew up nomadic, I grew up on an island… then we moved over to Australia. My dad's a vet… so (we) moved all around Australia for that, worked in Turkey for a few months as well… and went to China, he worked in Beijing for 6 months…" (OJ)*

"I travelled a lot with my family as a child because they moved away from their homeland… so we travelled back and forth through South East Asia. I think the seed was planted then and I've been travelling ever since" (Rich)

Conversely, other participants noted how restrictions on travel had motivated them:

"We didn't really have the money because the exchange rate for the African Rand is quite bad, so I think it kind of romanticised travel for me quite a bit. I started travelling quite late (because) …we had sanctions, we had no international imports, (we) weren't allowed to travel and suddenly everything foreign was so much more alluring just because we weren't exposed to it… so for us (travel) was just a lot more exciting, forbidden, and (I was) just curious to see the world and how other people live…" (Nicola)

In both situations we can see how travel featured prominently in their early lives; for the former because they were actively engaging in it, and the latter since it was prohibited, and therefore alluring. In this way lifestyle travel for these participants does not seem surprising since they grew up with travel being a conspicuous feature in their lives, perhaps disposing them to continue it more fully in later life.

4.2.2 Genetics

In contrast, other people had difficulty expressing why or how they began to travel, describing it as something innate, something that had always been 'in' them, which was shared by S. Cohen's participants (2011).

"I don't know I think there's something in my genes or something cos some people get the travel bug and some people just seem to love travel more than others…" (Gem)

"I think basically we're naturally either people that move around a lot or we're people that settle… it's probably genetics and your ancestors, like what they'd have been doing, it can determine… what urges you have in your life I think" (Hannah)

4.2.3 Personal Growth

For others, the primary motivation for travel was personal growth, to develop internally by leaving a restrictive or uninspiring home place in the pursuit of new experiences (Neumann 1992). In this manner, personal progression seemed dependent on external relocation; an 'inward voyage is 'stimulated' through exploration and discovery of the world (see Galani-Moutafi 2000).

"I wasn't changing at home, just kind of stifling myself so getting away was good" (Enzo).

"*I'm a really curious person and I really like to sort of constantly be discovering and… my mind stimulated, just a curiosity about elsewhere kind of thing" (Felicity).*

In essence, personal growth can be satisfied through movement. Travel does not simply offer a 'way out' but a 'way to grow' resonating with sentiments on transformative travel and 'finding oneself' (see Desforges 1998; Lean 2009; O'Reilly 2006) which was widely discussed by participants:

"I don't think you find yourself, I think you make yourself but yes there's a certain confidence that comes from pitting yourself against the world and throwing yourself in the deep end and discovering that you can actually swim" (Nicola)

"…the point is not to find yourself, the point is to create yourself… I don't know if there was anything there pre-existing that I was supposed to find but I definitely created myself along the way" (Mark)

As outlined in Chapter Two, there is debate over the possibility of 'finding oneself' given the finality of the notion. Instead fragmented and malleable identities (see Bauman 1996; Maxey 1999) seemed to resonate more soundly with participants. As illustrated by *Mark,* participants generally demonstrated reluctance to subscribe to the agenda of '*finding oneself*' as implies some kind of end state to identity creation, frustrating the very purpose of on-going travel. Instead ideas were concerned with perpetual creation and on-going development; that whilst the transformatory qualities of travel were discussed, finding a complete or unified self was not the objective. Participants were more interested in constructing or discovering the different selves that they would encounter through their travel experiences. For *Nicola* this comes from the challenge of 'pitting' oneself against the world necessitating more expansive personal growth than staying at home as a limited stimulus for change. In this way, *Nicola* suggests that personal relocation occurs alongside physical travel where continual exposure to novel influences induces a heightened 'testing' or questioning of selves. *Mark* corroborates this in suggesting that travel somehow encourages a more creative and dynamic path for identity formation.

4.2.4 Identity Games

As outlined previously, travel can be synonymous with personal growth and on-going creation, where identity is something to be built upon. Contrastingly, travel may also be utilised as a way to shed and dispose of identity.

"…no no people say that, to find yourself and I know myself and I don't want to find myself, I wana lose myself if anything" (Nigel)

"I seem to be getting more lost the further I go as well… Plans change, things change, people confuse you, plans change, things change, people confuse you" (Chris)

This is kind of the inverse to self-discovery and personal growth with the idea being almost an escape of the 'self' rather than an escape from a home situation (see Escape 4.2.5). However, perhaps these are mutually conjoined and self-perpetuating. As discussed in Chapter Two, place and identity cannot be seen as separate agents (Casey 2001) thereby an escape of home may also represent an escape of a home self. This is corroborated by Ben:

"…the life I'd lived up until I was 21 years old, I was always known as Ben and I was always expected to live in a certain way because it was living with and around the people that had always known me, my family, my friends I'd had for a very long time, they all knew me as a certain type of person and they all knew me as Ben. The people I met in Oman knew a totally different person, I could in effect reinvent myself and I effectively did because of the confidence I gained through travel"

In this way travel affords the ability to lose existing personas and embrace new experiences, devoid of pre-fabricated traits or roles acquired from a home context:

"when you go to a new place, basically you can be whoever you want to be and no-one knows you, no-one knows anything about you" (Gem)

For *Nigel,* travel provides the opportunity to un-know (him)self and like *Ben*, not be concerned with who he is or what is expected of him. Travel in this manner offers the blanket of anonymity; that he can lose him(self) to new places and new situations, and perhaps test new identities without being *'expected to live a certain way'* (see also Golden Gelman 2011). Furthermore, travel may remove the pressure to 'know oneself' through concentrating on the novelty of new cultures and countries. Nigel may not be conscious about who he is or what he should do because new identities

can be tested implicitly through being exposed to novelty. In essence, *Nigel* seeks to become lost in the external changing world rather than be concerned with some inward voyage, expectant that this will happen as a product of travelling anyway.

For Gem this is slightly different as she explicitly uses changing situations to change her identity; that it is considered more of a 'freely chosen game' (Bauman 1996: 18) best played in novel situations.

4.2.5 Escape

As mentioned previously, travel for some participants was to escape (Gilbert et al 2004; O'Reilly et al 2009) from undesirable situations at home, rather than freeing themselves from state oppression or being forcibly exiled*:*

> *"I was in love with this boy… he didn't love me back… so I just thought furthest possible location and I went there and I haven't really stopped travelling since" (Viv*).

> *"I was working in the seventh biggest bank in Europe… and I was just fed up of the management so yea I wanted just to forget about France a bit" (Freddie)*

Escape for these lifestyle travellers was driven by externalities at home and the circumstances that they found themselves in (unrequited love and boredom), provoking them to seek a happier life elsewhere. For *Nigel,* the objective was to lose himself, whereas for *Viv* and *Freddie* was about 'finding' a more content and happier self by being elsewhere. Interestingly, both involve using place to incite change or diversion from a sense of self, emphasising the interdependence between place and identity.

> "I *was running away from a life that I felt I was being forced into… just the typical mundane go to college, to university, get a job, get married, have kids, settle down, die" (Chris)*.

For *Chris*, escape is about shedding societal expectations and roles in a similar vein to *Ben*. Their self-induced exit was motivated by a wish to experience a more satisfying

life through leaving a prescribed and ordered way of life – associated with western society – with fixed responsibilities and routines (Burkes-Nossiter 2010). For *Chris*, escape was synonymous with avoiding conformity to societal stages, to escape the rules of (western) 'normality' so that he may create his own kind of 'freely chosen game' (Bauman 1996: 18)[25]. This resonates with 'identity games' outlined above, although emphasises that it is primarily about escape from societal stages as opposed to inventing new selves. This relates to the desire to be free and create new kinds of identities based on individuality rather than being structured by western society[26] (see, for example, Beck & Beck-Gersheim 2002). By opting out of his current normality through physical dislocation from home, *Chris* felt that he could shirk off feelings of being tied or constrained to people and place, that there we no longer expectations on him:

> "*I don't like feeling trapped by people or society. When you're in another culture that doesn't apply to you cos you're just a foreigner so you're free of all that, no-one expects you to do anything". (Chris)*

This rings true also for *Hannah,* where escape from home is about discovering a 'real' or less constrained self, one that is unbound from what western society dictates of you (Burkes-Nossiter 2010):

> *"It is a bit of escapism in that sense… there's so many people back home that just basically stay in the same job for years and years and they hate it, and they're 'I've got to, cos I have to get a house and I have to get a husband, and I have to have babies' and it's like you're doing stuff because you feel that you have to, that society says you have to be there, when actually it's not and you need to get out of that just to see who you really are. But I don't like the finding, searching for yourself, I dunno it's just knowing who you are really... I do think, you always*

[25] Albeit a 'game' within different kinds of structure and new societal rules.

[26] Rather than infer that they are exiting structure altogether, we acknowledge that different types of structure are opted into. A sense of freedom is accrued from leaving western societal structures that had prominently featured in their lives thus far.

kind of know yourself but you're always distracted by everything that's going on around you" (Hannah)

For *Hannah* escaping a structured self means getting to know what she really wants devoid of distractions. For her, this escape almost induces an awakening of the soul which is not programmed to conform to what is socially desirable in western lives. In turn *Hannah* feels that she is able to realise innate and suppressed aspirations (Goodnow 2011). However, like *Nigel*, she is uncomfortable with subscribing to the 'finding yourself' agenda, preferring to see escaping from home as waking up to, or becoming more attune to who she is. For Hannah and *Chris,* travel is not in the pursuit of identity manipulation but of identity expansion, where the task is to nurture a sense of self that is free of the expectations, responsibilities and roles conditioned by a home environment (Golden Gelman 2011). In essence travel for them is a way to detach or shed a structured self by leaving the place that shaped it, to encourage buried and less structured identities to surface by being in new and open environments, emphasising the effect of place on identity.

"I'm not particularly good at anything like staying at school or at work and like all the time they're like 'this isn't right, this isn't right' but here it's like, everything is just what you make isn't it, you know and it's just easier"(Hannah)

Without overarching western structures dictating what the right way to live is, Hannah feels that she is free to create whatever lifestyle or choices she wants[27]. For her, travel affords the opportunity to make her own way and forge her own routes rather than remain rooted to one self in one particular place.

Such 'motive forces' outlined here (childhood interest; genetic; personal growth; identity games; escape) are the most cited reasons for why participants chose to

[27] This is not to infer that she is completely free of any structure, but a sense of relative freedom is accrued by leaving western society which has conditioned her life up to now.

travel. In application of Bauman (1993) trying to locate the lifestyle traveller in terms of their desire (akin to the tourist) or need (akin to the vagabond) is problematic since reasons tend to be entwined rather than discrete. For example, whilst there is discontent with a 'home' life or a less challenged home self, there is also desire for personal progression elsewhere (see O'Reilly et al 2009).

> *"you're 25 and in a corporation, I was like 'I don't identify with this'… (but) I'd also like to think rather than escaping and being repulsed from something, I was attracted…" (Tyler)*

> *"I hate the city I'm from and I really wanted to just get out of… but I had things attracting me outwards, so it worked both ways" (Ben)*

In essence, motivations can consist of both push and pull factors, they can be multiple and entwined. Indeed there are countless reasons as to why participants initially chose to travel:

> *"many people think it's just escaping* [escape] *from the society or just travelling for fun* [recreation] *but (its) something I want to return also to the society* [altruism] *and one way to do this I do slide shows, I do photography, I share my view, my experience, my opinion about different cultures" (Gabe)*

> *"…I totally burnt out* [tiredness] *and that was my 4 years of just focusing on a career, building up wealth… and in 2008 I said screw it* [escapism] *so ended up travelling for 4 months… I didn't want to be that person that could never follow through, so it was kind of a self-goal* [personal challenge]. *(Dan)*

However, whilst such motivations help explain why travel is initially started, they may not be indicative of why people *sustain* travel and extend it into a way of life. Escape, for example configures as a stimulus for travel, yet does not adequately explain why it is sustained indefinitely:

"It's not about escaping because escaping is saying you go (back) *somewhere after you kind of relax and get some rest... Then you go back to your own place" (Martin)*

Furthermore, as *Tim* suggests, reasons for prolonging travel varies over time:

"It depends on when you catch me cos I may give a different answer according on how I feel" (Tim)

4.3 Motive force: sustaining travel

This section expands from the last to consider the reasons why participants extend travel into a lifestyle. Motives including compulsion; freedom from societal roles; self-sufficiency; freedom over time and space, and freedom over identity formation are introduced and addressed systematically. As we will see, such 'freedoms' resonate with factors for *leaving* home, although are articulated more in terms of what travel offers to participants.

4.3.1 Compulsion

Whereas motives for leaving home may be embroiled by push (i.e. escape) and pull (i.e. curiosity) factors, motive force for lifestyle travel frequently seemed to feature compulsion. This is in contrast to S. Cohen's study where finding a new place to call home was commonly cited (2011: 1549), which was not so explicit in this research. Instead participants often expressed a *need* to keep travelling rather than an objective based on 'searching' for something. Participants further found difficulty conveying a definitive moment where they consciously decided to turn travel into a lifestyle, emphasising it as an on-going almost instinctive activity:

"It's like an addiction for me like I want to go somewhere all the time, like in 2010 I'll be hitting 9 countries you know and like I wana go, I wana see the next country, the next experience I just love it, and so I always wanted to go to places" (Gem)

Many participants fell in love with the lifestyle once they'd started travelling and simply did not want to give it up; they were compelled (akin to Bauman's vagabond) to keep going, it was *"…intoxicating in a way" (Johanna).* Once they had started

travelling, they felt that they must continue; driven by seeing new places and collecting new experiences.

> *"no matter how much you travel there's always other places you want to see and we perpetually have a long list that we keep adding to…" (Nicola)*

> *"…you always get new plans, like the more you travel the more things, more places you wana see, people recommend different places, hear about different things, you wana see for yourself, see what it's like really" (Johanna)*

Here *Gem, Nicola* and *Johanna* present place as the prime motive force for lifestyle travel; that they feel compelled to experience new places. In this way, a self-perpetuating cycle is presented where being in one place automatically leads to awareness of others, through meeting new people and hearing 'different things'. This accumulating knowledge drives their curiosity and desire to 'collect' more places (akin to Bauman's tourist) and fundamentally propels their movement. For *Johanna*, what she hears is enough to incite relocation, but it is imperative for her to form her own *routes* through that place. It is important for her to experience it herself in order to 'achieve' her own personal version or impression of place (Jones 2009). In this manner, place remains explicitly significant to lifestyle travellers as drives their commitment to this way of life. In contrast, mobility seems secondary to this end; as a necessity to ensure continual exposure to new places. Such relationships however require further investigation and will be explored in Chapter 5 and 6). Furthermore, this suggests that whilst compulsion may be synonymous with the vagabond's need to travel, compulsion can further be considered a desire to experience place in this way, complicating the task of 'locating' lifestyle travellers by Bauman's classification (1993).

Compulsion for novelty and change was also noted as a motive force for lifestyle travel, which may be synonymous with exposure to new places.

> *"I like change, I'm obsessed by change, I don't like things that stay the same" (Hannah)*

"yea I like novelty you know, seeing new things, doing new things, always so" (Freddie)

Conversely, this preference for difference and fluidity may align more closely with a mobile agenda than the explicit 'collection' of places. *Hannah* and *Freddie* may be attracted to the sense of constant motion and change attributed to being on-the-move. Or, as inferred by *Johanna,* change may by synonymous with getting "*new ideas of what I want"* to avoid becoming *"stuck in the same circle".* Change in this sense is about internal mobilities where new identities are induced by experiencing alternative options and ways of living. Exposure to fluidity and flux is desired by *Johanna* to fuel knowledge acquisition and develop multiple routes of where she may go and what she may become. This relates to personal growth as a motive force for lifestyle travel, as well as for initiating travel (see 4.2.1). It is about the continual challenge that lifestyle travel offers:

"one of the best ways to get out of your comfort zone is travelling so it takes a certain type of person or a certain type of traveller that continually needs to push themselves over their comfort zone" (Dan)

4.3.2 Freedom from Societal Roles

A second motive force for turning travel into a way of life was the experience of being free from or resisting societal roles and expectations (Cresswell 2006). In a similar manner to escapism (see 4.3.1) participants who had stepped out of their home normality realised that they could choose whatever kind of life they wanted. Shedding societal pressures and expectations provoked feelings of autonomy over their life, of which they wanted to preserve, thereby extending travel into a lifestyle:

"…go whenever you want, wherever you want and be free, I think it's just the feeling of being free" (Jasmine)

"I realised just how easy it was to live abroad and how easy it was to travel and that I didn't have to stay in the US I could go anywhere" (Marie)

"That trip to Canada was the closest to like that ultimate freedom that I've ever felt, and like comparatively like before primary school, before pre-school, like that

you don't have to be anywhere you don't have to go anywhere, it's like there's no plans" (Henry)

For *Marie,* it was only after she had left the States that she realised that she did not have to return home, but she could carve an alternative lifestyle. In this manner she and *Jasmine* emphasise the realisation of being autonomous or having *motility* (Kauffman et al 2004) in their lives, as the impetus for lifestyle travel. They felt that they were free to go to places and free to leave when they wished, thereby free to forge their own routes by not having any commitments to anywhere or anything (similar to the 'cosmopolitan'), as suggested by Chris:

"*You're just a foreigner so you're free of all that, no one expects you to do anything…"*

The freedom *Henry* feels is also bound with shedding societal roles, however, travel for him is likened to a time in his childhood where there were no expectations placed upon him, which were later acquired. In this manner he felt that he was almost able to regress to a time when he had no responsibilities, suggesting that child-like identities are desired, where new selves can be 'played' out in Other places (or liminal spaces, Matthews 2008) affording the sense of *ultimate freedom*[28].

4.3.3 Freedom as self sufficiency

For other participants, freedom was about complete self-sufficiency.

"…its gaining experiences from going to other countries [place] ….knowing I can get myself there and carry everything I need on my back is one of the most liberating feelings a person can have. When I get off a train and throw my backpack on my back…. the sense of freedom is overwhelming and that's what I love and I think that's one of the reasons why I keep doing it cos I want to have that feeling again" (Laura)

[28] Whilst we report that participants talked about feeling a sense of 'ultimate freedom', we do not infer that they are completely 'free' of rules and societal conventions.

Again Laura reiterates the entwining of motive forces (Uriely 2002). The first being her love for experiencing different countries, but also her ability to get to these other places independently, with the freedom to do so underpinning the two. For her, it is *"empowering to know I don't need anything more than I can carry which makes me free to go wherever I like and I love it".* This illustrates that it is the perception of having complete control and self-sufficiency over her life and her movements. The significance of feeling that she is no longer weighed down by things could further relate to shedding societal roles and expectations, as well as not having material possessions that hinder physical mobility.

Freedom in this sense is a feeling achieved by stripping back to the bare minimum:

> *"It is back to basics and like I really thrive on this". (Nicola)*

This is both in terms of material possessions: "*I was associating the acquisition of material goods with weighing us down in some way" (Nicola),* and stripping back figuratively in terms of the roles and responsibilities of home.

4.3.4 Freedom over space and time

Related to this is freedom over space and time (Bauman 2000; Söderblom 2008). For *Alex,* travelling indefinitely is desirable as it affords perceived geographical freedom since he never has to commit to place. For Alex, not being tied to place is a strong motive force as gives him freedom to relocate spatially whenever he desires.

> *"Sometimes you might get to a place and you just might not get a good vibe, or something doesn't quite click, so you just pack your bag and off you go again and you don't have to worry about it, you don't think, 'oh buggar I'm stuck here', you know, it's the freedom I guess… there is never any commitment to stay" (Alex)*

For some participants, lifestyle travel grew from experiencing the feeling of not having set plans and objectives (see also *Henry* above):

> **"***I was very anti-future… I was always convinced you needed to relax and let the world take you to where it was gona take you to because eventually that was*

going to happen anyway so it's been a very organic sort of travel for the last 8 years" (Viv).

Viv's travels in this manner are characterised by fluidity and openness, allowing herself to be swept along in her experiences and not be concerned with what lies ahead, allowing travel to evolve into a lifestyle. In this way travel could provide perceived '*ultimate freedom' (Henry)* in allowing movement and direction to flow naturally. In this manner these participants described a completely unrestricted and unfettered existence based on forming routes than being rooted: "…*you don't have to be anywhere you don't have to go anywhere, it's like there's no plans" (Henry).* For *Henry* and *Viv,* freedom over space; to go where they pleased when they pleased (motility, Kauffman et al 2004) was pinnacle as to why travel was prolonged indefinitely. For them, the sense of adventure and spontaneity was what appealed to them, and is still appealing.

Freedom of time is expressed explicitly by *Hannah,* discussing the removal of time constraints as being central to why travel has become a way of life:

"…the fact you're not tied to time, that's the really big important factor, I hate deadlines and all this, whereas travelling it's just like, your times your own, you chose when you go somewhere and if you miss the bus it doesn't matter you know, I like that."

For Hannah, as well as it being important to be able to relocate at will, the ability to make that relocation *when* she wants (referring to 'motility' (Kesselring 2004)) is just as crucial. For her, making plans, itineraries or capping her travels would confer pressure to be at certain places at certain times, removing her ability to be spontaneous and to go with the flow. Instead she prefers to feel her way and not be dictated by seeing a certain number of sights a day, or moving on after a certain period, but to let things unfold naturally. In this manner she feels more in control of

her time by not being governed by itineraries or deadlines. She perceives that she is free to move and travel in a more free-style way:

> *"I'm not instantly ticking off things, I've done this I've done that, I'm just trying to make it a bit more natural and flow." (Hannah)*

In essence, spontaneity seems to be one sustaining factor for lifestyle travel. Participants expressed enjoyment at feeling that they could move wherever and whenever they chose, which is prolonged through indefinite travel. Conferring no perceptible end to their travels allows them to be spontaneous and to relocate at will, and governed not by external pressures, but simply by their own internal desires.

4.3.5 Freedom of identity

A further motive force for on-going travel was the freedom to relocate internally, as discussed earlier in 'identity games' (see 4.2.4). For *Gem* it is the freedom to be who she wants; she perceives that she is free to explore or test new identities by being a stranger in new places (Golden Gelman 2011). Travelling indefinitely encourages this end since her stranger status is prolonged through continual relocation, allowing her to keep testing selves.

> *"…so when you go to a new place… no-one knows anything about you, I could tell them that I grew up in California they'd have no idea you know… you can kinda just make stuff up and just be who you wana be…"*

For her, senses of freedom manifest through not being tied to one persona. It is about not being restricted to a more static and constant sense of self that is acquired through being in place permanently (Casey 2001) as discussed by *Ben* (see 4.2.4). This may also be cumulative of the freedom felt from societal pressures, space and time, as well as feeling self-sufficient. Vacating social roles and expectations allows *Gem* to construct perceivably new and freer identities, divorcing from pre-established 'home' identities to create new selves, perhaps unrecognisable from past ones. Having freedom geographically, as discussed earlier, incites internal relocation (4.3.4). Freedom from schedules and time frames enhances a sense of autonomy, again perhaps encouraging

selves to be tested at will. Being self-sufficient perhaps encourages more individualistic identities to be created.

In this manner, the fluidity of motive force is emphasised, appreciating that there may be multiple or entwined reasons why participants choose lifestyle travel, as well as how these may change over time. In this manner there is often mismatch between why people opt to travel and why they later choose to extend it into a way of life.

This is the case for *Betty* who initially left home to have some time out before settling down but prolonged her travels through the realisation that she wanted to *live* abroad and continue discovering new places:

> *"I thought I'd go and just teach English for a year in Thailand, just because I loved it so much and I wanted to travel before I settled down… That ended up being two years, then I went back and got my teaching degree because I realised I wanted to live overseas and travel around and just see different places…" (Betty)*

In this manner, other influences come into play whilst 'en route', and operate at different times during ones travels, spurring the jump from traveller to lifestyle traveller, either consciously or unconsciously. For *Betty*, this occurred from extending what was initially a gap year, and then making the conscious decision to get a qualification which would fundamentally enable her to continue travelling. In this way, a strategic move was made following an elongated period of travelling, showing the different ways and various paths one can 'arrive' at becoming a lifestyle traveller. For many however, lifestyle travel simply grew organically (see *Viv* 4.3.4) with little conscious decision making by way of turning it into a way of life. It grew spontaneously:

> *"it was just intended as a gap year but I think now it has moved into something a bit more permanent… I don't think we'd ever thought beyond that at all" (Stuart)*

"At the beginning it was actually just (visiting) people I'd got to know... and then I just got into this travel lifestyle of go whenever you want wherever you want and be free" (Jasmine)

For a number of participants, the idea of lifestyle travel was not something they had originally aimed for or considered appropriate for them. Fixed-term travel or gap years were seen as more socially permissible and a strategy that offered a safety valve of return should they not enjoy their experiences. However, through positive travel encounters the realisation grew that lifestyle travel was not only possible, but preferable; as *Laura* explains:

"I never really realised [lifestyle travel] was possible until… I *met people who had been doing it for longer and thought well if they can do it, I can do it, just have to find a way to be able to keep topping up the funds…. [Before then]* I've always been really happy you know, I just didn't realise there was an alternative way of being much happier and much more freer*" (Laura)*

For Laura, rather than discontent at 'home' inciting her travels, she remarks how she essentially 'discovered' lifestyle travel and found she was happier and freer once she began to practice it. Being made aware of it through exposure to others cemented it as a viable lifestyle choice, and only manifested whilst she was travelling. This lends to exploring how long before travel becomes a lifestyle as a measurable 'component' which leads to examining 'form' attributes of lifestyle travel.

4.4 How long is a lifestyle?

Travel as a lifestyle is suggested to often last for years at a time (Cohen 2011). The average length of time participants in this research had travelled for was five years, although two years was the most commonly cited duration. However, in terms of how much travel actually occurred within that time, or when travel specifically grew into a lifestyle is difficult to pinpoint and therefore quantify.

For example, some lifestyle travellers discussed how travel had been a central part of their life for many years, although acknowledged that their movements were punctured with regular intervals back to 'normality'. This was resonant with *Dave* who described over 20 years of travel, firstly with work and serving in the Forces, to later taking independent trips backpacking for years at a time. These were sandwiched between trips back to the UK however:

> **"***first walkabout I was living in Hastings, then I rented the flat and went to Africa, spent most of the time in J'berg, came back to Bradford to read my first degree, then with MOD went to Bristol then London, then secondment operations in South East Asia then left London to go to Canada, then came back to Bradford because it was cheap to recharge our finances…"*

In this manner, Dave may possibly see travel as occurring within his native home because he rarely returned to the same place in the UK. Clarifying duration is further complicated by participants describing travel to have always been significant in their life, therefore elongating their categorisation of lifestyle travel:

> *"I travelled a lot with my family as a child… I think the seed was planted then and I've been travelling ever since, every chance I got, every break I got, I'm out doing something, going some place" (Rich)*

For these individuals, travel is almost thrust upon them through work or during childhood, thereby clouding when or why they may have 'selected' this lifestyle. It has always been a central feature. By comparison, others described poignant events or a definitive start to lifestyle travel:

> *"I sold all my belongings and moved to Tibet so that was when it really started, and I was 30 at that point" (Maddie)*

Whereas some realised the point at which travel had taken a more extensive or central role, emphasising a fluid evolution from traveller to lifestyle traveller:

> *"…I think at that point I suddenly realised, oh hang on a minute I don't have any plans from now on, but I certainly don't intend to go back to England to regain a regular lifestyle… and suddenly I knew at that moment there was a bit of significance there cos I didn't intend to come back here and get a proper job or anything like that" (Kai)*

> *"…it was 10 years ago now I first went to Tenerife and lived (there) for 8 months… (but) I never really realised [lifestyle travel] was possible until after maybe the first couple of years, sort of a year in Australia and then New Zealand" (Laura)*

In this manner, the length of lifestyle is highly subjective and dependent on the participants' own interpretation of lifestyle travel, as well as how strongly they felt travel featured in their life, which of course may vary at times (see Chapter 5 different *kinds* of mobility). Lifestyle travel cannot simply be about when one leaves their home country as for many, like *Dave*, a home place *can be* returned to without giving up or concluding this lifestyle. Alternatively, it can occur much later in one's travel biography, as per *Kai* and *Laura,* rather than at their initial point of departure. For them, it occurred when they realised that an alternative travelling lifestyle could be pursued once they recognised that they did not want to return home and regain a conventional lifestyle. Such realisation marked the beginning of lifestyle travel as gave them the impetus to elongate their travels indefinitely and actively construct a life around this. In essence, lifestyle travel grew from compulsion (4.3.1) to travel:

> *"when I left to teach English in Japan, I think I was 26 or 27 at the time, and then it was after that year I was ruined, I knew that this was what I love to do is travel" (Sheila)*

This illustrates the multiple variations and subjective notions surrounding lifestyle travel; that we cannot confer a certain criteria or time scale that will denote its status. For some participants it is measured from when they left home, with no marker as to

when travel became a lifestyle, compared to others who describe epiphany moments about how they were going to live their life. For the former, travels tended to be fluid and organic, with no discernible beginning or end, and little interest in 'defining' their lifestyle. For the latter, decisions were consciously made, mainly due to situational factors such as the end of the ski season for *Kai,* and for *Laura* deciding that she would dread lock her hair, preventing her from easily integrating back into the UK.

> *"there was only one time when I had to really decide whether I wanted to go back, and you know work in a sensible job, was when I decided to my dread lock my hair for a second time, because it makes a big difference. When I came back to do temping work for the first time in England, I couldn't get work, I had 15 year's experience in hospitality and I had to work in the kitchen you know, not even in the offices – its stigmatism you know, its stereotyping, so then I thought if I'm gona do it I have to decide that I don't want to go back…"*

In essence *Laura* essentially forced herself – through anticipating the effect of her alternative hair style – into making the decision that she would commit to travel rather than return to normality. This symbolised a new stage in her life by essentially rejecting acceptance or belonging to the UK.

4.5 Velocity

The chapter now proceeds to examine Cresswell's second aspect, velocity. This will 'map' the different 'speeds' exercised in lifestyle travel, as well as the contrasting ways these are interpreted, with an emphasis on velocity *within* place.

4.5.1 Different 'speeds'

Variation and subjectivity about when travel becomes a lifestyle means that caution must be exercised when examining other 'measurable' components. In terms of speed

of travel, we must appreciate that this may vary over one's lifestyle, perhaps in line with the significance that place and mobility offers at different times:

> *"When I first started to travel, I was constantly moving almost on a daily basis, and although I saw and experienced a lot it was incredibly tiring. I now am a lot more lazy in my travels… although I do still get a buzz about arriving in a new destination… immersion in a place is more important for me" (Sav)*

> *"I was on the move for 7 months, then I was in one place… so actively travelling and then settling down somewhere" (Tim)*

In comparison, Punit's travels – as a self-professed hitch hiker – are generally very fast paced because he likes to be on the road, in motion and physically travelling because this is what makes his life *'stimulating':*

> *"I'm pulled to the road you know, so if you put me anywhere, like Berlin is one of my favourite cities, even here you know, if you put me on, like a side walk of Hungary I would happier than I am here. So for me… to wake up with a different sky is more exciting." (Punit)*

However, like *Tim and Sav,* he does also 'moor' at times to offset this constant motion, with the interview being conducted during his stay in Berlin whilst he was writing his book. In this manner, despite his preference for *mobility* (and therefore speed?) suggested by his commitment to hitch hiking, he does demonstrate periods of relative immobility (or slowness) making 'velocity' difficult to 'measure'. What is interesting is that velocity for him is synonymous with stimulation and excitement. When he 'slows down' or stops in place, he remarked that he felt *"restless"* and *need*ed *"oxygen".* In this manner, velocity is about being physically in motion and 'on the road' in order to feel stimulated and a sense of freedom which is constrained when at rest. Conversely, most participants achieved this from immersing in place, like *Tim* and *Sav*, introducing new ways to understand velocity and movement which are discussed in Chapter Five.

4.5.2 Interpretations of 'speed': hitch hiking

Although Punit conceives hitch hiking as 'fast travel', in other ways it can be considered a slow form of transportation. Whilst Punit likes to be on the move, he does so at a slower pace than say flying or taking public transport, making it a more challenging, physically more laborious and time consuming venture:

> *"I could do it the easy way and fly or I could hitch hike" (Oliver)*

> *"I was hitching down there and* (my friend) *was just calling me incessantly, worried, 'are you OK, where are you, you want me to give you the money for a flight?' I'm like 'no I have the money for a flight but I'm hitching I'm meeting some crazy people'" (Bobby)*

> *"there's a lot of confrontation* (hitch hiking) *but also a lot of good meeting with people it's a good way to travel, but it's not for everyone, very few people can do it" (Gabe)*

In this manner, whilst hitch hiking may show commitment to mobility (Punit) it may in fact suggest a slower speed and allow other processes (i.e. meeting and interacting with people) to occur rather than passive movement. Rather than hitch hiking being synonymous with Ingold's (2004) 'transported traveller' it affords activity and engagement with the environment akin to the 'wayfarer', as *Felicity* suggests:

> *"we hitch-hiked with people, we stayed with families, it was just like off the cuff. It kind of felt like we'd actually travelled in one place… Some people the other day*

(said) *they took a flight to Fes, went for a weekend, and there's nothing wrong with that but I really like the approach of actually engaging with a place…"*

In this manner, a style of *mobility* (hitch hiking) is suggested to be conducive to getting to know a place, rather than divorcing the attachment. For *Felicity* the spontaneity of hitching, as well as the activity itself, meant that she *engaged* with Morocco and achieved a sense of 'real' travel. This advocates place and mobility as complementary rather than exclusionary and is addressed in full in 6.2.

4.5.3 Velocity within place

Following from hitch hiking as a slow activity, the vast majority of participants suggested that their travels were of a leisurely rather than rapid pace:

"No it's pretty slow, I tend to be largely slow when I'm travelling. Largely on my impression of the place I'm in if I like it or not, so it just depends on how I feel" (Tim)

"I tend to travel particularly slowly compared to other people because I don't have a time scale" (Laura)

As *Laura* suggests, a lifestyle travelling affords unlimited time to see and experience the world, encouraging slower relocation because travellers do not have to rush. Whilst rapid travel may be employed at times (i.e. if a place is disliked), this is not preferable for a prolonged period since it becomes tiresome *(Sav)*. *Nicola* corroborates this further noting the mundanity of a life constantly on the move:

"The process of travelling is not very fun for me… I mean the actual getting from place A to place B holds absolutely no joy for me it's just when I get off the bus, plane, train or whatever and look at a place and I know that everything about it is

going to be different. I really enjoy that sensation. But I do like staying in a place for say between 3 months and a year, because just going through stuff you're just looking at things that for me isn't as deep or as rich in experience as living there and getting to know people, getting to understand the culture, learning the local language, trying out the cuisine, I like that more" (Nicola)

Essentially, mobility for *Nicola* is beneficial as promotes a continual sense of novelty as discussed previously. Crucially, her travels are about place immersion which constant movement would frustrate. Velocity instead is slow *within* place as lends to obtaining *rich* experiences, and insights into alternative ways of life (see 5.2.2). By contrast, velocity *between* places holds little appeal; it is "endured for the sole purpose of reaching a destination" (Ingold 2004: 321), demonstrating variation in velocity within one's travels. Rapid travel *within* place is not desired since would merely present a superficial or glossy view of a place, typical of the tourist encounter:

"I think when you're backpacking and…travelling as a tourist it's really hard after a while things sort of whirl past you and you start collecting sights like photographs and you don't feel so…you're not really gona understand what's being shown to you"(Viv)

"*I mean I think we've learnt more about places when we've lived there…you kind of get a sense of what it's all about, you kind of tune in to their way of life, whereas you see all these people coming through and they're just sort of seeing the High Street end of it" (Stuart)*

"I find that when you hop round city to city, country to county you don't really understand it's so called culture…" (Dan)

This suggests that lifestyle travellers actively seek to transcend the 'tourist' view and obtain a deeper understanding and experience of place, to achieve their own personal view of it (Jones 2009). Here velocity becomes the defining factor in marking them as different from conventional tourists because they do not *'hop'* or *'whirl'* through

places, but practice a slower and more thorough appreciation. A slower velocity for *Stuart* means that he can *'tune into'* particular ways of life, penetrating past the tourist layer to obtain something more 'real' or substantial. Immersing in place means that he can tap into the everyday momentum and rhythms of a locality (see 5.2.2; 5.8.4) explicitly suggesting that there are unique mobilities of place (see Chapter Six).

4.5.4 Velocity *between* place

Of course there is variation in terms of velocity between places, with Nicola's three months to a year time frame (high immersion / low velocity) compared to *Sav's "a few days or weeks at a time in each place"* (low immersion / high velocity). Such variation to 'move on', besides personal preference, could be attributable to travel patterns with *Nicola* travelling continuously – therefore needing to work *in place* to sustain her travels – compared to *Sav* who returns home frequently. Trips for him tend to be capped, accelerating velocity, as well as his occupation as a freelance web designer 'un-tethering' him from rooted employment and the need to stay in place.

As suggested by *Stuart,* velocity cannot be quantified as depends on how long it takes to '*tune in'* to particular ways of life before moving on, with *Dan* commenting that it takes '*years'* to really understand the culture of a place. Of course this may refer to the wider region of country or continent, where velocity may still be high *within* that geographical area. For example, several participants would often base themselves in one location, e.g. Bangkok, and use this as a launch pad to radiate their travels from (i.e. South East Asia). In this manner, they could obtain a *feel* for Asian culture yet they still relocated frequently within it:

> *"I spent most of my time travelling through Thailand since I was there working, I'd go away for weekends… visit Singapore maybe every month… took one diving trip for a week to Manado, Indonesia..." (Enzo)*

Velocity between discreet places is therefore highly variable, with situational factors, such as work commitments necessitating that brief sojourns to other places may be made, such as "*weekend trips to Cambodia" (Betty).* Political unrest may also impact on the period spent in a place, such as *Betty* being '*kicked out*' by the Syrian government. Participants also noted how time limits were generally only imposed by "*visas running out" (Chris).* Fundamentally, peoples' feelings about place were often central to how quickly they moved on:

> *"I left Vietnam cos I didn't like it" (Betty)*

> *"I'd been there for five months… I felt it was time to leave… kind of felt I'd conquered it I guess" (Oliver)*

> *"I left because I knew that if I kept staying, I would never leave. I was like no I have to leave now before I'm way too attached to this place so after three years I had to cut it off" (Gem)*

Place can force relocation due to disregard; it can be 'conquered' or 'expired' (see 4.3.6) or it can be felt as too comfortable. Velocity thence may relate to how long one's stays in place, and what that 'immersion' represents. In essence, one's mooring can lay the path and momentum for subsequent mobilities, and vice versa:

> *"I needed to kind of sit down for a while… so I lived here for about a year. But now I fancy actively travel again for period of months" (Tim)*

However, velocity need not be constrained to physical relocation *between* places in this way. It can be thought of as velocity *within* place, as immersion itself (see 4.2.5) and will be explored in Chapter Five.

4.6 Rhythm

Rhythm can be explored as the patterns of one's travels. To explore this, this section will first consider the irregularity of patterns, although it outlines how an inverse version of normality can be seen. Frequency and duration of travel trips are subsequently explored to unpack any discernible patterns between the mobilities and moorings of lifestyle travel.

