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“From naught to nowhere”: spatial, temporal and social dimensions of a ‘destination-in-motion’

Abstract

• Purpose

The purpose of our paper is to raise awareness of the mobilities paradigm by exploring the role of tourist mobilities in destination marketing. This is important as studies which explore the impact of modes of transport on the development of destinations, or compare the transportation experience with the destination experience are lacking.

• Design/methodology/approach

We use the context of the Jacobite steam train which runs in the Scottish Highlands. We draw on multiple qualitative methods including participant observation, interviews and netnography.

• Findings

We explore the spatial, temporal and social mobilities associated with the journey and the destination and reveal how a rail journey becomes a ‘destination-in-motion’ and, in turn, transforms what might otherwise be a neglected destination.

• Practical implications

We demonstrate how modes of transport which offer rich embodied experiences to visitors can present an important differentiation strategy and become core to a destination’s product and service portfolio.

• Originality/value

By approaching destination marketing from a mobilities perspective, our paper recognises the significance of human and object mobility to tourist experiences and offers a new perspective to existing research which biases a geographically-bounded understanding of destinations.

Keywords

Destination marketing; Mobilities; Journey; Netnography; Railway

“From naught to nowhere”: marketing mobilities and the ‘destination-in-motion’

Given the fact that basically you're going from naught to nowhere (or from Fort William to Mallaig as it is), possibly under the pouring rain, the trip is astonishingly brilliant! It's the sounds, the steam, the constantly changing landscape, the people waving at the train as it rattles by, driving along the tracks, taking photos - you become part of an adventure. You become the attraction. It's wonderful. Mallaig is, well, there (TripAdvisor, Jacobite Steam Train).

Destination marketing strategies usually focus on geographically defined areas such as countries, regions, or cities and marketing of these destinations is based on the careful management of a number of interrelated elements (Balakrishnan, 2009, Riege and Perry, 2000). These include both tangible and intangible components alongside destination attributes such as services, retail, heritage and attractions. However, studies which explore the impact of modes of transport on the destination development, or compare the transportation experience with the destination experience are lacking (Prideaux, 2000, Su and Wall, 2009). In introducing the mobilities paradigm, Sheller and Urry (2006) critique the prevailing perspective that travel is often viewed as a “black box” that merely facilitates other seemingly more important aspects of life but not worthy of investigation in its own right. By approaching destination marketing from a mobilities perspective, our paper recognises the significance of human and object mobility to tourist experiences and offers a new perspective to existing research which biases a geographically-bound understanding of destinations.

Our epigraph is from a TripAdvisor review of a steam train journey in the West Highlands of Scotland - the context for our research. It reveals that the experience of the journey can eclipse the experience of the destination and become the principle attraction for tourists. It is therefore an ideal context to respond to calls for research on the mobile experiences of passengers alongside the role of the mode of transport in creating mobile experiences (Hannam et al., 2014, Cutler et al., 2014). Sheller and Urry (2006, p. 208) highlight the

1
2
3 embodied nature of travel and suggest that modes of travel are ‘forms of material and
4 sociable dwelling-in-motion, places of and for various activities.’ Our research extends this
5 idea and we suggest that the time-space of the rail journey becomes a material and sociable
6 ‘destination-in-motion’. Mobilities can manifest in various ways and, in recognition of the
7 interrelationship between spatial, temporal and sociable features (Cresswell, 2006; Giddens,
8 1979), we address the following research questions: how are spatial, temporal and social
9 mobilities experienced on the journey? How are spatial, temporal and social mobilities
10 experienced at the destination? In answering these questions, we reveal how the mobilities
11 which coalesce around this tourist attraction create a unique form of destination-in-motion
12 which, in turn, transforms what would be an otherwise neglected destination.
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28 Our paper commences by discussing the theoretical foundations of the mobilities paradigm
29 and its dimensions and relevance to destination marketing. After outlining our methodology,
30 our findings centre around the complex relationship between the journey and destination and
31 how spatial, temporal and sociable mobilities are experienced in both. We conclude with
32 theoretical and managerial implications.
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43 *Theoretical Foundations*

