



Bus Enthusiasm as Heritage Practice: Investigating Critical Approaches to Heritage Research.

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Bus Enthusiasm as Heritage Practice: Investigating Critical Approaches to Heritage Research

Amy Gwendoline Graham

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2023

Candidate Declaration

I hereby declare that:

1. I have been enrolled for another award of the University, or other academic or professional organisation, whilst undertaking my research degree. I was an enrolled student for the following award:

Name of award: Postgraduate Certificate in Heritage Research

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2. None of the material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award.
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4. The work undertaken towards the thesis has been conducted in accordance with the SHU Principles of Integrity in Research and the SHU Research Ethics Policy.
5. The word count of the thesis is 81,980.

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Abstract

Heritage seems ubiquitous in our everyday lives, as we make sense of and preserve some aspects of the past into our present and a projected future. It is both personal and political, where we assign value to things (artefacts, performances, ideas) and communicate these values to others. In other words, heritage is itself a cultural practice, a set of meaningful activities which are done and have effects.

This project is undertaken within the field of critical heritage studies. Many contributors to the field adopt a theorisation of heritage as a discourse, how 'authorised' cultural ideas are communicated and used to control or suppress alternative approaches (Smith, 2006). This has rightly exposed inequalities and injustices within museum and heritage practice, and in the research field itself. Heritage is done, but it is also felt. This project is inspired by the affective turn in social studies and aims to understand something of the complex interactions between individuals, communities, institutions and more through which heritage is experienced and known. In this, it contributes theoretically to the reading of affect espoused in the heritage field by Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2016) and adopts methods inspired by, for example, Waterton & Watson (2015a) and Waterton & Dittmer (2014).

Using the example of London bus travel, and working with bus enthusiasts, the project explores heritage defined as: things from the past which are able to and have been sustained. This implies that heritage has something to do with thingness, the material and its symbolic uses, but is also related to practices, ways in which we might sustain specific meanings and values (authoring, recording, and collecting). The research is particularly interested in how heritage is contingent on a specific moment of encounter, experienced as time-consciousness.

The programme of research explores several moments of encounter with London bus heritage: at the London Transport Museum, on London's now cancelled heritage bus route (the 15H) and in participants' homes. The methodology is inspired by ethnographic approaches to participant observation within fields of enquiry, as critical and imaginative practices of being and doing with (Elliott & Culhane, 2017) which are mobile, sensory, and affecting (Pink, 2015; Gherardi, 2019).

Through the adoption of methods such as reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022) and forms of ethnographic description (e.g., Stewart, 2007; Taussig, 2011) research materials such as audio recordings, verbatim speech, photographs, interview transcripts, physical artefacts such as tickets, and memories are used to produce research interpretations. Collage is employed as a critical reflective process, providing visualisation and analytical strategy. Participants are represented by imagined travelcards with personalised 'Conditions of Carriage'; written ethnographies recreate bus journeys and museum visits from the fragments and

accounts of everyday experiences; leaflet 'trails' disrupt museum-to-visitor communications.

Findings consider the proximity between enthusiasm (as emotional and potentially irrational) and (rational) expertise in the construction of heritage. The museum is understood as both its own organisation and in reference to Transport for London as the provider of London's transport infrastructure. The 15(H) bus ride is both a heritage object and a form of re-enactment which highlights the precarity of the heritage project itself, shaped by political requirements. Enthusiast-participants find their lives as meaningful in curating collections from their past and in bus journeys now; their values and experiences interact with official sites of heritage-making in several ways.

The overall contribution is firstly, an account of bus enthusiasm, its origins, practices, and communities; secondly, insights into the nature of heritage as interaction between affect (as both sensation and the sensate) and practice, emergent through moments of encounter with heritage things.

Alternative format available (Appendix A).

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Every Journey Matters

Transport for London, c.2012 to present

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List of Abbreviations

<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Long-form</i>
LTM	London Transport Museum
OS	Omnibus Society
TfL	Transport for London

1. Introduction

This thesis defines heritage as both a locus of meaning (i.e., the heritage object) and a practice of meaning (i.e., a doing) which has affecting as well as personal, political, cultural, and ethical consequences within our everyday lives. It takes the experience of London bus travel as an empirical focus, working with bus enthusiasts as participants as they encounter 'official' heritage at the London Transport Museum (LTM) and on the heritage route 15(H), and through talking about their own personal heritage practices of recording, collecting, and displaying.