4.6.1 Irregular patterns

As suggested in the prior section, travel patterns vary over time with periods of immersion in place sometimes desired in contrast to times when rapid travel is preferred. In this manner it is difficult to observe any notable rhythm:

> *"It's really varied and depends on the kind of circumstances as well… sometimes I can be travelling for 9 months, or a year and a half. I prefer to stay somewhere if I get tired of travelling cos sometimes it does get a bit exhausting doing it in one go." (Laura)*

Some participants displayed continuous travel, such as *Nicola,* whereas others puncture 'trips' travelling with returns home making patterns more identifiable. However, as emphasised earlier, patterns tend to be irregular with participants mooring as and when they desire or require (S. Cohen 2011). In essence, rhythms vary greatly with *Bobby* demonstrating different patterns of travel over time:

> *"…usually I'll leave for three of four months, go back to the states work for a while, leave again for a few months, but this time I've been gone for ten months now" (Bobby)*

> *"come home, work to get enough money to travel, go travelling, use that money, come home work to get enough money to travel…" (OJ)*

4.6.2 Inverse normality

In this manner, an inverted version of normality (see 2.2.2) as an identifiable pattern can be seen, where home serves as a temporal break from a travelling lifestyle. For *OJ* and *Bobby,* these were 'fragmented' trips for 'calculated means' (S. Cohen 2011: 1547) to fund their subsequent travels, as a convenient base to 'refuel' before setting off again. For *Gem, Kirsty* and *Stuart* returns

home are primarily to take a holiday, spend time with family and friends and to 'refresh' by having time out from their travelling normality:

"well I go home once in a while in vacation time, so in Korea…after a year and a half I went home for the first time at Christmas…" (Gem)

"I don't see why you can't live, live somewhere else, and then you go have your holiday, you go home and you see people" (Stuart)

"I was supposed to go straight from India to Africa, but was too tired, and my sister had a baby while I was gone, so I went home for a bit" (Kirsty)

This corroborates with Scott Cohen's ideas about an 'inverted' normality (2010c) introducing new ways to conceive 'home' as 'liminal' space (van Gennep 1960). Here lifestyle travellers can accumulate funds, recuperate, visit people or indeed revisit an 'old life':

"the Ben part of my lifestyle, the life I'd lived up until I was 21 years old… they all knew me as a certain type of person and they all knew me as Ben. The people I met in Oman knew a totally different person, they began calling me 'Jamin', and after a while it sort of became a definition for like a separate life… I don't like being Ben anymore, I like being Jamin… unfortunately I am fighting a losing battle trying to enforce Jamin in a Ben situation" (Ben)

In essence Ben emphasises how he is literally forced back to an 'old self' by returning home because this is how people treat him; they know and perceive him as *Ben* with no knowledge of his Other *'Jamin'* self. Whilst this frustrates the notion of liminality as transitional (Noy 2004; van Gennep 1960; White et al 2004) because home – as point of origin – perpetuates a stagnant and rooted 'Ben' self, home is liminal in the sense of being between his normal travel 'Jamin' self. Such ideas surrounding notions of home and liminality are explored further in 6.6.3.

In this regard, lifestyle travellers can be said to be 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991: 7) rather than dwelling in 'liminal space' since they have constructed 'normality' as travel and 'home' as the 'gap' transition. Rather than returns home signifying disruption from travelling, it is regarded as a temporal visit or breathing space, therefore does not detract from their travelling rhythm (see 4.2.5 for more).

In contrast, for some participants visits home cannot be made in this manner because they view this as a disruption to their travels:

"It would feel like I'd gone back, gone backwards" (Chris)

For *Chris,* home frustrates his onward course thus it cannot be seen as a temporal break. Instead it is regarded as a setback in his paths, his rhythm disrupted if returns home are incorporated. This offers a different travel rhythm to the participants above, associating travel with progression, perhaps more so than normality. In this manner, perhaps *Chris* is dwelling in liminal space, given a return home would symbolise a halt, or relapse in his progression.

Despite such contrasting ideas about home, fundamentally all participants had paused in other places for an extended time at some point in their travels (discussed in 4.5). In this manner, mobility *is* always offset by relative immobility (see also 4.2.5):

> *"I don't want to wander non-stop" (Anna)*

> *"…within about two months I wanted to stop somewhere just because I was exhausted, travel exhausts me, emotionally and physically… so we found this town in China… (and stayed) for like a month or more" (Kai)*

> *"…at the moment I am here in Bogotá, Colombia and I came here to work not to travel unfortunately" (Jasmine)*

4.6.3 Frequency

Frequency of trips therefore provides a general distinction within lifestyle travel. *OJ* and *Bobby* demonstrate a high frequency with short periods spent at home, working for a few months to fund their subsequent travels. In comparison, *Rebecca* demonstrates a low frequency since she has one designated time each year to travel. Travel as a lifestyle, however, could be seen as more pronounced since she manipulates her studies around her desire to be overseas. This is similar to *Jasmine* who also obtains a sense of travel through moving to Colombia for a year's contract, where teaching commitments are somehow offset by extended exposure to a foreign place and the ability to explore the wider continent during holidays. In this manner frequency of travels is difficult to separate from frequency spent *in place* as the two can be seen as one of the same in terms of an overarching travelling lifestyle:

> *"…when I need to earn money, I earn it in another country so it feels like I'm travelling… being around other travellers as well, with foreign people…" (Laura)*

As expressed throughout the chapter so far, this emphasises that lifestyle travel does not necessarily imply a lifestyle based solely on corporal movement and will be discussed in full later in Chapter Five.

Jasmine further has a history of more frequent trips, demonstrating a different pattern of travel more akin to *OJ:*

> *"I was travelling for two months, then I moved to Poland for five months… then I was just hitchhiking in Europe for half a year, I went home for one month cos I got a job offer… so I went and earned some money and then I continued my trip."*

This illustrates the difficulty in quantifying frequency as a determinant of lifestyle travel, with individuals adapting different patterns and paces of travel at different times of their experience to suit their own subjective preferences at any given time.

> *"…basically my whole twenties was studying intermittently, taking time off to work intermittently and then going away whenever I could intermittently but only for six months, three months. But I'm hanging out for going two years, three years, four years now rather than just short little trips… I wana work, live and work overseas…" (Mark)*

> *"I also have a little plan to save a little bit of money now and maybe work six months then travel 6 months which is completely different to how I have ever thought in the past" (Laura)*

Lifestyle travel is characterised by malleability and change rather than a fixed pattern or frequency with individuals seemingly changing direction whenever and wherever they see fit. It also flags how frequency alone is not a solid foundation for defining lifestyle travel, as would suggest *OJ* or *Mark* to somehow be more of a lifestyle traveller than *Laura* and *Jasmine if* considering high frequency as paramount. Conversely, *OJ* and *Mark's* way of life could arguably be considered a more fractured, less consistent version of lifestyle travel given the necessity to return home at regular intervals in order to work or study. In this manner, a high (or low) frequency of trips does not bestow lifestyle traveller status; instead it is about what each individual feels characterises or constitutes their experience. For *OJ*, his lifestyle travel is perhaps

about regularity of trips and working primarily to travel; whereas for *Jasmine, Rebecca* and *Mark*, living or working abroad is conducive to a life centred on travel. Interestingly, most participants demonstrated this preference for travel based on *living* in a place rather than travelling so frequently, offering contrasting findings to S. Cohen where such elongated 'moorings' were found to be the exception (2011):

> *"My mum she said 'you're like a lily pad, putting your roots down and then when it's time to move you pull 'um up and swim to the next place and put them down again" (Maddie)*

> *"I can kind of put down temporary roots in a place even if then they get pulled up again and I never see those people again. But for that time I've been happy" (Felicity)*

This presents dwelling in new places as a type of *mobility*, or a different style of lifestyle travel. Rather than this signify an "exit from lifestyle travel", raising questions about how long this will be time-out will be (S.A Cohen 2011: 1549), it represents an alternative manifestation of the practice based on exercising mobilities in place before these expire (see 4.3.6). Rather than dwelling in travel (Clifford 1991; 1997) dwelling essentially *is* travel for some participants and will be explored later in Chapter 6.

4.6.4 Duration

Leading from frequency we now consider duration of *trips* as a facet in unpacking rhythm of travel. This is in light of the fact that most individuals seem to puncture their mobility with temporal 'moorings' in place, therefore we can map how long each separate trip tends to be. This is important given the general consensus that anything quantifiable in weeks really cannot constitute travelling:

> *"well it's what I call real travelling, like going for a week or two to a beach, I don't count as travelling." (Jasmine)*

> *"(it's) not like holiday travelling for like two or three weeks, just a completely different style" (Martin)*

This is also demonstrated by *Edward* who despite a high frequency of travel in the past, consisting of holidays and business trips predominately in Europe, now only classifies his lifestyle traveller status, marked by his resignation from work in the pursuit of a stronger commitment to travel:

> *"(*Lifestyle travel) *has been my aim and now its gona be that because I'm leaving my job next week, then travelling to Turkey and Israel for a couple of months, then moving to South America"*

For *Edward,* frequency is less of a determinant than the constitution of his travels and length of those individual trips. For him, trips of at least a few months confer lifestyle travel status, as well as *living* in another country:

> *"I travelled round Europe mostly for seven months in total until I started to reach the point where I was sick of moving and decided on Budapest… so I lived here for about a year, and used it as a base for doing other trips" (Tim)*

Trips based on living in a place thereby are generally longer than periods spent physically travelling. This was due to the general preference for *"getting to know (a) place… as opposed to just moving around" (Enzo)* as well as for practical reasons such as work or study.

Duration can also be affected by the nature of the lifestyle. The 'rhythm' may demonstrate structure, in terms of being 'sculpted' around certain events, or it may show a complete avoidance of structure altogether. For example, structure may include travelling around education or with the seasons (S. Cohen 2011):

> "*I travel in response to the school year… so like 4 months, I can do whatever I want in 4 months" (Rebecca)*

> *"I started doing longer trips and working my world into a seasonal apparatus so I was working summers and travelling winters for the most part" (Maddie)*

Alternatively, it may be contained by personal factors such as returning home for medication. For *Anna,* travels are confined to 3 month stints before she *'starts running low'*. Despite these medical restrictions, crucially this does not detract from Anna's sense of being a lifestyle traveller, with her ability to be spontaneous offsetting this requirement:

"(I'm) impulsive…I rarely plan months ahead, I tend to make up my mind instantly and go the following week"

In this manner, although *Anna*'s trips are prescribed in length, she fundamentally has a greater control and flexibility over *when* she goes travelling. Her rhythm is one of order, yet this order only comes into operation when she so wishes.

Such flexibility is demonstrated by participants who show an avoidance of structure in their travels, making 'duration' (and rhythm) less mappable. For *Gabe,* the only structure imposed on his 8 years of *'permanent'* travel was his avoidance of bad weather:

"Usually I travel like, migrating birds according to the climate, so if there is a cold season or if there is a rainy season I try to avoid"

In this manner many participants actively strive not to have a definitive pattern in their travels, preferring a sense of fluidity and possibility (Dovey 2010) with such openness defining their way of life:

"…never gona have any plans, just wait and see where life takes me." (Bobby)

"…like as soon as you have plans, it kind of restricts your freedom, yea if you have no plans you're open to every opportunity that comes past, which is pretty appealing" (Henry)

An avoidance of making plans and conferring regularity to their travels allows them freedom (as previously discussed) to be spontaneous and open to opportunities, as well as allowing things to evolve naturally. In this manner, participants discussed an element of excitement as unexpected experiences could occur by 'going with the flow', that by having no set routine to their travels bestowed endless possibilities and surprising consequences. Such a rejection of planning may be seen as a rejection of 'normality' through carving a lifestyle on openness rather than order and routine. Whereas conventional 'clock-work' society is characterised by the compartmentalisation of time where one has predetermined working hours and leisure time, lifestyle travel perhaps represents a way to unravel such order, as a way to pursue an alternative way of life that is comparatively free. If duration, frequency or indeed the general rhythm of travel was similarly ordered, this may mimic the predictable and hum drum way of life that they sought to escape:

"no I don't have any time frame, I don't want to rush, I will travel without any watch, I don't want to see if we are Monday or Friday or weekend, no? …it makes

me stressed and I don't want to be stressed. Yes for me life must be enjoyable so we are going to experience that life, just to have fun you know" (Freddie)

'I was so set in my ways back home so now I'm experiencing so much freedom' (Johanna)

For many participants, to not be concerned with how long one travels or how long one stays in a place, is integral to how they live lifestyle travel. It is imperative to shed a conventionalised mind set and conventional patterns of living, as *Freddie* suggests, to instead concentrate on internal desires and aspirations (Goodnow 2011, Noy 2004), which cannot be compartmentalised by time or indeed space (see Routes 4.2.4). In this manner, rhythms are as open and variable as the people that practice them.

As discussed in the literature, regular rhythms are not detectable within lifestyle travel. Some relocate quickly between places with a preference for being on the move *(Punit)* whilst some prefer immersion and living in place as a more satisfying form of motion (*Nicola).* Being on the move and immersing in place will also vary at different times in one's journey:

"there's certain countries where I spend a lot more time" (Steve)

"we didn't have a plan in terms of how many days, weeks or months we would spend in a place, we just go to a place, stay there as long as we wanted and then onto the next place" (Nicola)

Rhythms further vary as circumstances change. For example *Laura* is seriously considering a more structured form of travel based on 6 months on and 6 months off after years of fluid travel and allowing things to evolve naturally. Duration is also affected by situational factors, such as visa constraints or running out of money,

emphasising the huge array of variables which impact on patterns of travel (Uriely 2002; Wearing et al 2010).

4.7 Routes

The emphasis on fluidity within lifestyle travel suggests that the direction will also be open and subject to change. As suggested above, like the 'wayfarer' (Ingold 2007) lifestyle travellers carve individualised routes as opposed to following sanctioned 'plots' and time frames, and rooted lifestyles. This has been discussed in relation to identity, which is the first type of 'route' (rather than 'root') to be examined, emphasising how route-making should not simply be seen as corporeal movement.

4.7.1 Identity

The 'route' of identity is conceived as on-going and malleable (Bauman 1996; Hetherington 1998; Jackson 2005; Smith 2005) where one can be *'whoever* [they] *want to be' (Gem).* In essence, selfhood is constructed through the journey, evolving through successive movements rather than 'rooted' in one's history (Gustafson 2001, Rose et al 1996). For example, participants sometimes sought challenging or difficult places in order to stretch themselves, illustrating how "movement through geographical space transforms into… the process of introspection" (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 205).

> "*I'm not really intrigued by Australia actually cos they speak English… My whole life* (in France) *was in another language, you have to learn to be yourself in another language, it's quite hard to get your personality out… it takes a long time and in that way you find another side to yourself, it's quite enriching actually…" (Felicity)*

Here we see how the direction of *Felicity's* travels is deterred by familiar places, preferring non-English speaking locations for the challenge of 'discovering' new selves. For *Felicity,* this allows alternative selves to manifest and be tested within an unknown context, alongside the challenge of trying to project her 'self' in another language. This project of testing selves is also expressed by *Henry,* although he notes distance as a more central component than language when laying his routes:

> *"I spose I just try to be as far from where I would consider like the old self to be, like if I have an image of who I am travelling is to try to be as far from that as possible so like you go some place with a different language. I mean as much as like Canada's the same, I kind of like to try work on the accent and try to pretend to be Canadian just so you know, just to see what it would be like kind of thing" (Henry)*

Interestingly, Henry recognises language as a way to remove from his '*old self*'. However, this is also achievable through imposing physical distance between an 'old self' and his travelling self. Obtaining a sense of geographical distance, he feels he can manipulate and test out other identities more fully through adopting or putting on 'accents'; that his scope for creation is increased alongside his sense of distance. For *Henry,* internal *routes* are perhaps intensified alongside external relocation (fully explored in Chapter Five), appreciating that the route of identity can be mapped alongside one's movements between and within places.

This further suggests exploring 'routes' not only between places, but *within* them (see 4.2.2; Jones 2009; Urry 2003), discussed in terms of immersion and 'getting to know' a place. How *Henry* performed identity in Canada and how *Felicity* engaged and integrated with the French community she was based within is of interest, as well as how this prompted personal progression. Chapter Five in this way explores how individualised inroads are carved within place and what this means for identity. For now we look at routes and direction more broadly, to set the scene for these areas of interest.

4.7.2 Geographical routes

It is impossible to provide a standard route which lifestyle travellers follow given the numerous paths and preferences they display. Place selection may remain open and non-prescriptive for participants because their travelling lifestyle allows them to access *all* places, rather than to be selective. All places remain viable in this way given the indefinite nature of the lifestyle, free from the boundaries of time or returning home:

"I've travelled already 125 countries" (Gabe)

Routes seemed fluid with many lifestyle travellers ambling through places in the same way that they 'ambled' into lifestyle travel:

"just country by country, yea by hearsay from where's good" (Chris)

"for the first seven months… I sort of proceeded in a logical manner going from one country to the next, staying in countries for a while and trying to see a good part of the country… (before) going to the next" (Tim)

"some of them piggy backed on each other, you'd just go from one (place) to another, other times I would go either back to Florida or to somewhere else in the US to make money in a legal place." (Marie)

In this manner, these participants essentially followed a *'logical'* route to cover as much as possible in the most practical and sustainable fashion, as opposed to flying and '*skip(ing) around*' *(Tim).* As Marie notes, as well as geographical proximity, other factors such as work (Uriely 2002) necessitate that travel routes are sometimes 'suspended' in order to tread back through old routes, before one can continue 'weaving' new ones.

4.7.3 Evolving routes

Routes can also be 'mapped' over time to observe any changes in terms of where lifestyle travellers go. *Alice* and *Laura's* travels have developed over time, gradually building up to less westernised and more challenging locations:

> *"When I first travelled, I fell into the Australian in Europe, you know Paris, Berlin, Bayen Munich… then I started Couch Surfing and I went to much cooler places. They really opened my mind to where I was going to go and I was much more confident rather than being that stupid Australian that goes everywhere, from being a tourist into more of a traveller I suppose" (Alice)*

> *"I think the style of travelling has evolved as well the types of places I've been to, for instance the first place I went to was Tenerife, it's very British, everyone speaks English there… In Australia I travelled a lot… (I was) literally just a backpacker, like the other throngs of backpackers that go over from Europe and get kind of swept up into all the tours, which I loved… New Zealand I worked a lot and I had my own car so that was kind of a little bit different, I got a bit more of an independent feeling there cos I had my own wheels… speaking to people that had* [been to] *Asia…, I really wanted a taste of the culture they had been experiencing so I went to Asia. I flew into Singapore and went up through Malaysia. That was my first kind of taste of a different culture (but) compared to other Asian countries, it's quite developed so it was kind of an easy way to get into an Asian culture..."*

Both *Alice* and *Laura* began their travels in 'easier' places, choosing more familiar locations to start in before easing gradually into the experience. They progressively selected more foreign destinations as they became more confident to do so, mainly through speaking to others and getting ideas of where to go. In this manner a kind of 'route' continuum is suggested (stretching from the tourist or backpacker; both on the beaten track, going '*everywhere'* and being very much a part of the white, western tourist hoard) to the other end of the spectrum where traveller status is acquired. This almost infers a kind of transition – a liminal stage within the practice of travel – where they perceive to have reached the elevated position of 'traveller' through exposure to challenging places over time (van Gennep 1960). For *Alice and Laura*, this involved consciously thinking about where to go rather than following the *'throngs'* and finding more challenging and *'cooler places'* for *Alice* being Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Israel and Jordan. For *Laura,* this was South America. In this way perhaps liminal cycles (McHughs 1996) or rather trajectories (see Figure 2.2) are continually practiced throughout their travels, where progressively more challenging places are sought to incite transition or development (see Figure 6.1).

It further emphasises independence as a key theme in forming routes where beforehand the participants stuck to 'safe' and well-trodden tracks. As *Laura* suggests, her '*style'* of travel – as well as the activities she embarks on – have progressively led to a more autonomous kind of travel, which has conditioned the places she visits. This suggests that previous routes and experiences *within* place confer direction to current and future routes and is explored in Chapter 6. From working in Tenerife as a kind of 'home from home' and package tours in Australia, to having her own car in New Zealand shows marked increments in terms of self-sufficiency (see 4.2.1). She has moved from 'enclaves' and allowing others to shape her experiences (through tours) to independently 'create' her own travels. From 'tasting' Asian culture in Malaysia, as a 'safe' blend of western and eastern influences, she has gained confidence to gradually ease into Other cultures. From 'cotton-wool' travel to full immersion outside of her comfort zone, the process has been gradual over several years, although this has not been typical of all participants' travel biographies (i.e. childhood exposure 4.2.1).

4.7.4 Aspirational routes

For *Alice* and *Laura* however, changing aspirations are very much aligned with where one travels. Tracing their journey we can see that their desire to experience more challenging areas and push themselves into creating 'cooler' routes prompted relocation to places that they had previously not considered (for ideas about relational place experience see Chapter 6). Similarly *Laura's* current 'goal' is to further her Spanish skills, influencing her to travel through South America:

> *"I really want to continue my travels in South America, and continue with the language which I love. I really realise that you can get so much more out of travel experiences when you can communicate that bit more… (it) has completely enriched my experience, just to be able to have little snippets of conversations here and there, or ask for directions. There was places we would never have been to if we couldn't ask the locals how to get there… it feels a bit more rewarding if it's a battle to get there"*

In this manner, *Laura* takes further steps in the pursuit of obtaining richer, more challenging experiences by immersing in language. As a heightened test of autonomy and self-reliance, learning Spanish will make her experiences all the more *'rewarding'* as well as opening up places that are inaccessible to the majority. This further demonstrates *Laura's* desire to *carve* routes as opposed to following pre-laid trails by interacting with locals and finding her own way. By making the path more challenging heightens her sense of satisfaction and accomplishment.

Alice and *Laura's* experiences in this way emphasise how route making is not merely about where one goes, but also about the route of one's *identity* (Cresswell 2002 Gustafson 2001 McCrone 1998). As a result, this transcends the 'classification' of 'routes' as a measurable 'form' attribute (Uriely et al 2002). As they discuss, their routes from 'easy' places to harder and more interesting places incur feelings of challenge and accomplishment, promoting a change in their style of travel, as well as what they achieve from it. This effectively demonstrates embroilment between motivation (to self-develop) impacting on the structural arrangement of their travel (i.e. routes traversed), emphasising the importance of unpacking such co-relations

(Uriely 2008). In essence, *Alice* and *Laura* demonstrate 'roots' in tourist style practices, to 'routes' which are carved autonomously, motivated by their desire for new experiences and growing from the challenge of doing so.

We can further see how other participants sought particular 'routes' based on their current mind and motivation, demonstrating how 'type' attributes condition how travel is practiced:

> *"…diving has become something that I'll consider way more when I'm making my travel plans at this point really, I mean, where I'm gona go is probably gona be based on where I want to go diving" (Enzo)*

> *"The country shape is very important, now I don't really consider going to a place where outdoor sports are not really possible… sport is like a drug" (Freddie)*

> *"Honestly right now I'm not a fan of travelling without a reason but each travel I try to find some kind of goal… before it used to be the road is the reason, just keep going. It's about having some kind of project with my trip, still travel without a plan" (Martin)*

Here outdoor pursuits are noted as the determining factor of where lifestyle travellers are pulled to. For *Enzo* diving is his priority at this time, both recreationally and for work, leading him to seek coastal areas or islands. For *Freddie*, the geological features of landscape are important in terms of if they offer hiking, skiing or climbing opportunities, again for both leisure and employment. Similarly *Martin* is pursuing mountaineering as a structure for his travels, with 'projects' generally orientated around climbing or guiding others.

In essence, these participants suggest that their routes do have a general direction, although, as suggested by *Martin,* this has not always been the case where his initial impetus was to *'just keep going'*. For these three participants, routes can be forged through incorporating their hobbies into employment in order to make travel sustainable. It is about making routes within place to further routes between places. In this manner, they actively pursue places where such routes can be made, it is a strategic choice.

4.7.5 Tactical routes

This 'tactical' route making is further demonstrated by *Nicola* who sculpts working abroad specifically to further her goal to travel. Here she targets particular countries for their specific 'work opportunities' (Cohen 2011: 1547).

> *"Travel is the most important thing. Work is something we suffer through to get to the travel bits. We have worked in the Middle East for several years, interspersed with travel. It's a terrible place to work, especially for a woman, and we would be really miserable there, but we would keep going back because we could earn more money and be on the road quicker than if we took a more pleasurable job." (Nicola)*

In this manner, *Nicola* furthers travel 'routes' by taking the 'quicker' route within lucrative places. Despite her grievances about returning to the Middle East, she does so because it ensures that the *"work in-between* [travel] *is shorter",* since she earns money quicker there than in other places. Furthermore, the Middle East was tactical as opened up other places to radiate her travels from, deciding on Africa as her next travel venture before relocating to Oman as a convenient base.

"we actually decided we wanted to do the Africa trip before we even got there"

However, despite being the 'quicker route' – in terms of facilitating later travels – the paths she laid in the Middle East are suggested as some the toughest she had to endure, emphasising her commitment to travel and determination to get back on her preferred path:

"It becomes very tiring to be the centre of that much attention, and it's not always positive attention being white… The climate is harsh and we often got stuck out in really remote places. Being a woman was really difficult - I would get really harassed when going out by myself, so I had to go everywhere with my husband. Students had no respect for teachers and found it impossible to take advice or instruction from a woman" (Nicola)

The routes *Nicola* carved in the Middle East was evidently those of endurance, noting unwelcome attention from being white, and the hardships of being a woman. In this manner, her past routes based on being western and having equal rights were not recognised, making her subsequent routes all the more challenging, encountering hostility and a lack of independence. Her routes were therefore constrained, requiring accompaniment from her husband, geographical restriction from being in isolated locations and difficulty in adapting to the extreme climate. Despite such problems, *Nicola* persevered to fundamentally create routes elsewhere, to persist with restrictions imposed on her movements *within* the Middle East, to further them elsewhere.

However, such route forming is not always about work. For *Bryan* his pursuit of spiritual growth dictates *why* he travels, *where* he travels as well as for *how long*, emphasising the embroilment of 'type' and 'form' attributes:

"I just went to India at Bodh Gaya and I stayed for 3 and a half months cos I was doing a practice there at the temple… (when) *I go somewhere, it's usually as I say on purpose. Sometimes I go to Thailand, and I go there for the purpose of fasting… and then I'll go to Nepal usually for one month solitary retreat or group retreat and after that maybe I'll wana go and study yoga so it's really about what I'm doing" (Bryan)*

In essence, *Bryan's* overarching journey or 'motive force' is devoted to Buddhism *"I just want to dedicate myself to spiritual growth*", conditioning the direction, velocity and rhythm of his travels. The direction and pace of such routes is fundamentally about on-going enlightenment rather than an impetus to continue travel *intrinsically*, which is unique to *Bryan's* lifestyle.

4.7.6 Fluid routes

Such route planning is of course not common across participants, with some consciously choosing a lack of direction in their travels:

> *"… I've been trying to not have direction as much and not have plans… If you're planning everything you're not having a sense of life" (Tyler)*

> *"when I was younger I was all about like let the universe guide you and don't structure your life cos you don't know what's gona happen tomorrow… (Viv)*

For *Tyler* this is in order to have a "*sense of life",* equating freedom and fluidity with living a more fulfilling life. For him, such individualised routes akin to 'going with the flow' means that he is more open to opportunity as discussed in 4.2.3. Similarly, *Viv* prefers a relaxed approach in her travels, allowing "*the world take you to where it was gona take you"* over the last 8 years, leaving her direction down to fate and chance (see 4.2.1). As previously outlined, she believes it is pointless to plan or worry about the future since whatever is going to happen will eventually happen anyway. In this manner *Tyler* and *Viv* show similarity to *Bryan* with spirituality as a component of their travels. Whereas this structured *Bryan's* travels, spirituality for *Tyler* and *Viv* is more of a guiding compass than a motive force through having faith that the path will be shown to them:

> *"you put your faith in something larger than just pre-arranging everything. I realised it would be better instead…to allow the threads of the world to cross… you'd have a better feeling of connection to the processes of the suns, like the larger life processes that we can't see" (Tyler)*

In essence, rather than consciously planning routes to be subsequently carved (i.e. *Bryan* consciously pursuing enlightenment) *Tyler* and *Viv* let their paths unfold. Rather than infer their following of 'pre-composed plots', a type of wayfaring (Ingold 2007) is employed where being open allows their routes to align with the world, or synchronise

with overarching forces to gain a sense of being where they are supposed to be. As *Viv* suggests, routes (rather than plots) are in some way 'written'. It is just the method she employs to 'discover' roads within these destined paths.

> *"It's my belief if you go round our planet like mother Earth… I feel would calibrate an internal compass of sorts, like by going round it would give me some direction of where I need to be" (Tyler)*

For *Tyler,* geographical routes are left to natural forces which will in turn provide his life with direction. In essence, external paths will ultimately lead to clarifying internal paths, advocating the journey, in whatever guise, as an important component of travel:

> *"It's like that thing of routes, the actual journey is as important as you know just what we see and the destination kind of thing" (Felicity)*

4.7.7 Routes as the destination

For *Felicity* and many other participants, the process of getting from *'A to B' is* important (in contrast to *Nicola* see 4.2.2) viewing travel as a fluid and on-going journey rather than a disjointed collection of destinations. The nature of relocation in this case can therefore not be divorced from the overarching travel experience. It is considered part and parcel of the journey, as important an experience as the experience of being *in* place. This cements *mobility* and *moorings* or *routes* and *roots* as central to lifestyle travel. For many participants it is integral to consider the *routes* between places, as well as the *routes* within place, and see these as relational rather than as separate processes (Deleuze 1988; Amin et al 2002; Massey 2004; Cresswell 2010). To illustrate this point, overland travel serves as a tangible example of the way

that some participants express inclusivity between mobility and mooring (the physical journey and experiences within place):

"To do it with flights everyone can do it but overland it's "something" (Martin)

" I prefer to travel overland… besides all the environmental stuff I just I don't like the thing of being in one place then the next hour you're in another country, it's just weird... I've met some really great people… just travelling by public transport you know sharing food with people and stuff like that, it's more interesting" (Felicity)

"I want to be thorough when I visit places, have a sense of going from one country to the next rather than getting on a plane and being in a completely different continent. Trying to really see the transitional process… through these countries one after another, how they're similar but how they're different and I kind of like that" (Tim)

"I'm trying to travel as much overland as possible… you can just see every step of the journey as opposed to you know flying over it… travelling across Russia you go across 7 time zones or whatever it is, going from practically European to Asian." (Nigel)

By making the journey into a 'destination', corporeal routes are encompassed into the overall experience and the connection between A and B is considered as valuable as one's connections within A (or B). Incidentally, physical relocation becomes an experience in itself, it becomes *'something',* rather than just a tool to facilitate arrival. For *Felicity,* divorcing such connection is '*weird*' since it reduces the experience in terms of not fully appreciating the scale of her relocation, as well as missing out on encounters with local people. Similarly for *Tim* and *Nigel,* travelling overland gives a holistic view of the differences *between* places, experiencing the gradual and subtle changes as they travel across countries. Overland travel means that they can capitalise

on *'every step'* of their journey[29]. In this manner, place is emphasised as the significant component of their travels since they specifically select a style of mobility which attunes their sensitivity to the places they traverse.

4.8 Friction

As we have explored, friction (as relative pauses in mobility) can be experienced through participants 'mooring' within place (see 4.6), thereby pausing their corporeal movement. This section first outlines this before proceeding to examine the temporality of friction. Next we consider its nature, to systematically unpack negative and positive experiences of friction.

4.8.1 Friction as a mooring in place

In response to Cresswell (2010) this was found to generally be chosen by participants rather than forced upon them (4.2.3). Of course there is variation in terms of the degree of this 'choice' with sometimes a lack of funds or 'burning out' from travel necessitating that stops be made. However, as explored earlier, the vast majority of participants prefer to puncture their mobility for a variety of reasons: relaxation, visiting people, for time out or for a holiday (see 4.2.3).

Fundamentally, friction varies between people, situations and the places that they 'moor'. The important commonality across all participants however, is that this friction (pause / mooring) is fundamentally *temporary*. No matter how long one 'moors', there is the acknowledgment that travel will be returned to with an 'exit' strategy akin to the cosmopolitan planned (Hannerz 1990). There is no rule on how frequent this return to travel is, how long 'travel trips' should be or exceed a 'vacation' by. There is no rule on the ratio of being paused to being mobile, with some participants finding themselves moored for longer periods than being mobile.

[29] This is not to say that relocating by plane is any less route worthy than overland travel. Sometimes it is necessary, e.g. Jasmine travelling from Europe to America, but hitch hiking to 'offset' flights. Whilst Nicola remarked of her distaste for the actual process of physical travel, her routes ironically often encompass overland travel e.g. 9 months road trip across Africa. In essence the nature of route making is as varied as the people and situations that traverse them.

4.8.2 Temporal moorings

What is apparent is that an inverted version of normality is practiced (see 4.2.3) where travel is considered constant, or *'permanent' (Gabe)* and being in place, job, or education as temporal. In this manner lifestyle travellers are *pausing* rather than concluding their travels, sound in the knowledge that they can return to it when they so wish:

> *"I've got a one year contract (teaching) so most probably I'm going to stay for that year, (but) I can get out of that contract at anytime…" (Jasmine)*

As suggested by *Jasmine,* a sense of freedom is retained through a commitment to travel, which would be compromised if one committed to place. By embarking on travel as a way of life, participants can essentially drop in and out of places and mobilities at their will, free of the obligation to be anywhere or do anything, to pursue what is important to them:

> *"Usually I work 2 or 3 months and this time is enough to generate enough money to hitch hike through the world….I don't want to give up myself just for the money, I told you I can just for a shortened time so when I working this kind of 2 or 3 months"(Gabe).*

Although temporal pauses are made in their travels, lifestyle travellers are comfortable to do so in the knowledge that they can '*unpause'* and move on at any point. In this way, they maintain a sense of control over their lives in terms of when to step back in to normality, and fundamentally, when to step back out again. Perhaps it is this control over the structure and pattern of travel that is more telling of lifestyle travel rather than the length and frequency of trips as quantifiable attributes.

From considering friction as fundamentally temporal, we now consider the different *types* of friction within lifestyle travel. As suggested this can be imposed friction (i.e. employment or 'burning out') which has been discussed through the chapter. It can be the friction of returning home (see 4.2.4) viewed by some as a liminal space where friction is characterised as a holiday. Conversely, others view this return as a stop to their travels and development rather than a pause. In essence, friction is either perceived as a positive experience, or alternatively it is negative and enforced which will now be addressed.

4.8.3 Negative friction

Returns home may represent negative friction with participants noting how this can often feel like a backward step, as a literal friction in their journey. As described by the participants below, it is restrictive in the sense of enforcing a return to an old and rooted identity.

iv. Static selves

"I'm living with my brother, he's known me since I was born so he's always known me in a certain light and I'm now trying to desperately make him realise he hasn't known me properly for about 8 years and I am a different person as a result of it. It's a challenge" (Ben)

" coming home and having everyone treating you exactly the same, it's like 'no I'm not that person anymore and you can't treat me like that', so yea that's one of the reasons I don't really like going home" (Henry)

As *Ben* and *Henry* emphasise, their home self remains static creating a mismatch between how they feel from their travels, to how they are treated by family and friends. In essence, they experience "'a feeling that 'time stood still' at home, as friends' behaviours seemingly remained concretised" (S. Cohen 2011: 1545). As a result, a return to an 'old self' is enforced rather than being updated. Such a revisit to a past persona infers that self is somehow 'bound' to that place (Casey 2001a) which is reassumed on their return home. Rather than their new 'travel' self being accepted, a past, outdated and un-travelled version of their self remains constant with people remembering how they were before as opposed to understanding who they are now. In this manner, returns home can be a friction to identity, or even a regression (see 4.6.2).

v. Alienation

For *Laura* home presents an unwelcome friction in terms of feeling like an outsider. She experiences 'reverse culture shock' (Sussman 2000: 361; see also S. Cohen 2009) through feeling alienated despite being in a familiar place (S. Cohen 2011).

"I just felt like a complete outsider, it was almost reverse culture shock after being away… to come back to my own country and feel like an outsider, it was horrible… you know it's my roots, so it's kind of natural for me to be able to come back [but] I don't necessarily feel like I fit in… I'm looked upon as someone completely different, even though I don't feel so different, I know just by the things people ask me and the comments that I get from people when I'm back home, everyone thinks I'm a little bit strange, whereas when I'm travelling I don't get that at all. Ok if you go into a completely different culture, then yea of course they think you're a little bit different but I think they're more accepting than people here… and I've [definitely felt] part of the communities that I stayed with (Laura)

Whereas friction encountered in Other places was inclusive, where she integrated and felt a part of the community, returning home interestingly created feelings of exclusion despite having *'roots'* in that place. Whereas *Laura* expected to feel like an outsider in Other places and to be treated differently, she was shocked to feel so in her own home town where she had grown up. In essence, Laura suggests that she is able to carve routes more easily in Other places because she is explicitly an outsider, yet expects no less and ironically felt less judged for it. Conversely, feeling so out of place in the UK hindered her route making since she no longer felt accepted there. *Laura* may 'fit in' within Other places since there is space for her 'culturally hybridised' self (S. Cohen 2011: 1549) to play out. She is able to exercise elements of travel acquired from Other places or 'backpacker enclaves' (Ibid. 1545) in foreign places, yet there is no room for such activity at home. In essence, her 'individual life path' (Gustafson 2001) is best expressed through the creation of onward or future routes rather than the roots of her past (McCrone 1998, Rose 1996). This emphasises a move from 'roots to routes' in terms of belonging and identity (Rajchman 1998). Like *Ben* and *Henry* this further suggests that *Laura is* embarking on freer and floating identities (Dovey 2010) through leaving home, shedding it as an anchor of identity – albeit one which remains anchored at home – to create new personas.

Furthermore, home is suggested as another kind of liminal space (see 4.2.4) where people operate outside of designated confines (Hetherington 1998b). In essence, *Laura* was seen as a 'polluting' presence (Hetherington 1998a) by people at home, as

undesirable and 'out of place' (Ibid. 1998a) in conventional society, given her alternative lifestyle choice displayed by dread locking her hair (see 4.2.1b). Because of this she encountered friction by being made to feel like an outsider; a friction to re-integration despite having roots in that place, and the friction of re-engaging with a life that she no longer wanted to be part of, and had to *'stick out'* whilst she was there.

vi. Stagnation

Similarly other participants saw home as 'friction' to weaving new routes, not necessarily from externalities (i.e. people), but because of their ambivalence to be treading old routes:

> *"I find it I quite stifling when I'm there. It's all family, everyone I know is family, and I end up staying in like apartments, I'm not in hostels, I'm not meeting people, I've not got a job so wasn't meeting anybody new, and this just drives me nuts, just sit all day reading." (Enzo)*

In essence, feelings of over familiarity with place frustrated *Enzo*, suggesting that there are only a finite number of things to do within place before it 'expires' in terms of inciting change (see Chapter Five). It caused friction to progression since he was re-visiting past and therefore uninspiring routes which conferred little excitement or novelty, as central motives for lifestyle travel (see 4.2.1). Like *Ben* and *Henry* he was revisiting one aspect of his identity (rooted in place) rather than growing with pre-existing networks in Singapore hampering his ability to explore new identities. In essence, his person place relationship was exhausted. Traversing an old place removed any sense of 'newness' or excitement, eroding his desire to carve new trails since mobilities – or constellations – *within* Singapore had been made, based on family and *roots.* Perhaps new routes could be forged had *Enzo* desired to create a new sense of Singapore beyond these pre-forged and well-trodden networks. This is discussed by *Mark*:

"…even though I'm stuck here I try to find ways to be inspired here… like being not a tourist in ones' own city but more like having that sense, like that attitude you have when you travel where you just leave yourself open to everything and go with the flow, everything's new and so I try to find ways to make Perth new for me. Couch Surfing definitely helps with that and I have little projects like I've been going for lots of little walks along the river, like I've been doing like the whole circumnavigation of the river and its taken forever, it's a huge foreshore… And that's kind of made Perth new for me, like exploring new parts of the foreshore and whatever, yea I think it's that sense I'm looking for when I travel, that sense of things being new and inspiring, there's something there about inspiration."