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46 The mobilities paradigm critiques a sedentarist approach to understanding contemporary
47 society (Sheller and Urry, 2006). It emerges from a range of disciplinary backgrounds, most
48 notably tourism, sociology and human geography. In this section, we discuss the defining
49 features of the paradigm and its potential to inform destination marketing strategies.
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3 Appadurai (1990) argues that the global cultural economy is characterised by various ‘flows’
4
5 that indicate the movement of people, media images, technologies, capital and ideas around
6
7 the world. The mobilities paradigm draws attention to these movements and, in particular,
8
9 highlights travel as core to understanding global flows. Urry (2007) identifies five
10
11 interdependent principles relevant to the mobilities paradigm which we summarise below.
12
13 The examples given are by no means a comprehensive review but selected to demonstrate the
14
15 relevance of the mobilities paradigm to marketing and consumer research even if not all are
16
17 theoretically positioned in this way.
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- 20
21 • **The corporeal travel of people:** This principle refers to the movement of people ranging
22 from daily commuting to once-in-a-lifetime escape or migration. Related areas include:
23 globally mobile consumers (e.g. Figueiredo and Uncles, 2015); and consumer
24 acculturation (e.g. Cappellini and Yen, 2013).
25
- 26 • **The physical movement of objects:** This principle refers to the flow of objects between
27 producers, retailers and consumers and the gift and souvenir markets. Related areas
28 include: the mobilities of cargo (e.g. Birtchnell and Urry, 2015); mobility-things (e.g.
29 Hansson, 2015) and the movement of goods across borders (e.g. Dong and Tian, 2009).
30
- 31 • **Imaginative travel:** This principle stems from images depicted in print and visual media.
32 Related areas include: the global advertising industry (e.g. Ingram et al., 2013) and blogs
33 (e.g. Tussyadiah and Fesenmaier, 2008).
34
- 35 • **Virtual travel:** This principle refers to how the Internet transcends geographical and
36 social distance. Related areas include: consumer experiences in cyberspace (e.g. Shih,
37 1998).
38
- 39 • **Communicative travel:** This principle refers to the movement of messages between
40 people. Related areas include: social networking and online forums (e.g. Cova and Pace,
41 2006).
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45
46 Mobility is rarely acknowledged within the destination marketing literature which we suggest
47
48 is an important oversight, especially since we know that ‘mobility transforms places, [and]
49
50 inhabitants’ experiences’ (Demangeot et al. 2014, p.273). In their narrative analysis of
51
52 destination marketing literature, Pike and Page (2014, p.203) note that this field has ‘been
53
54 characterised by a fragmented applied research approach rather than theory building.’ This
55
56 results in the prioritisation of problem solving for destination marketing organisations at the
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1
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3 expense of conceptual development. With a focus mainly on geographically bound
4
5 destinations, this literature tends to position the destination from a static perspective. We
6
7 extend this predominant understanding of the destination by considering transport mobilities
8
9 and their relationship to the destination. Transport's role in destination marketing is often
10
11 secondary and research centres on its function in destination development and improving
12
13 access (Masson and Petiot, 2009, Khadaroo and Seetanah, 2007, Balakrishnan, 2009). For
14
15 example, Khadaroo and Seetanah (2008, p.831) suggest that in many tourism studies
16
17 transport is merely regarded 'as a link between tourist generating regions and tourist
18
19 destination regions.' Current understandings of destination marketing tend to position the
20
21 body as 'nothing more than a parcel in transit, a chess piece dropped on another square, it
22
23 does not move but is moved' (Solnet 2001, p. 28 cited in Löfgren, 2008). There is, therefore,
24
25 a need to better understand *why* and *how* tourists move (Haldrup, 2004, Spinney, 2011) and to
26
27 consider how this understanding can feed into destination marketing strategies. Attention
28
29 should also be placed on 'spaces in which to enact mobility' (Cresswell and Merriman, 2011,
30
31 p.7) such as railway lines and other forms of infrastructural support.
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39 Broadening the scope of destination marketing would align with some core principles of the
40
41 mobilities paradigm, particularly recognition that the relationship between mode of travel and
42
43 traveller is much more complex than simply moving between places (Sheller and Urry,
44
45 2006). Hansson (2015) notes the key role that forms of transportation play in the way that
46
47 mobility experiences are performed, with experiences on public transport perceived
48
49 differently when associated with laborious or pleasurable routes. Sheller (2004, p.223)
50
51 discusses the affective dimensions of car culture and argues that 'automotive emotions' are
52
53 central to understanding car culture. This perspective acknowledges that travel is experienced
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55 affectively with the consumer moved not only physically but also emotionally. Further,
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3 Schouten and McAlexander's (1995) ethnography of Harley-Davidson motorcycle owners
4
5 illustrates the pleasures of mobility and sense of freedom associated with motorcycles.
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8 Studies like this reveal that travel is an affective experience in its own right and not simply a
9
10 means of reaching a fixed destination. The pleasure of travel is partly derived from the
11
12 materiality of the mode of transport which impacts on the mobility experience in multiple
13
14 ways (Löfgren, 2008).
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19 An exploration of temporal movements is an important complement to spatially focused
20
21 theories of mobility (Sheller and Urry, 2006), for example, Dholakia, Reyes and Bonoff
22
23 (2015, 13) suggest '*pace* as an equal or greater concern than *place*.' These temporal
24
25 dimensions could relate to notions of future and past or cycles and rhythms of life
26
27 (Figueiredo and Uncles, 2015). Indeed, Ek et al. (2008) note that time-space dynamics are
28
29 central to understanding the tourist experience. From a consumer perspective, mobility can
30
31 encourage adaptation to existing, alongside the creation of new temporal frameworks
32
33 (Figueiredo and Uncles, 2015). This calls to mind Bergadaà's (2007, 392) suggestion that
34
35 'time is a social construct mirroring the link between individuals and the environment.' The
36
37 predominant interest on temporal mobilities associated with the journey focuses on the
38
39 attainment of faster journey times (Jain and Lyons, 2008). This narrow economic approach
40
41 reduces travel to unproductive time, failing to capture the multidimensional pleasures and
42
43 practices that can be associated with the journey. In contrast, the emergence of the slow
44
45 travel movement places equal, if not more, emphasis on the journey as the destination,
46
47 offering a contrast to the economic, monetary approach often central to tourism planning
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49 (Dickinson et al., 2011).
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3 Arguably, some the pleasures and practices of the journey are derived from the social nature
4 of the experience. The element of social interaction is important whether you are travelling
5 alone or with a group (Hansson, 2015). This aligns with Ek et al.'s (2008, p. 125) suggestion
6 that tourism is not only about experiencing places but also the 'emotional geographies of
7 sociability.' This perspective recognises that tourism inevitably involves interaction with
8 others, both family/friends and strangers. Bissell (2010, p.276) draws attention to a subtle
9 form of interaction by focusing on the affective communication between passengers within
10 railway carriages:
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22 These affects are infectious. In these events, passengers do not consciously choose to feel
23 in a particular way. The quietude of the working carriage, the joy erupting in the Friday
24 evening carriage, the anxiety flaring up in the delayed carriage move through passengers
25 semiconsciously, and in doing so, modify their capacity to affect and be affected. In each of
26 these cases, as affect is transmitted between bodies, the affective atmosphere of the carriage
27 is intensified as it ripples out over space.
28

29
30 In this example communication transcends the verbal and has a significant impact on the
31 railway journey and on the practices performed. This aligns with Joy and Sherry's (2003)
32 discussion of embodiment at the cognitive unconscious level in terms of how we primarily
33 access the world through our bodies.
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41 Brembeck, Cochoy and Moisander (2015, 6) highlight the need for research to 'shift from
42 isolated fixed consumers to webs of mutable moving networks and practices.' In exploring
43 'moving networks and practices,' research can uncover not only relationships between
44 people, but also interactions with various objects (Hui, 2012). In our context, the object we
45 are particularly concerned with is the mode of transport and its relationship to the destination.
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52 Much attention within the mobilities paradigm has focused on the role of new mobile and
53 social technologies in the travel experience (Hannam et al. 2014). Löfgren (1999) argues that
54 new technologies of movement create a new way of looking at their predecessors as new ones
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3 become routinized, and similarly in our research, we witness the cultural re-emergence of an
4
5 older mode of transport.
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8 ***Methodology***