Situated within the field of critical heritage studies, this thesis is concerned with heritage as a process related to experience rather than, or as well as, an innate quality or value of material things surviving from the past (Harrison, 2013; Smith, 2006). Drawing specifically on the contribution of scholars such as Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, heritage meanings are considered as contingent on context-specific actions in moments of encounter and their renewal through representation and remembering (Waterton & Watson, 2015b). That these meanings are 'affective' - felt, sensed, and lived through and with - as well as known, has formed the basis of recent heritage research and theorisation by Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2016), Waterton (2014; 2018), and Waterton & Dittmer (2014).

The study investigates the motivational forces for the doing of heritage, as a cultural practice related to the experience of time (the past, memories, now and anticipation of the future) in everyday life, for which I use the phrase 'time-consciousness'. Time-consciousness links to the processual dimension of the affective, as marking 'territories in time' (Bertelsen & Murphie, 2010); expressing a conceptual and practical interest in attending to the moment(s) when meaning(s) emerge. The relationship between temporality and established definitions of heritage are discussed fully in Section 1.3.

What does heritage have to do with London bus travel? This thesis considers London bus travel as a specific cultural phenomenon which has values and uses beyond the utilitarian; a mobile phenomenon which is also sensuous, affecting, and materially expressed (Cresswell, 2011) and therefore worthy of heritage signification. Everyday movement experiences have been explored as sites of heightened temporal awareness by Jain (2009: buses) and Shanks & Pearson (2014: cars); this study's primary contribution is in further examining the relationship between heritage and the everyday which these studies suggest.

Methodologically, the study investigates not just the representative aspects of London bus travel (its history, its symbolic significance), but also its experiential qualities. In this, it employs mobile and sensory-orientated methods (e.g. Pink, 2015); and references mobilities research on buses by, for example, Koefoed, Christensen & Simonsen (2017) and Wilson (2011), and heritage research orientated towards mobile phenomena (e.g., Mate & Pocock, 2018).

Working with bus enthusiasts as a specific subject position, I reference the works of, for example, Craggs, Geoghegan & Neate (2016), Meyer (2008), and Thomas & Deckers (2022) which explore how enthusiasts engage in heritage practices broadly, complicating the distinctions between personal, community and official heritage forms. This literature is discussed in Section 2.2.3 in relation to the creation of enthusiast communities of practice. Additionally, Craggs et al (2016) and Geoghegan (2013) directly informed methodological decisions such as the questions asked of Stage 3 research participants (Section 3.2.6).

Situating much of the research at the LTM, I explore what is distinctive about transport museums (referencing existing work by Divall & Scott, 2001) but also consider it as a corporate museum and site of organisational memory for Transport for London (TfL) (Mitchell & Orwig, 2002; Nissley & Casey, 2002). Riding the 15(H) returns the focus to the journey experience and to the experience of heritage values

within the everyday operation of a bus service, through which London's transport infrastructure is both maintained and revealed (Anand, 2020; Larkin, 2013).

My role as passenger, enthusiast, visitor, observer, participant, and analyst is central to the enquiry which although contributing to knowledge, is also deeply personal. I draw particularly on feminist reflexive practice as outlined by Wilkinson (1988); my research interpretations are inspired by creative responses to ethnographic and participant observations by for example, Taussig (2011). The thesis contributes methodologically to critical heritage studies in the adoption of visualisation techniques and practice-based approaches, specifically proposing the use of critical design artefacts to investigate forms of heritage communication.

Section 1.1 of this chapter provides an overview of the investigation, outlining the central aim and objectives. Section 1.2 accounts for the origins of the project, how my own transformation into a bus enthusiast was not only the initial impetus for the investigation but a practical and reflexive resource throughout. I also briefly make a case for the significance of London bus travel here, so that the reader might understand the context of the investigation; whether bus travel is a worthy heritage object is a central critical resource in analysing what heritage is and how it works as a process.

Section 1.3 defines heritage as both a cultural phenomenon related to the everyday and its temporal dimensions, and as an area of academic enquiry, critical heritage studies. I introduce dominant theoretical dispositions in the field related to the discursive and the affective. Across these approaches is a recognition of heritage as a practice with ideological consequences, from individual identity through to nation building. I also return to the materiality of heritage in a discussion of 'thingness' before describing my own approach as attending to the interactions between heritage objects, practices, and encounters. Section 1.4 sketches out the contents of the rest of the thesis.

1.1 Overview of the Investigation

This research investigates the relationship between heritage and everyday life experiences, as well as what we can learn about heritage when selecting a mundane or overlooked heritage object – London bus travel – as the centre of enquiry. Its purpose is to uncover more about how heritage is practiced and experienced at the nexus between the material, the social and the affective.