Enzo displays no such enthusiasm; Singapore is stale, well-trodden and hinders his self-progression. Instead he prefers to move on corporally than to actively find new trails there:

"*…after three weeks I was going slightly insane I couldn't imagine being there for a year-long contract so I just kinda took off"*

In this manner, friction is represented as a hindrance to personal or internal mobility, representing multiple ways to conceive of mobility (Sheller et al 2006; Urry 2002; see Chapter 5). When Enzo revisits familiar places he encounters friction to his corporal movement as well as friction to his development. Identity can no longer be seen as a 'freely chosen game' (Bauman 1996) since the context has been 'over played' thereby restricting the 'treasury' (Rapport et al 1998) of influences open for 'play'. He is no longer 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991) since he feels static, constrained and unwilling to mediate influences into new and different constellations. Similarly for *Henry* and *Ben*, they are unable to transcend 'singular styles' (Cummings 2003) given people's static perceptions about them. In essence, friction is often encountered from the people within a place; in terms of family and *rooted* relationships, or from public reaction.

4.8.4 Positive Friction

Contrastingly, friction in 'normality' – albeit not a 'home' normality – can actually further the pursuit of novelty and excitement by viewing mobility in comparison to hum drum life. In this manner we first explore positive friction in relative terms.

iv. Relational Friction

Puncturing mobility with returns to 'normality' is required by some participants as a way to keep travel fresh and interesting. By living and working in a place, travel can be seen it in relation to a routine and less exciting way of life.

> *"When you travel for too long everything becomes passé oh that sunset, oh the animals, so anything you do for too long just becomes the norm, so you have to be careful of that with travel because it would start becoming boring and I would hate to ruin that" (Nicola)*

> *"It's a great way for me to really appreciate that feeling of freedom again… it's like pressing the reset button. When I am back on the road after a stint working I almost feel as excited as I did when I first set off" (Laura)*

Friction in this manner is a necessary component in *Nicola's* travels as this ensures that she maintains a sense of novelty and appreciation whilst on the road, preventing it from becoming 'normal'. Friction usefully structures her travels in this way where being in place is considered ordinary and travel extraordinary (Urry 2002), bearing similarity to liminal cycles discussed in 2.2.4. In this manner, *Nicola* retains *"some sort of perspective"*, as well as being able to *"maintain links with normal society"* so that she may *"move in and out between the 2 worlds"* comfortably. Rather than rejecting a conventional lifestyle, she appreciates the value of being able to go back to this in order to sustain her lifestyle financially, as well as to keep the travel phase special and novel. In this manner, friction cannot be seen in isolation of mobility since it operates

as a valuable comparative resource; they are mutually enabling (Urry 2003) and of equal importance (Sheller 2011).

v. Place immersion: self reinvention

A further positive and widely used 'type' of friction in lifestyle travel is place immersion. As discussed throughout the chapter, participants often chose to 'moor' in order to get to know a place as opposed to passively travelling through. In this manner, friction is explicitly selected as opposed to moving on, where it is experienced as *conducive* to personal progression rather than detrimental. As discussed, getting somewhere new and 'mooring' there allows participants to reinvent themselves where they can carve new and individualised paths since they are anonymous within that place (see 4.2.4).

Immersion (or friction) also allows participants time to establish themselves within new places, to begin the process of weaving new trails and identities, initiating a different kind of mobility.

> *"I like the challenge of trying to establish myself somewhere and of really finding things that are unique to me, including memories there… get a job, get a flat, learn the city, travel around a bit outside of the city, learn the surrounds, make friends… There's an exhilaration of moving to a city and knowing that there's no-one in the whole country that you could call if you had an emergency… you have to somehow sort yourself out, it's better than sky diving, the rush!" (Marie)*

> *"I love to be able to roam out into the world by myself, completely on my own and step into a completely new environment where everything is unfamiliar and I don't speak the language, I don't know anything about anything and then slowly become it, I am an anthropologist, I am a chameleon, I learn how to be 'that' and then when I'm finished I like to do it somewhere else. I guess in a way it's like being an actress, you learn a new role then you perfect it as well as you can… it's like becoming a master of disguise" (Maddie)*

In essence, for these participants, the process of *establishment* is what they desire from place immersion. Through friction in their corporal travels, they are able to integrate as a different kind of mobility *within* place, emphasising the co-constituence between mobilities and moorings (Adey 2006; Hannam et al 2006; Pascual-de-Sans 2004; Urry 2003). For *Marie* this is about almost creating *home* places along the way, as significantly important locales where she sets up networks akin to normality consisting of work, making friends and getting to know a place. For her, it is the sense of independence in forging such routes, and the excitement of testing how she will adapt, learn and integrate into foreign places. It is the challenge of tapping into different ways of life on her own.

vi. Blending in: game playing

Maddie also shows excitement for immersion of the extreme kind, throwing herself into the unknown to test her adaptability and new evolving selves. However, rather than creating home bases or normalities through making friends and finding work, 'mask' painting is the impetus for such establishment, to colour herself in a certain way to '*blend right in*' (*Maddie)*. This echoes Bauman's notion of 'game playing' with the challenge being able to almost fool people:

> *"I can travel the world and nobody knows that I don't belong there cos I speak their language and how they move and how they talk and I know how to get around…" (Maddie)*

In essence, her routes within place are carved to create different '*disguises'* in order to camouflage her in the environment she is in; she almost wants to learn to be local. This is in contrast to *Marie* who likes to establish herself – rather than alter herself – in a place. Fundamentally for both participants, once this is complete, they must relocate in order to begin the process again in a new and therefore challenging location. Friction in a place therefore has a 'shelf life' in terms of how long establishment takes.

4.8.5 Friction is exhaustive

This final point emphasises friction as exhaustive. When one has established themselves or 'conquered' a place, the friction no longer is conducive to personal mobility, inciting the need to move on corporeally and begin establishing themselves elsewhere.

> *"I wanted to move into that world for a little while, be part of that community, experience it, feel it, see how it treated me, but by the time I'd left, kind of felt I'd conquered it I guess" (Oliver)*

In essence, places must 'match' personal trajectories in order to warrant friction to corporeal movement. As demonstrated in *Enzo's* case, Singapore had 'expired' in terms of the challenge it offered; it no longer 'kept up' with his trajectories for self-development. The place itself had become a friction to progression.

4.9 Feelings

The last of Cresswell's mobile aspects considers how movement feels. This attribute has been peppered throughout the chapter with mobility feeling stimulating and exciting (4.5), like a drudgery (4.5; Ingold 2004), enjoyable (4.5) exhausting (4.6.3), providing a sense of freedom (from responsibility 4.3.2; from time 4.6.4 and over identity 4.2.4), or as a valuable part of the experience (4.7.6) to name but a few. In essence, the feeling of mobility in lifestyle travel varies hugely across time, space and between people. It is possibly one of the most fluid attributes in this manner, with feelings often made in relation to where one is, what they are doing and who they may be with, making it almost impossible to accurately map. Furthermore, feeling is inevitably one of the most determining attributes since it will often colour participants' subsequent velocity, rhythm and direction of movement. If they are tired, they will stop. If it is enjoyable they will persevere. Fundamentally, feeling is so situational and subjective that it is virtually impossible to make any common observations about it.

Whereas we can observe how *Punit* actively strives to be corporeally on the move since this gives him satisfaction and a sense of feeling alive: *"I feel more free on the road… it's just way more intense and way more stimulating I'd say";* for others the feeling of mobility is better 'gauged' through place immersion and obtaining a *feel of place.* Mobility in this sense is felt as engagement, progression or self-development (see 4.2.5). Physical motion is tiresome for *Nicola* but an important way to obtain a deeper more holistic experience of place for *Felicity (4.2.4).*

4.9.1 Evolving feeling

However, what we can note about the feel of mobility is how this tends to evolve alongside styles of travel for participants. In essence, alternative forms of mobility engender different feelings, which are pursued at different times.

i. Autonomy

This can be seen in the way that participants may become increasingly more autonomous in their travels, engendering feelings of self-reliance, challenge and independence (or vice versa: pursue challenge to feel autonomous). In this manner, *Laura's* initial enjoyment of package tours in her early travels (see 4.2.4) would merely suffocate her current aspirations today, which include the desire to progress, learn and test herself. Her initial experiences were characterised by feelings of comfort, convenience and safety where arranged tour groups essentially moulded her mobility, providing a sheltered or more touristic experience:

> *"I went on all these amazing tours, the Whitsundays and you know lots of guided things which I loved, at that point…"*

At this point in her travels, package tour mobility was enjoyed. However, as her confidence to travel independently has grown, her feeling of mobility has subsequently evolved. From having her *'own wheels'* in New Zealand to progressively backpacking

'harder' areas independently (see 4.2.1), she has progressively obtained a more autonomous feel in her travels. From enjoyment, frivolity and 'backpacker' style mobility, she now seeks and feels a greater degree of independence in her movements, and feels challenged by her mobility. She notes her experiences are still 'fun' yet are characterised by a sense of accomplishment and reward through choosing more 'difficult' travel.

> "*it's always fun, when you get there it feels a bit more rewarding if it's a battle to get there*"

In essence, mobility is felt differently at different times in one's journey.

ii. <u>Collecting to engaging</u>

Similarly we can see how other participants noted a distinction between the feel of tourist style mobility and their mobility, evolving from the superficial satisfaction of *'collecting sights' (Viv)* through to an appreciation of place and 'proper travel'. As *Viv* discussed in 4.2.2, the experience of mobility as a tourist is very different to the mobility that she feels. The former is characterised by rapid travel where things '*pass you by',* whereas with the latter, she is able to *'tune in' (Stuart)* to other ways of life. For Viv, it is the feeling of understanding and engaging with cultures that she experiences, more so than feeling that she is simply ticking off sights. This is corroborated by *Felicity (4.2.2)* who actively chooses modes of mobility (hitch hiking / public transport) which enhance her feeling of place, and sense that she is *'actually'* travelling – or wayfaring – as opposed to *being* transported (Ingold 2007). In essence, their chosen mobilities facilitate the sense that they are the creators rather than spectators of their journey (see Chapter Five).

iii. <u>Finite feeling of progression</u>

This relates to what was discussed in 4.8 where such creation may be hindered depending on the trajectory of place. As explored, internal mobility – as progression and self-development from *establishment* within place – is only possible for a finite time before it's 'newness' or scope for 'route making' runs out. Place – or mobilities within that place – eventually 'expires' in terms of the challenge it offers lifestyle travellers, emphasising how the *feel* of mobility evolves over time.

> *"being in a new environment all the time, trying to meet new people all the time, having a new kind of place, being in constant motion in some sense I think, for me personally its healthy and helps me live the life that I want and try to live…" (Tim)*

To feel continually 'on the move' is the underlying impetus for *Tim's* travels; it is important for him to feel constantly 'tested' and outside his *'comfort zone'*. Travel prevents him from remaining static in terms of self-identity through exposure to new environments, people and places. Once this novelty expires, once routes within a place no longer afford the opportunity to grow and progress, physical relocation is required to incite internal change:

> *"I do notice that when I stay somewhere too long I start to feel nervous, like I'm not accomplishing enough, and then when I start somewhere new and difficult I feel fulfilled" (Viv)*

In essence mobilities within place must synchronise with lifestyle travellers' internal mobility in order to be challenging, satisfying, productive and fulfilling. Once this objective is no longer met, mobility is considered constraining, restrictive and exhausted in that location and must be sought elsewhere. Fundamentally the feel of mobility within lifestyle travel is fluid, on-going and largely dependent on the relationship between people and place. For it to be a positive experience, mobility is required to refresh one's connection with place in order to transform selfhood. It is

important to remain an 'outsider' (Said 1986) through the practice of relocation to embark on new routes within new places.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has examined mobile components of lifestyle travel to show how attention must next be paid to examining mobilities of *place,* which will structure the next two chapters. Using Cresswell's structure was just one way to unpack heterogeneity in lifestyle travel, and was chosen as a comprehensive and rounded examination tool for research focusing on mobility. The main findings are now presented.

4.10.1 Constellations of mobility

From examining Cresswell's six aspects of mobility we can see how varied the practice of lifestyle travel is. The motive to initiate travel was largely found to be different from why participants sustained it as a lifestyle with factors such as escape from 'home', societal roles and responsibilities not adequately explaining why it is prolonged indefinitely. Furthermore, the point of 'leaving home' was generally more definitive than the point that travel became a lifestyle, with this often evolving organically rather than occurring at a specific moment. In this manner, motives for lifestyle travel were often embroiled (i.e. compulsion and progression) with various reasons coming into play at various times along their journey.

Velocity, rhythm and routes were also many and multiple between participants, as well as varying at different times in their travels. Velocity was a problematic 'aspect' since speed of travel can be interpreted differently. *Punit's* preference to be 'on the road' hitch hiking suggested a rapid rate of travel, although for others, hitch hiking is utilised

as a 'slow' method to engage with place. Velocity *within* place was further considered as well as *between* places, to emphasise immersion as a slow and meaningful practice.

Rhythm showed to be highly irregular and difficult to 'map'. Unpacking 'frequency' and 'duration' as tangible ways to tease out patterns presented problems, and essentially suggested that constitution of experiences, in terms of what participant felt, was far more telling than 'quantifiable' traits. However, an overarching pattern that was identifiable in lifestyle travel was an 'inverse normality'. Whereas rhythm varied temporarily and spatially, with some participants displaying no rhythm (preference for fluid travels), and others regular rhythms (organising time around schools or the seasons) an important commonality was that mobility was permanent and 'moorings' within place temporary. In essence, rather than travel as liminal space, it is constructed as the constant feature in lifestyle travel, suggesting that many participants are in fact 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991). This in turn presents implications for comprehending home which will be tackled in Chapter Six.

Routes also showed to be highly personal, with little in the way of commonly traversed paths. Instead, everywhere was suggested as accessible since lifestyle travellers have a lifetime to trace their paths. An important theme seemed to be that many participants sought places that presented a challenge and would incite internal relocation alongside their physical one. Some showed progression from 'easier' routes in tourist areas to less visited 'harder' places to invoke feelings of accomplishment. Others chose 'tactical' paths that would best prolong their travels despite being arduous or a compromise to their agenda. In essence, routes within place were illuminated as significant in several ways; they can propel internal progression, as well as routes onwards to new places.

An examination of friction helped investigate this, understood as 'mooring' within place. Rather than this simply being a corporeal pause in one's movements, friction

raised attention to the activity occurring within such 'moorings'. This was sometimes viewed as a literal friction in terms of identity, where revisiting old or home places served to halt development and resume static or outdated versions of self. Conversely, new and unknown 'friction' allowed participants to form new routes and discover new selves along the way. In essence, different types of friction could either incite identity formation through *(slow)* immersion and the forming of routes, or it could represent restriction.

Feeling of mobility helped examine this change between route creation and route restriction. In essence, friction to corporeal mobility (mooring) was considered beneficial if some kind of internal mobility was induced; it *felt* good. By relocating to new and unknown locations offering infinite routes and possibilities, a new kind of mobility is embarked upon involving the establishment of oneself within a new place, affording challenge and fulfilment. Once routes are laid, become known and unchallenging, the friction is felt as stifling and impedes internal mobility. The capacity of place has been exceeded in this respect and can no longer 'match' the pace of the traveller. Consequentially corporeal mobility is employed to relocate to new places to further the pursuit of self-development. In essence, the feeling of mobility is largely dependent on lifestyle travellers' internal trajectories positively correlating with the trajectories of place. In turn this colours their subsequent routes, direction, velocity and rhythm of their travels both *within* and *between places.*

4.10.2 A focus on mobilities of place

Whilst it is impossible to make any generalized assertions about lifestyle travel given the huge diversity in its practice, an overall message that can be drawn from utilising Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) is that a focus on the *mobilities* of place is required. Systematically addressing aspects of mobility have directed our attention to the mobilities of *place*. Motive force revolves around freedom from *place*, freedom to test identity in *place and* compulsion to explore many *places*. Velocity and rhythm

considered mobilities and moorings in conjunction, illuminating place immersion as an alternative kind of mobility *in* mooring. Routes explicitly explored routes *within* place for inciting personal progression. Friction similarly showed how 'mooring' in place is desired and beneficial, which was also discussed in 4.9 feeling. In essence, these aspects of mobility have led to conceiving different kinds of mobility, primarily in terms of place immersion, providing the foundations for the subsequent chapters.

4.10.2 Evaluating Cresswell's / Uriely's framework

Whilst Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' framework has been fruitful for yielding diversity and avoided classifying individuals, we must acknowledge that it serves as just one way to unpack experiences. Indeed other interpretative paths may have presented alternative findings and it is acknowledged that this thesis provides just one 'route' of explanation based on the empirical material. However, despite this framework illustrating the difficulty of compartmentalising lifestyle travel, exploring the six mobile aspects (which showed to overlap) demonstrates how elements of the phenomenon cannot be cleanly separated. Rather than this being problematic it strengthens the framework because it works to reflect complex, embroiled lives, as well as giving *relational* meaning to aspects of mobility. For example 'routes' are meaningless in isolation of 'friction', reflecting theory which advocates mobilities and moorings as mutually explanatory. Furthermore, 'friction' was interpreted as both a 'form' (a literal pause in mobility) and 'type' attribute (felt as a way to grow in place). Rather than this be interpreted as opposing Uriely in advocating their 'indistinguishable' (2002) use, we merit the separation of terms for teasing out different kinds of 'friction' and how these interrelate.

In essence, this research has capitalised on a neat and comprehensive categorisation tool to structure findings, but at the same time entwined labels meaningfully to allow diversity to manifest. In effect we can comprehend each mobile aspect itself as an assemblage of other constellations; as trace-chains which are connected rather than

operating in isolation. In this manner we retain the utility of classifications but combine these fluidly to make meaningful interpretations about diverse lives.

The next chapter proceeds to look at the significance of mobility. Whilst we have explored 'constellations of mobility', we now examine the significance of a mobile life to participants and how they carve their way in the world.

Chapter Five

"It's nice to tune into somebody else's way of life"

'Mobilities' of lifestyle travel

5.1 Introduction

As a central theme and approach to research, it is imperative to consider the mobilities of lifestyle travel. This chapter aims to explore how lifestyle travellers carve their way in the world, the kinds of mobility they demonstrate and how this impacts their identity.

Chapter Four provided an introduction to this by suggesting how mobility is significant in ways besides corporeal movement, specifically in terms of self-development, change and identity relocation, as well as within place. This introduction thus emphasised how the examination of mobility must transcend passive relocation between places (Urry 2002) of which this chapter specifically seeks to do. It will explore ways lifestyle travellers are mobile, particularly in relation to place, with three key instruments outlined which facilitate their carving of routes: Couch Surfing, volunteering and employment which will structure this chapter.

These three instruments emerged from the data as popular 'strategies' used by participants to initiate route creation through integration within place, and to test Other lives. Although not all lifestyle travellers use these strategies, they are useful to consider here as catalysts which can help travellers to engage with place in different degrees and depth (see Figure 5.1). In specific, this chapter explores Couch Surfing a strategy to facilitate immersion within lives and to accelerate relationships; volunteering as a means to integrate within a community, and employment as a strategy to immerse within the 'normality' of a location. The chapter emphasises that because lifestyle travellers 'move on', these strategies have a limited lifespan and are temporary in nature. As ways to get to know a place and form relationships, the adoption of these strategies do not last. As soon as the objectives of lifestyle travellers

are met – one feels integrat**ed,** a place is learn**t,** relationships are establish**ed –** lifestyle travellers feel constricted, bored and inactive, which prompts relocation elsewhere. In this manner, the chapter posits the importance of being mobile in terms of progression rather than as passive movement. Fundamentally, mobility within a place is key because it provokes self-development. However, place as a catalyst for change will diminish over time as familiarity offsets novelty; its utility is finite before it frustrates self-development.

This chapter explores the routes within place in this way, to map integration and immersion and the point at which trails are exhausted. As examined in 4.2.4, the process of 'route making' is akin to wayfaring (Ingold 2007), where participants reject 'rooted' lifestyles to instead make their own individualised 'stories' through the practice of mobility.

Lifestyle travellers are authors of their stories by varying degrees, dependent on what they seek from a place or experience. Their wayfaring will vary across different places as different techniques are employed to promote different kinds of route making. As we have identified above, this chapter explores three key strategies with which lifestyle travellers engage with places (Couch Surfing, volunteering, and employment). Through these strategies the chapter posits four 'types' of lifestyle traveller that are the 'spectator', 'participator', 'contributor' and 'member', with each representing a different level of involvement in place (see Figure 5.1. below). Lifestyle travellers do not wholly seek to take up one role through their mobility, rather they will inevitably seek a range of experiences within place, with different forms of mobility opening up different kinds of routes in terms of the level of immersion that they offer. In this manner a continuum of integration is presented, which will 'position' the level of access each technique grants.

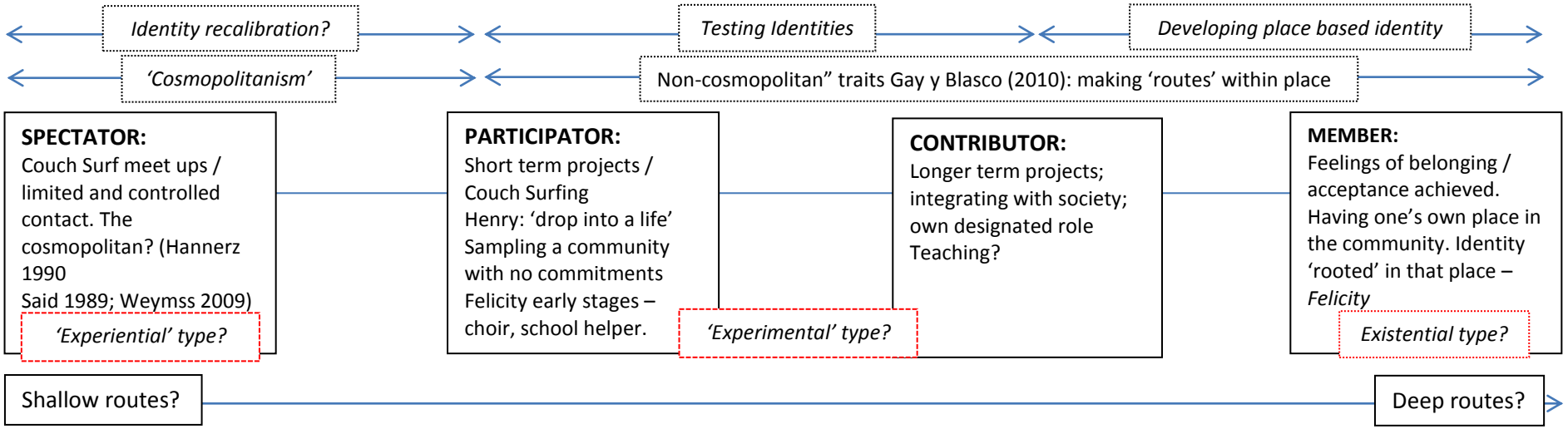
Addressing Couch Surfing, volunteering and employment systematically will provide the structure for this chapter where each will be assessed in terms of the level of immersion they offer. In this manner we may locate where these strategies may lie on the spectator to member scale below (Figure 5.1) appreciating that participants will

position themselves variously along this continuum (E. Cohen 2004b) at different times in different places. Whilst we appreciate that routes are not always formed exclusively using such strategies – with the very practice of travel used to forge relationships and experience Other places – such strategies provide a pronounced insight into the way that routes can be carved.

By first considering Couch Surfing, we explore the way it acts as a catalyst for the development of relationships and connections within place, as a tool to accelerate one's experience, thereby presenting a prominent illustration of forging routes. We move along the scale to consider additional methods participants use to become a part of place and contribute to the wider community – as aims beyond Couch Surfing – through volunteer and exchange work. Finally employment is discussed as a final method of integration, as a way to tap into the normalities of place, affording various 'levels' of integration, from the spectator to member[30].

[30] Whilst this bears relation to E. Cohen's tourist modes (1979), the focus in this diagram is on place immersion and route carving as active processes (verbs than nouns) rather than presenting another classification.

Figure 5.1 Integration Continuum



SPECTATOR The spectator affords shallow routes, operates on the peripheries and prefers controlled contact, dipping between familiarity and unknown. Rather than 'test' lives, this can be a way to "establish recognition and difference with others" (Panelli 2004: 138) to reaffirm 'who we one is' at this current time. Rather than identity relocation, identity calibration may be occurring, suggesting that returns to this stage may be made at various points for this purpose. This demonstrates liminal cycles (see Figure 2.1) where internalisation occurs at regular times (Laura; Sheila) or can be more fluid, as per liminal trajectories (Figure 2.2.) *"Kinda like exploring something new and to kind of feel apart from a place but be in it" (Henry)*

PARTICIPATOR The participator weaves deeper routes as contact is more encompassing albeit temporary, such as Couch Surfing or short term community projects. The level of integration at this point will vary with Couch Surfing affording more intense exposure to an individual's life; and community projects obtaining a wider and gradual sense of a place. In this sense, 'testing lives' and ' testing' identities can occur as immersion within difference incites self relocation. Non-cosmopolitan traits begin to surface at this stage where lifestyle travellers not only taste cultures (Weymss 2009) they begin to subscribe to norms and conventions in that place.

CONTRIBUTOR The contributor demonstrates deeper networks again, forged in place with an increased level of integration based on forming designated roles within a community. Rather than 'testing' lives, a deeper connection is made in the pursuit of developing personal routes within a place, to establish one's own personal trajectory within that locale as opposed to following a locals or observing from the periphery.

MEMBER Final stage of integration through achieving a 'place' in a community as opposed to a productive 'role'. Feelings of belonging, acceptance and feeling 'at home'. Whilst inferring an 'end state' once integrated, new mobilities based on being an active member may begin or demand relocation elsewhere.

5.2 Couch Surfing

One method which many participants noted as way to help 'carve' their way in the world was via Couch Surfing. Couch Surfing, as an online social networking site for travellers (see 3.5.4) presents a way of exploring a 'virtual' version of mobility (see Germann Molz 2005; Urry 2002). With over two thirds of participants in this research using Couch Surfing for various reasons, this showed to be a significant 'tool' in carving particular kinds of routes. Of course the use of Couch Surfing varied between participants with some repeatedly surfing locals' couches compared to others who considered this too intense, preferring meet ups to retain their independence. Despite this variation, Couch Surfing does offer the opportunity to live like a local and to immerse in place, which is fundamentally what many lifestyle travellers desire, and thus key to this chapter. As illustrated on the Integration Scale (Figure 5.1) we consider the different degrees of such aims, with Couch Surfing first presented, positioned on the far left, in being less about place immersion but focused on meeting people and immersing in lives. It functions to provide a glimpse of a community, to access ideas and taste local ways of life through meet ups (Hannerz 1990; 1996a) rather than submerging and penetrating the core of a community;

5.2.1 Accessing alternative routes

For *Alice* (see 4.2.4) Couch Surfing helped her access difficult areas, thereby began the process of wayfaring (Ingold 2007), evolving from "*being a tourist into more of a traveller"* and moving onto the integration scale (Figure 5.1). Her use of Couch Surfing gave her access to less traversed corporeal routes, as well as carving routes into different selves as she developed from being a "*stupid Australian that goes everywhere"* (4.2.4) into an independent traveller seeking challenge.

5.2.2 Live Like a Local

For many participants, developing virtual connections online seemed to be established primarily to transcend tourist type travel, like *Alice*. By connecting with local people, they felt that they could obtain deeper senses of place, and access less traversed locations. By seeking alternative routes off the beaten track (in terms of location and routes developed *in* place), most participants viewed Couch Surfing as an effective way

to surpass the glossy and sanitised versions of a place, to get behind the scenes and carve routes through the routines and everyday practices of the local people than to follow trails designated for tourists (Urry 2002). It was a way to 'achieve' (Jones 2009) an alternative and local impression of place:

> *"I really wanted to connect with locals, have that experience outside the normal stuff in tourist brochures" (Mark)*

> *"I like to have the local contact as well and Couch Surfing is awesome for that, to put you in touch with local people…" (Laura)*

As OJ explains further, the virtual connections made through Couch Surfing enabled him to practice the 'everyday' mobilities within place by giving him the opportunity to live like a local:

> *"I stayed with two different people in Egypt, one guy in Cairo, which was really nice, we hung out,* [had] *shisha and played dominoes, met his family. That was really cool to see Cairo that side…. Then I stayed with another guy in a tiny town... where no tourists go cos there was nothing there, so hung out with him, went to his doctor's surgery, and sat in with all his consults so I really got to learn a lot from them* [the patients] *cos I was asking them questions and having conversations, it was a really bizarre experience… That's what made Egypt bearable for me because before that I was just travelling round with my parents, it's horrible just as a tourist, but when you're with an Egyptian guy its completely different"(OJ)*

Here *OJ* was able to do everyday things; playing games, smoking shisha, 'hanging out', spending time at the doctors, and to meet 'everyday' people. In this manner his routes by-passed the undesired tourist circuit to tap into a local's life to achieve a 'real' and completely different sense of place. By 'following' the routes of a local, to traverse his daily life and see Cairo through his eyes gave OJ a more rewarding and enjoyable experience.

Similarly for Kristen, a personal and local impression of place through Couch Surfing 'made' her experience. The enthusiasm displayed by her hosts and their 'insider knowledge' meant that she was able to carve routes that surpassed those that she could 'achieve' on her own:

"…every person that I met was so willing to share their home, willing to take you out and show you what their town is about and give you tips and it's so much better…from that first night in Switzerland I spent 3 nights in a hostel in 2 months" (Kristen)

For these participants, Couch Surfing afforded a way to carve deeper routes within place through tapping into the regular rhythms and routines of individuals. By connecting with local people and engaging in their lives, they could obtain a sense of what it was like to be a local as opposed to a passing tourist. This further illustrates Couch Surfing as a tool to actively engage with a place, as a way to become immersed rather than skirt passively across its surface (see below).

5.2.3 Immersion

Felicity stresses the value of Couch Surfing for carving routes in this manner, as provides a way to become *involved* with place as opposed to consuming it. Rather than merely spectating from the peripheries (Figure 5.1), Couch Surfing allows her to participate and engage with place, to become a part of it through activity. This emphasises the importance of carving routes (wayfaring) than of route following (transported traveller), that it is an actor centred activity, deliberate and considered rather than of passive movement across place. Rather than being acted upon through passive exposure to place (spectating), participation means that lifestyle travellers reciprocally act within place. It is a pro-active engagement rather than a reactive contact:

"it's easier to go to a place and look at it from the eyes of a tourist you know, wander round and you're almost just consuming the place, visually and passively, you're not really participating… but if you spend a week there, or a month there or you stay with local families, which is why I love Couch Surfing, you get this other aspect of the place" (Felicity)

Felicity corroborates Couch Surfing as a way to 'achieve' an alternative 'aspect' of place, yet emphasises immersion as a critical mobility for engaging with place. As a tourist, routes are superficial and passive; one's presence is almost as invader, a shallow user of space connecting the dots (Ingold 2007). By comparison Couch Surfing offers her a 'path' to participate within a place, to engage with it and actively carve her own independent routes. Carving her way in the world is about absorbing in place and

putting down 'temporary roots' and becoming part 'of it' of, which is facilitated by Couch Surfing.

5.2.4 Relationships

Besides immersion, Couch Surfing allows lifestyle travellers to carve their way in the world through the developing of relationships. Whereas for *OJ* it was the opportunity to 'live like a local', for other participants the emphasis was on making meaningful relationships to find their 'way' in the world and obtain fuller and richer experiences:

> *"we stayed with these 5 guys living in this giant house and they just all loved rock and roll and my boyfriend's a musician so they just loved each other and would rock out all the time… it was a really positive experience right from the beginning… Since then we've been Couch Surfing all over, we did a 3 month trip in the states totally Couch Surfing… and had some of the most unbelievable connections, it was amazing…. In all of my Couch Surfing, people are like 'hi, welcome to my house' and we hang out and then we're like family and its really quick and really comfortable, it's like seriously being at home everywhere we've been, unbelievable " (Viv)*

Similarly for Viv, the everyday experiences of 'hanging out' with her hosts, getting to know them and receiving such open hospitality was central to her positive experience. Couch Surfing enhanced her travels as provided a way to meet people and build personal and meaningful relationships and is why she continues to use it (see 6.4; Couch Surfing as a method to feel at home). This illustrates how forging friendships with people and making these lasting connections with them is what she specifically wants out of her travels. It is not necessarily about where she is but significantly about whom she is sharing her experience with. Carving relationships is how she carves *her* way in the world.

This further suggests that the constitiuence between people and place (Casey 2001) can be cemented by relationships; one's experience of a destination can be coloured by the connections that they make with people:

"It's rarely about the sights, it's about the relationships that you form within that location. It wouldn't matter whether you walk through beautiful museums or galleries, or you see these wonderful mosques or whatever it doesn't matter, it's the people that you've met while in these locations. You can meet someone in the desert which has absolutely nothing to offer but have an absolute blast" (Dan)

In essence, carving relationships can essentially bond people with place. Making friendships can determine one's experience of a destination rather than the destination itself. For *Dan* even the most impressive places can appear empty or superficial without some kind of lasting personal connection, or the most mundane locations yield deep and meaningful routes dependent on relationships. In this manner, mobilities can 'moor' the connection between people and place rather than sever it. Mobilities can bridge the place / person relationship. As a method of carving relationships, Couch Surfing is one mechanism through which lifestyle travellers can make travel and experiences of place memorable and significant.

5.2.5 Accelerate Relations / Test Lives

As a relationship facilitator, Couch Surfing expands one's access to different kinds of people, as well as accelerating the time relationships traditionally take to form and develop:

"it's like you can drop into someone's life and live it for a day or two days, you get to see what it's like…. And… especially when you're there for a week or so, it kind of encourages you to live out the entirety of the relationship in that confined amount of time, it's like if you know you're never gona see them again, you kind of just flow through the whole relationship so much quicker and differently, there's no reservations… I Couch Surfed with a guy, ended up staying with him for 2 weeks and kind of dabbling in his life and went to a music festival and helped him sell some stuff" (Henry).

Here *Henry* initially demonstrates that like *OJ*, he enjoys the opportunity to live like a local and test lives through 'dropping in' on people, using Couch Surfing as a permissible tool to do so. This almost infers a kind of 'game playing' (Bauman 1996) where he can "*dabble in…"* different lives before moving on and testing out others. Rather than forming routes *alongside* people like OJ, it almost infers a specific insight into the person rather than the environment they reside within. Furthermore, Couch

Surfing as an intense method affords the ability to accelerate relationships with people, as well as forming deep connections through increased personal contact and exposure to one's lived space. In this manner, despite being temporary, friendships are formed and lives learnt at a rapid pace (relating to different velocities of travel: see 4.2.2).

5.2.6 Manipulate Routes: Control of Experience

A further way Couch Surfing is beneficial for the carving of routes is in the way it can be manipulated to suit the kind of route making desired at a particular time. Whereas *OJ, Viv* and *Henry* desire full immersion, others preferred less intense experiences, and could use the site as a 'screening' process to obtain the type of experience that they required. In essence it was a way to control the routes of their experiences:

> *"I did Couch Surf a few times but it was with foreigners working in those countries… I mean the Africa experience is intense already, I just wasn't up to doing it in a house and sleeping overnight and making it more intense. I didn't have the energy" (Sheila)*

> *"I've only ever used it as a social network cos I really like hostels… I might get a little bit more open to Couch Surfing but I really love my independence and I don't necessarily want to fit round what someone else is doing" (Laura)*

> *"I wouldn't Couch Surf every night I couldn't possibly do that, at most it'd probably be once or twice a week… only because I find it really challenging and exhausting being in somebody else's space… I met up with a lot of people though" (Alice)*

For *Sheila,* Couch Surfing was used to be able to refine searches to locate western workers in Africa, to serve as a retreat from the all-encompassing African experience, as a kind of safety enclave. Rather than desiring immersion or a local experience, she sought familiarity in the routes she wove, using Couch Surfing as an escape from an already intense experience. This emphasises how the virtual mobilities made through the site can manifest in different corporeal mobilities within place, offering contrasting functions of immersion and retreat to name a few, depending on the preference of the user.

Alice and *Laura* perhaps mediate between these two ends. *Alice* used Couch Surfing sporadically for immersion, emphasising that it would be impossible to continually weave routes in this way given the intensity of the experience. However, like *Laura,* she did use it frequently to meet people and obtain a degree of contact with locals as opposed to immersion. Routes are therefore carved in relation to what travellers want from an experience at certain times. Couch Surfing can be used to access and carve less engulfing experiences, as well as for full involvement. It can be used to carve more peripheral routes through interacting with locals as opposed to 'dropping in' to their lives, akin to the cosmopolitan (Hannerz 1990; 1996a).

Like *Sheila, Alice* likes to step away from immersion in order to rest and get some time for herself. For her, personal space and 'time out' is important, to reflect and be on her own at the peripheries. *Laura* avoids this end of Couch Surfing altogether, preferring to be autonomous in her route carving than following highly personalised ones through immersion. Rather than 'lose themselves' like *Henry* through dropping into lives, these participants prefer exposure on their terms, perhaps to recalibrate, revisit or find their own self. They demonstrate hybridity in their route carving in this way through amalgamating elements of exposure, although keep one foot in familiarity:

> *"I use Couch Surfing to meet people for a coffee and a drink and that's what I prefer to do actually, prefer to stay in a hostel and have my own kind of space…" (Laura)*

For Laura, two very different routes are carved in her travels: a 'typical' traveller's experience, residing in hostels and meeting similar people, but also exposure to local people. In this manner, her routes represent different things at different times, depending on the type of situation and experience she wants throughout the course of her journey. In light of this, Couch Surfing is still important for forging personal contacts and relationships that makes a time in place significant, yet she does not need to step into the shoes of a local and live out their life through staying at peoples' homes. For her, temporary exposure or *'contact'* with local people is important; she likes to meet and have those relationships but not necessarily delve as far into a life as

Henry chooses to, preferring instead to step back into the more familiar space of a hostel.