9 ***The case***

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12 The context for our research is the Jacobite steam train which runs between Fort William (the
13
14 largest town in the West Highlands of Scotland) and Mallaig, a small village 42 miles to the
15
16 North West (population of 806 in the 2011 census). The village maintains a small fishing
17
18 fleet and a ferry port with services to various islands. The train runs daily from May to
19
20 October with two trips a day between June and September. Each train carries approximately
21
22 350 passengers who have 90 minutes at Mallaig before their return journey. In recent years
23
24 the train's fame has further grown as many spots along the route were used as locations in the
25
26 'Harry Potter' movie franchise and the Jacobite itself served as the 'Hogwart's Express' in
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28 the films.
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39 ***Research Approach***

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41 We follow a relational ontology and our analysis encompasses both human mobility and the
42
43 mobility of objects, images and information (Sheller, 2011). This perspective overcomes any
44
45 ontological distinctions between subjects and objects and people and places (Ek et al. 2008,
46
47 Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006). It recognises that feelings and experiences are not
48
49 produced solely by the consumer nor by the mode of transport 'but occur as a circulation of
50
51 affects between different persons, different vehicles and historically situated mobility cultures
52
53 and geographies of mobility' (Sheller, 2011, p. 5). We therefore follow Ek et al.'s advice
54
55 (2008, p. 136-137) and make an ontological shift 'from conceptualizing time, space and place
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3 as absolute (with relative aspects) to conceptualizing space and place as relational, produced
4
5 by human and material practices and performances.’ By recognizing the relational and
6
7 practised nature of place, we hope to uncover new insights to inform destination marketing
8
9 strategies which often consider destinations as fixed and distinct entities.
10
11

12 13 14 15 ***Data Collection***

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17
18 Mobilities research exists in the meaningful world of social space and social time (Figueiredo
19
20 and Uncles, 2015) and our data collection was commensurately qualitative in nature and
21
22 comprised extensive field work during the launch week of the Jacobite in May 2013 and a
23
24 netnographic analysis of Jacobite online reviews. Our field work involved three distinct
25
26 stages. These multiple stages were designed around the ‘chains, paths, threads, conjunctions,
27
28 or juxtapositions of locations’ (Marcus, 1995, p.105) to facilitate a holistic understanding of
29
30 the journey, destination and wider context.
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36 The first stage of data collection involved travelling on the train on its launch day where we
37
38 utilize a range of on-the-move methods (Sheller and Urry 2006). During our trip on the
39
40 Jacobite we captured our experiences via hand, written and audio researcher field notes
41
42 (Valtonen et al, 2010). This first-hand experience of the Jacobite was crucial to better
43
44 understand the views and experiences of participants and capture the multi-sensory nature of
45
46 the mobile experience, its tastes and smells, in addition to sights and sounds (Valtonen et al,
47
48 2010). Thus, we engaged with the ‘very stuff of tourism mobilities... paying attention to how
49
50 people, things and seemingly intangible entities such as ideas are on the move, as well as how
51
52 environments themselves make a difference’ (Hannam et al, 2014, p.182).
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3 Additionally, we conducted video interviews of passengers waiting for the train on the
4 platform at Fort William and then for the return journey at Mallaig. At Fort William these
5 short interviews focussed around motivations and expectations of the journey. At Mallaig we
6 focussed around experiences so far and impressions of Mallaig. In total we conducted
7 interviews with 45 passengers coming from 8 different countries (UK, USA, Brazil,
8 Germany, Sweden, Australia, South Africa and India). Some interviews were held
9 individually whilst others were group-based in line with respondent preferences.

10
11 The second stage of our fieldwork involved 'chasing the Jacobite up the line'. A popular
12 activity for both photographers but also people unable to get a ticket but who still wish to
13 share the experience. We therefore included a range of additional experiences in our data
14 collection including informal conversations with people along the route. The third stage of
15 fieldwork took place at the Jacobite's destination (Mallaig). We explored the small village
16 before, during and after the Jacobite's visit. As well as our own observations we interviewed
17 27 relevant stakeholders including railway employees, members of heritage rail societies, and
18 people who work and live in Mallaig (local retailers, restaurateurs and others working in the
19 tourism industry).

20
21 To gain a wider perspective of the thousands of tourists who travel on the Jacobite every year
22 we used netnography (Kozinets, 2010), based on reviews from TripAdvisor, the online travel
23 community. We analysed the most recent 500 reviews written in English which related to
24 travel on the Jacobite between June 2013 and July 2014. Although detailed demographic
25 information is not available with this particular methodology we were able to observe a wide
26 geographical dispersal of reviewers.

1
2
3 A team approach to data collection meant that over the course of the project, we regularly
4
5 met to discuss emergent themes and reflect on our role in the research process. Following the
6
7 completion of data collection, both researchers had a period of intense immersion in the data.
8
9 TripAdvisor comments were imported into NVivo10, coded and compared to interview
10
11 transcripts and field notes and codes were refined. In line with our theoretical focus, analysis
12
13 centred on spatial, temporal and social mobilities of both the journey and the destination. The
14
15 validity of our interpretation was reinforced through both the use of multiple methods and
16
17 also member checks with key informants who had the opportunity to comment on our
18
19 emergent themes (Creswell, 2009). In line with our relational ontology, we were mindful of
20
21 interconnections between our voices, the voices of our participants, and the broader context.
22
23 Consequently, knowledge construction stems from both participant perspectives and our own
24
25 interpretations and we therefore recognise the situated and partial nature of our account
26
27 (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). We present our findings in the following section and begin
28
29 with journey mobilities before moving onto destination mobilities. For each section we
30
31 discuss spatial, temporal and social mobilities in turn although we recognise that they are
32
33 intertwined.
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40 ***Findings***