The thesis is based on qualitative research conducted between June 2018 and February 2020. The project developed iteratively. The first stage was a study of the LTM, I then progressed to participant recruitment for the second stage, which involved 12 participants visiting the museum followed by a ride on London's heritage bus route, the 15(H). The final stage comprised of five interviews with participants who have collections of bus related artefacts, some curated into home displays.

The theoretical interest which initially drove the enquiry was the relationship between everyday life experience (specifically, riding a London bus) and the heritage phenomenon, discussed in relation to critical and affective research approaches in Section 1.3. The heritage encounter became a central theoretical and methodological resource, which led me to consider who and what were involved in the 'heritagisation' of London bus travel, discussed conceptually and in relation to existing research in Chapter 2. This led to the development of the empirical investigation as detailed in Chapter 3; by recruiting bus enthusiasts as example passengers, I sought to attract people for whom bus travel is already considered personally and culturally significant. Siting the research at the LTM and on route 15(H) facilitated overt encounters with heritage objects and processes. From Stage 2 of the investigation, it emerged that enthusiasts were engaged in their own forms of heritage practice, such as the curation of bus-related collections which became the focus of interviews at participants' homes during Stage 3. The sites of enquiry (museum, bus, home) are considered as equally significant in the understanding of

heritage and its processes, although in practice the museum is afforded more space within the thesis, being the site where heritage values are most overtly expressed and negotiated.

Ambitions for the investigation are articulated into the following central aim and related objectives. These have developed alongside the practical doing of the research and therefore have a dialogic relationship with 'what happened' and how it is interpreted here in thesis form; they both describe what I did and provide a focus for analysis and discussion throughout. I include as a matter of interest a temporal map of how my aims and objectives have changed, expanding and narrowing in focus, during the course of the investigation (Appendix B).

Aim: Investigate how London bus travel is defined and sustained as a heritage object with associated values and significance by representations at the LTM, on heritage route 15(H), and by the everyday practices of bus enthusiasts.

- Objective 1: Examine and interrogate the utility of critical heritage and other approaches to empirical research about bus travel and other transport themes.
- Objective 2: Explore the discursive, sensory, and affective qualities of moments of encounter with London bus heritage.
- Objective 3: Consider how identities are felt and known in relation to everyday memories and experiences and institutional and political legacies through encounters with London bus heritage.
- Objective 4: Identify how bus enthusiasm is practiced and sustained (by individuals and groups) in relation to heritage themes such as historical value, collecting and display.
- Objective 5: Describe how routine bus journeys are assigned meaning by the practices of bus enthusiasts and how these meanings are translated as culturally significant.

- Objective 6: Outline how the designation of London bus travel as heritage might enrich our understanding of what heritage is and how it functions.

Working with bus enthusiasts across the three sites problematises the dichotomy of public-private (also described as official-unofficial (Harrison, 2013; West, 2010), authorised-community (Smith, 2006)) which forms the basis of much critical discussion around the heritage phenomenon and cultural value more broadly (discussed in Section 1.3.2).

The investigation creates opportunities for critical, comparative discussion across this dichotomy, as depicted in Figure 1.1. The museum, as an established heritage actor provides an understanding of core or mainstream heritage values related to transport; at the same time, it queries who the heritage is for – visitors or the museum itself as an agent of TfL? Compare this to the 15(H) bus route, TfL's attempt at managing a heritage experience which, although now abandoned, further illustrates the dynamic between TfL as a public body and the political conditions in which it operates. Interviews with participants alongside their bus collections further illuminate how collecting is a process of self-identification but also how identity can be drawn as much from associations with specific organisations (e.g., bus companies worked for, societies members of) as it is from individual experience. Bus enthusiasts inhabit a liminal space between amateur and professional, and they engage with each site in multiple ways – as visitors, volunteers, passengers, critics – as both consumers and producers of heritage objects and meanings; they operate as both individuals and collectively.