This infers *Laura* to be a spectator in her travels, observing from the peripheries and controlling her experience. As we next examine, there are ways besides Couch Surfing that participants use to 'participate' in Other places and carve routes within communities. Moving along the Integration Scale (Figure 5.1) we consider volunteering and exchange work as ways to obtain deeper experiences than Couch Surfing, in terms of actively being a part of place rather than involved in discrete lives. It offers a different kind of experience and a different kind of integration.

5.3 Volunteer / Exchange Work

This section considers volunteering and exchange work as methods used by some participants to carve routes in the world. Whereas these activities are presented as a deeper route for place immersion than Couch Surfing, it must be appreciated that the 'depths' volunteering can access are highly dependent on the user and the place they are in. Examining these different 'depths' demonstrates how volunteering and exchange work can be positioned variously along the Integration Continuum (Figure 5.1) at different times. This is considered after first outlining reasons why participants chose to volunteer.

5.3.1 Designated role

Volunteering or exchange work was the preferred method for some participants to carve routes as gave them a designated 'role' and a way to contribute to a community (Tomazos et al 2012). Rather than "dropping in on a life", they wanted to carve their own way into the wider community and actively *do* something as opposed to passively spectating:

> *"like Couch Surfing I have tried it a couple of times and it's OK but in a way it makes me feel uneasy, maybe being English or something but like you're not giving anything back… what I do prefer more is the actual volunteer things cos that will give me something to do" (Hannah)*

Hannah further refers to altruistic objectives, as a way to 'give something back' through volunteering, which she felt was not achievable through Couch Surfing.

5.3.2 Altruism

Volunteering or exchange work in this manner provides a way for lifestyle travellers to be philanthropic in their routes; to carve their way in the world through a 'positive contribution' (Tomazos et al 2012: 177) rather than consumption of place. For them, it offsets the negative impact of their travels though making a positive impact on a place and being a *'responsible traveller' (Laura)*:

> *"By going there as a tourist I am part of that problem… it's something I carry with me as a traveller, it's a hard burden to try and not be part of that, and that's one of the reasons I try and do volunteer work and exchange work just to try and balance it a little bit for my own morale grounds." (Laura)*

By engaging in local projects, *Laura* feels that she is able to carve alternative routes to the tourist; routes that are sensitive to communities and in tune with them instead of perpetuating the *'problem'* of western tourism and development. Instead of being a passive 'consumer' which exacerbates the erosion of traditional and unique ways of life, she instead likes to carve routes which contribute and are sympathetic to place, balancing (Tomazos et al 2012) her 'polluting' western presence (Lieberg 1997; Matthews et al 2000; Valentine 2003).

5.3.3 Integration

As well as these tangible and productive outputs being desired, volunteering and exchange work further promotes an alternative kind of immersion to Couch Surfing. In this manner, one can maintain independence but still 'tap' into a local *community* rather than a *local life*, avoiding the intensity of staying in a host's home. In essence, an alternative type of experience is sought based on participation through community projects. Where *Laura* spectates using Couch Surfing, she participates through volunteering ventures as she feels that this gives her a valid reason or purpose to carve her way through Other places. It gives her a 'right' to be there:

> *"If I want to do something physical or just want to stay in a place for a short period of time, for 2 months or whatever and give something back to the country, that tends to be what I do, some exchange work… It's a really good way to get into communities, like established communities, cos you can go in and do some work and get to know people and things happen from there, friendships are made and you become part of the community so you know" (Laura)*

In this manner projects offer *Laura* a way to become *"part of the local community"* rather than *"just being there as a tourist".* Such a different position means that she is privy to an inside view of a place and can carve deeper and more meaningful routes. By being there and sharing activities, attachments can be made with locals, relating back to relationships being central to one's impression of place (see 5.2.1):

> *"when I was in Cambodia I taught English in a small rural school and became part of the community in this small town and became part of the teachers lives, and you get such an attachment to the people as well as the place, so those places are really particularly special" (Laura)*

In this manner, we can see how both participants prefer *integration* (in a community) rather than *immersion* (in a life) for carving routes in the world. Being involved in projects which are beneficial to local communities, they gain a wider sense of place by being engaged in a team, and as part of a (local) collective whole. This perhaps also promotes more natural integration (and route carving) to occur, where several friendships can be developed over time rather than one intense relationship typical of Couch Surfing. This is also encouraged through *Laura's* preference for hostels (see 5.2.1) and meeting people by chance rather than through engineered channels. By ensuring that she can step away from the encounter and meet people on her terms, she maintains her personal space and encourages relationships to develop at a slower, more natural rate. This further demonstrates her desire to mix meeting local people through community projects with meeting fellow travellers by staying in hostels. In this way she can dip into both worlds at various times, mediating between different travel encounters, 'playing' backpacker one day, and community participant the next, thereby widening the scope of networks she is engaging with. In essence, her route carving is one of multiplicity, flowing between familiar and unknown, through spectating and participating.

5.3.3 Spectator to Participator: Carving routes *in* Place

Whilst such positions may be oscillated between, *Felicity* emphasises the process of *becoming* a participant and later a community *member.* In this manner, carving her way in the world is about the level of *integration* she obtains in place; her routes are only as deep as her acquired level of 'entry':

> *"…first of all I was working in the village school and I was volunteering so they saw… I was obviously doing something for the village, I just participated, I threw myself into joining clubs and the choir, I lived with a lot of host families…* [they were] *very sort of the people who were born and brought up there, dislike anyone whose from outside, like even 15 minutes down the road, they sort of adopted me with open arms, now either it was me, or cos I was English, I don't know what, but I was able to feel like I belonged to somewhere cos they wanted me to belong…" (Felicity)*

For her, volunteering promoted a longitudinal introduction into the village which bought her belonging and acceptance from the wider community. Rather than volunteering short term, her contributor (or member) status was acquired through various participatory ventures to gain a wider role, which fit in with the village rather than through an individual's life or a particular project. Rather than acquiring a 'role' – for *Henry* as *visitor,* for Hannah as volunteer – *Felicity* sought to carve out a new role in relation to the village; to gain her own 'place' in that community, perhaps through creating a new home (see also 6.4.4) and sense of belonging than to simply test out a life and move on. In this manner *Felicity* could be said to be carving new routes unique to her position in the village, as opposed to 'dropping in' on someone's life and their routes. She was carving a deeper place based identity, which for her remains rooted to that place (Tuan 1977; Relph 1976):

> *"…when I came back to England, felt like half of me was in France … you find another side to yourself, so it's quite enriching actually, like I'm a lot more confident in a French setting for example I'm much more confident, I'm almost like a different person …"*

Carving her way into the French village meant that *Felicity* carved roads into a new identity, emphasising the mutual co-ingredience of place and self (Casey 2001). She was able to discover a new self whilst learning and forging routes within a new culture. In turn her networks cemented the village as a 'thick place' which provided 'personal

enrichment' (Casey 2001: 685). Without such routes the place may have been shallow, lacking substance and not provoked self-development, emphasising the mutually enabling relationship between mobility, place *and* people. Fundamentally, Felicity's 'confident self' somehow remains rooted in France, suggesting that while one's identity can flourish in place, it is dependent on that place for survival.

In this manner, through the acquisition of new roles in the village *Felicity's* identity was 'updated'. However, this revised identity was somehow anchored in place with the feeling that *"all my ties had been cut"* when she left. This dispels notions of 'finding oneself' through travel (S. A. Cohen 2010a) as demonstrates the malleability of identity (Bauman 1996). It is never a completed venture but reactive to the environment (Bennett 1999; Shields 1992), constructed on arrival and shed on departure. In this way, volunteering provides a way to interact and really get to know a place thereby inciting meaningful encounters:

> *"Places that really stick in my mind are the places where I've stayed in and done either volunteer work, or exchange work or studying" (Laura)*

In effect, volunteering can help to create in-roads into a community and stimulate identity change. As outlined in the introduction, the depth of such trails and level of self-development will vary depending on the application of such methods. Felicity's experience demonstrates how volunteering can grant member status, provoking relocation along the integration scale (Figure 5.1).

5.3.5 Participator to Member

For Felicity, volunteering and participating in the community contributed to why she was accepted by the villagers. She notes how even though she was different in terms of nationality [English], she was welcomed with *'open arms'* and allowed to feel as though she belonged. This emphasises the embroilment of mobilities *and* attributes in determining immersion, that volunteering combined with her peripheral role ironically culminated in her becoming a member. This relates to ideas about feeling 'at home' whilst 'away' (see 6.5.1) where a sense of belonging was acquired in an 'Other' place. In turn this 'acceptance' occurred alongside internal relocation where *Felicity* had to

'learn' to be herself (see 4.3.5) in relation to the village to feel like *she* had truly become a 'member'. In essence, external acceptance is one dimension whilst internal affirmation is another for becoming wholly integrated in place.

A second finding is the implication of membership status to identity, as outlined above, provoking a sense of 'rootedness'. For *Felicity,* external acceptance alongside feeling 'at home' within place, signified 'completion' of integrative routes and corresponded with identity becoming 'rooted' to that place. Rather than infer an 'end state' for identity and 'finding oneself', this simply represents completion to identity *forged within that place*, thereby requiring physical relocation onwards. In this manner, membership is temporary because it represents the exhaustion of all perceived channels within a locale, with elements of that self somehow being 'collected' and bound to the place it was formed (Casey 2001). This resonates with *Ben (4.3.4) and Henry (4.3.6)* who expressed frustration at returning 'home' because this enforced a return to an old, undesired self. Whilst this may be different to *Felicity* who actively strived to gain membership (rather than this being pre-given) and *enjoyed* being part of this place, the principle of selves rooted in place is similar.

In this manner, a part of *Felicity* will always remain in the French village because of this, in a similar way as *Ben* to Selby, UK; *Henry* to Mareeda, Australia. Member status bestows that self to be rooted in place. However, relocation to Other places means that lifestyle travellers can relocate along the continuum and begin the process again, initiating new selves to be discovered. Whilst membership in Other places (akin to *Felicity*) was only occasionally achieved in participants' travels[31], nevertheless it was neither uncommon nor undesired with participants often preferring to moor and initiate integration (see 5.4.4). Imperatively, alongside this desire to immerse (in the spirit of Bauman's 'tourist' and 'non-cosmopolitanism'), is the *need* for an exit strategy (a la Bauman's 'vagabond' / 'cosmopolitanism') to ensure relocation along the scale. To reiterate the message above, membership is provisional because participants feel that they are 'done' with place at this stage; they become uneasy, unchallenged and

[31] Membership often requires *a* long period of integration, a certain level of commitment and imperatively, acceptance from the wider community of which few participants had achieved.

bored of it once this status is achieved. Place trajectories after this period can no longer positively match internal trajectories, inciting routes be made elsewhere. However, as Uriely (2002) reminds, other mitigating factors such as work (see 5.4.3) may occur which means a stay will exceed the time that a participants wishes to remain.

To summarise, exploring *Felicity's* use of volunteering to acquire membership (as a way to carve routes through integration) demonstrates how this strategy can culminate in a sense of 'rootedness' in place. However, as addressed, these 'roots' can be re-routed or pulled up again, akin to *Maddie's 'lily pad'* (see 4.2.3), with an element of this acquired identity remaining in the place that it was constructed. This emphasises a process of forging both 'roots and routes' (Usher 2002) to carve one's way in the world; of laying temporary roots and beginning new routes. Both are integral to one's journey and for testing new identities, and provides a way to understand different kinds of route-making within lifestyle travel. Like the wayfarer, lifestyle travellers weave their way in the world through 'routes' but also through making 'roots', emphasising these as different *types of mobility*.

> *"I live my life sort of playing between routes as in journeys, and roots as in rooted. I think it can be important and I think what makes me fulfilled in life is just finding the balance between both, I think I need both, I'm not someone who can have no roots anywhere because if I'm in a place, like for 3 months or 6 months, I need that place to become familiar as well, like I love everything that's new but after a while you can become tired of that…" (Felicity)*

In essence, *Felicity* notes how familiarity, as well as novelty – roots as well as routes – is important in her travels. Examining the relationship between 'mobilities *and* moorings' in this way illuminates the mediations between such seemingly paradoxical 'states'. Whilst we have demonstrated how lifestyle travellers *need* or *want* change and stimulation, sometimes they also need or desire familiarity. In essence, volunteering may be practiced to find new selves and new experiences of place, but also as a way to feel 'at home'. In order for desired routes to be carved there must be a balance between sustaining a feeling of novelty as well as engendering a sense of familiarity. Too much of one without the other is detrimental to her aspirations; both

must be on-going and 'active' rather than complete and achieved states (Anderson 2010).

5.4 Employment

A further way to understand how lifestyle travellers make their way in the world is through employment. This section first focuses on how work is used to initiate and sustain travel, before proceeding to look at what employment – as a type of mobility *in place* – represents. This is unpacked in terms of work being required, where it is necessary or instrumental (S.A. Cohen 2011) for sustaining lifestyle travel, or whether employment is desired and has intrinsic or recreational use (Ibid 2011), such as getting to know a place or community.

5.4.1 Initiate Routes

For some participants, employment *initiated* travelling indefinitely as promoted a long term and practical introduction to being overseas:

> *"I had heard of people who'd taught in Asia so I thought yea that's a really good way of travelling, you know you can live there, make money and see the world, it's a good experience so I kind of decided that way" (Gem)*

> *"I think like a lot of people I decided on doing teaching not so much that I wanted to be a teacher… but I wanted to travel" (Enzo)*

> *"…it's a great opportunity, especially with teaching German you can go anywhere in the world and just find a job, and usually it's not something you have to make a very long term commitment so you can just leave…" (Jasmine)*

> *"I decided that I'd rather be overseas and got into teaching because I wanted to be overseas, not necessarily cos I wanted to be a teacher" (Betty)*

In this respect, employment served as a permissible and 'cushioned' entry into travelling as gave participants a way to relocate to a new 'normality' from which they could base their travels from, as well as the security of being paid. In effect, it offered a gradual process from which they could test carving mobile routes, as a safer and more structured way to begin experiencing alternative lives. Employment in this guise serves as a 'middle ground' between *living* and *travelling*, a hybrid encounter (Loomba 1998; Smith 2005) where one foot could be kept in 'officialdom' – albeit a new kind –

whilst the other could be experiencing Other cultures. Perhaps such an end was important to some lifestyle travellers, to retain *'links'* to *"move in and out between the 2 worlds" (Nicola: 4.2.5).* Perhaps escape from normality is not always the impetus for lifestyle travel, but the desire to carve routes into *new* normalities (see 5.4.7).

As suggested by the participants above, the type of employment often used for this end was teaching. From these sentiments we can see that teaching was a tactical decision rather than an inherent aspiration, which would allow participants to begin to carve routes into different lives, different places and to *'see the world'.* As *Jasmine* notes, teaching is also complementary to this end because it is temporary, meaning that the commitment to travel would not be compromised.

5.4.2 Sustaining Routes

Besides *initiating* route creation, employment further allows participants to continue carving routes across the world as sustains their mobility financially:

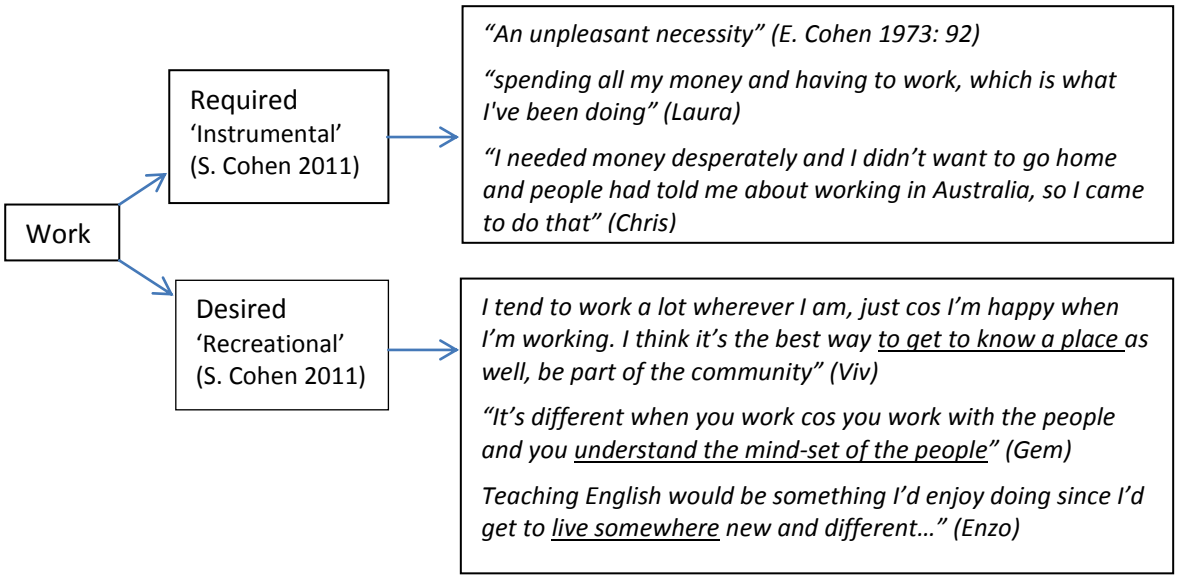
> *"I have to stop and work when I need to" (Laura)*
>
> *"if you can work somewhere you can just keep going off and sort of completely sustain yourself it's not a problem"(Stuart)*
>
> *"I kind of figured I'm never really going to want to work, I don't think. It's more just like I want to work because I want to travel, can't do one unless I do the other" (Henry)*

For these participants, employment is a necessary requisite for sustaining a travelling lifestyle; they must halt their movement and 'gap' back into a normality temporarily to fund any subsequent movements. In essence, mobility requires mooring; employment is imperative for route creation. Whilst Couch Surfing and volunteering offer alternative ways to prolong travelling as methods which save money, all participants had at some point chosen or had to work to earn money, in order to give them greater scope for subsequent route creation.

> "*In the beginning I was travelling for free, hitchhike, sleep in tent and sometimes I worked on the way… someone offered me that if I do the garden they give me some money. So when I was travelling I was always open to any kind of job, mostly short term" (Will)*

Here *Will* emphasises multiple practices for route carving, engaging in free activities as well as paid work to be able to continue travelling. Different strategies are drawn upon at different times depending on one's circumstances, similar to how one 'relocates' along different levels of integration (see Figure 5.1). Whereas employment may infer financial necessity with *Henry* emphasising that he will never really *want* to work, for many participants, working was not merely a way to make money but an alternative way to become immersed in place. Considering if work is instrumental (a necessity or requirement), or if it is desired intrinsically by participants, will produce very different experiences and is illustrated by Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Work required / desired



As Figure 5.2 suggests, whereas the carving of routes may be encouraged in a similar vein to integration – as per Couch Surfing and volunteering – it can often be frustrated by employment. One's routes will only be as productive as their perceived (and desired) level of integration in place as well as enjoyment at being a part of a community. The next section will thus examine work as required, before proceeding to look at employment which is desired.

5.5 Work as Required

The chapter has shown how different experiences of place and different kinds of immersion can be obtained when work is undertaken through necessity. In essence,

the type of work will often have a bearing on whether employment promotes or erodes route creation. Route *restriction* is first examined with instrumental employment often being undertaken despite it sometimes compromising participant objectives. Coping strategies for this are further outlined. Strategies which enhance route *creation* are then addressed, as well as the ways participants view or categorise work and what this means for their identity.

5.5.1 Route Restriction

Whereas integration for *Laura* and *Felicity* through volunteering was about carving new routes in relation to their newly acquired roles, for *Callum* this has meant sacrificing or suspending his preferred persona as a traveller.

> *"I'm having quite an identity crisis with taking on a permanent role… I still identify with being a traveller but being in a working environment, you sort of… can't be identifying as a traveller there so I feel like I'm almost hiding a part of my identity to fit in, I'm a closet traveller! You know at weekends sort of hanging out at flight centre and things like that!" (Callum)*

For *Callum* it is impossible to mediate these contrasting personas as are place and activity dependent (Bennett 1999; Casey 2001; Shields 1992). His ideal role as traveller has no 'place' at work (Cresswell 2004: Hetherington 1998; Rojek 2003) and his office role cannot fulfill his desire to be travelling or carving routes. In this manner, whilst he may be integrated at work, it is not the same desired kind of integration sought from travelling. His routes are more superficial, more ordinary, less challenging because he feels he has suppressed his traveller self; he feels 'rooted' in this work based self. Only when he begins to travel again will he be able to carve routes which allow his preferred identity to flourish.

Such separation of 'roles' could be attributed to the type of job *Callum* has. As an office role similar to the one he left at home, *Callum* perhaps experiences the feeling of *'going backwards' (Chris)* to a life that he left, provoking feelings of stagnation and the sense that his personal trajectories have outstripped place trajectories. Perhaps he unconsciously does not embrace the experience of living and working in this place because it is too familiar – like *Enzo* in 4.2.4 – therefore he has no desire to become a member of the wider community. Instead elements of travel may be carved *into*

'normality' to alleviate frustration; they compensate for opting back into normality:

> *"we definitely use food to compensate to pretend that we're not stuck here… and go to groups like Couch Surfing and Spanish language meet up groups that we go to" (Marie)*

Whilst working frustrates route creation, food, Couch Surfing and language groups inject an element of travel into his daily life. Socialising with other travellers and eating foreign foods are ways to replicate feelings of being on the move and travelling, whilst being at rest. Whilst carving routes in *Callum's* daily life were hindered through the type of job he had, other 'routes' were made by maintaining a connection to the travel community, despite only being able to 'spectate' this community from the peripheries at this point.

5.5.2 Route Promotion

For other participants, work as a requirement could still allow them to carve new and different routes. These different strategies are now addressed.

i. Different Jobs

To encourage route creation, *Laura* and *Chris* select jobs which fundamentally do not compromise their traveller status. They opt for work that does not bear similarity to their life in the UK, facilitating route-making whilst being in 'normality'. By engaging in different kinds of roles, they maintain a sense of travel through experiencing novelty, enjoyment and the opportunity to test selves in different contexts:

> *"I knew I didn't want to go back to that kind of thing* [office work], *it does restrict me earning money sometimes but I earn money in different ways and it's much more fun for me to go and work in a backpacker hostel than a fancy hotel, or go and pick fruit, which I love to do, be outdoors and be in nature… Yea it's really good. It's fun, [but] it is just a means to travel." (Laura)*

> *"I'm doing much different work to what I'd be doing in England, I'd never be working on farms in England but I'm doing that sort of work here and I actually really enjoy it" (Chris)*

Here *Laura* foregoes earning good money to maintain a life on the outskirts of normality, by not conforming to conventional work practices or patterns. By engaging

in place dependent activities like fruit picking or farming, a sense of travelling is preserved by doing different things to what one is used to, meaning that they still have *'fun'* and *'enjoy'* the experience. This is promoted by working in alternative environments, such as being outdoors, and keeping their interests in mind by engaging in novel roles, as opposed to simply making money.

Furthermore, although *Laura* enjoys the work, she appreciates that it is purely to keep travelling and does not lose sight of this goal: *"I love to go there but I also love to leave as well".* In essence, Laura shows to commit more wholly to travel by never really giving up or suspending this position when dipping back into an old regularity. She is happy to adhere to routines and work in place provisionally, as long as this is in some way related to travel and will not require that she 'lose' herself to that role. In this manner, she can continue carving routes in the world whilst still engaging in employment – rather than suspending these like *Callum* – although obtains a different experience to when she is volunteering. For her, community projects were more rewarding, more encompassing and more integrating than employment, which is a means to an end.

ii. Peripheral role

Likewise *Chris* almost stakes out rather than sacrifices his traveller self during employment. Interestingly however, he prefers to reside on the periphery *permanently* rather than seek immersion through other projects like *Laura.* For him, the carving of routes is based on his 'cosmopolitan' status (Hannerz 1990) whereby he avoids committing to any one place, role or identity:

> *"It's different because I'm just a backpacker here, in the way they see me… when you're at home, I don't know, the feeling of living in a community because then people are dependent on you and it gives you extra pressure… I don't like feeling trapped by people or society or anything… and when you're in another culture that doesn't apply to you cos you're just a foreigner so you're free of all that, no-one expects you to do anything other than be a foreigner" (Chris)*

Whilst engaging in employment, *Chris* maintains his travel identity by not becoming integrated into the local community. He prefers to be seen as a 'backpacker' and

continue to remain as an outsider in order to avoid the societal pressures that he wanted to escape from at home. Integration for him is synonymous with responsibility and expectation and feeling *'trapped',* whereas remaining a 'foreigner' he feels exempts him from such pressures, and he can continue to weave freer routes. This relates to *Henry* in 4.2.1 who described experiencing an *'ultimate sense of freedom'* from shedding designated roles, regressing to a time when he was free of responsibilities, allowing identities to be 'played' out without repercussion. *Chris* demonstrates such tendencies, obtaining a perceived sense of freedom by remaining a foreigner.

In light of this, it is possible for *Chris* to opt into Other normalities whilst remaining on the peripheries since he only subscribes to one set of societal rules being the routine of work. The type of work being farming – typically undertaken by travellers in Australia – means that he avoids integration and 'giving up' his preferred role as visitor or spectator, and feels free to carve more fluid routes based on his commitment to nowhere (Dovey 2010). This offers an alternative method of carving one's way in the world through remaining on the peripheries, as opposed to weaving through place and communities by immersion. At this stage of his travels, *Chris* carves his routes based on being an outsider (Said 1986), a spectator or 'observer' (E. Cohen 2004) or a 'cosmopolitan' (Hannerz 1990).

iii. Separating work and identity

Whilst *Laura* and *Chris* choose routes which complement their traveller status, this is not demonstrated by all participants. For *Marie*, undertaking conventional roles actually serves to reaffirm her commitment to travel rather than detract from it. Rather than foregoing her 'preferred self' like *Callum* in such situations, her status as a 'traveller' remains constant; this is how she sees herself and how she carves her way in the world:

> *"when I talk to people back home you know, they say well what do you do and I don't say oh I'm a chef, I'm a secretary, I say I travel and it feels kinda [silly] but I don't know what how else to describe my lifestyle choice and I couldn't really picture what I would be if I wasn't travelling."*

By maintaining a strong sense of self and commitment to travel, *Marie* can happily reintegrate back and carve routes into 'normality' as she regards this as provisional and a stepping stone back to travelling. She does not necessarily pick traveller style roles like *Laura* and *Chris*, but instead sees work and identity as separate entities to retain the distinction between her occupation, co-workers and who she is. It is not work that defines her, but her aspirations and desires to travel which is perhaps amplified by locating herself amongst those who do not share this view. In essence, she may achieve self-definition against what she is not (Hall 1996; Hetherington 1998; Richards et al 2004), preserving or reinforcing her preferred persona despite being engaged in routine and officialdom. Through retaining this distinction, *Marie* feels comfortable, unlike *Callum*, to gap into a full regularity; this enables her to deal with being fixed 'in place' and 'in role'. Work is not central for social identification but instrumental for enabling her traveller identity (S. Cohen 2011). She need not surrender her identity as she separates what she does with who she is. This allows her to stay focused and keep her aim to travel at the forefront, defying societal pressures to conform to conventions of becoming '*a chef'* or *'a secretary'* as opposed to a traveller. Work is not required to be complementary to her travel identity as she is comfortable to mediate it whilst *participating* (see Figure 5.1) in normality; which ironically strengthens her ideas about who she is.

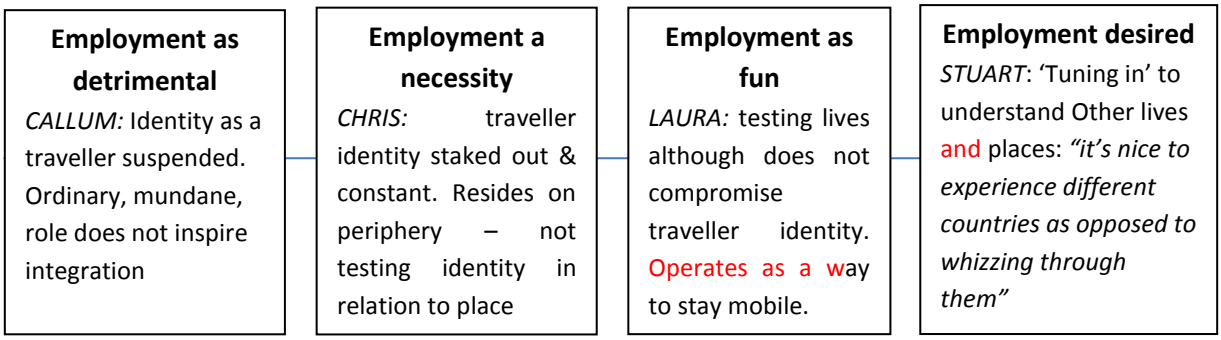
In essence, Marie carves her way in the world fluidly and without feeling restricted no matter what circumstance she finds herself in (Dovey 2010). Seeing herself as 'a traveller' comparative to normality (Pannelli 2004) reaffirms her sense of self rather than losing it to the experience. She can happily weave routes in officialdom without sacrificing this preferred persona; she can carve routes as a traveller albeit still integrate without detracting from this. In fact it may enhance identity:

> *"I like contrast, I think you can't understand anything unless you see it in context of another, you know you can't understand yourself without understanding other people" (Oliver)*

5.5.3: Identity promotion / restriction

Considering the ways that instrumental employment promotes or restricts route carving is synonymous with if identity is promoted or restricted. Whilst being in place can provide an insight into distinct ways of life, if such trajectories do not provide scope for identity to progress and expand, mobility is constrained and one cannot carve routes *(Callum)*. If a normality incurs too much rigidity, order and *familiarity,* this detracts from the overall feel of being mobile *(Enzo)*. If one requires to remain apart from a place, identity is often 'sustained' as a traveller or outsider *(Chris).* If novelty is desired from a job, but self immersion is not required, one can 'play' roles (*Laura).* If novelty of occupation and place is desired, one is free to expand and test an identity in relation to embracing such influences (*Stuart).*

Figure 5.3 Employment and Identity



In this manner, as well as the *type* of job having an impact on route creation, *place* will also be a contributing factor to one's mobility. In essence, how *different* the normality is, as well as how novel the work is:

"I still feel like I'm travelling, being in a foreign place" (Bob)

"When I need to earn money, I earn it in another country so it feels like I'm travelling…" (Laura; see 4.2.3)

5.6 Work as Desired: Creating routes

Participants often desired to work in places which were novel as opposed to simply *needing* to work. In this respect, employment can be used for the same purpose as Couch Surfing and volunteering; to *'get to know a place'* and be involved in communities. To achieve this, participants discussed employment as a way to carve

routes beyond tourist routes; to live like a local and use it as a way to make a home. We conclude by examining how desired employment is not perceived as separate to travel, but seen as part and parcel of the entire experience. In essence, work which facilitates desired experiences can thus be encompassed within lifestyle travel.

5.6.1 Live like a local (2)

For some participants, to be treated as a local and gain access to everyday life *temporarily* was the motive for using employment to carve routes. For them it was important to transcend the title of 'tourist' and become part of a community rather than a passive onlooker, facilitated by securing employment. Only by being accepted as an insider did they feel that they could really understand a particular way of life and make meaningful relationships with locals to obtain a deeper understanding and stronger connection with place. By immersing themselves within place through employment for an extended period of time, participants felt that that they could shed their persona as 'tourist' and supersede superficial pre-laid routes (i.e. doing tourist activities or staying in tourist accommodation) to make deeper and more individualised inroads within place.

> *"when you're working with the people, that's wow you're actually get really into it, you can actually like have a good idea of what the cultures like, when you're friends with* [the people] *and going to their home for the holiday, you get that good understanding"* (Gem)

For *Gem,* employment accessed other 'aspects' of place (similar to *Felicity 5.2.3)* through being welcomed into a local's home for the holiday, which was only made available to her once she'd really got *'into it'* and made friends with the people. Such integration meant she obtained a *'good understanding'* and an alternative view of place. For her, to understand the people through developing connections was to understand the place (Casey 2001). Rather than making friendships with individuals (i.e. Couch Surfing), a wider strategy of making *connections* and gaining local acceptance through routine practices like work was used, in order to integrate and get to *know* – rather than make acquaintance – a place:

"I really wanted to connect with locals, have that experience outside the normal stuff in tourist brochures" (Mark)

Carving routes through employment is suggested as different to Couch Surfing and volunteering since it is a more expansive, self-engulfing experience which seeks to transcend outsider status to obtain community membership. Employment is a way to carve routes through the tapestry of place by becoming part of it; through having a role in that place and making relationships based on this position. Participants could become a cog in the wheel of place, productively through their labour and collectively by becoming a temporary co-member. Again, this suggests that the forging of relationships is integral to one's experience of place. Relationships based on a shared routine and experience as opposed to a shared project (volunteering) or a glimpse at a life (Couch Surfing).

5.6.2 Making home

Besides serving as a route for carving deeper trails, or to 'access' a 'local' experience of place, employment may also be used to engender a sense of 'home' whilst travelling. Tapping into normalities and forging local networks may lead to feeling 'at home' within a community or provoke a sense of belonging. In this manner, regularity is not something that detracts from lifestyle travel as this can enhance the mobility of getting to know a place and making meaningful attachments:

"*I sort of built a second home* [in] *Cusco, Peru cos I was there for a really long time working and I have serious connections and all that, and Paris for the same reason" (Viv)* [32]

This suggests that carving one's way in the world can consist of collecting strong attachments or developing deep understandings of place based on integration rather than passive mobility. For *Viv,* carving her way in the world is about transcending fleeting spectator status for something more substantial such as participant or community member. For her, it is not about collecting places but carving meaningful places and occupying many 'spiritual centres' (E. Cohen 2004; Uriely 2008) through

[32] Viv also mentioned feeling 'at home' whilst Couch Surfing, although is a different sense of feeling 'at home' with an individual as opposed to a community.

living and working in a place. However, as explored previously, this is only ever temporary before place trajectories expire:

> *"you know when I do fully learn a language and learn a town and make connections that's when I tend to like dis-anchor and go to the next place, yea that's been a bit of a pattern for me… when I stay somewhere too long I start to feel nervous, like I'm not accomplishing enough, and then when I start somewhere new and difficult I feel fulfilled" (Viv).*

In this way, it is the *learning* about a place through regularity that Viv desires. A deeper sense and understanding is acquired by weaving routes through the everyday workings and paces of place. However, such regularities and routes fundamentally have a finite capacity. Once a place is fully learnt and one feels 'rooted', it is time to up-root and begin route-making elsewhere (see *'lily pads' 4.2.3)*. In essence, regularities of work over time become stifling, ordinary and too familiar, constricting the creation of routes demanding that these be pursued in a new normality, in a new place or with new people. It lends to conceiving of *liminal cycles* (Figure 2.1) whereby normalities are opted into temporarily before setting off again and reintegrating back into a mobile normality.

5.6.3 Work / Travel Enmeshed

Whilst this may infer a bounded way to conceive employment, as separate to and different from travel (i.e. *Callum*; see Allon et al 2008; Graburn 1989; Mathieson et al 1982; Urry 2002), for many participants these 'phases' are 'utterly entangled' (see Rojek 1985; E. Cohen et al 1992; Pape 1965; Shields 1992b). Integration or immersion in place [employment] is part of – rather than separate from – the overall travel venture (see E. Cohen 1973, 1974; Pearce 1990; Uriely et al 2000).

> "*I think that nowadays the boundaries between working, being on holiday, living, the boundaries between pretty much everything are all being blurred, everything's becoming completely the same and completely different… It's possible to live on holiday forever, if you change your definition of what a holiday is a little bit… I live in a beautiful little bungalow up in the hills above the beach, go scuba diving every day and sit in the bar, drink beer and talk shit with my mates all night. It definitely feels, I mean it certainly looks like a holiday but it's actually quite hard work. I get up at half past 5 every morning to go diving and I'm responsible for peoples' lives, can be scary… this definitely feels like a holiday*

but for the most part I don't consider myself to be holiday-making, I consider myself to be living" (Oliver).

As *Oliver* suggests, it is impossible to compartmentalise activities, practices and identities since these are embroiled and becoming *'blurred'.* Whilst he engages in employment and routine, he still feels his activities resemble a *'holiday'* because they are associated with the leisure sphere and because he enjoys the 'work'. In this manner *Oliver* finds difficulty defining his life because everything has become *'same same but different',* choosing to describe this 'phase' as *'living'* as an all-encompassing term. As explored in 2.2.5, he injects elements of travel into the experience (diving, drinking, living at the beach) into a working environment. He is testing a life in a new place, 'playing out' the role (Liebel 2004) as a dive instructor, living a novel normality.

In this manner, whereas a physical return to normality is made*,* as long as the normality is conducive to self-development through remaining novel (i.e. becoming familiar but not known; *learning* but not fully *learnt),* the experience is synonymous with their version of travel. In essence, *liminal trajectories* (see Figure 2.2; Figure 6.1) are displayed, where new mobilities unique to place or a role are initiated as opposed to a regression back to an old self, place or practices. New routes are created, new trajectories and selves begun through engaging in new normalities rather than symbolising a return to the start. Lifestyle travellers are 'footloose' or like 'lily pads' rather than 'rooted' in cycles (McHugh 1996) by their on-going relocation. Of course, a sense of *'going backwards'* was felt when 'old' places were revisited, offering limited scope for change and novel paths (e.g. *Enzo* in Singapore; *Ben* in UK; *Callum* in a familiar role), suggesting that selves may be rooted in 'done' places, incurring a cyclical return on arrival.

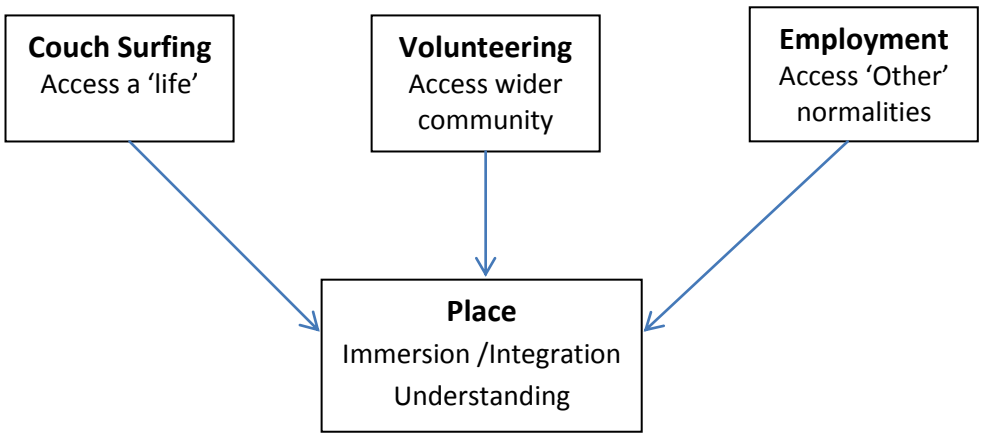
5.7 Overview: Couch Surfing, volunteering and employment

As we have seen, desired employment can function in the same way as Couch Surfing and volunteering where the objective is usually place immersion; to understand different ways of life and to *'live somewhere new*'.

However, the methods used to achieve such ends vary with Couch Surfing serving as a way to access individual *lives* and volunteering as a kind of middle ground fusing

integration opportunities with work based projects. Employment by contrast offers a different kind of experience through accessing alternative normalities.