41 42 43 ***Journey Mobilities***

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46 *We arrive at Fort William Station one hour before the 10.15 departure and there is already a*
47
48 *queue for the few remaining tickets. It's cold, it's windy, it's wet but people are still here. The*
49
50 *train arrives slowly into the station, clouds of steam heralding its arrival. There is a real*
51
52 *sense of anticipation amongst the waiting passengers who make a beeline for the engine with*
53
54 *cameras at the ready. People are posing beside the engine and carriages eager to get the*
55
56 *perfect shot. The driver and fireman welcome passengers onto the cab for a photo. As*
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3 *departure time draws near, groups of coach parties arrive. There are French, American,*
4
5 *Spanish, German and English accents all sharing in the excitement. The first class*
6
7 *passengers are seated at tables set for morning tea. Some have pre-booked champagne,*
8
9 *flowers and chocolates. However the vast majority sit in fairly bland carriages of 1950s*
10
11 *design with little adaptation for comfort. A whistle blows; the doors are closed with a slam*
12
13 *and we are moving. As the train pulls out, photographers remain on the platform to capture*
14
15 *the scene. Immediately you become aware of the sensory nature of the steam train, the noise*
16
17 *of the engine, the distinctive clackety clack of the wheels on the rails, the smell of the smoke*
18
19 *and the clouds of steam drifting past, entering any open window and misting them inside and*
20
21 *out. The atmosphere in the carriages is lively as passengers engage in conversation, visit the*
22
23 *buffet car and shop or seek out the best spot for photos. We pass through the outskirts of Fort*
24
25 *William and the first sea loch of the day appears. The landscape seems to be the main*
26
27 *attraction for many people with its contrasts of mountains, coastline, waterfalls, rivers and*
28
29 *general wildness. About 30 minutes into the journey the station guard announces the*
30
31 *approach of the Glenfinnan Viaduct, one of the most anticipated parts of the line. For many*
32
33 *passengers the scene is familiar due to its appearance in the Harry Potter movies and they*
34
35 *clamour to one side of the train eager not to miss the moment. After the viaduct the*
36
37 *spectacular scenery keeps unfolding for the next hour with rugged hillsides giving way to*
38
39 *dramatic coastal vistas of distant islands and the sparkling waters of the West Coast before*
40
41 *slowing into its final destination, the fishing village of Mallaig (Researchers account*
42
43 *following trip on the Jacobite, May 2013).*
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Spatiality of the Journey

In this section we consider spatiality in terms of the landscape that the Jacobite passes through and the spatiality of the train itself. Analysis reveals that the scenery of the passing landscape is one of journey highlights, with respondents employing poetic language in recalling experiences:

The steam train journey was such an incredible opportunity to be transported to a world of verdant sceneries and grand landscapes teeming with extraordinary beauty (TripAdvisor).

Others spoke of views as ‘stunning’ ‘breathtaking’ and ‘beyond description.’ These perceptions become embodied, somewhat reminiscent of Joy and Sherry’s (2003) suggestion that language can implicate the body in affective states. The expressive reviews suggest that this is not an ordinary journey that functionally transports people to their destination but a platform for affective communication with the surrounding landscape. Consumer experiences of nature provide a sense of escapism from the everyday (Canniford and Shankar, 2013, Arnould and Price, 1993) and, similarly, in boarding the Jacobite, passengers are ‘transported’ to an aesthetic wonderland, which even bad weather does not appear to diminish. Instead, our observations note that passengers are well-adorned with waterproof clothing. Drawing on Germann Molz (2006), this suggests an embodied readiness to cope with the eventuality of poor weather in line with the travel performances necessary for the Scottish climate. The majority of passengers are also armed with photographic equipment, used to temporarily still the passing landscape and capture memories of the Jacobite experience. The movement of people around the carriage was a distinctive part of the journey and our field notes document negotiation around the most coveted spots on the train specifically open windows to attain an uninterrupted view of the passing landscape.

1
2
3 The Harry Potter phenomenon adds another dimension to the spatiality of the Jacobite as
4
5 many of the passengers self-identify as fans of the books and films:
6
7

8 *I boarded the Harry Potter Steam Train at Fort William and was immediately whisked back*
9 *in "magical time" to when I first saw the train portrayed in the film. (TripAdvisor)*

10
11 *Because there is the viaduct from Harry Potter and I wanted to see it...I read the books*
12 *when I was a little girl so it's a bit of my childhood (Platform interview, German*
13 *passenger).*
14
15

16 Our field notes include multiple references to Harry Potter and record instances of passengers
17 asking the train guard the location of the 'Harry Potter carriage' and conversations with
18 passengers travelling long distances to journey on the Hogwarts Express. For these fans the
19 spatial features of the landscape noted above are eschewed in favour familiar references from
20 the films. Location forms part of the film brandscape (O'Reilly and Kerrigan, 2013) and in
21 this case we witness a blurring of imagined landscape portrayed through the fictional film and
22 the realities of the landscape as experienced on the Jacobite journey.
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34 However, unlike the Harry Potter films where themes of magic, fantasy and make-believe are
35 central, the experience of journeying on the Jacobite is associated with an understanding of
36 the materiality of the engine. As explained by one of our interviewees when discussing steam
37 trains, 'you can see them working, they are not magic, they work.' This reinforces the
38 significance of the spatiality of the mode of transport. Although it is possible to travel the
39 same route via the regular rail service or by car, our data suggests that most consumers see
40 this as the second best option to be considered only if the Jacobite tickets are fully booked.
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50 *Travel is normally a means to an end but behind a steam train in Scotland it is a pleasure*
51 *for all the senses, definitely in first class. Throw away the keys to the Ferrari, the Roller*
52 *and even the Morgan and let the train take the strain." (TripAdvisor).*
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55 The relative simplicity of the train carriages is no match for the high specifications of some of
56 the brand names mentioned by the reviewer in terms of comfort. However, it would be too
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3 simplistic to reduce satisfaction with the Jacobite to performance dimensions such as
4
5 comfort, convenience or speed. Instead, it is a multidimensional and multisensory experience.
6

7
8 In contrast to Butler and Hannam's (2014) research on how train travel exposes passengers to
9
10 the sensescapes of the city, we reveal that the sensory experience is not simply created by
11
12 gazing from the train window at the passing scenery but also from the unique traits of the
13
14 mode of transport itself.
15

16 17 ***Temporality of the Journey*** 18

19
20 *Boarding this train transports you back in time when things ran on time, and a little slower,*
21 *but the service on the train was top rate. The two hours each way just flew by.*
22

23
24 This TripAdvisor review highlights two interrelated features of temporality associated with
25
26 the Jacobite – pace of movement and imaginative movement “*back in time.*” The Jacobite
27
28 embraces a slower temporality contrasting with contemporary discourse on train travel often
29
30 associated with speed and efficiency. Jacobite passengers trade speed for a “*nice slow day*”
31
32 and speak onomatopoeically of the “*trundling*” and “*rhythmic chug*” in highlighting their
33
34 appreciation of the relaxed pace of this alternative mobility. Despite the slow pace of
35
36 movement, passengers still have the impression that “[*t*]he two hours each way just flew by”,
37
38 reinforcing the pleasurable nature of the experience and opening up novel ways of connecting
39
40 to socio-spatial surroundings.
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47 Time on trains is often approached as an opportunity to engage in various work and leisure
48
49 practices, such as reading, sleeping or playing games. However, the “*once in a lifetime*”
50
51 nature of the journey means that time on board becomes de-routinized. The journey is not
52
53 regarded as empty time to be filled with a wide array of activities. No-one is reading, working
54
55 on laptops or playing games on their phones. The rhythmic nature of the journey becomes
56
57 embodied and freedom from other distractions affords a deeper sensory engagement with the
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3 mobilities of the steam train. Comments focused on the noise of the engine (*'the sound as it*
4 *pulled out of the station made me as excited as a child'*), the clouds of steam passing the
5 window (*'the smoke just makes it so magical'*), the smell of the smoke (*'the aroma of another*
6 *age'*), the feeling of movement (*'slow, steady, rather bumpy'*) and taste of the soot (*'getting a*
7 *face full of smoke and soot when going through tunnels really gives you the feel of yester*
8 *year'*). Technologized features of modern transport are often viewed as central to tourism
9 experiences (Hannam et al. 2014), but here we see the nostalgic aesthetic of the steam train
10 coming to the fore.
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22 Imaginative movement “back in time” relates to how a sensory understanding of the
23 Jacobite’s mobility brings memories (both direct and indirect) of an important phase of
24 British history, furthering the more recent sense of nostalgia associated with the Harry Potter
25 phenomenon:
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33 *The Jacobite is popular because of antiquity and memories of the past. The steam is very*
34 *very important because it represents an age when Britain was great. It provides an image*
35 *of low technology and friendliness. It creates work, it's not all technology and*
36 *computerised, somebody has to shovel coal etc. Certain skills are needed. Older*
37 *grandparents will remember when that's all that there was (Restaurant owner at Mallaig).*
38

39 The materiality of the steam train requires labour and skills that no longer have a place within
40 the modern railway industry. None of our interviewees and only a few TripAdvisor reviewers
41 were negative about a return to this alternative mobility, and the majority of respondents
42 showed evidence of romanticising steam train travel. In this sense the past is idealised
43 (Lowenthal, 1985). Indeed, these features of the steam train are welcomed because they
44 facilitate a renewed focus on socio-spatial surroundings. As one TripAdvisor reviewer
45 explained, *“to take a wonderful pic of the Glenfinnan viaduct lots of passengers went to the*
46 *slide-down windows between carriages and the train slowed right down to allow that.”* For
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3 others, such challenges enhance the overall consumption experience and serve to further
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5 classify the steam engine as an ‘amazing machine’
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8 *On our journey, the loco had problems with slippery rails and had to take three tries at the*
9 *final summit near Mallaig, but this added excitement, and I didn’t envy the driver on this*
10 *day. His skill paid off and a manic run at the gradient paid off. (TripAdvisor).*
11

12 As a form of working heritage, not simply preserved for display within a museum space, the
13 Jacobite offers its passengers a chance to engage with an alternative temporality, distinct
14
15 from their everyday experiences.
16
17

18 ***Sociality of the Journey***

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22 Given the popularity of the Jacobite it is inevitable that there is a collective dimension to
23 mobility as passengers are in close proximity within the shared space of the train. Unlike
24 routine train travel, all passengers follow the same itinerary with a common start and end
25 point to their journey. This creates a shared sense of occasion and the first signs of sociality
26 are evident prior to the start of the journey as passengers gather on the platform taking
27 photographs for each other as they pose in groups beside the steam engine. This sense of
28 camaraderie continues as passengers engage in conversation and the sounds of laughter and
29 excited chatter spread throughout the train. Even railway staff and local volunteers who travel
30 on the train frequently get caught up in the “buzz”, as explained by John (Railway employee),
31 *“there is always a sense of occasion because the passengers are new every day.”* Many of our
32 interviewees comment on the pleasure of meeting people from all over the world. Although
33 brief, these conversations create a sense of conviviality that add to the special atmosphere on
34 board.
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55 Sociality is also evident in organised groups of people who select the Jacobite as a venue for
56 special occasions. Throughout our fieldwork we heard examples of groups of work
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3 colleagues, hen and stag parties, anniversary, birthday and even divorce celebrations. On
4
5 these occasions, interaction is between people who already know each other but the dedicated
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7 time together, alongside the experiential nature of the Jacobite, appears to make sociality
8
9 more meaningful than that of everyday contact. The materiality of the train also opens up
10
11 alternative possibilities for sociality:
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15 *there are certain people who like to have their loved one's ashes go up the chimney of the*
16 *Jacobite train and so you will get the whole family on because that is going to happen at a*
17 *certain point – bizarre but true (Sonya)*
18

19
20 The mingling of human ashes with coal is a powerful example of the relational nature of
21
22 mobilities as the ashes become one within the materiality of the engine. We did not witness
23
24 this first hand during our fieldwork but on these occasions the journey would undoubtedly
25
26 take on a greater emotional significance, enhancing affective sociality.
27

28
29
30 The Jacobite is not only an attraction for its passengers but also draws in tourists who come
31
32 to the area to photograph or follow the train up the line without ever travelling on the train
33
34 themselves. On one occasion we observed nearly 150 people at various points around
35
36 Glenfinnan waiting for the train to cross the viaduct. We noted a sense of conviviality
37
38 amongst these photographers, but are particularly interested in how this enhances the
39
40 experiences of the passengers on board. Our analysis reveal that the passengers become part
41
42 of the spectacle of the Jacobite, highlighting the relationality between people on board and
43
44 the steam train:
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49 *You'll feel famous with the attraction the train brings to wherever you are passing through,*
50 *from people taking pictures of it, to people waving to you on board! It makes for a great*
51 *atmosphere (TripAdvisor).*
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3 Thus, alongside Bissell's (2010) identification of interaction between passengers as central to
4 the transport experience, our findings reveal a wider mobility network of the Jacobite
5 extending to include those watching the train from the outside.
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10 ***Destination mobilities***