Figure 5.4: Carving Routes: Ways to 'know a place'



Undertaking employment carves routes by 'opting in' to new normalities and conforming to routines unique to a place, as well as novel occupations in some situations[33]. Rather than abscond from 'normality' altogether (i.e. *Henry*) many participants chose integration via employment for reasons outlined earlier (see Figure 5.2) dipping back into regular routines, practices and 'daily life'. In this manner, whereas volunteering and exchange work may be considered semi-regularities since less commitment is required, employment necessitates a return to full regularity given the structure imposed from living and working in place even temporarily. As *Tim* explains, such regularity can be beneficial in carving routes as it:

> *"engages you every day… having a routine is a way to engage yourself in the community more than if you just stop somewhere".*

For him, merely stopping somewhere is a passive act which does not lend itself to being a part of a place; it does not lend itself to being *mobile within* a place. Instead, adopting routines provides a thorough way to become part of a community. It allows him to be *mobile* and to carve personalised routes within place to obtain a deeper understanding and connection to it.

[33] Unique places but still same job, e.g. teaching (Jasmine) diving (Enzo) OR unique place AND unique role e.g. farming (*Chris / Laura)*

This was echoed by *Viv* and *Gem* (Figure 5.2) whereby becoming an *insider* meant that connections could be made as well as gaining an understanding of the people. For these participants, working secured them entry into a different kind of locality than volunteering or Couch Surfing could offer. Through work they could '*tune in'* (Stuart) to particular ways of life, understand the '*mindset' (Gem)* and alter how they were perceived by those around them to feel 'at home' in these places:

> *"I mean you live with them, you know tune into that way and become part of them and they treat you as part of it, they don't treat you like travellers or tourists and stuff…" (Stuart)*

In essence, work can be considered a more active, more engulfing type of mobility. However, when work is enforced, a completely different kind of experience and thus different kinds of (im)mobility are experienced. Whereas Couch Surfing may be conceived as a more recreational albeit more concentrated experience based on forming personal relationships, volunteering and employment can be interpreted as the different kinds of uses of these three strategies demonstrates how they can be located variously along the Integration Continuum (see Figure 5.5 below). However, it is notable that employment spans much more extensively in both directions, ranging from spectating on the peripheries, with the main aim being to avoid responsibility and to feel 'free', to becoming a member and 'living like a local'. This is not to say that Couch Surfing cannot afford contributor or membership status[34]. Indeed accessing individual lives may be a way to forge wider networks by using this as a stepping stone into deeper and wider experiences. However, in this research employment was seen to yield a greater range of experiences or impacts on participants, from identity construction to promotion; from peripheral roles reaffirming one as 'traveller' to 'losing' oneself and going 'native'. In essence, more 'uses' of employment were apparent, namely because work can be desired or required thereby provoking different and diverse implications for identity[35]. By contrast, Couch Suring, volunteering and exchange work are actively pursued and are more complementary to

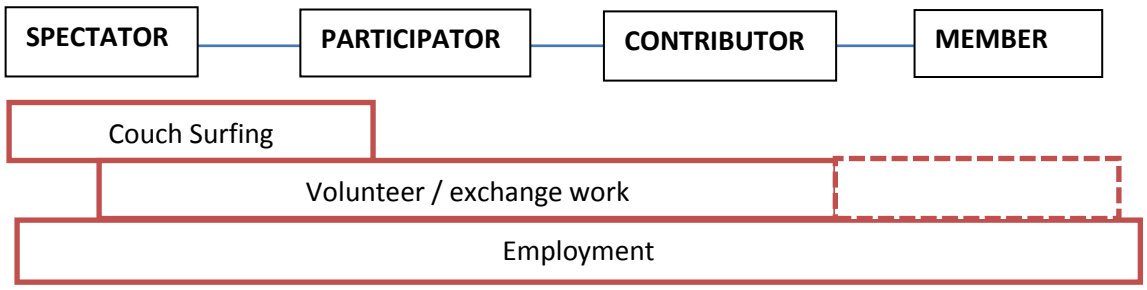
[34] Or indeed volunteering. *Felicity* achieved 'membership' status through this end, although this arguably overlaps into employment since she was teaching.

[35] Indeed, there could be much embroilment *between* these states – where work is both required and desired – thereby creating 'hybrid' and maybe paradoxical feelings (see 6.5.1). We seek not to separate these states, merely unpack the difference within them to highlight the multiple impacts of employment on identity.

the aims of travel, because they do not compromise identity in the way that work did for some participants.

Fundamentally, by critiquing each technique using the integrative positions (spectator to member) emphasises embroilment and diversity within these mobilities of immersion. In essence, Couch Surfing, volunteering and employment do not neatly 'sit' within 'spectator', 'participator', 'contributor' or 'member' positions but fluidly move across these. Furthermore, they can even be located within several of these positions at any one time, as outlined in Figure 5.5 below.

Figure 5.5 Integration Continuum: 'Locating' strategies



Couch Surfing generally involves spectating through 'dropping in on a life'. Affords controlled and generally short term contact. The effect on identity is mainly 'experiential' although from Viv's use we see how this can extend to 'feeling at home', complicating its 'location' as 'shallow routes'. More activity is occurring than the continuum can cater for, depths of immersion *within* spectator / participator roles are required.

Volunteering is less of a spectator role since offers participation within a community. This can lead to deeper positions of contributor or member. However, activity within these terms cannot be reduced since volunteering can be combined with 'retreats to familiarity', i.e. through staying in hostels. Consequentially, volunteering in some respects may not be as engulfing as Couch Surfing.

Employment is perhaps the most problematic strategy since encompasses all integrative positions depending on the nature of the experience. It can re-affirm traveller identities by operating on the peripheries of a community [spectator] or it can sever one's travel membership by gapping into a normality [member of work community; spectator of travel]. It can be a way to 'live like a local' and a way to feel 'at home'. It can root people, or it can create routes.

5.8 Conclusion

Interrogating Couch Surfing, volunteering and employment – as significant themes which arose from the empirical data – provided a systematic way to examine mobile

strategies for place immersion. In essence, they helped explore how lifestyle travellers obtain meaningful experiences through being mobile *in* place. We now return to the overarching questions of the chapter to see how these findings can inform them. In essence, we summarise how lifestyle travellers carve their way in the world, what kinds of mobility are practiced and how important these mobilities are. From this, the conclusion expands to shed light on how identity can be forged within mobile lives.

5.8.1 Carving routes in the world

Participants discussed Couch Surfing, volunteering, exchange work and employment as prominent strategies for carving their way in their world, primarily through making routes within place. This suggests that meaningful forms of mobility in lifestyle travel often configure around *place immersion* rather than corporeal movement (Urry 2002). The strategies further emphasised the many different kinds of mobilities used for the pursuit of progression within place, and the various impacts these had for identity.

5.8.2 Couch Surfing and Identity

Couch Surfing was explored as a way that participants could immerse in an Other life and accelerate the forming of relationships. It was a method to access a very specific way of life as well as cement friendships within place. In regards to identity, Couch Surfing could be regarded a more 'passive' strategy since it involves observing a life. It is an 'experiential' experience (E. Cohen 1979) and as such may impose reflection rather than relocation of selfhood. However, by considering different experiences of Couch Surfing we have seen how it is never simply shallow or passive for identity formation. Indeed this practice may provoke identity recalibration through processing "inner and the outer dimensions" (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 205), as illustrated by *Viv* who acquired a sense of belonging among those who were different (in terms of nationality) based on mutual interests (music). In essence, Couch Surfing can embody the practice of forming 'neo-tribes' or 'communitas' where lifestyle travellers evolve or adapt in relation to where they are and who they are with, rescuing "what (they) need of (their) past" (Braidotti 1994: 6) in order to feel a sense of collective belonging. Mobilities of Couch Surfing can therefore engender a state of feeling at home

anywhere in the world; it does not necessarily incite identity relocation, but identity recalibration to 'fit in'.

5.8.3 Volunteering / exchange work and identity

Volunteering offered a different way to be mobile and to carve deeper routes through *participating* within a community. Participants could become immersed in particular networks through engaging in projects, and were able to make active contributions to a community thereby securing a 'role' in relation to that place. In this manner, place-based identities could be initiated where new selves manifest as a product of newly acquired roles. Furthermore, the sense of satisfaction from engaging in worth-while projects may also engender a kind of cultural capital where participants feel that they have acquired an elevated or moral status from contributing rather than consuming a place. In terms of identity, this may help distance themselves from stereotypes of the 'polluting' tourist by carving alternative routes (see 5.2.3), thereby locating themselves in relation to who they are not.

However, again we must exercise caution with making generalisations. Whilst we have discussed volunteering as a practice which can initiate new identities, examining it alongside other activities (i.e. staying in hostels) will mean different things for identity. In this manner, volunteering may represent more of a spectator or 'experiential' experience than Couch Surfing since it is less engulfing and represents controlled exposure to the Other. By contrast, volunteering for some can promote deeper trails – much like employment – by making a place for oneself in a community (member) through external acceptance and internal affirmation. The process may be so engulfing that an element of identity remains bound to this place on exit.

5.8.4 Employment and Identity

Required or 'instrumental' (S. Cohen 2011) employment prompted different 'coping' strategies by participants, or different kinds of identity negotiation. Some struggled to negotiate work with travel and felt that they had suspended their preferred travel persona in a working environment. By contrast others enjoyed mundane roles as

reaffirmed their love for travel, and their identity as a traveller. Some operated on the peripheries to 'save' their status as a traveller.

(Desired) employment was about gapping back into normalities, to understand a place through engaging in the daily routines and rhythms. In this manner, employment was seen as part and parcel of travel, rather than separate from it, thus identities were not compromised when taking on novel working roles. Instead new identities could be experimented from this new position, exercised in relation to their 'designated role' within a place. In essence, working was about forging a new sense of self, living 'like a local' and establishing new places to call 'home'. Successful integration was measured in terms of feeling as though one belonged in a place, but inevitably participants moved on once this was attained.

5.8.5 Mobility in lifestyle travel

To draw to a close, all three strategies demonstrate that a central mobile component of lifestyle travel is to become a part of place, if only temporarily. Carving one's way in the world through lifestyle travel ensured that alternative senses of place, a sense of belonging or a sense of community could be acquired despite the preference for a life 'on the move'. To be mobile does not erode the significance of place, just that other ways of forming connections will be made. To be 'moored' does not represent an 'exit' from lifestyle travel (S. Cohen 2011), just that different types of mobility are practiced. Such ways ensure that lifestyle travellers obtain the best of both worlds; to lay routes without becoming rooted; to be mobile but not passively moving; to be a part of place without anchoring there. As explored, once the desired state of place immersion or integration is complete, physical mobility *becomes* imperative in order to begin this process again elsewhere, to initiate self relocation. Different kinds of mobility come into play at different times in this way in order to allow alternative identities to flourish; to be mobile in place and to maintain a sense of motility (Kauffman 2002; Kauffman et al 2004), to have confidence that one can dis-anchor when 'done' with place.

Chapter Six

"Wherever I lay my hat, that's my home"

'Places' of lifestyle travel

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will first summarise the discovery that place and mobility can be complementary in lifestyle travel, discussed in the previous two chapters. It will proceed to consider the way that place is 'achieved' in relation to the routes that precede it; by the connections made within it and the future direction of subsequent routes. By focusing on the dynamism and fluidity of such 'networks' or 'assemblages', the chapter emphasises place as inherently mobile; as a verb 'always active' rather than a "fixed and solid" noun (Anderson 2010: 52).

These ideas are illuminated by exploring 'home' as a comprehensible type of place. This is explored in terms of how lifestyle travellers feel 'at home' in the world. Whilst Chapter Five examined the way that a sense of 'home' was achieved by tapping into normalities (see 5.2.3), we look at additional senses of home that lifestyle travellers demonstrate, such as feeling at 'home on the road' to understand place as malleable, adaptable and not confined to a geographical location. The chapter emphasises multiple notions of home, and the way that 'home' evolves throughout the journey, as a 'place' that is achieved in relation to others (White et al 2007) and as a 'mobile habitat' (Berger 1984). It demonstrates how lifestyle travellers, rather than being detached mobile subjects' (Germann Molz 2008: 325), find their 'place' and sense of 'belonging' in mobile ways.

The chapter further erodes dichotomous divisions of 'place' by understanding 'home' and 'away' as embroiled rather than oppositional. It also posits the notion of being 'at home in the world', located in 'language, histories and identities' (Chambers 1999). In this manner home is considered a 'journey' (Ahmed 1999), a mobile place which evolves with the lifestyle traveller. Such mobile conceptions demonstrate the

inapplicability of static organisations of social space for exploring liminality. Examining lifestyle travel as a *series* of liminal stages – in terms of being temporarily in place and 'in' a 'persona' – or 'communitas' (Turner 1969), suggests that we should conceive travel, transition and development as their 'normality'. Paradoxical notions of 'home' are further outlined to emphasise the redundancy of static notions, as well as drawing these findings together to propose that a mobile/(im)mobile language must be driven forward.

6.2 Mobility and place as complementary

As examined in the previous two chapters, the significance of place is not necessarily eroded by a mobile lifestyle since different kinds of mobilities are practiced *within* places. Although place may be seen as a relative 'mooring' compared to corporeal mobility, the mobilities occurring within place (such as immersion, integration and learning) can be regarded as enriching self-progression. For many lifestyle travellers, becoming an insider in place (to varying degrees) is desired, initiating mobilities which gave them access to alternative views of place; as ways to carve deep routes and obtain meaningful, lasting impressions. Mobility in this way characterises the processual relations between place and identity, it means that one can find, develop or test selves through tapping into networks unique to discrete places or communities. Mobility does not sever these relations, rather it is vital to them.

Mobility further enhances the pursuit of self-development as it enables lifestyle travellers to 'move on' physically when they have exhausted the mobilities within place; when they can no longer 'move on' progressively within that locale. In this manner we can see how place *is* integral to identity as selves are created in relation to one's context as well as the people within that place. As "everything is mobile" (Adey 2006), it is not a case of place being static and people mobile, rather we need to consider how mobility is placed and how place is mobile. In short, there is no 'place' without mobility; mobility is empty and passive (for the majority) if lacking a placed dimension. Contemporary theory must therefore embrace – but not privilege – mobile conceptions of place, since place itself is mobile and given definition by the connections and processes within them. In this manner it is meaningless to think of

mobility and place as oppositional since both provide the other with meaning. It is necessary to understand the different types of mobilities exercised at different times. In other words, places are provisional 'stabilisations' (Murdoch 2004) or 'moorings' as connections come into contact (Dovey 2010). Fundamentally they are on-going [mobile] processes.

This emphasises the difficulty of discussing mobility and place in isolation – in terms of discrete chapters – since they are embroiled and necessitate the other for definition. In this manner, research questions which focused on the importance of place to lifestyle travellers were tackled through exploring mobility, with the discovery that place provides an outlay for identity. As a result, the thesis has already made progress in emphasising how place and mobility can operate in conjunction. With this is mind, the chapter now proceeds to examine how place should be conceived in view of the mobilities of lifestyle travel, thereby informing a central aim of research to illuminate a dynamic geography (1.4). Relational conceptions are first addressed, before moving on to examine how places change not just in perception but also in material form. The idea of a mobile 'home' is then addressed to illustrate the dynamism rather than staticity of place.

6.3 Place as relational

As outlined in the literature, mobile perspectives include the notion that place is a "node within a relational setting" (Amin 2002: 391), thereby given definition in relation to other places and relationships. In this manner, place can never been seen in isolation, but acquires meaning through its broader connections to the outside world. In effect it can be conceived as tied into 'networks of connections' (Sheller et al 2006).

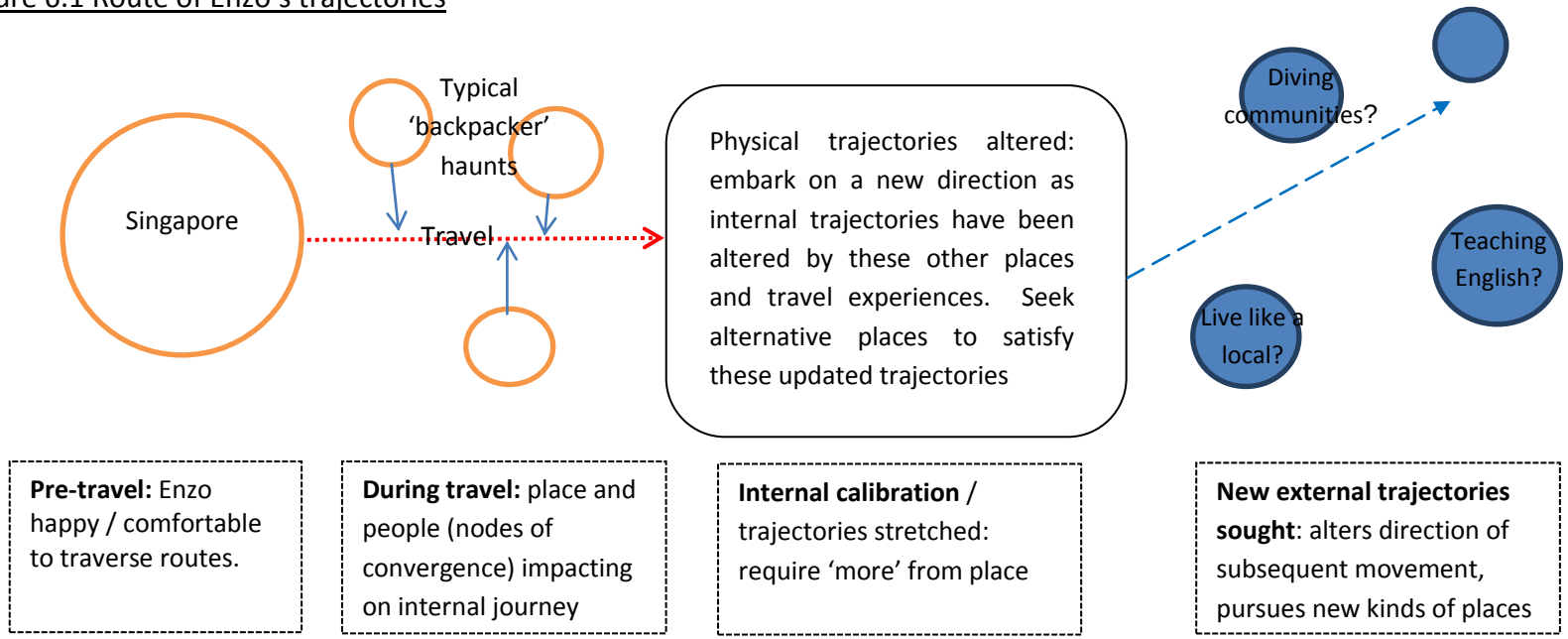
> *"it's also what you learn as well, as you grow older… you start to see things differently, so you'll have a different perspective when you go back… I think if I was to go back to Thailand now, I'd probably be annoyed by it, cos it's a little bit like here* [Kathmandu] *really…" (Hannah)*

As *Hannah* travels she acquires knowledge about the world and forms opinions and feelings about places, which inevitably colour her impression of subsequent (or past) places. For example, her initial impression of Thailand at the age of 20 was of

enjoyment, fun and novelty as her first travel experience. Now at the age of 28 following extensive travel, she now seeks different things from her travels such as place integration (see 5.3.2), and shows distaste for commercial place consumption that she associates with tourism. Consequentially she regards Thailand differently. In essence, what she '*has learnt'* (namely the impact of tourism on place), what she desires from travel (a 'local' experience), *who she is* now (compared to her 20 year old self) and how these have all manifested over the course of her travels, condition her ideas and affiliations to new places. She fundamentally 'measures' place against these variables which develop in place. In this manner, we can posit that place matters for lifestyle travellers because it serves as the context for experiences as well as the parameter to judge subsequent experiences. Place is where such relational understandings play out, it is the embodiment of the connections, experiences and perceptions that accumulate over time.

The idea of relational places further relates to place trajectories (see 5.3.3). Where *Hannah's* initial trip to Thailand met the personal trajectories of her 20 year old self (in terms of being fun and what she wanted at the time), her subsequent travels have essentially altered her personal 'course'. Now her current internal trajectories (which have evolved to seek challenging, local and integrative experiences) outstrip those place trajectories. Just as Enzo (see 4.2.4) was once 'comfortable', 'at home' and happy in Singapore, his external routes to Other places have impacted on his internal trajectories which are no longer satisfied in Singapore. The place has expired in relation to the experiences he has accrued elsewhere. Place is relational to other places in terms of how these impact on the individual. This is depicted graphically below in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Route of Enzo's trajectories



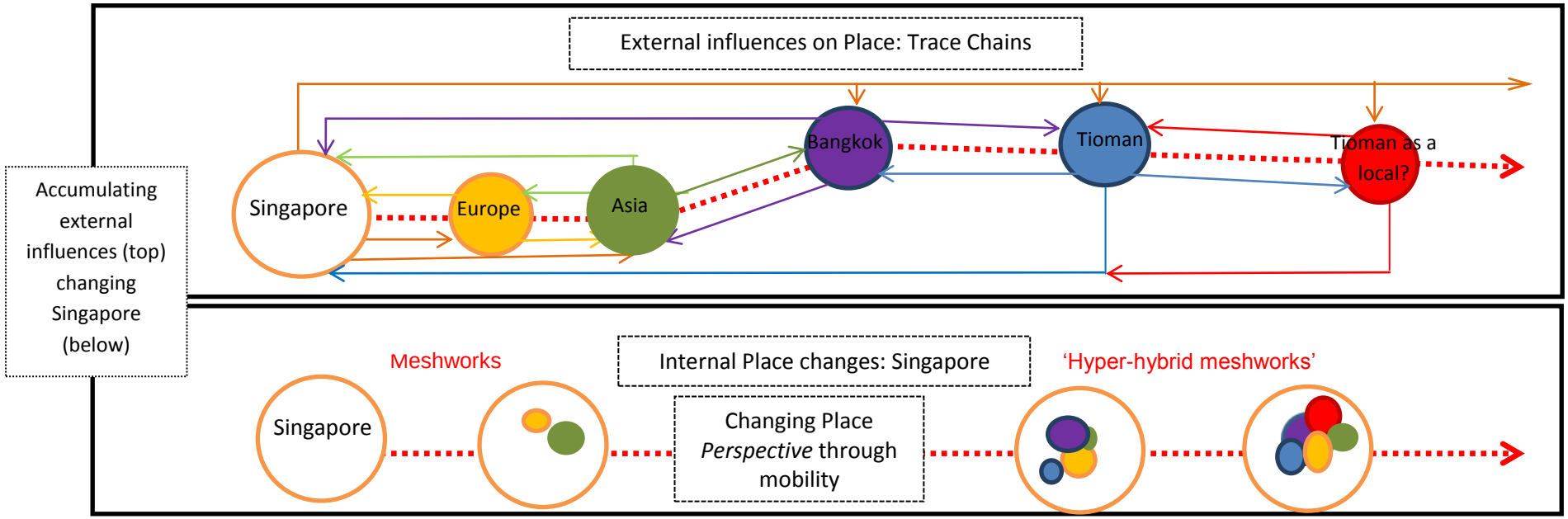
The diagram demonstrates Enzo's path, internally and physically. The dotted line represents how places (as nodes) impact on his trajectory. His internal trajectory is altered by new places, shaping his external subsequent movements. Mobilities colouring moorings; moorings conditioning later mobilities. As new places and experiences are 'collected' it impacts on his subsequent movements, shown by the change in direction and constitution (represented by colour). From starting in Singapore, trajectories were confined and limited to this place. As he physically moved on, more and different kinds of places were experienced, thereby colouring his physical direction and internal selfhood. In turn new and alternative places were pursued to 'keep up' or satisfy his internal journey.

In essence, Figure 6.1 shows how mobility across and within places alters one's internal journey. Place matters because it impacts on the self and consequentially how one relates to new places and experiences. How lifestyle travellers relate to place and how they internalise experiences is measured by their past physical trajectories, as well as what their new internal trajectories seek. As Hannah further remarks:

> *"places do always change because of you… we as humans are constantly changing everything so nowhere is the same… like your thoughts change about things, or your opinions but… they're changes you can't physically see…"*

Here Hannah summarises the argument thus far, that the nature of place (rather than its built form) changes because one's internal trajectories (their thoughts, feelings and expectations) evolve, colouring their experience of place. In essence, places change people (Figure 6.1) so over time, even though places may not have changed much or for the better (i.e. Singapore for Enzo), they are perceived differently as the person has changed through their mobility. In this manner we can expand Figure 6.1 above to depict the colouration of place through one's travels illustrated in Figure 6.2 below.

Figure 6.2 Route of Place Trajectories



Travel is shown as red dotted line, representing self-development and physical relocation, changing direction and constitution as one progresses. The top diagram shows coloured nodes as places and experiences collected along the way, which are linked by 'trace chains' (coloured arrows), as referents to past and subsequent paths and places. The bottom correlates to this in terms of how Singapore 'changes' in constitution as these external referents are 'collected' through travel. The spots colouring Singapore (internal) relate to experiences accrued along the way (external).

Pre-travel Singapore represents one 'version' as Enzo has a limited register for comparison. Through travel, this register expands, colouring his idea about places, how he experiences them, what he experiences and who he is. As different nodes and experiences are pursued (top) this colours his understandings of past places (arrows) thereby conjoining places into thin trace chains (Anderson 2010). In turn past places (Singapore) are coloured by elements of these influences. Of course a dynamic multi-media representation would best convey this process, with colouration of Singapore occurring as one progresses along trajectories, to emphasise this as on-going activity than a static snapshot. As such, this diagram can only partially depict or suggest this process, with Singapore in reality changing alongside corporeal movement and internal relocation. Whilst the influences may infer a more 'colourful' Singapore, in reality it shows the accumulation of relational 'nodes' for reference, with Singapore showing to be progressively more stale in comparison.

With this in mind, rather than places being 'enduring sites' (Amin et al 2002), for Hetherington they are likened to 'ships moving around' (Hetherington 1998) because they move in relation to people's physical and internal movements. Whilst one may note the utility of this comprehendible example, Hetherington's ship may imply a static material entity moving literally from point to point. However, this research proposes an alternative: that the ship is changing through movement. Rather than conceptualising place as a ship, it may be better likened to an airport (see Adey 2006), characterised by intersecting mobilities and new activity every day which remain *in* place.

Such metaphors seem to better emphasise how place is fundamentally different things to different people in "different relational contexts" (Madanipour 2001). For *Hannah,* Thailand was once novel and exciting, but now it is *'annoying'.* Just as one's experiences are highly subjective based on personal biographies, viewpoints, relationships and the way that one experiences place, so too are places multiple in the meanings ascribed to them (Ibid. 2001), dependent on the places and processes that precede and proceed them for definition.

As a result, place must represent a pronounced amalgamation of such processes for the lifestyle traveller, given their relocation across many places. Their evaluations must occur in light of the multiple places that they have traversed and the various 'routes' that led them to their current 'place'. In essence, it is possible to conceive of places as 'hyper-hybrid' 'meshworks', as intensified combinations of numerous places and relationships experienced by lifestyle travellers. Places are progressively layered by past experiences connecting or enfolding (Dovey 2010) with current experiences; they are 'thick' in constitution (Casey 2001). Whereas one may have a shallow experience of place (i.e. perhaps from a spectator role or having a limited time in place) this experience is still layered upon previous experiences; it cannot be divorced from the mobilities that paved its way (Ingold 2010).

This further posits that the connectivity between places or trace-chains (Anderson 2010) must be thick given the numerous "networks of similarity and difference" (Ibid

2010) that are encountered through their travels. The raft of experiences lifestyle travellers accrue inevitably seeps into subsequent experiences, cementing this connection. In this manner people are arguably the cement between such connections, as the glue that holds places 'together', as *Maddie* states:

> *"I feel like in a way there's sort of the structure of the universe and if you've ever seen those toys which are like molecules and you've got the balls and the sticks, the balls are the atoms and the sticks are the pieces holding them together, I feel like the balls are like the nodes or the communities, they're like the glue that holds it together and they're the sticking points and then there's some of us who are the ones that stand between the balls and we're holding onto one holding onto one, holding onto the other and we're that connection like making it happen, but we're also like the circulatory system you know it's like we're the ones that go between and tell everybody about all the other places so that they have an idea of what else is out there, and maybe they'll be inspired to check it out too. Passing information along…." (Maddie)*

Maddie provides a literal example of such trace-chains where places are joined by those that traverse them. For her, corporeal mobility is important as it allows her to cement places together, to link places into a kind of global community and 'circulate' information which will inspire others to become part of that wider network. In this manner, place and communities are also important as they represent 'sticking points' where activity converges (Anderson 2010; Dovey 2010; Tuan 1977), as nodes (Adey 2006) or moorings which are facilitated by the mobilities (travellers) between them, which colour and give them definition. Simultaneously these moorings are imperative to propel subsequent mobilities, feeding them with ideas to spread to the next place. In essence, it is the relationship between mobilities and moorings that determines how places "appear and act" (Adey 2006: 91). Maddie literally *changes* places and colours peoples' perception about those places. Her mobility feeds this colouration which is driven by previous moorings.

Whilst we have argued for the 'thick' constitution of place through examining 'hyper hybrid meshworks', the idea of searching for 'thick places' (Casey 2001) still holds resonance in terms of the thickness that place *trajectories* hold for individuals. Whilst places are layers of connections, measured against and as combinations of past experiences (as dense meshworks for lifestyle travellers given their accumulation of many places) the way these manifest or play out for the lifestyle traveller varies.

Places are thick, but are they the right thickness or right constitution for personal growth? Singapore is a 'crystallization' (Ingold 2004) of Enzo's memories, it is associated with family and 'home': *"my dad and my brother are my main links there",* but is also constituted of connections made from travelling elsewhere. These Other more 'colourful' connections acquired from meeting new people and experiencing new places fundamentally cloud his progression in Singapore; they are parameters for how mobile he is there. Singapore is thick in meaning but not the meaning that *Enzo* craves; it is thick in terms of being too *comfortable*. Such comfort was only realised *relationally* to the challenges he encountered elsewhere. Being outside of Singapore essentially recalibrated his ideas about it. Only after exposure to novelty, change and excitement through travel was Singapore rendered as 'stifling'. Now for *Enzo,* thicker places are those elsewhere which continue to promote novelty, change and development. In essence, whilst we note the dynamism of place and its on-going creation constituted by numerous influences, those networks are thick *relationally* to the individual traversing them.

6.3.1 Place as relational *and changing*

Expanding from place as relational – 'measured' against other places and coloured by different experiences – we can further suggest that places change not just in perception, but also materially in their constitution and in terms of their atmosphere. By accepting that people and place are connected, rather than place simply changing in perception, they are also tangibly altered by the occupation of new relations colouring and rewriting the feel of place:

> *"Bangkok as a city I could never believe could change so much as a city, like the fabric of the society has changed, how people think has changed, the dynamic of the city has changed. And for me I liked the wild west of Thailand, that was like the enigma when they said the magic of the east, the far east, for me that was really great then, and I'm sure people ten years before that would say it was even better still… so this time round it's kind of westernised or Americanised, that's even worse, so that part of it I don't enjoy so much and I think its lost its magic for me, but at the same time, I still have a good time there" (Steve)*

> *"I have been back to places a few times and it's never the same, it's always a completely different experience and what I've found especially in Asia, is that the*

places develop so fast that when you go back it's not what it used to be… I always said I'd go back to Laos but my Dutch friend has been back and she advised me to never go again cos it was not like when we were there at all. For her it's spoilt her ideas, and we had such an amazing time when we were there and it was so underdeveloped but now it kind of spoilt the memories" (Laura)

As *Laura* and *Steve* demonstrate, when people return to place, not only may they have changed, but the place may have too. *Steve* comments how the very *'fabric'* of Bangkok had changed, how it is no longer as exciting, exotic or magical as he recalls. Similarly for *Laura,* several places in Asia were no longer how she remembered them, particularly in terms of being more developed thus were tangibly different. They felt different because they looked different. Furthermore, her interactions and impression of these revisited places would inevitably be coloured by her personal experiences elsewhere (see Figure 6.2), as well as what she now expected or sought from these places. The relative *paces* of change have left *Laura* not feeling 'right' in those places; her personal trajectories are no longer 'met' by the trajectories of place. The pace, direction and feel of the Asian places she once enjoyed and felt comfortable within no longer correlates with her internal trajectories thereby provoking an undesirable connection. For a positive connection to be forged there needs to be equilibrium between the pace of place and people, as addressed in 4.2.5. So whilst negative correlations are suggested by *Laura* through revisiting 'out of pace' places; if *relative* pacings of change are experienced, then positive connections can be engendered. Whilst *Steve* measures his current experience of Bangkok to a preferable past experience of it, he can still have *'a good time'*, just in a different way. The changes he experienced are not desirable, yet alternate trajectories can be sought within Bangkok to correspond with what he desires from this updated place. In essence, lifestyle travellers may always 'find' a positive connection to place as long as they *want to* and are willing to actively pursue (see *Mark* 4.2.5; and *Enzo* as contrast).

Furthermore, whilst *Laura* may infer that she hoped to revisit a past 'version' of place, fundamentally this could never occur as places, as well as people, are not static (see 6.3). Connections cannot be frozen in time any more than people can be physically rooted in place. To revisit a place as it was may have satisfied her memory of a positive connection, but in reality can seldom re-materialise since the connections, the

friends and experiences can never be traversed in the same way. Conversely, if a place is *not* perceived to have changed (*Enzo's* return to Singapore), despite 'colouration' in relation to new places (Figure 6.2), stability and stagnation of place is experienced, frustrating the pursuit of novelty and change. Therefore, whilst *Laura* shows a traditional regard for 'rooted' or stable connections in past places (Tuan 1977), in reality, this can be complemented by mobility, change and transformation in the person-place relationship if their respective trajectories positively coincide (see Anderson and Erskine *forthcoming)*. If Singapore had changed positively for *Enzo,* if he had been willing to seek new paths and thus experience new trajectories, the experience could have been positive rather than stagnant. Just as *Mark* searches for new trajectories in Perth, as a home place (4.2.5) and *Hannah* appreciates that places are always changing (6.3), the correlation between trajectories is imperative for a desirable connection.

Interestingly, we can see a distinction between how changes are fundamentally desired when revisiting home places (*Enzo* – Singapore; *Mark* – Perth) in contrast to stability in places experienced through travel (*Laura* – Asia*; Steve* – Bangkok). This seems largely due to positive first impressions experienced during travel, compared to uninspiring, well-trodden home places which people often remarked as the initial motive for travel. This summarises the argument above, emphasising the importance of corresponding place and person trajectories. Home places (as points of origin) are deemed stale and lacking in novelty therefore do not satisfy personal trajectories. By contrast, enjoyable places are often those which meet these requirements; they are exciting, novel, different or unique. In this manner people may romanticise these previous connections and wish to relive or re-experience this, **if** they left the place when trajectories positively coincided. Instead they may feel disappointment because the connection is no longer new but measured to a past sentimentalised impression. The place may have changed and therefore offer new trajectories, but the connection is not as they felt, dampening their nostalgia. As emphasised, the trajectories need to correspond with whatever the person desires or requires from place, or else physical mobility onwards becomes necessary.

6.4 At 'home on the road'

An additional way to dispute static and closed ideas about place is through examining 'home'. Notions of 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991) or feeling at 'home' on the road were touched upon in Chapter 4, emphasising place as transitory rather than fixed, dispelling the idea that home is confined to one's place of origin (Relph 2009). Instead it is conceived as being wherever lifestyle travellers may be, emphasising that one is at home on the journey; it is a verb 'always active' (Anderson 2010) rather than an achievable state or place:

> [Home is] *"wherever I am, I carry it with me and I make myself feel at home very quickly wherever I am, many people say 'well where do you live?" 'well wherever I am at the time…" (Laura)*
>
> *"people will say 'where are you from' and I'll say like 'I'm not from anywhere… [my] home [is] wherever I am" (Hannah)*
>
> *"wherever I lay my hat is my home!" (Stuart)*
>
> *"I don't know how to define home still, home is where I am so at the moment my home is Bogota… I think I have many homes" (Jasmine)*
>
> *"There is no 'home'. There is only where I am at now. A true traveller cannot have a sense of 'home', they can't 'nest' or put roots down, or leaving would be too traumatic. Home is simply where you feel like being" (Nicola)*

As expressed by these participants, home is an ambiguous concept because it is merely wherever one is at any given time. Home is neither moored nor geographically fixed as coordinates on a map (Massey et al 2003) but is as fluid as lifestyle travel, with mobility being home for the individuals that practice it. For these participants, it is possible to feel at "home anywhere and everywhere" (Germann Molz 2008: 325), it is about being comfortable on the road, being adaptable and having a kind of internal home which travels with them (McCraig 1996). In this way we can see how home – as a representation of place – retains significance for the lifestyle traveller, albeit as different and internalised variants of the traditional concept. Fundamentally, the 'place' of comfort travels with the lifestyle traveller. These different versions of home are expressed in various ways, ranging from material representations, to corporeal

locations (place polygamy) to transient homes to 'lily pads' (see 4.2.3). All of which are discussed below.

6.4.1 Making home: Material 'baggers'

For *Henry,* home is embodied as his backpack which literally travels with him, to understand or feel comfortable when constantly moving:

> *"home for me was kind of like my backpack, like if I knew where that was, and wherever that was that was kind of like home" (Henry)*

His backpack provides external confirmation of what home represents as corporeal 'cultural baggage' (Bhucha 1996: 284) to provide reassurance. Similarly for *Nicola:* "*my tent and my backpack I guess, come to represent home"* extending the material boundaries of home to encompass shelter as well as material belongings. Home is viewed as a hearth that travels with them, as opposed to something to leave and return to (Tuan 1996).

In this manner, whilst home is internal, transient and essentially representative of self-sufficiency, for several participants, some kind of external referent (see 2.5.2) was required to promote a sense of stability. Rather than this being a corporeal 'out there' home, as suggested by some (see *Jasmine* above), material markers provide comfort or a way to comprehend 'home', as a way to 'ground' without physically laying roots.

6.4.2 Making home: "Lily pads"

An additional 'tactic' to material markers was *Maddie's* use of tattoos. Instead of an actual mobile 'hearth' that travels with her (i.e. a backpack), her tattoos serve as a reminder of her ability to create home wherever she may be. Whilst *Henry* and *Nicola* discuss corporeal objects that provide a sense of home, *Maddie* uses material *symbolism* to give her the reassurance that she can control where she may root:

> *"I have these vines tattooed on my body, I started doing this while I was travelling and it was a way to… to remind myself that I could be grounded even if*

I was leaving and to remind myself of the whole idea, like my mum had said about the lily pad, and the leaves, and that helped a bit" (Maddie)

In this manner Maddie's vines act in a similar way to a backpack, albeit as a more poignant embodiment or emblem to feel comfortable on the move. It helps to get her head round the idea of being constantly at home, as an internalised version (McCraig 1996) by having this visible marker reminding her that she is grounded, even when in transit. It reassures her and provides confirmation that rather than being a 'detached mobile being' (Germann Molz 2008) passively moving, she is commander of her roots and routes; she is always home because she is a *'lily pad'*. She can control as and when she lays down roots, chooses when she pulls them up again. Home is wherever she makes it. The vines are symbolic of her 'route-making' (see Gabe below), representing ownership over her mobilities and moorings, and when these occur. It is a way to organise her thoughts, a way to understand her role as a 'wayfarer' (Ingold 2007) against dominant, conventional ideals that home is rooted in one location. In essence, the vines represent new ways to conceive home and place, disrupting fixed and static notions for mobile and fluid conceptions, despite difficulty completely shedding such common-sense 'anchors' which weigh us down (Dovey 2010).