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12 *We are standing at Mallaig station waiting for the train, a thin plume of smoke in the distance*
13 *signalling its arrival. The village is quiet, apart from some cars waiting for the ferry and one or*
14 *two photographers. The arrival feels like an event for Mallaig and within a few minutes of the*
15 *passengers stepping onto the platform there is a real bustle to the village. All the benches on the*
16 *high street are full of people eating ice-cream and there are queues at the fish and chip shop*
17 *located at the station. Suddenly there is a holiday atmosphere, the sun even comes out for the*
18 *occasion. It seems that every shop on the main street is full and we see passengers clutching*
19 *souvenirs and snacks.*
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31 --- 2 hours later ---
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35 *We filmed the train leaving the station, there were several other people on the platform with us*
36 *smiling and waving at the people in the train and taking photographs. When the last carriage*
37 *disappears around the bend we all walk back down the platform towards the village. It's*
38 *noticeably quieter. Not just because the train has gone but its spell on the village seems to have*
39 *gone with it. "It's bygone magic" someone tells us. The departure of the train gives the village an*
40 *'end of holiday feel' - every time it leaves (Researchers account following day in Mallaig, May*
41 *2013).*
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Spatiality of the destination

Mallaig is a terminus with railway, road and ferry all ending (and starting) there. One resident describes Mallaig as “*a passing through place*” suggesting that spatial features of Mallaig might not warrant particular attention from tourists. The views of Mallaig by the Jacobite’s passengers were mixed. Some have a good impression of Mallaig describing it as ‘*a lovely village at the end of the journey*’, ‘*a very nice destination and I will certainly return*’ but most positive comments relate to the range of food outlets in the village. Most reviews which mention Mallaig are negative and mainly relate to a perceived lack of activities for tourists. The one and a half hours according to one review was ‘*PLENTY of time*’ to explore the small village:

We stopped at Mallaig for nearly two hours, but Mallaig is the disappointment on this trip. It really needs a bit of a shot in the arm -there are few seats in the Main Street to cater for the 200 or so passengers who get off the train. We bought fish and chips and walked around to try and find somewhere to sit with a view of the harbour, but there isn't one (TripAdvisor).

Mallaig was very disappointing just a dirty tourist town with a working port, it needs a good clean and a lick of paint to cheer the place up (TripAdvisor).

For some passengers the destination will never live up to the experience of the journey but for many, the positive journey masks any negative experiences of the destination:

Mallaig is not the main attraction of this journey - it is not the world's premier destination - this trip is all about the journey and the means of transportation (TripAdvisor).

The benefits that the Jacobite brings to Mallaig means that an area that is otherwise neglected (due to its remote location and lack of attractions) can benefit from the income of tourists who are transported to a destination that they would not otherwise visit.

Temporality of the destination

Yes, well everybody has to step up to the plate, I mean as we talked about the first day was a real wake-up call and today everybody is slightly reeling but saying isn't it great. It

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3 *almost feels like you have lifted the curtains on a pantomime, it is that kind of feeling, you*
4 *know, well Jack and slapping the thighs and all of that. It is just making the most of what*
5 *you have got because as sure as anything six months from now we will all need to get*
6 *through another winter again and so you work hard and play hard in the summer and then*
7 *that gets you through the winter (Sonia).*
8

9
10 Both our interviews with local residents and observation revealed that a defining feature of
11 the temporality of Mallaig is its cyclical nature with the rhythm of the village structured
12 around the Jacobite. The above comment from Sonia refers to an annual cycle with her
13 metaphor of ‘lifting the curtain on a pantomime’ suggestive of the awakening of the village
14 every May to coincide with the launch of the Jacobite season. The Jacobite launch acts as a
15 symbolic call to arms, waking the village from its long winter’s sleep and marking the
16 beginning of six months of hard work for the local residents who, from a business
17 perspective, seek to capitalise from the vast number of people that the Jacobite transports to
18 Mallaig. Once October comes, the pantomime comes to an end and the level of activity in the
19 village significantly decreases and locals can hibernate again until the following summer
20 when the cycle recommences. Our interview with Sonia was conducted on day 2 of the
21 season and her references to ‘real wake-up call’ and ‘everybody is slightly reeling’ reinforce
22 the stark contrast between life in Mallaig during and outside the Jacobite season. There are
23 four restaurants and two bars in Mallaig with one business owner suggesting that half of them
24 would close without the Jacobite. Some do close in the winter and one opens in line with the
25 train times (first to last day of season). Indeed one of our other participants mentioned that
26 “*You should see Mallaig in winter when the ferries are cut to 2 a day...it might as well be on*
27 *the moon*”. This is suggestive of a winter stillness replacing the summer bustle and trainloads
28 of tourists.
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54 Interviews with a range of stakeholders all revealed that without the train, the village would
55 struggle. It is viewed as ‘*a boom for the village*’ (field notes). The owner of a local restaurant
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3 reiterated the dependence that Mallaig has on the regular income from the Jacobite
4
5 suggesting that *'the Jacobite doesn't seem to have been affected by the recession so it is*
6
7 *almost propping up Mallaig'*. Likewise, other stakeholders we interviewed reported benefits:
8
9 the fish and chip shop located at the railway station stated that *'they wouldn't be here without*
10
11 *the Jacobite'* and at the Art Gallery on the high street business impacts varied but they
12
13 *'usually do quite well'* with passengers sometimes buying high ticket items. The owner stated
14
15 that Mallaig was *'very lucky'* three times during our interview.
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21 The temporality of Mallaig is multi-layered, not only occurring annually but also daily
22
23 throughout the season. This is perhaps best captured in our opening account to destination
24
25 mobilities. In that account the contrast between the liveliness of Mallaig during the Jacobite's
26
27 visit and the emptiness following its departure is noticeable. One of our participants noted
28
29 how *"Mallaig has geared its whole economy around serving 300 people in 2 hours* (Graham,
30
31 Friends of the West Highland Line). Figueiredo and Uncles (2015, 48) reveal how consumers
32
33 adapt to *"externally imposed mobility rhythms."* In contrast, the Jacobite's arrival and
34
35 departure imposes both a daily and annual cyclical rhythm for the whole village rather than
36
37 individual consumers.
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41 ***Sociality of the destination***

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44 In Mallaig there appears to be a sociality amongst local residents typical of a small village.

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46 This was encapsulated by the owner of one of the restaurants:

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50 *There is a community feel in Mallaig, everybody would know if I was dead, you don't have*
51 *to lock the doors, children can walk to school by themselves from the age of 5 it's sought*
52 *after. There is a new health centre, a new school, clean seas, low pollution index, there is*
53 *employment for everybody that wants it.*
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3 As an ex-Londoner, this somewhat idyllic impression contrasted to his description of the city
4 as a “*rat-race*”. Mallaig was depicted to us by various residents as having some kind of
5 magnetic effect. John a representative of the rail franchise noted that in Mallaig “*all the world*
6 comes to your door”, similarly one business owner stated that Mallaig is “*the centre of the*
7 universe”. Thus, sociality in Mallaig extends beyond local residents to encompass outsiders
8 who are transported to the village via the steam train.
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18 One of the key network builders between the village and outsiders was local resident Sonia
19 whose role seemed central to the whole enterprise. On launch day one of our fellow
20 passengers announced when we passed Arisaig station (several miles before Mallaig) “*We’re*
21 *now leaving ScotRail and entering SoniaRail!*” and elaborated that “*through Sonia Mallaig*
22 *becomes an articulate community*”. During our field work we encountered Sonia multiple
23 times and revealing a complex role seemingly completely voluntary but time ‘*willingly*
24 *given*’. Amongst other ‘tasks’, she: produces a leaflet which is passed out on the train which
25 advertises Mallaig’s restaurant and retail businesses; organises and bakes cakes for meetings
26 with railway industry visitors; and has been known to act as an impromptu tour guide. Sonia
27 cares deeply about the Jacobite and is clear about its social benefits to the village. From our
28 conversations with business owners, residents and railway employees Sonia emerges as
29 crucial in connecting Mallaig with the wider world and enhancing sociality of the destination.
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49 ***Discussion***

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52 The mobilities paradigm has featured strongly in a range of disciplines but marketing
53 researchers have been slow to embrace it. In this paper, we highlight potential for a mobilities
54 perspective to cast new theoretical light on our understanding of destination marketing. We
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3 contribute to theories of mobility and destination marketing through our concept of the
4
5 'destination-in-motion' which can be interpreted in two distinct ways. First, we build on
6
7 Sheller and Urry's (2006, p. 208) notion of modes of travel as 'forms of material and sociable
8
9 dwelling-in-motion' and suggest that the spatial, temporal and social mobilities of the rail
10
11 journey transform it into a 'destination-in-motion' in its own right. Second, the significance
12
13 of the mode of transport also transforms the landscape it moves through and its terminus,
14
15 which might otherwise be a neglected destination. As a result, a static destination also moves,
16
17 ebbing and flowing in line with the socio-material dynamics that the journey precipitates.
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23 The train becomes a destination in motion through the appealing spatial, temporal, and social
24
25 dimensions of the journey. The Jacobite experience encompasses the various principles of
26
27 mobility identified by Urry (2007). Our findings incorporate the corporeal movement of
28
29 people (the experiences of tourists who have travelled from around the world), the moving
30
31 object (the physical movement and idiosyncratic characteristics associated with this mode of
32
33 transport), communicative travel (consumer-to-consumer messages shared via the online
34
35 travel community) and imaginative and virtual travel (photographs taken of and from the
36
37 train, alongside images from the Harry Potter film, transport the consumer to an imagined
38
39 landscape). The rich embodied nature of the experience make it preferable and more
40
41 memorable than other means of travelling the same route. Moving objects frames how places
42
43 are encountered (Haldrup, 2004) and the idiosyncratic characteristics of the steam train are
44
45 central to the enjoyment experienced by the vast majority of our interviewees and online
46
47 reviewers. These include aspects of steam train travel which may have been viewed
48
49 negatively in the past (such as the backdraft of soot and smoke when travelling through
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51 tunnels) but are now highlighted as being noteworthy aspects of the journey.
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3 The embracing of an alternative temporality privileges the journey over the destination with
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5 passengers unconcerned with the speed of travel. This is important with few empirical
6
7 studies to date exploring how the temporality of mobility affects consumer activity
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9 (Figueiredo and Uncles, 2015). While new transport technologies place emphasis on reducing
10
11 journey times, steam train passengers are more patient; they recognise that there is work, skill
12
13 and effort associated with their journey. This is reminiscent of slow travellers who may
14
15 regard the mode of transport as ‘the destination’ (Dickinson et al. 2011, p. 293). However,
16
17 unlike slow travellers who tend to be at least partly guided by environmental concerns, the
18
19 appeal of the Jacobite as a destination-in-motion stems from diverse motivations. Some
20
21 passengers are steam enthusiasts, others enjoy the Scottish landscape and others are Harry
22
23 Potter fans. The Jacobite can therefore simultaneously be a destination-in-motion, connecting
24
25 the “golden age” of railway travel in the UK, the admiration of nature and the imaginative
26
27 enactment of fantasies. This reinforces how through various practices, passengers use the
28
29 mode of transport to create their own sense of place (Crouch, 2000).
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36 Modes of travel and their associated mobilities are therefore marketable assets in their own
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38 right, however, our study also illuminates the transformative effect of a destination-in-motion
39
40 on the landscape and geographic destinations it moves through. In this sense, our research not
41
42 only reveals the relevance of mobilities to marketing modes of transport but also their
43
44 revitalising impact on the wider geographical context. We reveal a destination that to a
45
46 greater or lesser extent is far from ‘preferred’, almost an ‘accidental’ destination that is
47
48 unfavourably compared with the journey itself. The revitalisation of Mallaig through the
49
50 Jacobite has created a state akin to dependency when Mallaig is forced to adapt to the annual
51
52 and daily cycles imposed by the visits of the train. This apparent transformative effect
53
54 supports Sheller and Urry’s (2006, 214) suggestion that ‘places themselves are seen as
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3 travelling, slow or fast, greater or shorter distances, within networks of human and nonhuman
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5 agents.’
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10 ***Implications and Future Research***