6.4.3 Making home with people: mediating traditional concepts with 'real life'

Applying static notions to mobile lifestyles is discussed by *Laura* who observes how some cultures do not even conceive of 'home' because it is a problematic notion. Whilst western ideas comprehend 'home' as a physical and tangible place, from her travel experiences she notes how it is a '*strange concept'*, embodying the argument that sedentarist preoccupations with 'taming space' (Massey 2005) need to be dismantled (Blunt 2007) to conceive of 'home' as 'on the move' (Lash et al 1995):

"Home is a really strange word and in many countries they don't even have a word for it because it's bit of a strange concept. For me it's wherever I am really, of course I have connections here with my family yea, often I say if I'm coming back to England I say 'I'm going home' but in reality I'm always home" (Laura)

In this manner can we see how *Laura* grapples with ideas about home, embracing fluid conceptions, although she is 'stuck' mediating this with an in-built western knowledge which demands that 'home' should have a physical resonance. This difficulty is also

shown by *Enzo* with both participants acknowledging how home typically infers where one is from or where family is, although this does not adequately 'fit' with them:

> *"I don't really feel that anywhere is home, it's just where I am… I mean if there was a place I felt closest, if you asked me what I would identify in my head being closest to home I guess it would be either Austin or with my guardian, I guess I have the childhood attachment to these places" (Enzo)*

Such intuitive or traditional ideas about home – as a place of origin or where family ties are 'rooted' – sit uneasily with lifestyle travellers since it is a sedentary way of seeing place. It presents a 'settled' (Hetherington 2005) arrangement where home is bounded, ordered and unchanging, which cannot apply to inherently mobile beings transcending neat and discrete territorial units (Germann Molz 2008). Instead it raises the idea that home is where particular people are; it could be with someone who is mobile or static elsewhere (as above, see also 6.5 home as connections) or with a travel companion:

> *"I am very much at home with my husband… it does help to have my husband around… he's so sure of himself and such a concrete sense of who he is" (Nicola)*

Here *Nicola* notes how her husband provides anchorage and stability in her fluid and ever changing lifestyle. He is her one constant element – besides her backpack and tent – grounding her and giving her consistency[36]. Similarly for *Enzo* it is with his guardian back home in the States, therefore may change in relation to where she may be. In essence, home for these participants moves with certain people; it is made in relation to these integral relationships. The place may change, but home remains with these important figures.

Such ideas unravel the concept that home must remain the same in order to engender a sense of it and a sense of belonging. As explored, for Tuan (1977) home is required to be stable since constant change would frustrate one's ability to "develop any sense of place" (1977: 179). For him, "home should stay the same... [because] our own

[36] This is not to suggest that her husband himself is unchanging or that their relationship remains the same, but rather that he is always with her, providing reassurance and stability. Whilst he may present a 'concrete sense of who he is' this perhaps only seems so *in relation* to the rapidity of changing situations that they find themselves in. He is relatively consistent compared to their relocation. Or relatively consistent in relation to who she is; her internal relocation may seem quicker than his. Or he may indeed say the reverse, that she gives him consistency. This acknowledgment introduces the idea of different paces of people in the same way there are different paces of place.

sense of self depends on such stability" (2004: 45). Similarly Ahmed discussed this in terms of home being "uncontaminated by movement" (1999: 339), as safe and familiar (Dovey 1985) and likened to family, a friend or a neighbour (Ahmed 1999). Instead, lifestyle travellers show that such stability is not required; places can be mobile too without frustrating their sense of home. Rather than requiring home to be a familiar place, regarded as a well-known 'friend', home is a transient 'friend' or located in certain relationships (White et al 2007), omitting the need for place to be stable.

This is eloquently expressed by *Gabe*:

> *"I feel always comfortable in the place I am… My slogan is 'having home nowhere, being from everywhere'"*

Countering Tuan and the idea of home as stable, *Gabe* rejects belonging to any one place with the idea that home is nowhere, although he can still be '*from everywhere*'. Rather than identity being rooted in one unwavering place (Tuan 1977), lifestyle travel is about compiling elements from *many* places into a sense of self, as an internal home which is constantly updated through one's exposure to new places and different ways of life. In this manner *Gabe* emphasises himself as a citizen of the world (Germann Molz 2005; Rapport et al 2007), not having roots in any one place, but an identity (or a transient home) made up of the routes that he forges. Cosmopolitan, hybrid identities (Bondi 1993; Loomba 1998) are forged in this way, fusing elements from different cultures together, forging meshworks that one can feel at home within. For *Gabe* his self and home is not rooted, but traceable through the routes that he carves.

6.5 Home as connections: networks of relationships

From appreciating home as internal, transient and wherever lifestyle travellers are presents the question of how they *feel* at home (Germann Molz 2008). In essence, this

section explores the different ways that senses of home are forged, to understand the unique constituencies of place.

For many participants, home is associated with the personal relationships and networks made along their journey; as meaningful sites "located primarily in relationships between self and others" (White et al 2007: 91). In essence, lifestyle travellers 'moored' or felt at home through the friendships that they made, as sites of 'collective belonging' (Hetherington 2000), demonstrated by *Viv* when Couch Surfing (see 5.8.2). Places became meaningful when relationships converged and developed, when 'communitas' (Turner 1969) were forged, prompting a sense of belonging and comfort:

> *"I'm moving from place to place, friends and so, but I can be feel at home everywhere where I am welcomed you know" (Gabe)*
>
> *"Home for me is more about the people versus an actual place, wherever I connect with the people I feel at home" (Anna)*
>
> *"I don't really have a sense of home at all. I don't feel like I miss it either, I have attachments to people but not to things, not particularly to places…" (Nicola)*
>
> *"I can't imagine for a moment that there is anywhere in the world that I could call home forever, I just can't imagine it, I've found many places that I could call for a time. At the end of the day I think for me home is where the people I love are and its very nice for me to think there are bases all over the world where I can be at home for a time" (Oliver)*

As *Gabe* suggests, home is the feeling of being welcomed, of being included in place through the forging of relationships. Just as we explored in Chapter 5 where participants harnessed various ways to become integrated or immersed in place, forming relationships is central to feeling *at home* in place. For example, Couch Surfing (see 5.2.4) was utilised as a relationship facilitator, with *Viv* commenting that it engendered "*the most unbelievable connections".* In this manner, Couch Surfing further serves as a method to feel '*at home everywhere'*, as accelerated the time to make meaningful relationships with people. For her, it was important to feel comfortable and 'like family' quickly in her travels; this was what gave her meaningful experiences and what Couch Surfing encouraged. In essence, Couch Surfing prompted

the convergence of activity; it fused connections at an accelerated rate rather than through natural channels so that she may keep feeling 'at home' on the road. It was a way to 'compile' place, to organise constellations and 'traces' (Anderson 2010) quickly to produce meaningful nodal points (Adey 2006).

In this manner, it is about the people rather than the actual place. It is possible to engender a sense of home anywhere as long as it involves connections with people. Participants have reiterated this throughout this thesis: *"you could be in the most beautiful place on the planet and if there's nobody there it'd be pretty rubbish" (Lauren).* The 'thickest' places (Casey 2001) are the ones with the thickest relationships. Places as compilations of trails, as elements of past places and connections intersecting, are cemented by the connections forged with people; these are what give meshworks gravity, substance and meaning. For *Nicola,* without the people, places are forgettable. It is attachments to *people* that she forges rather than the place in isolation. This suggests that many 'thick' places can be compiled along the journey as new relationships are forged in new places, or as relationships are rekindled in different places.

In this way, *Oliver* remarks that the idea of committing to any one place is absurd. Instead he demonstrates 'place polygamy' (Beck 2000) where many 'home like' connections are made all over the world. For him, there are particular places where he feels such a sense of belonging, primarily places where he has spent elongated periods of time, felt included in the community (see Chapter 5) and built significant and lasting relationships. Interestingly, whilst *Oliver* is comforted by the knowledge that he has many homes available to him, he still associates 'home' as somewhat stifling, too comfortable and not what he is seeking right now.

> *"I'm not that down with home at the moment, I think the unknown is calling to me very strongly and going to new places… like I said I don't want to just turn up there and spend 3 days, I want to experience things at the rate that they should be experienced"*

In essence, whilst 'home' is about the people and where thick connections are made, once these trajectories expire, it is time for move on and find difference, discomfort and challenge elsewhere. It is important to not feel too 'at home'. At the same time however, home may change in composition, as discussed above. Rather than 'move on' before trajectories expire and become 'homely' and comfortable, Oliver now seeks new kinds of trajectories which reject conventional ideas about home. He desires a home where he does not feel 'at home'; a home which engenders challenge, uncertainty and excitement, which is difficult to convey since frustrates traditional notions of home. The next section considers these ideas more fully, to understand how home as 'hearth' may not always appeal.

6.6 At home in difference

As *Oliver* has suggested, conventional ideas about home do not always 'sit' well with lifestyle travellers, but there is no other 'language' available for them to express alternative homes. Rather than rejecting 'home' altogether, in reality what *Oliver* may mean is that he is searching for a new 'state' of home, a state of comfort in discomfort like *Henry,* which is translatable to an 'anti-home' (Papastergiadis 1998).

> *"for some reason I find myself less comfortable in the most kind of stable, and the most comfortable in the most unstable places sometimes… it is kind of rewarding, kinda like exploring something new and to kind of feel apart from a place but be in it…" (Henry)*

Here *Henry* demonstrates not a rejection of home, but a rejection of the ideals *about* home. He actively pursues situations where he feels pronouncedly out of place and not at home, maintaining an 'outsider' role (Said 1986). Paradoxically, being at home for him means not feeling at home, countering ideals of familiarity, comfort and belonging, proposing that new ways to look at home are required. To do this, *Henry* uses a language where home is comparative (see 6.3). Whilst "*everything else around is falling apart"* he feels a state of calm through being a spectator of place (Chapter 5), he feels at home or a *'sense of peace'* being in unfamiliar territory. In this manner, comparative disorder through throwing himself into the unknown reaffirms an internal feeling of 'home'. Exposure to *'crazy'* situations provides *Henry* with a relative sense of calm and comfort and this is how he can best articulate home. In essence, he

immerses in discomfort to heighten a sense of internal comfort; it is a strategy to detach from home as a physical referent to embrace the freedom and lightness (Rajchman 1998) of feeling at home everywhere (Germann Molz 2008). Such a technique further emphasises how feeling at home is achieved through being 'away', where the most foreign or unfamiliar situations engender a heightened sense of being at home. In essence, whilst lifestyle travellers may always feel at 'home' – represented by their tent or backpack – there is the contrasting need or desire to not feel 'at home' in their surroundings to perpetuate this. This flags the idea that different senses of home are engendered in different situations (Mallett 2004), as well dismantling the dichotomy between home and away (Ahmed 1999; see also 2.5.1). The following sub-sections proceed to consider such ideas in detail, to present different versions of paradoxical or 'anti-homes' (Papastergiadis 1998).

6.6.1 'Home and away': seeking difference

This section considers the idea of feeling at home with people who are different. This was illuminated by *Henry's* experience, which showed how it is possible for lifestyle travellers to feel 'at home' but also feel 'away' as mutually perpetuating states. Whilst we have examined how belonging is engendered through travelling through successive groups of meaningful relationships (thick places), these are not necessarily confined to individuals with a common interest. Whilst many lifestyle travellers 'found' a sense of home with others like them:

> *"I feel like I belong with my friends who are real life travellers" (Nicola)*

> *"you helped to remind me of my life I think, you were very familiar to me, like I guess we're from the same county, similar age, similar background… it was just very comfortable being around you guys" (Chris)*

It was also important for lifestyle travellers to pursue Other homes by seeking out belonging amongst those who were different; to obtain self-determination against what they are not (Hall 1996; Hetherington 1998; Wilson et al 2004). This sits in direct contrast to participants where home was found in comfort and being welcomed, such as *Viv* finding home within the four walls of a Couch Surfed residence (6.5). Such tension demonstrates the oscillating nature of home; between those seeking

familiarity *(Viv)* and those seeking comfort in the unknown *(Henry)*. It demonstrates how participants sometimes adhere to traditional senses of home, yet at other times they paradoxically do not want to feel 'at home'. In essence, lifestyle travellers demonstrate competing desires in their notions about home, making it difficult for them talk about it consistently. This suggests the enforcement of a language which is malleable to suit the fluid nature of home in lifestyle travel (see 6.4.6) is required, as well as one that can comprehend the union of paradoxical 'states' of home. A sense of home can be felt through Couch Surfing or with certain people, yet at the same time they may feel 'out of place' given one's location in a strange country. In this manner, many homes manifest along the journey embodying different things (familiar / unknown) in different guises.

Returning to how *Henry* feels at home within difference, we can see how this was fundamentally sought to facilitate a process of pronounced self-relocation through being able to clearly identify "what one is not" (Wilson et al 2004: 125). In essence, comfort, self-determination and feeling at home on the road is ironically found in uncomfortable places. Forging homes in unusual places is pursued as a personal challenge and as a way to test identities (see Chapter 4), but also as a way to reaffirm the sense of a mobile home. Fundamentally it ensures that lifestyle travellers can exercise control over their route making by deciding when and how to feel at home. This was examined in Chapter 5 by considering the place integration strategies used by participants to obtain a sense of belonging in Other communities. In essence Couch Surfing (i.e. in the way Henry utilised it to immerse in difference, rather than *Viv's* strategy to feel at home in the traditional sense), volunteering and employment – as methods to feel at home – unravel conceptions about collective belonging since they contradict the idea of 'communitas' (Turner 1969) and the urge to seek out those who are similar. Instead, such integration techniques were often utilised for immersion, belonging and acceptance with those who were fundamentally different. In essence, it demonstrates the way of being home within difference.

Further disruption is presented since 'groupings' are not simply formed *outside* of society (Turner 1969) i.e. as a form of co-resistance with other travellers, but were

forged as a way to gap *into* new societies and test novel identities. Such groupings are formed not to perpetuate an old version of self, but to embark on new selves; to be a stranger (or a new person) through being in a new 'home'. In essence, it can be a strategy to feel both 'home and away', as a way to feel a sense of belonging and acceptance in a *new* place. Lifestyle travellers can be 'at home' with others, feel welcomed and a part of a community, while simultaneously being 'away' from past versions of their self and homes. They can find alternative homes, test their adaptability and feel 'at home' in new identities and with different people. Collective groupings or meaningful relationships in this manner are forged to feel at home 'on the move', yet this is through exploring new selves and new places. To belong, whilst at the same time be a stranger.

6.6.2 Feeling a stranger at home

Being 'home' whilst being 'away' is further emphasised by *Laura* no longer feeling 'at home' in the UK; she is a stranger, or 'homeless' within this place (Ahmed 1999). Instead *Laura* achieves a sense of belonging elsewhere, reaffirming the fact that home can never be reduced to a bounded, unchanging physical place, but evolves with the individual. Home never remains the same or familiar (Ahmed 1999):

> *"I definitely feel part of the communities that I stayed with, whether the culture is completely alien to my own culture… More so than I do here* [Weymouth] *much more so than I do here. Here I feel more of an outsider more so than I have done when I've been travelling… the people here don't identify with me" (Laura)*

Before travel, Weymouth was home for *Laura*. However, her subsequent movements and interactions with other communities have eroded this conception, with *Laura* now feeling more at home when she is 'away'. This is identifiable in several ways. The first is that her lifestyle choice and presence is more readily accepted by people abroad. In her opinion, foreigners are more accepting and accommodating than people living in western society, thus she feels more able to carve individualised trails overseas rather than traverse designated and well-trodden paths in the UK (Chapter 5). Secondly, she no longer feels like she fits in at home and is visibly different through her dread locked hair (see 4.2.1b) affording disapproval from conventional society. She is made to feel different, peripheral and unwelcome because of this marker, but also because her

'updated' travel self does not identify with this conventional lifestyle. She notes how she can *'fit in',* but this is undesirable in relation to the sense of belonging that she achieves elsewhere. In essence as *Laura* has changed, her ideas about home have changed. She now views it in relation to other places (see 6.3), in relation to her self and her needs (place trajectories), and in relation to the people that occupy a place (6.5) and how inclusive a community is (5.3.3). As stressed above, a language which caters for the complexities of home needs to be enforced. Rather than privilege mobility over immobility or routes over roots, this proposes a more expansive language – fulfilling the aims of this research (1.4) – which to date has been tentatively discussed, rather than applied, in cultural geography (see 6.9).

6.6.3 'At home' on the periphery: seeking similarity with other outsiders

Whilst we have explored how lifestyle travellers can feel both 'home' and 'away' by seeking out difference, at other times they show to gravitate towards similar people, as *Nicola* and *Chris* suggested above. In this manner, Turner's 'communitas' can still apply with the idea that lifestyle travellers find 'liminal' communities to belong to *outside* of normality. However, this is liminal only in terms of being transient and temporary. As addressed in 4.2.3, traditional notions of 'liminality' do not translate easily to lifestyle travel since individuals can be conceived as 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991). Instead collective groupings forged on cosmopolitanism (Hannerz 1990) can be 'normality' since they belong nowhere (i.e. *Nicola*), residing on the periphery and testing rather than committing to cultures; liminal in the sense that groupings are temporary rather than permanent. In this manner, the lifestyle traveller travels from one liminal stage (or neo-tribe) to the next, each incurring a different kind of personal transition depending on their needs at the time. They may gap into a new community to find new selves and roles at one time, but occupy the peripheries to find collective belonging or to recalibrate identity at other times (see 5.8.2). In this manner, they engender their own 'internal structure' (Homans 1995) through a sense of collective belonging with those who also operate on the peripheries of officialdom. They are finding 'home' with other cosmopolites (Hannerz 1996) temporarily before moving on to different kinds of home.

""I don't feel like I belong in Canada or any other place that I have lived or will live. Perhaps the traveller thumbs his nose at society too much to feel at home in one…you have a kinship, a strange bond because they're the people that really approve of and understand your lifestyle choices, so there is that bond that holds it together and it's amazing that we've collected quite a few of these people… travelling friends and you all feel very passionate about your relationships with these people, even though the time you spent with them is probably very little" (Nicola)

"I have a kinship, someone that understands me, the feeling of what it's like to be completely free on the road, the thing with travelling, like going some place new every single day" (Maddie)

The idea of 'communitas' resonates strongly with *Nicola* since she feels she belongs nowhere as a perpetual outsider, albeit an outsider by choice [tourist] rather than enforced [vagabond] (Bauman 1998). She represents the cosmopolitan (Hannerz 1990) in terms of dwelling on the peripheries, not wanting to feel 'at home' in any one place, disregarding or scorning the idea of 'society'. Instead she projects herself as a privileged elite (Bauman 1993) floating between places, experiencing what she wants of them without committing; absorbing select "*aspects… into* [her] *own li*fe*" (Nicola).* Fundamentally, home is achieved with those who also share this way of life; a unique '*bond'* is forged based on a shared outlook and common practices in life (Blackshaw 2010).

In essence, *Nicola* finds 'home' in the relationships with similar people (White et al 2007; see 3.3.1). *Home* is grounded through their common affiliation. *Maddie* affirms such sentiments with both participants emphasising this connection as a 'kinship'; a special type of connection that is forged through commonality (Turner 1969), one that is exclusive to them. In this manner, rather than home consisting of any kind of personal or meaningful relationship, it is founded on this special bond, a common objective or view point where people know how this lifestyle *feels.* In essence, they are at home amongst those who they can identify with. Like *Maddie's* vines (3.3) they can root or find homes through these unique connections without the need to lay roots. However, as *Nicola* suggests, these connections are provisional, resonating with Turner's idea about the liminality of 'communitas' in a *temporal* aspect, although disrupts 'liminality' as betwixt and between since posits these collective groupings as a

state of 'normality'[37]. 'Communitas' may be temporary but they are often selected to engender a sense of home rather than to necessitate transition. In essence, the fluidity of home and place erodes traditional concepts of space and corresponding life 'stages'. It dismantles "settled ideas about the spaces… and the social orders through which those spaces are organised" (Hetherington 2005). Again this suggests the need for language which can talk meaningfully about contemporary place (1.4), to understand how 'home' may 'shift' in its meanings and significance over time. Such evolving conceptions are addressed in the next section, before proceeding to outline alternative 'homes' which illuminate our understanding of home as internal.

6.7 Shifting nature of home

By demonstrating how lifestyle travellers seek both similarity and difference at different times in their journey, we can conceive of a shifting scale where home represents different things at different times, according to the needs or desires of the lifestyle traveller. Whereas they may seek an alternative home at one time – integrating in difference to foster a new sense of belonging – conversely they may also prefer to reside on the peripheries and seek a home away from home consisting of those they identify with:

> *"I think you can have the best of both worlds you know… I love the hostel environment just meeting other people but I also like to have the local contact as well" (Laura)*

Essentially home is whatever they want it to be at varying times. In this manner we can locate 'home' on the spectator to member scale (see Figure 5.1) in terms of what home represents, ranging from familiarity and viewing 'Otherness' from afar; to representing difference through integrating into new communities. One can spectate from the peripheries and dip a toe in a culture, for example through Couch Surfing meet ups, but retreat back to hostels or guesthouses as enclaves of familiarity (*Shelia:* 5.2.6*).* Home in this sense is with other travellers. At other times lifestyle travellers may immerse in a place and embrace difference to become a cog in that community (i.e. through employment), forging a new home in a new role amongst new people.

[37] Positing an inverse conception of liminality.

This further emphasises how home travels with the lifestyle traveller, as an internalised version (McCraig 1996) which manifests in different guises depending on what the individual needs home to be at any given time. In essence, home comes from within and is forged in the setting, place or community of one's choice, advocating the agency of the individual (Bauman 2002). In this manner we now look at explicit examples of 'alternate homes'.

6.7.1 Alternative homes: Nature

Through the previous sections it is evident that there are many different kinds of 'home', and many different interpretations of what 'home' constitutes at particular times in one's journey. Whilst *Nicola* has made references to her backpack (to engender an internal home) and travel friends (as 'communitas'), she advocates a different type of home in terms of being where she almost obtains a sense of spiritual belonging. Places where she feels a connection to nature transcending human relationships:

> *"There are many places where I feel I 'belong', but these are associated with natural aspects. I 'belong' in the ocean, on the beach and in a forest. When I am in these places, I do feel a sense of being in my natural environment, in a place where I feel very comfortable and can move around with ease. I feel happy here.* I feel the same way with people of the same ilk*" (Nicola)*

In this manner she problematizes the idea of home as fixed and bounded but expands to refute that home is necessarily about settlement and community, again diversifying the language of home. Whilst she emphasises the importance of people in 'making' the place, being in nature is a different kind of connection that she feels, one that is experienced rather than established over time. It is equally as important as the strong connections forged with like-minded people, but affords almost a spiritual quality that supersedes spoken words or human interactions. It is about being at home within the environment, feeling a connection to the landscape or affiliation to nature. It may be comprehended not as the activity of carving routes, of 'wayfaring', but rather of feeling in-tune to the processes, feeling happy or content within natural mobilities and being 'transported' naturally (Ingold 2007; see 7.2.1 for critique). *Nicola* falls into

ecological meshworks rather than making her way in the natural world, emphasising the unquantifiable and indescribable nature of home at times. In this guise, home can only be understood through how individuals feel at any time; it is a state, rather than place, of feeling at home.

6.7.2 Alternative homes: Religion

This is seen through *Bryan's* interpretations of home, which afford a spiritual quality. Rather than conceiving home as a specific place, he feels 'at home' in Buddhism and on the journey for spiritual development.

> *"I don't actually have a place I can call home… there are certain places in India that I would consider like home and also in Nepal, but I don't have a place that I would think of as home… all I want is time, I want time to practice and study with different yoga teachers and to evolve spiritually just to become more loving and more compassionate… The Buddha taught we're constantly susceptible to suffering you know, and I really saw that in my own life before… you know it's something as simple as like enjoying that coffee and when it's finished being like 'oh I wish I had another one' it's just like really small but it's like you're not content right, we're always looking for something more, so for me I see that as a susceptibility to suffering in my own life and I would like to overcome that…" (Bryan)*

Bryan demonstrates difficulty discussing home because it is more of an on-going journey than a tangible place; it is a mobile sense of home based on his path to '*evolving spirituality*'. Whereas significant places of study may be conceived as home (India and Nepal), bowing to conventional ideas which demand a physical resonance, he is much more confident and sure of his goals in life rather than the idea of home as some existential place. He is more comfortable or 'at home' within the journey of spiritual fulfilment. Home as a place is redundant since this posits fixity and depicts a geographical container for life (Ingold 2006), rather than personal growth which supersedes these boundaries (Chambers 1994). He is literally 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991) albeit spiritual travel, transcending the need or desire to feel at home in any one place. He is not seeking belonging, but seeking enlightenment, utilising a mobile language which best conveys his personal experience.

Furthermore, this kind of mobility fundamentally does not infer an end point. Instead he accepts spiritual growth to be a life-long venture, refuting the idea of 'finding oneself' or one's place through travel. Home as an end state is an impossibility (Ahmed 1999). Through his Buddhist beliefs, rather than searching for belonging, searching for a home or external affirmation, *Bryan* seeks contentment in his life. It is a journey to feel content, or almost a way to feel at home in oneself, rather than searching for ways, places or communities that will satisfy him. Home as a place cannot do this for him; community cannot satisfy him, it is about being comfortable in himself no matter where he is or what he is doing, so long as he is developing spiritually in some way. In essence, through spiritual growth he carves routes internally. *Bryan* demonstrates an 'inner voyage' (Galani-Moutafi 2000; C. O'Reilly 2005) to feel at 'home'.

"I just want to dedicate myself to spiritual growth" (Bryan)

6.8 Home as internal

Through examining the many ways that home is viewed as 'on the road', we can conceive that fundamentally, home is with the individual. It is wherever they choose to make it; it is how they perceive and relate to people, places and environments around them. This illuminates the fact that place *does* matter to lifestyle travellers since homes manifest in significant places. Whereas home is internal, the place where one is located inevitably impacts on the kind of home that is (or not) experienced. Lifestyle travellers can always be 'at home' 'on the road', but this takes on many different guises which vary over time dependent on the context of place and the relationships or networks that characterise it.

In this manner, home is never reducible to one place or community; it is *ambiguous* (countering Harrison (2003)) given its malleability and the fact that it represents different things at different times of varying "symbolic meaning and salience" (Mallet 2004 79). In essence, whichever 'method' lifestyle travellers pursue to engender comfort and to feel 'at home' whilst on the move, it is integral that this comes from within. Whether such 'homes' are located within personal relationships, natural connections or spiritual states, lifestyle travellers must fuse externalities and

internalise such networks to feel 'at home', emphasising mobility as central to this process. In this manner, we can begin to see home-making as an active, internal practice which travels with the individual, manifesting as a meaningful 'node' within a 'relational setting' (Amin 2002: 391).

Some participants acknowledged home as internal, conceding that it is important to recognise 'home' as their own personal biography (Ahmed 1999). This was suggested through an emphasis on a strong internal sense of self being required in lifestyle travel, in order to withstand continual change and relocation. In essence, mobile home-making needs to be a relatively easy and fluid task, which can only come from a strong identity; mobility is driven by mooring[38]:

> *"Of course you are influenced by the places and people, that's the main reason why you travel…. However, there is a very strong sense of who I am that remains constant. This is really a very necessary trait of real travellers cos if you didn't have a concrete sense of self, you would really not cope with the constant change, no roots and different cultures. The sense of self must be internalized, and can't rely on exterior validation. It's nice having [my husband] but he is not my sense of self. I know who I am. The skin of that self my flake off and change, but the inside stays the same" (Nicola)*

Nicola's thoughts embody an internalised home, conveying that whilst she is a product of her experiences, it is important that she retains a solid internal sense of self to provide anchorage and withstand the chaos and change around her (see also *Heath* 6.3.1). Similarly *Maddie* realised this through her tattoos, as a tangible representation to avoid feeling completely rootless; it was a way to remind her that she could be grounded and find 'home' whilst on the move. This emphasises the idea of an unwavering core co-existing with identities that 'flake off' (identity comprised of both 'roots' and 'routes'). Such a 'core' is required to cope with external relocation; it functions as an internalised 'solid' home, which helps lifestyle travellers to feel at home wherever they are. For *Nicola* this is required in order to live the life she has chosen. Rather than pining or searching for home she emphasises how it is imperative to look inside to feel at home. In essence, one has to be mobile in their home-making

[38] Not to suggest that identity is a solid and static entity that propels mobility. Indeed the thesis has emphasised the mobilities within moorings, suggesting that identity, even when perceived as strong, *is* subject to change as *Nicola* explains.

otherwise it is to be impossible to be a lifestyle traveller. For *Nicola*, home as an external referent frustrates a life 'on the move':

> *"I don't have a sense of home, that feeling of home, I mean you have to really adjust, if you were always homesick it would make things a lot more tough" (Nicola)*

Whilst she is "*affected by the places and the people…"* and "*absorbs the good aspects of their ideology, dress and cuisine",* her sense of grounding, internal calm and thus 'home' is consistent. It is who she is; it is her journey, perceivable only through 'wrinkles in the skin' (Ahmed 1999: 343) and her *"words, jokes, opinions, gestures* [and] *actions"* (Berger 1984: 64). It is located in her unfolding story as her life is lived (Ibid. 64). In essence home is continually made rather than something to be achieved; it comes from within rather than displaced onto an unobtainable and idealised external 'end' place, state or community. Home in many ways represents the journey of the self.

As the chapter has emphasised, home (as a 'place') and identity cannot be seen in fixed or bounded terms. At the same time they cannot be reduced simply to movement. Both mobilities and moorings are present in each of these terms, emphasised by the way that identity is a 'freely chosen game' comparable to 'bio-degradable plastic' (Bauman 1996: 18), but also durable to withstand the constant changes in lifestyle travel. Similarly 'home' is always with the lifestyle traveller (moored) but manifests in different ways (mobility). In essence home and identity – as embroiled processes – are whatever the lifestyle traveller chooses them to be, advocating the agency of the self in these post-modern and highly mobile times. However, as also explored, participants find it difficult to convey such entanglement, illuminated by discussion on paradoxical ideas of home (i.e. being home whilst away; being 'home' in discomfort). In essence, there is an absence of a practical language which can mediate between these paradoxes, or 'talk' to both camps (see 1.4). Whilst we do not infer that language is missing in academia, rather we emphasise how it is discussed but is not so readily applied in practice, evident by its apparent unavailability

to participants. The following section will expand on this before proceeding to the conclusion.

6.9 An 'im/mobile' language of 'home'

The message this section emphasises is the advancement of an 'im/mobile' language which transcends theoretical imagination (see 1.4). Whilst there has been progression across the social sciences in *discussing* 'a middle ground' which neither privileges sedentary nor nomadic approaches (see 2.2.1; Adey 2006; Casey 1997; Cresswell 2006; Kabachnik 2012; Massey 1994), there is a deficit in its application. Indeed Hannam et al (2006) state that theory has remained largely "'a-mobile' until recently", leading to misinterpretation of various mobile groups (Shubin et al 2010; see Kaufmann 2009). In response, contemporary interest has been sparked to 'locate' a more representative language, although commentators repeatedly state that 'elaboration' on such mobile/immobile 'reconstruction' is required (Ibid. 2010), particularly in terms of their *relational* than dualistic relationship (see 2.2.1). With this in mind, this thesis advocates not just the production of a more definitive and relational vocabulary, but more importantly one which may be 'spoken' beyond academia and extend into practice. Such a language is intended to give a 'voice' to 'im/mobile' beings, as well as to add momentum to a more dynamic geography than that of the past; thereby satisfying the overarching aims of research (see 1.4).

Indeed, this research can only go so far without this language and outlay for participants to express themselves. *Sheila* demonstrates such a shortfall by challenging 'rooted' conceptions of place but overlooking how these may be retained and mediated with 'routed' ideas:

> *"I often get questions such as 'when are you going home', 'when are you going to finish travelling'. Such questions make me want to challenge the person who asked, I want them to get away from thinking that life must follow a certain path... when are they going to leave home, when are they going to start living their passion. I always start talking about 'what and where is home' and try to get them to see that none of us know what is happening 3 months from now, let*

alone one year from now, so how is it possible to answer their questions. I have had some fun discussing this with others – Q: what do you do for a living? A: live. Q: where are you from? A: don't know. I really want people to see beyond thinking conventionally..." (Sheila)

Sheila consciously attempts to unravel people's ideas about home, she is mindful that one cannot talk about place in a fixed and quantifiable way. Through her travelling lifestyle she is more attune to alternative ways of thinking about place, home and belonging, which has shaken up preconceptions and made her critique what home personally means to her. In this manner, *Sheila* along with several other participants perhaps embody current academic thinking in this manner, identifying that a move beyond conventionality is required. However, what is not so clear is the way that we can articulate this relationship meaningfully and fully express this embroilment. Indeed attention to the ways that we should be sensitive about how we see 'home' have been flagged, but just how can we begin to make effective assertions? As *Felicity* summarised (*5.3.5)* life is played out *'between routes as in journeys, and roots as in rooted'.* It is just a case of "*finding the balance between both"* and installing a language that can communicate this appropriately.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter has worked to emphasise how a language which embodies the malleability of home and its varying constitution needs to be implemented beyond discussion. By exploring the difficulty in applying outdated notions, including conventional views of liminality (see 6.5.2), we have shown how home needs to be conceived in ways which extend past singular bounded places, to embrace many homes, different kinds of home and imperatively homes which travel with us. This of course extends to how we conceive place in contemporary geography, reaffirming it as dynamic, on-going and made from entanglements of mobilities and moorings. In essence, a relational geography – where place is seen as an assemblage (Ingold 2007) compiled from 'trace chains' (Anderson 2010), as a 'node' where activities converge (Amin 2002) – needs to be implemented rather than simply discussing a relational *language*. It needs to capitalise on the co-constituence between roots and routes and

translate this into practice, which is perhaps best embodied by home as a 'real' and tangible concept.

6.10.1 Roots and routes of home

Through examining lifestyle travel, the importance of internal homes and relationships have been stressed. These are often represented through material and symbolic markers which can be 'carried' by the individual as opposed to conceived as one, out there, solid, eternal place. Home must be comprehended in mobile *and* sedentary terms in order for it to be retained as a meaningful concept. For the lifestyle traveller, if home is simply a point of origin (which may not be returned to) it may lose salience as can only be imagined. If home was something they had left, it would exist only in memory, engendering an eternal homesickness or pining for one place, impeding the commitment to travel (see 6.5.5 *Nicola)*.

But home also loses salience if it is too nomadic. Lifestyle travellers emphasised the need to feel grounded and to have a consistent core which may withstand the constant changes that they encounter, to avoid being completely lost in travel. In essence, home retains meaning in mobile lives if it is sometimes stable and comparable to the physical act of mobility. Likewise, it needs to be mobile enough to allow lifestyle travellers to move and not feel restricted. In essence, home needs to be conceived as both mobility and mooring, understood by the concept of 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991). It needs to encompass both the rootedness and fluidity of the 'lily pad' which can put down roots, but pull them up again when there is need. This discussion is continued in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

"I don't want to find myself, I wana lose myself if anything"

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction: satisfying aims

This thesis set out to explore the experiences of lifestyle travellers across the world, to make contributions to a relatively new and underexplored topic in academia. In particular it sought to expand knowledge on why and how travel is extended into a way of life in response to studies which focus on the identification rather than explanation of the practice. From the onset, the aim of research was to make contributions which emphasised heterogeneity within the phenomenon (1.4), and would illuminate the diverse ways that it is perceived and practiced by participants. In essence, it sought to avoid rigid categorisation techniques widely displayed in tourism studies, and instead allow empirical findings to lead the research, thereby celebrating difference and multiplicity. Utilising a grounded approach furthered this goal, as well as using and advancing a mobile methodology, as a further aim of research. These means encouraged participants to speak in their own words, allowing numerous themes and topics which mattered to them to be integrated into analysis. Such an expansive methodological toolkit which encouraged heterogeneity to manifest in this way worked to satisfy the third aim of research which was to illuminate a more dynamic geography. In essence, participant-led data (mobile methods) which produced rich and in-depth findings (heterogeneity) has furthered understanding into a relational geography, thereby demonstrating how the research aims have been mutually enabling.

7.1.2 Answering geographic questions

Emergent findings were originally interpreted through a geographical perspective, bringing theoretical ideas about mobility, place and identity together to effectively illuminate the empirical material. In this manner, the research has sought to collect diverse and multiple experiences and *organise* them using a 'mobile' geography, to create meaningful spatial observations about lifestyle traveller experiences and their

identities. In particular, it has capitalised on a mobile methodology (for data collection and interpretation) to explore how lifestyle travellers make their way in the world. The thesis sought to understand the significance of their mobility, as well as what this can mean for contemporary understandings of place. Exploring lifestyle traveller identities provided a way to unpack such questions, as well as understanding how mobility and place can be complementary rather than exclusionary. In essence, identity (whilst being a central focus for previous sociological studies on lifestyle travel) is uniquely utilised in this research to explore the mediations between place and mobility in an era of heightened global connectedness. It can effectively help us understand how place matters in lifestyle travel.

The purpose of this final chapter is to bring together the main contributions of the thesis and suggest directions for subsequent research. To do so, the chapter is structured to summarise the key findings of the thesis informed by theory and empirical practice.

7.2 Contributions

Many questions were raised through engaging with theory on mobility, place, identity and lifestyle travel, which were compiled in Table 2.1 for clarity. Such questions were 'placed' under the main research questions, to marry theoretical enquiry with the themes raised from empirical data, which were examined together. We first focus on 'locating' lifestyle travel in order to understand the types of people who participate in this phenomenon.

7.2.1 'Locating' lifestyle travel

Who is the lifestyle traveller; what motivates a lifestyle centred on mobility and what is the pattern of their mobility?

Theoretical contributions made by this research first and foremost come from providing insights, rather than categorisations of lifestyle travel. Current theory has largely been concerned with tourist typologies and trying to impose categorisation on diverse lives that cannot be generalised. Instead this research has presented a wealth of information about lifestyle travellers from a geographical perspective which

considers mobile components of the practice. In essence the research sought to listen to participants and structure findings for clarity by using a 'trait' that is intrinsic to them: mobility.

Whilst we acknowledge the limitations of Creswell's 'constellations of mobility' (4.10.2) and the need for additional constellations specific to lifestyle travel (i.e. how long is a lifestyle), expansive findings were produced which showed embroilment within lifestyle travel, between constellations and type and form attributes (Uriely et al 2002). In this manner, the framework was useful for illuminating the complexity of mobile lives by showing how they cannot be contained, but rather 'thread' between myriad relations (Ingold 2006). Consequentially, this framework emphasised the 'fuzzy nature' of tourism practices and thus the utility of continuums, where we can place individuals' self-definitions (E. Cohen 1979).

Such relocation along the definition continuum was displayed by lifestyle travellers in this way, shifting easily (Maoz et al 2010) across different practices and personas. Lifestyle travellers occupy roles such as volunteer or worker, representing more encompassing and contributory positions. To 'map' such mobility across roles, the thesis devised a scale comprising of 'spectator', 'participator', 'contributor', and 'member' positions, referring to the various depths of place immersion exercised in lifestyle travel. Activities in this way could be variously located along the scale in order to demonstrate the contrasting types of place interaction in lifestyle travel. Such a continuum uniquely conjoins place and mobility in this way, and further adds weight against dichotomies such as tourist / traveller and work / leisure. It further operated to illustrate the lifestyle traveller as travelling through 'post-modern personas' (Shields 1992b) traversing and occupying different – albeit liminal – 'states', disregarding spatial and social divisions (see 7.3.3 below).

Such mobility was also apparent within each constellation, with motivations (type attribute) and patterns of travel (form attributes) changing over time. Indeed as one participant suggested, it is impossible to provide a definitive account of lifestyle travel

since experiences recorded will only represent a snap-shot of their travels at any one time:

> "*It depends on when you catch me cos I may give a different answer according on how I feel" (Tim)*

v. What motivates lifestyle travel?

By considering motives for initiating (indefinite) travel, this thesis has demonstrated how simple push and pull factors only go so far to explain the phenomenon. Indeed motives for lifestyle travel were extremely embroiled and difficult to locate, making it problematic to answer what fundamentally drives lifestyle travel. However, the research has shown that instead of being motivated by finding a place to call home, lifestyle travellers were seeking personal development alongside the desire to immerse within place and a compulsion to keep travelling.

In this manner, motivations for lifestyle travel often centred around being mobile *within* places, as opposed to being mobile between them. By imposing a literal halt in one's travels – stopping in place – different kinds of mobility could be pursued; ones that could further self relocation by interacting with place. In this manner, place based mobilities promoted more meaningful encounters than movement between places because internal 'voyages' could be made. These were pursued specifically in lifestyle travel because they provoked tangible outcomes which gave substance to a life based on mobility.

vi. What is the pattern of lifestyle travellers' mobility?

Patterns in lifestyle travel were difficult to identify with a range of speeds, routes and rhythms exhibited, as well as how these were countered by periods in place. Whereas circumstantial factors demanding relocation (i.e. work) were relevant, evolving aspirations and feelings were perhaps more significant. As lifestyle travellers acquired knowledge, tested selves and progressed internally, their feelings changed. In turn they required different experiences from their travels. In essence, novelty and diversity seem to be key; different experiences and different identities within different kinds of places were sought over time, colouring the pattern of one's travels. Lifestyle

travellers may desire more challenging places or involved interactions with a community. Conversely they may retreat to 'easier' travel for a time, for relaxation rather than progression. Often these are interspersed with 'hard' travel offset by 'easy' travel, with deep routes being carved rather than superficial ones. In essence, we cannot divorce patterns of mobility from time spent within places; experiences must be seen in relation to the mobilities and 'moorings' that pave its way.

Fundamentally, there is no definitive pattern to lifestyle travel. Whereas many retrospectively identified progressively more challenging or self-engulfing experiences – making the transition from traveller to lifestyle traveller – this did not always mean that they sought place immersion or a deeper insight of place at each subsequent 'mooring'. Whilst they gained exposure to different kinds of travel along the way and grew in confidence, giving them 'access' to more exciting or difficult places, each experience was not necessarily deeper, longer or more involving than the last. Instead these experiences were added to their travel repertoire and could be selected as and when there was the desire or need for it. In this way they represent 'post-modern personas', selecting different experiences at different times thereby presenting different patterns of mobility. Whether 'routes' of lifestyle travel correspond with self-development or not, fundamentally they are about *self-relocation* and testing different kind of personas rather than gaining status up a 'ladder' of self-development. In essence, mobility was key to set in motion 'process of introspection' (after Galani-Moutafi 2000: 205)

Such successive relocation across sites of experience directs attention to the importance of place in lifestyle travel. A common theme arising from the aspects of mobility was the centrality of place immersion to lifestyle travel. At some point efforts were made by all participants to integrate or penetrate place (as friction to corporeal travel) no matter how intense or shallow. The idea of lifestyle travellers as 'wayfarers' gained momentum in this regard, with participants exercising slower mobilities (velocity) when 'mooring' in place, carving routes to understand places beyond the perceived routes of tourists, as well as being a way to personally develop (internal routes). Participants considered fast mobilities to frustrate this purpose, affording only

superficial and glossy views rather than the deep impression that they often sought (motive). 'Tuning in' to unique rhythms required slower mobilities in this way, to 'moor' and engender an expansive or local 'feel' of place. Once mobilities 'stop', in terms of self-progression, novelty or completing place immersion, then physical relocation is required. In effect, mobilities of place are key for *driving* lifestyle travel. Rather than conceive places as the connecting dots between movement, mobility gains significance when exercised *within* place. Place thus becomes significant in terms of the types of mobility it can offer the lifestyle traveller. In essence, moorings provide direction and momentum for subsequent mobilities and these mobilities pave the way for later moorings (Adey 2006; Ingold 2010; Urry 2003). Understanding the journey as a destination in itself further advocates the mobilities of 'place', as a site of meaningful encounters (see below).

vii. Who is the lifestyle traveller? Tourist / Vagabond; Cosmopolitan / Non-Cosmopolitan; Transported Traveller / Wayfarer?

'Locating' lifestyle travellers can further be achieved in relation to other theoretical 'personas' raised in the literature. In essence, theory questions whether the lifestyle traveller is similar to Bauman's (1993) tourist or vagabond; if they display cosmopolitan (Hannerz 1990) or non-cosmopolitan traits (Gay y Blasco 2010) or if they bear relation to Ingold's (2007) wayfarer or transported traveller. In essence, such 'one or the other' labels can be useful for locating individuals against what they are not (Hall 1996; Hetherington 1998a; Galani Moutafi 2000; Wilson et al 2004), but also to emphasise the relationality of these terms and how components of both are displayed at different times. In essence, portraying the lifestyle traveller shows how dichotomous terms are mediated by these nomadic subjects, relocating across them, demonstrating relational rather than oppositional positions. The lifestyle traveller may sympathise with the vagabond's *need* to travel if motivation involves compulsion, but compulsion could also be interpreted as the *desire* for collecting novel places thereby resembling the 'tourist'. Need and desire, vagabond and tourist are very much entwined in this manner. However, placement on a continuum may show how lifestyle travellers operate more at the 'tourist' end of the scale since they are neither exiles or forcibly 'on the move'. Whereas they may be required to work at times, or

'move on' in accordance to visas, ultimately they have *chosen* a life centred on travel rather than this being enforced upon them. Whereas they may feel like a 'vagabond' at times, such as *Callum* suspending his traveller status for office work, fundamentally he knows that this is temporary and that he can 'gap back' to travel when he wants. It is the sense of *motility* that he retains, which for Bauman confirms his status as a 'privileged elite' (Bauman 1993).

Similarly lifestyle travellers demonstrate cosmopolitanism in this regard, reassured in the knowledge that they can move on; they 'embrace cultures' but always 'know where the exit is' (Hannerz 1990: 240). However, non-cosmopolitan traits were also observed with participants often desiring place *immersion;* to integrate and become place participants, contributors or members. Deeper or 'existential' experiences (E. Cohen 1979) were sometimes desired in this way, beyond that of the cosmopolitan seeking experiential or experimental experiences (Ibid. 1979). Participants fluctuate between these positions, occupying more than one spiritual centre.

In light of this, the thesis proposed an alternative to E. Cohen's (1979) 'Tourist Roles' labels (i.e. recreational to existential), to emphasise fluidity between positions such as spectator to member. Whilst appreciating that 'existentialism' is a useful concept for representing integration, it sits uneasily within this thesis given the finality it infers. Rather lifestyle travellers show to be *committing* rather than committed; to anchor but then dis-anchor. They seek elective centres but fundamentally do not 'switch worlds', they merely *test* worlds. They put down roots, and then pull them up again. The purpose for doing so was illustrated by examining the trajectories of place (Chapter Six) where places are seen as exhaustive in the challenge that they offer personal trajectories. Lifestyle travellers cannot commit permanently as this would frustrate this pursuit; they need to move on physically to test other worlds and other selves. Indeed we do not suggest that lifestyle travellers will never commit, but to do so *indefinitely* would represent the revision of travel as normality to travel as temporary, conflicting with the premise of lifestyle travel. Lifestyle travel is based on test*ing,* participat*ing,* contribut*ing* and committ*ing* as on-going activities rather than pursued as final states. In this manner, the thesis pushes for the implementation of a dynamic language which so far, has only been tentatively explored in geography (see 7.3).

In this encompassing rather than dichotomous spirit, the thesis proposes that lifestyle travellers can be both wayfarer and transported traveller (Ingold 2007). Whilst research advocates lifestyle travellers as active makers of their trails, carving their own way in the world through practices involving place mobilities (i.e. participating through community projects or integrating to find a designated role in place), the transported traveller offers descriptive utility in the way that lifestyle travellers sometimes *spectate* place, acknowledging how they reside and observe at the peripheries at times. In this manner, rather than the transported traveller being a passive agent, we stress this as a different type of mobility (within mooring) in terms of observation, reflection and recalibration, appreciating how "spectators can be mobile too" (Adey 2007: 520). As explored in the methodology, spectating for some participants affords a better 'view' of place since they can observe at a distance (Said 1986). In effect, this advocates the different ways that lifestyle travellers make routes in the world, and the different positions or 'postmodern "personas"' (Shields 1992a) that they inhabit over time. As Casey emphasises it is a matter of 'not better, just different' (1997: 308).

viii. Multi-faceted nature of lifestyle travel

What these insights demonstrate is that there are many kinds of lifestyle traveller. They are "increasingly diverse in motivation and demographics" (Jarvis et al 2010: 24) and cannot be subsumed under one uniform category; such a category "would be so broad" that it would lose 'significance' (Sørenson 2003: 848). Instead this thesis has outlined numerous versions of lifestyle travellers, using mobility as a 'measure' to emphasise how participants are as unique and diverse as the practices and feelings that they demonstrate. Every lifestyle traveller exercises 'hybrid' mobilities and moorings.

Fundamentally, this research proposes a style of lifestyle travel which involves *living* in places. Examining how many participants demonstrate a preference for establishing lives within a place; for testing selves (which manifest from being mobile in place) but imperatively 'moving on' when these are finished, emphasises a different style of transformative travel illuminated by geographical ideas. It demonstrates self-relocation based on mobilities of place, where transformations are temporary and

successive within the overarching practice of travel. Rather than one long transition (as per ideas on gap years), lifestyle travel is characterised by on-going transitions that are place and position dependent (i.e. the spectator / the worker) which are floated between, freely and easily (Rajchman 1998). In essence, transformative travel is mobilised to conceive on-going transitions between mobilities and place mobilities. Rather than 'separation, experience and return' we infer 'returns' to represent new mobilities, or new trajectories within place and self. Such trajectories demonstrate a commitment to fluidity and identity creation rather than 'finding oneself' or one place to belong. Lifestyle traveller mobilities promote individualism and the autonomy to 'move on' and test selves, but it can also be about finding temporary places to belong.

To draw to a close in 'locating' lifestyle travel, the fundamental commonality is their overarching commitment to travel. All manner of motivations and travel patterns are included within the banner of indefinite travel; 'anything goes' as long as travel is considered their main structure, aspiration or defining feature of their lives. In this manner we come full circle back to S. Cohen's inclusionary (rather than exclusive) term that the lifestyle traveller is one who returns repeatedly to extended leisure travel as a preferred way of life (2010a; b).

7.2.2 Mobilities of lifestyle travel

Exploring Cresswell's 'constellations of mobility' (2010) in Chapter Four served as an effective launch pad for considering the significance of mobility in lifestyle travel, beyond that of abstract and passive movement. It emphasised how mobilities cannot be seen in isolation of moorings, as well as how meaningful mobilities are often those carved *in* place, namely to provoke self relocation. To illuminate such findings, three strategies used by lifestyle travellers to carve their way in the world were addressed – Couch Surfing, volunteering / exchange work and employment – to understand how the *placement* of mobility is integral to the level of significance it acquires. In essence, locating these along the 'spectator to member' continuum demonstrated the unique ways that mobility marries people with place, and how meaningful encounters are engendered.

vi. How do lifestyle travellers carve their way in the world?

The research has showed that lifestyle travellers carve their way in the world primarily through making meaningful 'routes' within place. Such route-making must involve interaction and activity within place in order to penetrate its surface and obtain deeper more insightful experiences; a literal carving *through* than skimming the surface of place. In this way lifestyle travellers seek to transcend superficial and shallow routes that they associate with the tourist as a passive consumer, to instead make more active connections.

The intensity of such connections varied across participants, as well as the strategies that they employ for this end. Indeed some preferred to observe places rather than to join in with them. They liked to understand and experience communities from afar rather than to 'fit in' or belong in some way. Such cosmopolitan traits along with maintaining the role of 'outsider' grants a better view of a place for these participants, where "being out of synch" affords "active comprehension" (Said 1986: 49).

One tangible strategy used by participants for 'spectating' was Couch Surfing. Couch Surfing functions as a way to watch from the peripheries, where meet-ups with local people could be made, whilst keeping one foot in familiarity. Carving routes is facilitated by hybrid encounters, as a cushioned way to experience Otherness. Couch Surfing, however can be used for more engulfing experiences, demonstrating how participants manipulate strategies to carve the type of routes that they desire. By surfing couches, lifestyle travellers can carve more involved mobilities through immersing in a local's life, to achieve a feel or impression of place through one person's eyes. They can 'drop in on a life' and live it for a short and intense time, affording relocation towards a more participatory role. In essence, Couch Surfing offers route-making through exposure and being acted upon (spectating) or for acting within place as a participant or 'borrower' of a life. It facilitates relationships to engender meaningful place-based connections. Carving routes through Couch Surfing entails traversing routes of locals and the distinct relations that are created.

Through volunteering or exchange work, lifestyle travellers can carve deeper routes

within place as it provides a way to give something back to a community and contribute to place beyond passive spectating. Route-making in this manner is not about 'dropping in' on lives, but acquiring a designated role within place, to test new identities rather than shadowing the pre-laid paths of the local. It is about forging one's own way in place rather than following the footsteps of an Other.

The deepest way for routes to be carved through place was through employment, to forge trails based on being a contributor or member of place. Whereas Couch Surfing and volunteering carve through semi-regularities of place, dipping toes into daily life, employment offers a way to fully immerse in 'normalities' and to 'tune in' to particular ways of life. It represents a more engulfing and committed method for making routes. By working in a new place, or undertaking novel roles, lifestyle travellers can tap into the routines of a place, providing a thorough way to become part of that place. It allows one to become a contributor or even a member within a community which fundamentally leads to understanding the people and the local rhythms of a place.

Extending past relationships with individuals (characteristic of Couch Surfing and short term volunteering projects), employment forges connections to the wider community, affording a more extensive and in-depth view of place. In essence to understand a community was to tap into local networks, to understand the people was to understand place (Casey 2001) and this is best obtained for some through becoming a member of it. However we must be mindful that such successful integration is highly dependent on the motive of the participant as well as their circumstance. Where employment is necessary, or conducted in a familiar place or role restrictions on route-making are often experienced through compromising the objectives of novelty, change and progression. Where such intensive integration is not desired, employment can impede one's sense of freedom.

vii. How important is their mobility?

Such restriction effectively demonstrates how it is important for mobility to be unconstrained in lifestyle travel. By examining how mobility is fundamentally provisional within place leads us to consider how freedom to relocate is key in lifestyle travel.

The previous section emphasised how active route-making in lifestyle travel is often forged within place. Mobility acquires significance when it is *placed;* place immersion is a preferred type of mobility. The main requirement for such placed mobility is that it encourages self-relocation in terms of either progression or recalibration. Challenge is not always required since lifestyle travellers may seek solitude or familiarity at times in their journey, in relation to the experiences that pave its way. In essence, the mobilities of place need to align to the current requirements of the lifestyle traveller. When these no longer 'match' – when personal trajectories are no longer stimulated or able to progress in a place – it is imperative that lifestyle travellers are able to move on corporeally.

Relating this back to employment, normalities and membership are only beneficial for lifestyle travellers for a finite time before they expire. Lifestyle travellers may enjoy the sense of becoming integrated, becoming a member and gaining access to novel normalities. Once this is achieved or acquired, it is time to move on and find alternative routes (i.e. spectator roles, new normalities, different 'postmodern personas') to continue driving self progression. Rather than infer identity to be 'found' or finished, it is restricted to a slower pace of change in relation to the place no longer being novel. In essence, an end (or slowing) to one's identity change, a *perceived* completed version of self i*n relation to place* demands relocation to new places where this can continue more easily. The most important mobility is the freedom and capacity to move on; to have *motility.* Just as we have explored how place trajectories can become exhausted, employment and gapping into normalities illustrates how mobile strategies and the integration that they offer are also finite. They present a tangible example of how mobilities in place – whilst central to lifestyle travel – have a shelf life. Fundamentally there must be a balance between the level of familiarity,

acceptance and integration with the level of novelty and impetus to change or test identity. When these no longer match in pace then it is imperative for lifestyle travellers to be free to move on and find alternate places to drive identity change.

The 'place' of mobility in this manner becomes a useful and necessary activity, to reset the process of identity change elsewhere. In this sense, mobility drives productive or desired 'moorings' and these 'moorings' make 'mobility' into beneficial rather than passive acts. They are relatively and relationally useful. Indeed the 'journey as destination' was emphasised by participants, as a way to embrace the entire experience rather than segregate it into discrete stages. Mobilities can be a way to appreciate 'moorings' to internalise experiences, but also to see place beyond its perceived boundaries, to locate it amongst broader connections to the wider world (Anderson 2010; Sheller et al 2006). Fundamentally, the importance of mobility is *relational,* it cannot be seen in isolation of the experiences that pave its way. Furthermore we can begin to understand this kind of mobility as a mooring in itself, demonstrating the embroilment and co-constituence between these activities (Adey 2006; Amin et al 2002; Deleuze 1988; Massey 2004).

viii. <u>What does mobility represent?</u>

Examining mobility as a strategy to maintain a desired pace of identity change – in place and between place – shows how it can represent *freedom*; freedom to relocate when this process slows to an undesirable pace, and freedom to be mobile within place and pursue integration. In essence, participants must feel that they have the capacity to move; the *motility* (Kauffman 2002) to choose the kind of mobility that they desire at any one time. It is "the comfort of being confident of the facility to move elsewhere in case staying on no longer satisfies" (Bauman 2000b: 216) in terms of self relocation, novelty and change. Lifestyle travellers present an explicit illustration of how such choice acquires a 'spatial dimension' (Ibid. 216) in this manner, exercising autonomy over time and space. Whereas there are often limits to motility (i.e. required work necessitating undesirable 'stops' to be made thus limiting identity change), lifestyle travellers perhaps perceive themselves as the ultimate mobile being with ultimate spatial freedom since they generally decide when to 'stop' and when to

leave. Such feelings were reported as a strong incentive for lifestyle travel. Through this autonomy they experience the 'ultimate' sense of 'freedom' (*Henry*) over their lives. In essence mobility represents freedom over time, space and identity and is an underlying factor of why participants continue to travel. Mobility is *instrumental* for obtaining this freedom rather than intrinsically desired. Rather than a wish for constant movement, it is the feeling of being free to choose when movement occurs that is important (Sager 2006).

Whilst acknowledging that mobility fundamentally represents freedom in lifestyle travel, appreciating mobility as a multi-layered and complex practice leads us to unpack other related forms of mobility. Emerging from theory, mobility as resistance, right and privilege were explored.

Mobility as resistance is detectable in lifestyle travel in terms of participants exiting western societal structures to forge their own way in the world through mobility. Whilst being an impetus for leaving home to pursue individualised 'routes' in this way (as escape from a rooted, ordinary or prescriptive life), it is perhaps a less explicit component *within* lifestyle travel. Indeed some lifestyle travellers discussed avoiding responsibilities through residing on the peripheries, signifying a kind of resistance where no expectations were made on them given their 'foreigner' status. In this regard they continue to resist *commitment* to anything other than motility. Alternatively, this can be interpreted as representing a kind of freedom (Sager 2006; Sen 2004) with lifestyle travellers choosing a life based on travel, rather than resisting a 'rooted' lifestyle. It is active rather than reactive; a positive rather than negative mobility (Sager 2006). In this manner, representations are shown as embroiled (resistance as a kind of freedom) and are difficult to tease out discretely.

Comparing lifestyle travellers to groups practicing spatial resistance (i.e. the youth, gypsies and New Age Travellers), mobility as resistance also seems less applicable. Whilst these groups operate on the outskirts of normality, contaminating familiarity with their presence (Hetherington 1998a), lifestyle travellers abscond from normality altogether, albeit a western normality that confers detrimental status to travelling

groups. More importantly, participants also chose to 'gap' back *in* to normalities, noting the utility of being able to move easily *'between worlds' (Nicola).* In essence they are not resisting space or spatial practices, but rather freely relocating across, between and through them. Rather than conforming to ordered 'space' or a normal 'rooted' lifestyle which follows successive stages – "*go to college, to university, get a job, get married, have kids, settle down, die" (Chris)* – they are reinventing this through mobility, choosing when and what type of spaces to carve through, making their own version of normality based on their freedom to relocate. In this manner mobility as resistance is better perceived as resistance against the rigidity and rootedness of life in lifestyle travel, which fundamentally is *secondary* to selecting a life of 'freedom and lightness' (Rajchman 1998: 88). In this way, 'positive freedom' as the freedom to move is embroiled with 'negative freedom' as absence from restraint (Sager 2006). Lifestyle travellers perceive that mobility represents a 'privileged' life free from constraint, based on capitalising on their right (or perceived capacity) to move.

ix. <u>How are senses of identity forged within a mobile life?</u>

Examining how mobility obtains significance through being placed, and how mobility as freedom is *practiced* in place (through testing lives and developing meaningful connections), implies that identity will also be forged in relation to place. In essence, since mobility has a conspicuously 'spatial dimension' (Bauman 2000b: 216) identity too must manifest in 'place'.

Exploring how mobility in place is required to meet personal trajectories (to incite self relocation) emphasises how identity is dependent on the place where it is played out. Identities within a mobile life are forged in relation to place as the stimulus for change; they are comparable to bio-degradable plastic (Bauman 1998) which is moulded by the many places and roles that they inhabit. Such reconstruction and reconfiguration is heightened through the practice of lifestyle travel since individuals are continually relocating across places, thereby exposed to an expansive range of influences. Reinvention occurs alongside relocation as a continual range of 'aspects' are made available to them. In this respect, one may perceive the lifestyle traveller as the ultimate 'hybrid' being (Bhabha 1988) given the vast compilations of experiences they

open themselves to, moulded by the constant stream of novel environments, relations and social positions that they inhabit (Smith 2005). The more influences one has to choose from, the greater the scope and available options for testing identity.

Furthermore, when places are specifically challenging, novel, exciting or different, new and *multiple* kinds of identity can be tested in lifestyle travel. Whereas notions of hybridity were often discussed in terms of the colonial encounter where indigenous (rooted) people would borrow ideas from invading cultures and marry these with their pre-existing beliefs, the lifestyle traveller represents the 'coloniser' as the visitor travelling *to* new places. In essence mobility could represent more layered, more intensified hybrid encounters through the collection of many places during travel. Although as discussed, identity relocation is generally driven by particular kinds of places; those with corresponding place trajectories. The more (desired) stimulation place trajectories provide, the more 'mobile' lifestyle travellers are in terms of progression and self-relocation, and the more selves that can be tested.

Participants further noted that a strong appeal of lifestyle travel was that they could essentially re-invent themselves on arrival at new places because nobody knew who they were. They could begin afresh and try out new identities given their anonymity. In essence the slate was rubbed clean at each successive 'mooring' and they could reinvent themselves to paint whatever masks they wished. Often such masks were desired to be as "*far from where* [they] *would consider the old self to be" (Henry)* in terms of adopting completely different identities from an old 'home-based' self, replacing the notion of hybridity with identity erasure. This is not to suggest that identity is not hybrid in lifestyle travel, rather that *external* personas are shed on exit from place. Lifestyle travellers may portray a blank canvas on arrival to initiate brand new identities, but this is inevitably conditioned by the influences that paved its way; their subsequent interactions with new people, places and roles are conditioned and analysed through their unique, hybrid lens (Loomba 1998).

Fundamentally, new places provide new stages for new identities to be played out, and offer different kind of props (influences and roles) to be subsumed in their enactment.

Following from Ingold, lifestyle travellers "are authors of space and space is the stage for their stories; they are involved in 'zones of entanglement" (2006: 53). In essence, lifestyle travellers drift through successions of 'postmodern personas' which manifest as products of place and the relationships that characterise it. Senses of identity are 'shed' on exit from place, but are initiated on arrival of a new place.

Examining one's personal location within place further expands our knowledge on how senses of identity are forged within a mobile life. Different mobilities radiating from different positions within place (i.e. Couch Surfer / volunteer) will inevitably colour the kinds of changes that are experienced in selfhood. In essence the paths that one carves in place will condition the routes of manifesting identities. In this regard, whilst a spectator role may infer a smaller impact on identity relocation, in fact a process akin to Bhabha's colonial encounter may occur where hybrid identities are forged through experiencing difference from relative familiarity. One may exercise more autonomy over the elements that they subsume into their identity because of the distance they retain (Said 1986):

> "*We absorb the good aspects of their ideology, dress and cuisine into our own lives" (Nikki)*

In essence participants chose what they experience and what they adopt from a place to obtain a select and highly individualised hybrid identity. This 'liminal' space between the familiar and the unknown can encourage senses of self to be compiled consciously in this way, or may serve to reaffirm who one is through experiencing who they are not (Wilson et al 2004).

Alternatively, active contributions made to place (i.e. through volunteering or employment) could involve suspending a traveller identity as encounters becomes more engulfing, either for the good when contribution is selected, or for the worse when it is imposed. Through intense and elongated route-making in place, lifestyle travellers acquired designated roles and routines and essentially could become a part of place. In turn explicitly place-based identities were forged based on their position

within a community; they were integrated into the tapestry of place therefore acquired senses of self in relation to this overarching context. Participants remarked on the enriching qualities of such an experience; they *'learnt how to be their self' (Felicity)* in new roles, albeit an updated self which acquired, merged and developed with new elements unique to that place. Consequentially, as they left it felt *'like a rupture'* since selves often required that place for survival, emphasising place and identity as 'thoroughly meshed' (Casey 2001a: 684) even in highly mobile lives. In this regard the more intense the encounter, the deeper the routes and the stronger senses of self become bound to place and require that 'stage' for its performance. Whilst this infers that place is not quite so necessary for a spectator role – that identities acquired from the peripheries will not be bound to place to the same degree – rather this is a different kind of connection based on the fusion of roles. Place is meaningful to identity because it is *where* such unique compilations occurred. Whereas the feeling of severance is not always encountered on exit, subsumed elements that may be taken from the encounter are and always will be a product of the place. To draw to a close, whereas place has been disputed in its significance to identity in contemporary global times (Sack 1997), an investigation of lifestyle travellers as highly mobile beings, shows how it is still integral for forging senses of self. Selfhood is provoked through one's interactions with place. In effect "there is no place without the self and no self without the place" (Casey 2001a: 684). Through the mobilities of different places, identity will find alternative routes to be tested out along, which will condition its nature.

7.2.3 Place in lifestyle travel: contemporary notions

As outlined throughout this chapter, place is significant to the lifestyle traveller because it is where meaningful mobilities of self relocation are exercised. By 'mooring' in place, lifestyle travellers initiate different kinds of mobilities based on understanding a community and developing in relation to its unique meshwork. Routes of varying depth and nature are carved within place to fundamentally obtain meaningful experiences and engender senses of self in a life characterised by on-going movement. In this manner the research has emphasised that mobility and place not only operate in conjunction, but they are mutually dependent for definition. Exploring the lifestyle

traveller and their relationship to place has illuminated theoretical arguments for relational understandings between 'mobility and mooring', thereby meeting the aims of research (1.4).

In this manner, we focus on how lifestyle travel presents alternative understandings of place which are relevant in these contemporary and highly mobile times. In effect, place itself needs to viewed as mobile, as something 'achieved' and continually in a process of becoming. Through exploring lifestyle travellers' *relational* understandings of place and how these are continually updated serves to illuminate such ideas.

i. Place as relational

Meaningful experiences acquired in lifestyle travel do not occur in isolation but are produced by the mobilities that pave its way. In this manner, places – as sites of meaningful encounters – are tied into "…at least thin networks of connections that stretch beyond each such place" (Sheller et al 2006: 209), which acquire relational meaning through past and present experiences connecting or enfolding (Dovey 2010).

Such theoretical assertions are embodied by how lifestyle travellers 'measure' place against other places. Evaluations occur in light of the multiple places that they have traversed and the various routes that led them to their current place. Through their journey, knowledge is acquired, different selves are tested, new kinds of routes created and new aspirations and motivations surface. Such layering of experiences, such embroilment colours how one views and interprets place, as well as the type of experience they will subsequently seek. One may pursue a progressively more challenging experience than the last; alternatively they may seek solitude or respite from intense and engulfing encounters.

In this respect feelings and perceptions about past and present places (i.e. Singapore for *Enzo*) change and evolve over time as lifestyle travellers' parameter or line of vision expands through the act of travel. They reflect back in light of their accumulating experience. As more places are collected and more identities tested so this conditions

how they relate to and interpret place. In effect these mounting mobilities and moorings determine how places "appear and act" (Adey 2006: 91).

This emphasises the idea that places are never stable but represent different things to different people in 'different relational contexts' (Mandanipour 2001). This is especially pronounced in lifestyle travel since their relational context is a vast and expanding treasury of experience. Perceptions of place continually change in correspondence to the on-going collection of experience through travel and this further becomes part of the relational context.

In essence we can conceive how places become entangled within this relational meshwork to varying degrees, linked by 'trace-chains' (Anderson 2010) which are forged as one *carves* their way in the world. We can further see how places themselves become 'hyper hybrid meshworks' comprised of past, present and future connections. Carving is integral to this acquisition since it *internalises* the place, making it significant, thereby cementing this connection to the wider relational meshwork of experience. They are glued to various extents, measured by comparative "similarity and difference" (Anderson 2010: 47) which colour the nature of the connection as well as the shape of place. Without such meaningful activity (carving and internalising) the place is passively experienced and a more shallow, less solid connection is formed, akin to the 'recreational tourist' (E. Cohen 1979) who has no need for such gravity since home serves as their 'stable reference point' (White et al 2007: 91). Instead we have observed how lifestyle travellers need these important experiences in place to forge senses of self in a mobile life. In this manner, places are connected by varying thicknesses, relational to its significance and drawn upon when there is need for it. Indeed, such past places are 'rescued' in order to "trace paths of transformation of (their) lives here and now" (Braidotti 1994: 6).

ii. <u>Constitution of place</u>

Whilst we can infer that places become progressively thicker as the lifestyle traveller compiles experiences over time, fundamentally not every place is deemed significant to the lifestyle traveller. Places may be 'thick' but they are not always the right

'thickness' for the pursuit of self-development. This can be explained by home (as a place of origin) acquiring meaning over time, *changing* in terms of how it feels and what it may represent, but may not necessarily acquire increased importance or attachment. In fact we saw how for many participants such places grow progressively *less* significant because their capacity to incite change is exhausted; they are measured in relation to more exciting, novel and challenging places thereby feel stale, well-trodden and too comfortable. The trajectories of such places – whilst increasing in relational meaning – diminish in terms of their ability to stretch personal trajectories, or internal relocation. Places are thus only significant (in terms of their *impact* on lifestyle travellers) and endowed with meaning (Tuan 1977) if these trajectories positively coincide with internal trajectories. Places may change materially, they may look different and have changed in their built or societal form, but unless this change is in line with what a lifestyle traveller seeks, these changes will not satisfy personal trajectories. For a positive connection, lifestyle travellers must *want* to carve new trails, find alternative paths and seek different kinds of transition in re-visited places. In essence, contemporary notions must appreciate place as being relational to the personal trajectories that traverse it which are altered beyond geographical boundaries. The mobilities of the lifestyle traveller, the routes and paths that they traverse will impact on their ideas and relationships to place.

iii. Home as internal

Whereas 'home' was presented as a point of origin to illustrate place as changing (as above) we can further conceive alternative notions of home to help explore contemporary, mobile ideas about place. A key finding was that 'home' for many participants is wherever they are, raising the idea of transient homes which travel with the lifestyle traveller. Home is internalised but manifests in various ways depending on what the traveller requires it to be at any one time. Home could be one's backpack, as an external referent which provides a sense of comfort. It could manifest through material symbolism (i.e. tattoos) which remind that one is like a 'lily pad' where roots can be put down and pulled up at will; that home is wherever they choose it to be. It is sometimes mediated with in-grained sedentarist sentiment of being one's point of origin or with family. It can be seen as rooted with particular people but moving as

they do. In essence home is variously located between being 'moored' or 'rooted' and being 'mobile' and transient. Both sedentary and nomadic ideas retain significance, and a 'middle way' which allows for both in contemporary notions of place is advocated.

Fundamentally, home evolves to be whatever the lifestyle traveller needs it to be. It cannot merely be 'home as hearth' as would make a life on the move emotionally impossible, engendering perpetual homesickness. However, 'rooted' ideas can be mediated *with* 'routed' notions, where home is also achieved on the journey. Rather than discredit 'roots' altogether, we need to see how these are entangled with route-making; how 'home as hearth' and home as family are mediated with new 'homes' along the way. In essence, 'rooted' concepts remain significant as they tell us about the *nature* of certain kinds of home based on nostalgia and with family or friends. However, as new ideas and transient homes are compiled along the way, this alters how such roots are perceived. It is a relational process where 'roots' can be 're-routed' because they are seen in relation to new kinds of home which may become progressively more important. For many participants, home (as their place of origin) will always be home in why it is significant (i.e. family / place of birth), but their understandings about it will change along the way as different kinds of home are forged within a mobile life. This emphasises how 'roots' (as an analytically useful concept for relational purposes) needs to be seen as not inactive, but as constructed, sustained and maintained by dynamic processes.

Exploring identity was a way to understand these ideas. Rather than a solid, constant home being required for self-definition, lifestyle travellers acquire senses of identity through their routes; as "maps for the future than trails from the past" (McCrone 1998: 34). It is a layered and on-going process compiled from many types of 'home' (as sites of significant encounters) where senses of self are drawn from both 'roots' and 'routes'. Identity in this manner is achieved through such compilations, combining elements of many places into a sense of self, as an internal 'home' which is constantly 'updated' through exposure to different places and ways of life. In essence, self and home is not rooted, but is traceable through the routes that lifestyle travellers carve;

they are ‘citizens of the world’ (Germann Molz 2005) where identity is achieved from aspects of many places and ‘homes’

A central way that ‘home’ is routed was found in the relationships lifestyle travellers formed with others (White et al 2007). To feel at home it was integral to forge meaningful relations with people; a sense of ‘collective belonging’ was engendered through developing meaningful friendships. In this manner places became significant in relation to the significance of the relationships that were forged in that place. Hyper-hybrid meshworks obtain gravity in relation to the meaningfulness of the personal connections made there. This further emphasises how many meaningful places can be made along the journey as new relationships are forged in new places. In essence, lifestyle travellers may collect many meaningful homes as they travel, demonstrating place polygamy (Beck 2000).

iv. Anti-homes

Whilst lifestyle travellers may show to acquire traditional ‘homes’ based on senses of belonging (i.e. through comfort and familiarity), such belonging was not always desired and ‘home’ was often found in discomfort and challenge. In this manner, different homes of different symbolic salience (Mallett 2004) were illuminated through exploring lifestyle travel, emphasising how contemporary notions of place need to account for variance and multiplicity rather than remain closed and static and ‘rooted’ in tradition.

This was demonstrated by examining place integration and the correspondence between place / person trajectories. In essence, participants feel ‘at home’ on the journey within place. They set out on a path for a particular experience of a certain depth – be that spectator, participator or member – and feel content within the challenge this offers. They feel satisfied ‘on the move’ in place, fulfilled by integrat*ing* and becom*ing* involved (Cresswell 2004). However, as a place becomes too familiar or too routine, then integration stops and place trajectories slow in terms of the novelty they offer and lifestyle travellers increasingly begin to feel integrat*ed.* As a result, they feel constrained and constricted as they no longer feel that they can progress within

that place, thus no longer feel 'at home' and have to move on to find this elsewhere. In essence, the process of achieving (as a verb) is preferential to having achieved belonging (as a noun). It is a home based on mobility, progression and *making* connections, rather than the traditional notion where connections are *established* and comfort is found in familiarity. For lifestyle travellers, it is important to feel at home through *making* connections, but not too 'at home' by residing in these completed connections.

In essence, paradoxical homes are presented in lifestyle travel, 'found' in the challenge of pushing oneself outside their 'comfort zone' and obtaining personal progression. It is a comparative state in this regard where 'home' is the most pronounced in chaotic or challenging situations, reminding an individual of an internal home which allows them to feel 'grounded' at any time. 'Home' can be achieved by immersing in disorder to provide a comparative internal sense of order; a recalibration of the self in relation to an experience: "*everything's so crazy, I'm not that crazy" (Henry).* Self-definition is obtained in relation to that which they are not (Richards et al 2004). Such paradoxical notions of being at 'home' whilst 'away' unravels rooted 'home as a friend' (Ahmed 1999: 340) conceptions, emphasising how home can also be 'a stranger' (Ibid. 340). In this manner, the thesis shows how dichotomous terms of 'home' and 'away' are able to operate in conjunction; one can feel 'at home' within difference, but they can also feel 'away' or an outsider at home.

v. Unplaceable homes

Contemporary notions of place further need to account for the sometimes unplaceable nature of home such as those experienced within the natural environment or within spiritual fulfilment. Home needs to be conceived more as a provisional and fluid 'state' or phase, rather than a definable place (Harvey 1996a; Massey 1993; Murdoch 2006). Whilst we appreciate how places can never be seen in isolation but are tied into constellations which transcend beyond its parameters, the idea of such indescribable homes further complicates this arrangement since questions just what *is* being tied into constellations and how we may articulate this meaningfully. Whilst we have discussed homes *in* difference, *in* challenge, *in* relationships with others and *in* chaos,

such transient homes are still placeable or situated (D'Mello et al 2007); we can reflect and relate them explicitly to the place that they were forged. However, home within nature or as a spiritual state present much more expansive and overarching entities since there are *places locatable within* these states (i.e. Boudhanath Stupa or a certain beach), making the task of location problematic. Whilst these are felt at certain times and in certain places, there is no fundamental or consistent sense of being 'at home'; it becomes almost a redundant term, although significant in terms of describing meaningful encounters, again becoming paradoxical. In essence, these ideas illuminate that home is an ambiguous and malleable term which transcends static and mapped conceptions because it is determined by subjective feeling. Rather than home being a container for life, these 'states' embody the idea of place as fluid and flowing which sometimes transcends 'worldly' comprehension or explanation. In other words, home is never achievable but on-going (represented by Bryan's infinite quest for enlightenment), it is a feeling rather than a thing, and manifests in line with one's own internal voyage. Fundamentally home comes from within and can be thought of as one's personal biography in this way (Ahmed 1999), changing as the self requires it to. In this manner, lifestyle travellers are always at home 'on the road'; they are 'dwelling in travel' (Clifford 1991) because home is wherever they make it.