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13 The transformational impact of the destination-in-motion on the fixed destination offers an
14 alternative perspective to existing research which views destinations as geographically
15 bound. Adopting a more fluid understanding of the destination will give greater scope for
16 destination marketing strategies, meaning that non-traditional and otherwise neglected
17 destinations can be integrated into a wider, more lucrative tourism network. Existing research
18 rarely considers the wider appeal of transport to a destination (beyond its ‘delivery’ role). For
19 destination marketers alternative forms of transport which facilitate multi-sensory
20 experiences could offer an important differentiation strategy and become core to a
21 destination’s portfolio. In investigating the spatial, temporal and social mobilities of the
22 Jacobite, we have illustrated how the steam train creates a unique travel experience that is
23 distinct from both modern railway services and other forms of transport. Although attracted
24 by different motivations, the passengers in our study shared an appreciation of a sense of
25 escapism from the everyday. This suggests that destination marketers should consider how
26 travel experiences can be made memorable so that they stand out as distinct from public
27 transport journeys associated with everyday life. Of course, some aspects of the journey
28 experience will be uncontrollable, such as the weather or the temperament of passengers.
29 However, other aspects can be prioritised such as aesthetics and service interactions that will
30 enhance the destination-in-motion.
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3 The temporal effects of the Jacobite suggest that destination marketers should give
4 consideration to the rhythmic nature of a destination. In our case Mallaig has been obliged to
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6
7 adapt its offering to meet the needs of Jacobite passengers. This is achieved either by
8
9
10 augmenting existing offerings (e.g. changing the service method at a local restaurant) or
11
12 simply by opening and closing a business in line with the timetable. This suggests that
13
14 dialogue between destination marketers and local businesses is key to ensure they meet the
15
16 shifting needs of mobile consumers. Additionally, destination marketers should identify key
17
18 stakeholders who can support their marketing efforts. In our case this was one local resident
19
20 who played a crucial role in building networks and relationships between Jacobite and local
21
22 communities. We believe this sociality dimension will continue to be important to ensure that
23
24 destination marketing strategies are dynamic and relevant to the needs of all stakeholder
25
26
27 groups.

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31
32 Contextually, the destination in our research (Mallaig) finds itself in a corollary where
33
34 visitors bemoan the lack of tourist facilities and yet limited time at the destination means that
35
36 significant tourism investment may not yield sufficient returns. The removal of the Jacobite,
37
38 or any reduction in service frequency, would likely have a significantly negative effect on the
39
40 region and on Mallaig itself. This suggests that the village suffers from a dependency on this
41
42 one, main, source of tourist receipts without any significant alternative tourist income.
43
44 Additionally, the scenic route of the Jacobite between Fort William and Mallaig creates
45
46 opportunities for wider tourist experiences of the local area, either as passengers or those
47
48 following the train along its route to take photographs or explore the route by other means.
49
50 This inevitably has a knock on effect on all tourism services whether it be transport,
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53 hospitality, food and beverage, souvenirs but also indirectly to other businesses.
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3 To conclude, destination marketing strategies often fail to consider transport as a major factor
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5 (Prideaux, 2000). We suggest this is a critical omission as there will be many destinations
6
7 around the world which have an almost complete reliance on an effective tourism transport
8
9 infrastructure. Our research offers a contrast to predominant perspectives which view
10
11 transport as playing a secondary role to the particular needs of a destination. Here, the fixed
12
13 destination plays the supporting role, whilst the destination-in-motion dominates the
14
15 corporeal elements of the visitor experience. Our research serves to broaden our
16
17 understanding of destination marketing to encompass not only geographically fixed
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19 destinations but also destinations-in-motion and the complex and multifaceted relationship
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21 between them.
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3 We are very grateful to the AE and reviewers for their supportive comments on the paper. Below we
4 outline our responses to the 4 remaining issues outlined by the AE:
5

6 1) Elaborating why "raising awareness of mobilities paradigm" is important in the 'purpose' section
7 of the abstract
8

9 Response: We have added the following sentence to the abstract 'purpose' as follows:

10 "This is important as studies which explore the impact of modes of transport on the development of
11 destinations, or compare the transportation experience with the destination experience are lacking."
12

13
14 2) Deepening the review of destination marketing (see reviewer 1's comments)
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16 Response: Following the suggestion of reviewer 1, we have added a few sentences (pages 4 and 5) to
17 highlight the paradigmatic commitment of prior work on destination marketing. In doing so, we have
18 drawn on Pike and Page's (2014) narrative literature review analysis. The reworked section is pasted
19 below:
20

21 "In their narrative analysis of destination marketing literature, Pike and Page (2014, p.203) note that
22 this field has 'been characterised by a fragmented applied research approach rather than theory
23 building.' This results in the prioritisation of problem solving for destination marketing organisations
24 at the expense of conceptual development. With a focus mainly on geographically bound
25 destinations, this literature tends to position the destination from a static perspective. We extend
26 this predominant understanding of the destination by considering transport mobilities and their
27 relationship to the destination."
28
29

30
31 3) Reflecting on the epistemic position of the researchers (see reviewer 1's comments)
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33 Response: We have amended the relevant paragraph on page 12 as follows to articulate our position
34 in producing knowledge:
35

36 "A team approach to data collection meant that over the course of the project, we regularly met to
37 discuss emergent themes and reflect on our role in the research process. Following the completion
38 of data collection, both researchers had a period of intense immersion in the data. The TripAdvisor
39 comments were imported into NVivo10, coded and compared to interview transcripts and field
40 notes and codes were then refined. In line with our theoretical focus, our analysis centred on spatial,
41 temporal and social mobilities of both the journey and the destination. The validity of our
42 interpretation was reinforced through both the use of multiple methods and also member checks
43 with key informants who had the opportunity to comment on our emergent themes (Creswell,
44 2009). In line with our relational ontology, we were mindful of the interconnection between our
45 voices, the voices of our participants, and the broader context. Consequently, knowledge
46 construction stems from both participant perspectives and our own interpretations and we
47 therefore recognise the situated and partial nature of our account (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003)."
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52 4) Extending the Implications section - given that the focus of the paper is on introducing the
53 'mobilities paradigm', in particular the destination of in-motion, the implications section should be
54 richer. Provide a more elaborate discussion on what destination marketers can learn from your case.
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3 Response: We have reworked and extended the implications section of our paper (page 25 and 26).
4 Alongside our earlier points, we now also consider how travel experiences can be made memorable
5 and the rhythmic nature of a destination.
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