7.3 Implications: an (im)mobile language

From examining paradoxical homes, homes that are located in relationships and homes that are indescribable emphasises how home is fundamentally *internal* rather than one solid and eternal place. This can help inform how we may conceive of place in contemporary geography, reaffirming it as dynamic, on-going and made from entanglements of mobilities and moorings; locatable between *both* sedentary and nomadic ideas. Such a relational language however stops at discussion, evident through the difficulty that lifestyle travellers encounter when trying to adequately express such mediations between mobility and mooring, routes and roots, home and away. How we may mediate and encompass these oppositions into meshworks (i.e. home as hearth *and* home in nature) is problematic and suggests that a more encompassing language needs to be implemented, rather than simply discussed (see research aims 1.4). Appreciating how home needs to be as mobile as the lifestyle

traveller, but at the same time being able to 'ground' and provide them with stability, is currently enabled only using by the concepts of 'mobilities and moorings'. Whilst this is useful as an analytical comparison, is it possible for these to be articulated *together* rather than obtaining meaning through contrast is less translatable in practice:

"I don't know home is a really strange word… It's bit of a strange concept" (Laura)

In essence, contemporary geography needs to implement language which reflects fluidity between camps; to erode place and home as concrete and stable notions in recognition of a world in motion. At the same time it also needs to give people stability and consistency amongst such fluidity. Examining lifestyle travellers as highly mobile beings, we can see how whilst outdated concepts have been replaced, they remain simply 'concepts' with little gravity for application. Notions of home and belonging largely remain 'rooted' in tradition, showing how theoretical enquiry has not quite reached real life. Embracing an (im)mobile geography helps to get to the heart of such phenomenon, to get closer to the 'place' of lived experience and fundamentally be able to articulate meaningful description and explanation. A language that can bridge (and cross) the gap between theory and experience is required, an illuminated vocabulary which can enliven a two dimensional academic language. Such development introduces opportunities for future research, to explore further the notion of home as a 'journey'. Positing a vocabulary of verbs (of activity and movement) than of nouns (as stationary and static) lays the foundation for the development of such a dynamic language.

7.3.1 Implications for an (Im)mobile methodology

To arrive at such a language which 'talks' meaningfully to subjects must be spoken from a 'place' which encourages fluidity between such camps. Employing a mixed (im)mobile method more readily in the social sciences – as this thesis has done (1.4) – can provide steps towards this aim; to tune participants into the different ways that they take and make place through both their mobilities and moorings.

The research has demonstrated the benefits of employing such a range of methods, which go beyond simply harnessing methods-on-the-move. Capturing the multi-sited nature of mobilities respected the various ways that participants interact with their environment and how they could best communicate this experience. Such an appreciation led to different ways of understanding the interview encounter, to see place itself as a dynamic and mobile stimulus for discussion. It showed that whilst we are all 'wayfaring' to certain extents – carving our way to forge a 'place' in the world – we need to be mindful of the (im)mobile ways we can do this; that we can be a 'transported traveller' in this end. Understanding how some people prefer to spectate places and watch from afar demonstrates the different kinds of activity that go in on the place/person interaction, whereby a seemingly 'passive' interview encounter can actually engender some of the most thought provoking and insightful findings if generated in the 'right' place. Indeed Said (1986) notes how being an outsider can provide an elevated position of place since affords a 'better view of its contours' (Persram 1997: 206), emphasising the *activity* of comprehension rather than detachment from the encounter. At the same time corporeal mobile methods can be equally as valid and insightful, as long as participants themselves choose them.

The main message is that research needs to be sensitive to the places, mobilities and moorings that participants themselves consider significant. It needs to be sensitive to the various vantage points and positions that participants select in their life worlds. By being more participant-led when developing methodologies respects that participants themselves are capable and indeed sensitive to what "different places in the world contain or may signify" (Urry 2000: 125). It is not for us as researchers to tell or impose on them what we see fit. Embarking on a more participant focused language and methodology – as this research has aimed to do (1.4) – will advance to embracing and effectively articulating the complementary relationship between mobilities and moorings.

7.3.2 Language of metaphors: Lily-pads?

In this manner perhaps a suggestion for the articulation of such embroilment has been made by lifestyle travellers themselves. By using metaphors and a language which

appeals to those we study – of 'lily pads' and homes 'on the road' – cultural geographers may begin to make meaningful assertions about 'mobilities and moorings' and their 'place' in the socially constructed world. This thesis being driven by grounded research and empirics proposes a 'grounded' language in this manner, which can offer a solution by using terms which transcend academic boundaries to cater for *'shared levels'* (Cresswell 2010: 173). Capitalising on participant-led methods in this manner symbolises a move away from 'armchair theorizing" (Atkinson et al 2007: 21) and has enabled the development of a more meaningful language that speaks to interests beyond geography and the wider academic community. Cultural geography is an 'unfinished project' (Cresswell 2010: 169) in this respect. However this thesis has made positive contributions by providing a language that makes provision for the interests that matter the most; those we speak about.

7.3.3 How this translates to theory: liminality

The implementation an (im)mobile language and sensitivities throughout academia are the main conclusions of this thesis. 'Placing' this in relation to theory illuminates this requirement, with ideas about liminality being re-shaped by empirical findings. Outlining how conventional ideas are inapplicable to lifestyle travellers but can be relevant and insightful if these are re-conceptionalised and moulded around the practice, adds to the argument for a more fluid and participant-focused theoretical approach.

ii. Dwelling in 'liminal' space to 'dwelling in travel'

Drawing on conventional ideas about liminality raised questions about whether lifestyle travellers operate on the peripheries through their refusal to belong to a *placed* normality. It proposed that lifestyle travellers may be comparable to gypsies, New Age Travellers and other traveling folk by operating outside the confines of officialdom, 'out of place' in relation to dominant 'settled' society. Fundamentally we saw that this is not so. Such traditional concepts founded on the ordering of space cannot be applied to these inherently mobile beings because they dip in and out of normalities. Lifestyle travellers show that they can integrate in certain places and acquire a sense of being an 'insider' within them. In this manner, an inverse version of

liminality was presented where *travel* is considered 'normality' and gapping in to officialdom transitional. Identity shows a marked re-location when they are in place; personal trajectories are stretched by the novelty of a new place and its corresponding trajectories. Of course we explored how lifestyle travellers hover between various roles in this place (perhaps as spectator, at other times participator), thus incurring different levels and intensities of self relocation.

Feeling 'away' whilst at home (as point of origin) further steers concepts towards an inverted liminality. As explored, whilst one may operate on the peripheries when back 'home', their normality is travelling. In this manner, travel no longer serves as the transition, as seen in gap years or trips which include reintegration back into a home society. Instead periods of *not travelling* (moorings) may command pronounced identity change for participants. They may induce identity recalibration when lifestyle travellers are back home through pronouncedly locating themselves against what they are not (Richards et al 2004). This is not to say that no change occurs when in transit, merely that the most heightened testing of selves seemed to occur during place immersion, or rather when participants were most aware of self relocation or could best convey this change.

Indeed we must exercise caution when approaching liminality in this way as it proposes an inverse way of 'taming' space, through separating episodes of travel from episodes of being in place, which is not our intention. Instead the 'space' of lifestyle travel should be seen as fluid rather than compartmentalised, with change and progression evident at *all* stages rather than at discrete times or places. Liminality (inverse or otherwise) in the sense of organising space – as gaps within established categories (Hetherington 1998) – is a redundant term.

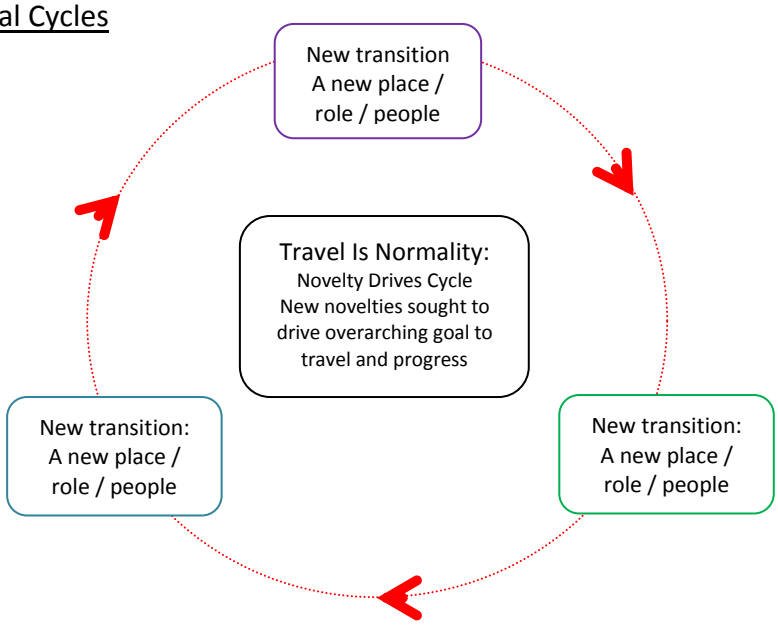
However, liminality as a concept can retain significance if it is seen as *temporal.* It can still be relevant if used to show that periods within place are temporary, as well as periods of corporeal and internal movement. For development to keep occurring, lifestyle travellers need to immerse in place, but they also need to 'move on' when this

has expired. In this sense, every space could be seen as liminal and affording transition, discrediting the spatial element of the term.

Furthermore, liminality must be transient and applicable to various *states* if applied to lifestyle travel since there are always new kinds of normalities to be tested within the normality of travel. Sometimes a liminal stage may be gapping back into a known 'normality' (i.e. known places or roles). At other times it is new and different (in unfamiliar places or roles). Indeed looking at the idea of 'home' embodies the need for a transient approach since one can be at 'home' with similar people but also at home in difference. Transitions are always occurring, one is always 'on the road' to somewhere, may this be literally between places or by carving routes through places and testing new identities. Consequentially, liminality as *one* type of transition – following van Gennep (1960) – which demands reintegration is redundant since identity change through the acquisition of new roles and places is on-going in lifestyle travel. Liminality it is not confined to a specific space (during travel or in place / mobility or mooring) but it does represent different types of transition. In effect, liminality can only remain a useful concept if it is conceived as transient and fluid.

In this manner, we can envisage liminal cycles (see Figure 7.1) as a way to 'map' lifestyle travel. Lifestyle travellers here 'gap' into different kinds of normalities or phases which incur different directions, paces and types of change. These occur within the overarching cycle of 'change' that is travel, which is driven by these liminal transitions.

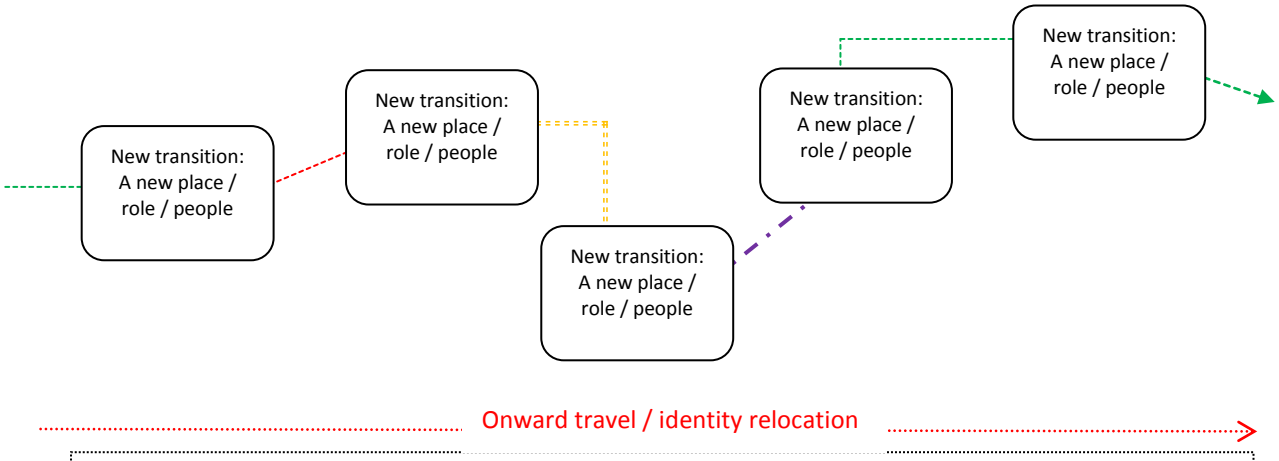
Figure 7.1 Liminal Cycles



Novelty drives this cycle of transition: If liminality is transition, lifestyle travellers are residing in liminal space and it is no longer liminal in the sense of being a gap. It is the overarching travel experience that is liminal as different types of liminal transitions are continually happening. On vacating one new normality, place or role a different one is sought.

Whilst providing one way to comprehend this continual cycle of change, this approach to liminality does infer staticity rather than progression. In this manner it is better to conceive of liminal trajectories (see Figure 7.2) which symbolise moving forward than returning to a start. This further 'fits' with the trajectories of place (see Figure 6.1 and 6.2) and people (identity change) the thesis has discussed, to emphasise lifestyle travel as a continual pursuit of development and progression than of cycles.

Figure 7.2 Liminal trajectories



Novelty drives transition onwards. New direction / pace / type of change at each successive transition, illustrated by irregular path and constitution of trail (colour / style). Not cycles but a trajectory of progression moving forwards. Liminal stages of progression which are on-going; no start, no end.

Such workings emphasise how liminality – as one example of an outdated vocabulary – requires updating if it is to be meaningful in contemporary times. An (im)mobile language which embraces such complexities is needed in this way, rather conformance to rooted terms to embrace freedom and lightness in theory, if it is to be relevant and expressive of modern lives.

7.4 Final thoughts: Implications for geographic research

Examining how liminality is redundant as a tool for organising space raises questions as to what this means for geography. Supporting an (im)mobile language which deconstructs rooted academic terminology through empirical means suggests that a more dynamic pro-active geography is required (as per the aims of this research). Findings from this research suggest that geography needs to prioritise the idea that space, place, people, relationships and identity are perpetually in a state of continuation, reconfiguration and redevelopment. As a result, it proposes that geographies of 'becoming' should be readily applied, rather than discussed in the discipline, focusing on the dynamic and on-going creations mediated between mobilities and moorings.

7.4.1 Implications for future research

In this manner future research could build from these lessons to consider people and place trajectories. The correlation between these trajectories proposed in this research leads the way for unpacking such internal processes further; how they align, how they speed up, how they slow down, how they separate. In essence exploring the *nature* of becoming is integral and when such 'versions' of *becoming* (i.e. participant, contributor, member) expire over time. This is required not only for explicitly mobile beings (such as the lifestyle traveller), but for those who are 'moored' in place, to examine how they are mobile, how they are becoming and what this means for their ideas about place, community and selfhood. In essence, it holds ramifications for the wider geography community.

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

1. Can you tell me about yourself and you background
2. Why do you consider yourself a lifestyle traveller?
3. When did you start travelling and why? First travel experience, why did you go? (Escape? Searching for something?)
4. How long did you originally intend to be away for?
5. What made you continue travelling?
6. When did it become a lifestyle? Was this a conscious decision?
7. How do you sustain and structure your travels? What is the general pattern? (i.e. return home frequently to work / relocate to where employment?)
8. Does it frustrate you having to 'stop' in place as opposed to travelling?
9. What sort of places are you drawn to and why?
10. How long as a rule do you spend in places? Is this planned or as and when you feel? Does it ever frustrate you having to stop in place (i.e. for work)?
11. Do you like to stay in place, or prefer a more rapid travel?
12. Are there any places that you feel attached to?
13. The cosmopolitan is defined as someone who embraces other cultures but fundamentally always has an exit strategy in mind. Does this resonate with you? Do you ever feel part of other places/cultures – or only ever an outsider?
14. What do you think of as home? Do you view it differently since travelling – greater appreciation / detachment?
15. Do you stay in regular contact with home whilst travelling? Why and How often? Is this important to retain this link or prefer feelings of distance?
16. Do you retain notions of distance and a sense of being away from home?
17. Do you have more than one home place since travelling (or think that's possible)? Are you collecting homes in your travels or a place to belong?
18. Have you rejected belonging to one place?
19. Is it possible to feel at home anywhere in the world?
20. Do you miss routines or a sense of normality whilst travelling? Is it important to recreate some kind of structure, or maybe dip in and out of normality?
21. Have you changed from travelling? Did you 'find yourself'?
22. How do you construct an identity that is not based on place – e.g. one of the first things people ever ask is 'where do you come from'.
23. What kinds of people are you drawn to when you travel?
24. Have your travels been influenced or changed by others?
25. Do you have any plans to settle? Will there be an end point to your travels?

Appendix 2: Immediate Follow up example

Immediate follow ups focused on topics open to interpretation. These were generally shorter than longitudinal follow ups, although were more detailed as asked for clarity. All interviews were different and encouraged contrasting responses, with some happy to spend longer than others reflecting on their answers / providing regular updates.

1. You said your travels are more structured than when you look for work. Is this because it is more important for you to succeed in your travels than prioritising work?
2. You said you didn't particularly like working in Oman? Why was that?
3. You said that no-one at home wants to hear your travel stories. How do you cope with not being able to share experiences?
4. You said when you first started travelling you felt sentimental towards S.Africa, but over time you've cut it off (dangerous / didn't want to feel homesick). Conscious or disintegrate naturally over time?
5. You said you could '*never be an insider, even if you've lived somewhere for 50 years'* Is this specifically about you / or about everyone?
6. When you were based in Frankfurt– did it become 'home' in amongst these travels? How was Frankfurt seen in relation to the other places you travelled?
7. We talked about stopping in place to appreciate it – stop to 'smell the roses'. What do you get from this that a faster traveller would not?
8. We discussed about the repetitive conversations you have with other travellers. You mentioned that you ask bizarre questions / say you're from random places. In this way, do you think you're trying to reinvent who you are?
9. You said how you want to retain links to both worlds (normal society and travel) so you can dip in and out of each. Is this going to be more important in the future (i.e. more periods in western culture)? What skills will you need to integrate there? – more traveller skills or western/normal skills? (or somewhere in the middle?!)
10. After being in Canada you think you'll maybe 'civilise yourself' more so dipping in and out will be more fluid? What do you associate with civilising yourself? Becoming more attune to normality? How will this differ to traveller Nicola?
11. We talked about ideas of having a concrete sense of who you are to withstand all the changes within travel. What is this concrete sense of self / who is consistent Nicola? Based around Ian? Is this (travel) Nicola different to (in place / student) Nicola?
13. You mentioned that you felt most 'at home' with your backpack and your tent… at what point do you kind of feel most comfortable / content / happiest within your travels? 18. You said you enjoy the sense of anonymity. Do you think this is related to not wanting to belong to any one place – maintain your status as visitor or outsider?

Appendix 3: Longitudinal Follow up sample

Longitudinal email follow ups comprised of around 12 questions - although depended on what needed following up, - and sequenced in accordance to when it was discussed in the interview. Questions were open and often split between several parts to encourage a longer answer than a simple 'yes' or 'no', and sometimes used the researcher's experiences to help facilitate an answer.

1. So if you could update me on what's happened the last 12 months since we spoke - how Canada has gone? Still fighting the urge to bolt out the door?!
2. Are you 'fitting in' with the locals? Found friends, sense of belonging? Do you find it hard not having people to talk travel with? Last time you said: "**I'd always been a very friendly and gregarious person… now I don't find that I can communicate with people as easily"** have you adapted to it now?
3. Have you done much travelling within Canada?
4. Are you any more accustomed to the idea of staying in Canada / anywhere? Or itching to travel again - Is travel still your priority? How long left? Studies going well?
6. Is the idea still to get work which pays better therefore you can travel for longer?
7. Is Ian enjoying being on home turf, or is he over it now? Has your relationship changed from being in place for a prolonged period?
8. Are you still living in the woods or moved again? You said "**it is tough to stay in one place but it's not a skill I'd like to lose so I'm quite happy to get friends that are permanent"** how are you getting on with that?! enjoying a sense of permanence?
9. Last time you said "**Traveller Nicola has no place here, my skills and experiences can't be brought to bear and I find it far more difficult to adapt to my own society than to others"** do you still feel this way, kind of constrained living in 'normality'? Have you any kind of coping strategies to deal with being in place? / have trips to look forward to?
10. Is 3 months to a year still your ideal duration of time to be in a place? Would this be shorter if you had unlimited funds and could travel whenever you wanted? Or is it important for you to immerse and rest in place for a significant time?
11. When we last spoke you said you'd never had a problem adjusting when you got somewhere new as you knew it'd be only for a year, whereas this time **" I did struggle in the beginning to get my head around not so much the new role but the permanence of everything I'd get upset every time Ian would buy something for the house"** Are you more accustomed to this now? Does it still feel permanent, or light at end of tunnel?
14. What's the plan for the future? Destinations / short trips / living elsewhere? Are you still of the mind set that you can't see yourself living in the same place forever? Is the travel list still growing in terms of places to visit?

Appendix 4 Couch Surfing group message board: example

Hey guys,
I'm coming to Nepal next Friday to do some fieldwork for my thesis on lifestyle travel and looking to recruit participants for interviewing.

Most people ask what my definition of lifestyle travel is, but there seem to be many different types and views on this, so I don't like to be too prescriptive.

To give you an idea, I'm basically looking for people who travel as a way of life, and return to this repeatedly. So doesn't matter if you're not 'travelling' right now – I've interviewed lots of people who live / work in place (teachers / writers) as well as those who return home to fund their travels frequently. In essence, it's more if travel defines, gives meaning or structures your life.

A dimension of my research is to conduct a mobile methodology, which basically consists of me tagging along with your movements for an hour or two – sight-seeing, walking, whatever – and having a chat about travels. So if you're interested, and don't mind a tag-along, I would love to hear from you.

Many thanks
Kathryn

Appendix 5 Extended Evaluation

Chapter 3 intended to provide a comprehensive and concise evaluation of the methods for data collection. As always, further evaluation could have been made and is subsequently outlined here.

Insider Research

Insider research is defended by benefits of obtaining personal insights, developing common ground with participants and 'marrying' this position with academic thought to present participants with an interesting angle to explore their lifestyle from.

Defence is further made through questioning whether anyone can ever be an 'absolute insider (or outsider) with the self being a complex mixture of influences not limited to one practice or place. Lifestyle travellers themselves may not even be deemed complete 'insiders' as occupy 'traits' outside the remit of lifestyle travel. This is further complicated since there is no recognisable or common understanding as to what and whom lifestyle travel constitutes.

The lack of any discernible 'home' or enclave where lifestyle travellers congregate also critiques the 'insider' position, since entering into a designated 'inside space' does not apply. Instead participants dip in and out of communities suggesting an adaptable and malleable identity than a clear 'us' and 'them' mentality. Essentially we question whether there is ever a truly 'inside' stance, with individuals showing to occupy multiple positions at any one time. At best, insider research could be conceived of as sharing common ground, a common goal, common activities and behaviour rather than a common and exclusive identity.

The same line of argument extends to the researcher, especially in light of their temporal engagement with lifestyle travel. In this way perhaps the researcher occupied a 'peripheral membership role' (Adler et al 1987) rather than inside position – a kind space in between (Corbin Dwyer 2009) or third space (Aoki 1996) – connecting with those that practiced lifestyle travel. In essence, the notion of 'insider/outsider' is inadequate, with an abandonment of such dichotomies called for to see researchers as "both insider *and* outsider" (Corbin Dwyer 2009: 54 *my own emphasis;* see also Mullings 1999). In essence, everyone is an 'insider/outsider' to a degree because of 'multiplex of identity', and also because we can only ever have limited inside perspective; we can never be privy to all sectors of a community. An 'insider' will only access certain parts of a phenomenon from a particular vantage point - that is white, western and female in this research – thereby remaining an outsider to other 'hidden' avenues. Instead it is more appropriate to conceive of 'situated knowledges' (Narayan 1993) that is "relational, relative and positional and depends on one's location within the social structure of a given community" (Pemunta 2009: 1). This rebuffs Denzin's critique of objectivity since we can never be impartial within the research encounter but are imbedded within one's social characteristics and personal biography. This positionality influences the way research is conducted, how participants view the researcher, and how they analyse what is happening in the field (Fetcher 2003: 1) and it is important to recognise than run from this. Postmodern sentiment is expressed in this way, acknowledging that we must understand "the researcher's context as part of narrative interpretation" (Corbin Dwyer et al 2009: 55).

For Narayan, this unique positionality is of interest, and research should celebrate the ways we are "…situated in relation to the people we study" (1993: 678) than to repress it and claim objectivity (see also Hays et al 2012; Patton 2002). It appreciates that researchers belong "…simultaneously to the world of engaged scholarship and the world of everyday life" (1993: 672) humanising and being realistic about the research encounter, rather than demanding that we divorce our *selves* from the experience. In a similar manner, whilst we cannot separate

from our research, we can neither draw "…boundaries between those doing research and those being researched' (Corbin Dwyer 2009: 59) echoing feminist sentiment. This recognises how friendship and rapport is often made with participants, with some feminist scholars advocating interactivity in interviewing where "researchers are invited to bring their personal role into the research relationship by answering participants' questions, sharing knowledge and giving support when asked" (Ibid. 62). Such a participatory model advocates a self-disclosing format in this way which was undertaken in research, and stresses how it is impossible to segregate our identity in research just as it is in real life.

In this regard, subjectivity is viewed positively. Being too emotionally involved or having a personal stake in the field is a redundant critique - as long as there is transparency about this – since personalises the research. Such an approach seems intuitive to a study which focuses on people and their relationships with others, and emphasises that it is fruitless to attempt to be a passive collector of data when sharing at least affiliation with participants may in fact produce fruitful findings. As Rose reiterates, "There is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one's biases" (Rose 1985: 77). To summarise, the key ingredient is not of being 'insider' or 'outsider' but "…an ability to be open, authentic, honest, deeply interested in the experience of one's research participants, and committed to accurately and adequately representing their experience" (Corbin Dwyer 2009: 59).

Ethnography

Ethnography is defended against 'researcher effect' critiques by ensuring that the researcher's influence on "…the context becomes central to analysis" (Atkinson et al 2007: 17). In essence, the researcher's position should be "brought into parallel with that of the people studied, as actively making sense of the world…" (Ibid 17). So long as there is transparency about this; data is validated through alternative avenues and their interpretations are made explicit, then sound research practice will prevail. This further emphasises that "accounts made by researchers are constructions" (Atkinson et al 1994: 252) dispelling the assumption that ethnography seeks to deliver objective and 'universally valid' knowledge.

Further criticism is the hierarchical relationship between researcher and researched where the former makes decisions about what to study, how to study it and whose voice represented in written ethnography (Atkinson et al 1994). However, the interactive process between researcher and participants in formulating the focus of study, ensured equal footing than such a power imbalance.

Interviews

The benefits of interviewing were expressed by the participants themselves, with some viewing the encounter as a way to organise their thoughts and really think about what their lifestyle represented to them, as discussed previously. In this manner, interviewing was both a way for researcher and researched to learn about themselves and direct the course of subsequent research. Furthermore, as seen in Sørensen's study (2003), many participants asked about the research and current findings during or after the interview. In such instances, "preliminary findings or interpretations were shared" (Ibid.: 851) and often incited further discussion with participants relating it back to their experiences, which sometimes produced interesting findings.

Self-disclosing Format

Interactivity was promoted through the researcher bringing "…their personal role into the research relationship by answering participants' questions, sharing experience and giving support when asked" (Corbin-Dwyer 2009: 62). This was deployed by varying degrees

depending on each individual, and worked well to facilitate conversation, build rapport and counteract power inequalities between researcher and participant (Abell et al 2006). It is a way to encourage reflexivity in research by appreciating the interview as a site of negotiation, and the co-construction of meaning between researcher and participant (Holstein et al 1995).

This method could have made participants feel over-shadowed by the researcher yet did not occur since each interview was assessed in terms of how much content was divulged, supported by transcripts showing participants to do,minate interviews. Contributions were offered in relation to what participants were saying, and gauged by how difficult they found speaking. Researcher input thus was more re-active than pro-active, and 'personal revelation' utilised "as a springboard for interpretations" (Finlay 2002: 215) rather than a means to itself. Instead of self-appreciating 'benign introspection' (Woolgar, 1988: 22) efforts were made to link researcher experiences with participant experiences, and the social context.

Participants expressed enjoyment at being able to 'talk travel', rather than interviews being formalised and theoretical. By thoughts and ideas being aired by the researcher which were not restricted to theory and objectivity, participants were themselves able to think about things differently or reflect on their lives, and several remarked on the positivity of this:

"I never thought of it that way but you're right when I'm here I'm constantly thinking about my wine industry and stuff there, when I'm there I miss Brighton… sounding off to someone else is always interesting, like this is a first for me… its only recently that introspection has become mandatory…" (Kai)

In this manner, both researcher and researched benefited from the encounter, advocating the merits of a self-disclosing format. The researcher could explore their own understandings and reflections on the phenomenon – as a traveller / researcher - as well as to check if they were shared by the participants (Johnson 2001). Furthermore, participants had an outlay for their thoughts, with interviews serving as a medium to voice rarely expressed ideas. In manner, multiple truths surfaced through researcher and participant discussing their distinct experiences, demonstrating how it was advantageous for the researcher to harness their travel experience to attain deeper findings through this connection.

Researcher and participant could 'draw upon common-sense knowledge to create intelligible sense of the questions and discussions about them" (Johnson 2001: 108). By having this common ground, researcher and researched could probe beyond superficialities to get to the heart of lifestyle travel together and to explore the "contextual boundaries and uncover what is usually hidden from view" (Ibid. 106). This further served as a reminder of researcher involvement as 'a component of the evidence' (Flick et al 2004: 9).

This demonstrates the utility of self-disclosure for reflexivity throughout the research process. By appreciating that the researcher can never detach from their preconceived ideas and beliefs, explicitly harnessing them ensures one is conscious of their contribution in generating findings. It ensured that the researcher remained aware of their impact in terms of how it was examined, how it was conducted and how it was interpreted, encouraging continual self-examination throughout the process. In essence, self-disclosure not only helped deliver data, but emphasised the researchers' central position to this generation, they could trace their own development through the process and map how conclusions have been reached.

Paired Interviewing

Paired interviewing was beneficial as saved time by interviewing two people at once, and also later when transcribing. This could be regarded as a more naturalistic method than individual interviewing since directs the schedule away from a question answer format by having an additional participant. Each interview proceeded differently with varying levels of researcher involvement required, although most interviews were relaxed and less probing was required as dialogue between participants often occurred. This was more pertinent between couples where they could piece their experience together.

Non-couple interviews took a different dynamic since participants did not have a shared background. Both progressed into different interviews however, with one being more structured and 'polite', in contrast to the other interview which developed into a debate. In the former, the researcher had to encourage dialogue more so between participants, by comparison, little interjection was needed during the latter and made for an interesting encounter.

These situations demonstrate how paired interviewing can sometimes be more difficult to negotiate than individual interviews, since the researcher becomes mediator as well as facilitator. In this regard, it could have been problematic for the researcher to 'rein in' conversation between participants or encourage dialogue. Overall, the method worked well as generally made for a relaxed situation which perhaps replicates 'real' encounters more so than individual interviewing. Participants were more at ease and quickly forgot the interview was being recorded. Its limitation was not yielding quite the level of depth seen in individual interviews, yet in tandem offer alternative lenses for participants to communicate their stories.

Implications of recording interviews

The problem of interviewing on the move was ensuring the recording was not affected. Whilst this was not an issue on coaches or trains, interviewing whilst trekking and hiking was a little tricky with some background interference. Stops were made however to ensure no data was missed, and to pay heed to how mobility cannot be seen in isolation of the 'immobilities' that pave its way. This further made the experience more natural and akin to travel practices.

Computer mediated communication

CMC depends on a good internet connection. A handful of interviews had to be abandoned and recommenced due to interference. One interview had to switch to IM completely due to a poor connection, thus it was beneficial that alternative ways to communicate were available and used.

Instant Messaging

IM retained some naturalism with participants deviating from the interview schedule as well as including colloquialism and 'chat', akin to traditional interviewing. IM was generally more reliable than Skype in that connectivity wasn't so subject to interference, and was used as a back-up when these failed. There was also the potential for misunderstanding during IM, although this is also a danger in spoken exchanges, thus the researcher had to ensure clarity in all interviews.

Email Follow ups

Where follow ups were obtained, enjoyment was generally expressed by participants and were accommodating in providing further assistance.

"Here are the answers, I tried to put as much information as possible, but feel free to ask if you want me to go in depth in something. I enjoyed doing this :)" (Reggie)

Delayed responses, and the inability to direct conversation / probe answers instantly means data may be disjointed with misunderstanding sometimes occurring (Sanders 2005). In this way, email sometimes had to be followed up several times to extract relevant material, which was time consuming. However, such difficulties were not so problematic since email was designed as a follow up to synchronised methods, therefore primarily served to fill the shortfalls of previous interviews.

Whereas email can be argued as more targeted than interviews with answers generally being more concise; similarly this can be problematic if participants provide short answers lacking in substance. This was seen with one participant who showed ambivalence and lack of interest towards notions of home, motivations for travel and 'normality' since he was born into a nomadic lifestyle. Rather than try to talk around these issues and be reflexive, email allowed the participant to ignore issues and not expand to discuss personal experiences. In this manner, face to face may have encouraged narrative and prompted deviation from 'prescribed' topics', although was problematic given the participant's continual mobility, thus email at least gave them a voice. This again emphasises how different methods will suit different people and warrants flexibility in the research process.

Appendix 6: Summary of strengths / weaknesses of Researcher Positionality

<table>
<tr><th></th><th colspan="2">Insider</th><th>Ethnography</th><th>Interview</th></tr>
<tr><td>Positionality</td><td colspan="2">Immersion</td><td>Structured / targeted immersion</td><td>Less involved, more research focused</td></tr>
<tr><td>Data collection</td><td colspan="3">Informal conversations. Observation</td><td>Predetermined Questions</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Complimentary strengths / non-overlapping weaknesses</td><td colspan="3">Naturalism, obtain wider view outside of interview</td><td>More ‘sterile’ encounter BUT appeased by mobile methods</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Sometimes felt covert, participants may feel ‘used’ / surprised by revelation that being studied</td><td>Completely overt: research outlined from the start. Participants had comprehensive understanding of what research entailed.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Participants unaware being studied, more relaxed, natural, open and honest? View the researcher as ‘one of us’</td><td>Researcher occupies an ‘authorative position’. Pressure on participants to say ‘right thing’ / less open. Awareness of the “social divisions that structure the interaction” (Ganga et al 2006: 2) BUT participants respond differently and generally seemed comfortable in this situation: “it's nice to talk to someone who isn't trying to out-do me with travel stories” (Ben). Objectivity as interviewer appeased feelings of one-upmanship. Provides a ‘legitimate’ outlay or excuse for their voice, which may not otherwise be heard (e.g. Bell 1996; Russell 1996).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Going native prevents data from being of wider theoretical interest (Mills et al 2011)</td><td>Skewed toward researcher interest? Looking for what is of interest to them?</td><td></td><td>Interviewing collaborative process where researcher and narrator “actively construct a story and its meaning” (Miller et al 1995: vii) together. Being ‘outside’ the culture to ask ‘critical questions’.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Summary</td><td colspan="4">No one vantage point presents a superior view to that of the others. Being attune to evolving roles encourages reflexivity and transparency about the process, and to learn about oneself. Triangulating different perspectives, presents a holistic view of lifestyle travel, widening the scope past a one dimensional ‘tunnel vision’</td></tr>
</table>

Appendix 7: Nvivo Analysis

Nvivo was used to organise empirical interview data into thematic topics. This particular package was utilised for research since this was the software available to the researcher, and training was received from their university department. Nvivo was also convenient to use since allowed word documents to be imported directly and 'code these easily on screen' (Welsh 2002: 3).

Additional theoretical topics, such as 'cosmopolitanism', were added later in the process after engaging with literature. In essence, because such terms were not overtly used by participants, related words such as escape, exit, leave, 'move on', could represent and be included within this 'node', but demanded that the researcher contextualise such words to decide whether this related to cosmopolitanism before coding it as such. In this way, analysis often occurred whilst the researcher was transcribing interviews and could actively make the link to broader topics. In essence, engaging with empirical data as it was generated – by taking notes after interviews – and when typed up (as memos) and linking these to codes (King 2004) was an essential part of the analysis process besides Nvivo – as a 'black and white' method which may not pick up inferred meaning if exact 'buzz words' were not mentioned. In essence, "whilst Nvivo adds rigour to the analysis process, 'manual scrutiny techniques' are required so that the data is 'thoroughly interrogated'" (Welsh 2002: 7).

Whilst there was the facility to examine relationships between codes, Nvivo was predominately used to aid the organisation and examination of data (King 2004). As a result, it was inevitable that judgements about the links between themes, significance of quotes or relevance to theory would of course be made by the researcher. This emphasises the argument above that whilst Nvivo was a useful tool, it could not be solely used for analysis, reiterating the importance of critiquing the 'interrogative postion' of the researcher (3.2.1) since they are an important 'component' of the evidence. In essence, it was never intended for Nvivo to map commonality or to quantify themes since "frequency of codes per se can never tell us anything meaningful about textual data" (King 2004: 266) and would drift research towards a 'quasi-quantitative' (Ibid. 266) rather than qualitative approach. Instead Nvivo was used as a way to sort large amounts of text from which meaning and personal interpretation could be derived, of which was more important to evaluate than this organisation tool. The 'trick' of course was to mediate between being 'open to data' with the need to impose shape and structure but define this approach in light of the research topic and

epistemological position (King 2004: 269). In this manner, given the acknowledgement that the researcher was a central player to both the production and delivery of knowledge, as well as having occupied an 'inside' position, a more fluid and organic approach to analysis was taken.

Many of the 29 codes established fell within other or between themes at times (e.g. relationships as mobile; as making a place or defining identity) emphasising a fluid approach. Rather than simple searches being used for each discrete word, the researcher had to actively match text to 'codes' when these were not expressly used (e.g. cosmopolitanism). In essence, rather than Nvivo rigidly structure or categorise analysis, it helped the researcher to organise ideas which meaningful theory could be developed from. Exercising discretion was necessary in application to Nvivo.

Thematic codes in Nvivo

Theme	**Codes**
Defining lifestyle travel	'Authenticity'; 'Tourist'; 'Traveller'; 'Motivations'
Mobility	'Communication'; 'Cosmopolitanism'; 'Couch Surfing'; 'Employment'; 'Facebook'; 'Hitch hiking'; 'Meaningful than passive relocation'; 'Middle ground immersion'; 'Pace'; 'Pre internet travel'; 'Volunteering'.
Place	'Home'; 'People'; 'Place conquering'; 'Places changing'; 'Rate of place immersion'; 'Returning home'; 'Temporal communities'; 'Temporal relations'; 'Temporal roots'.
Identity	'Blurring boundaries: holiday work life'; 'Finding self'; 'Creating self'; 'Reinvention'; 'Relationships'

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