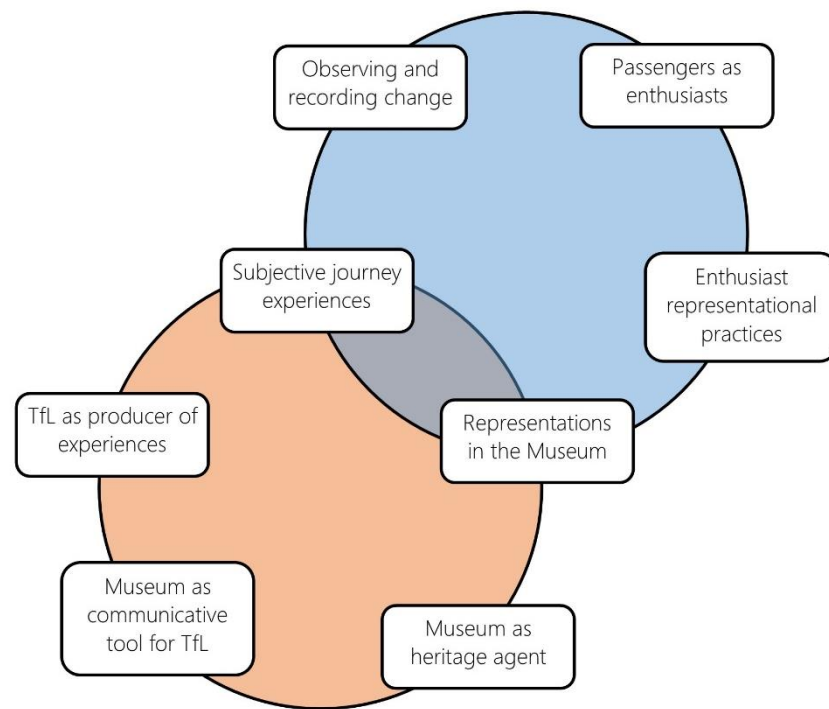


Figure 1.1: Study areas of interest. Showing the relationship between public (orange) and private (blue) heritage making practices.

The public-private dichotomy is also problematised in the phenomenon of bus travel itself: public transport delivery requires the investment not just of the public (as passengers, as taxpayers) but also of private actors (as service operators, as bus manufacturers). The interactions between public and private interests in relation to bus travel are discussed in Section 1.2 and return as an analytical theme throughout Chapters 4 to 7.

In terms of the questions asked of the research data collected, these coalesce around the following themes:

- How are bus passengers and their journey experiences interpreted and represented as heritage objects across all sites? What does the existing knowledge base say about the heritage significance and the worthiness of bus travel as a heritage object?

- What is the relationship between heritage as practice and identity? What have I learnt about who heritage practitioners are and what motivates their activities as both individuals and as communities?
- What is specific about the heritage encounter as an experience of time-consciousness; or what is the relationship between everyday life (as a series of non-, recursive, or affective events) and processes of heritage evaluation?

Interpreting heritage as emergent through the interactions between objects, practices, and encounters is my contribution to developing a critical-material-semiotic approach to heritage theorisation (as prompted by Harrison, 2013) which keeps in play the significance of how heritage makes us feel, and 'the role played by the personal, the ordinary and the everyday, within spaces of heritage' (Waterton & Watson, 2013, p.551). These three elements are explored further in reference to: identity and memory work; establishing communities and places; the material and its sensory and embodied qualities as well as its symbolic reuses; and the feeling of heritage as a relationship to the temporal, which elicits specific emotional responses such as nostalgia, hope, and grief.

As a contribution to the critical heritage field, my own criticality is expressed in the adoption of reflexivity as outlined by Wilkinson (1988). Wilkinson characterises reflexivity as 'disciplined self-reflection' with three distinct qualities: personal (related to researcher identity), functional (the methods, concepts, and form of the research) and disciplinary (questioning dominant narratives and approaches). Her suggestion is to remain conscious of the power which naming and defining knowledge wields, proposing a more contingent approach, and awareness of the 'pretence of meritocracy' within the academy generated overtly and covertly by things like citation practices, funding agendas, and research networks. Throughout the crafting of my thesis, I have tried to attend to each of Wilkinson's qualities of reflexivity.

From a personal perspective, I sought to embed my specific professional and research skills and knowledge within the approach, recognising that these are the intellectual and practical resources I brought as an active research participant. These skills include: my bachelor's degree in architecture which predisposes me to think diagrammatically, spatially, and visually when encountering and recording a site; and my years as a local authority 'Local History Officer' which have equipped me with customer service skills, invaluable when listening to enthusiasts talk about their enthusiasm, and which cemented a fundamental interest in how places and communities are formed. I reflect on my relationship with participants as a form of research influence in Section 7.3.3. Functional issues of the research process are addressed in detail in Section 3.2. Disciplinary reflexivity is explicitly discussed in Section 7.1.

Having outlined the investigation, the next section addresses the phenomenon of London bus travel and why I became interested in this as a site of heritage encounter in everyday life.

1.2 Origin Story: Becoming a Bus Enthusiast

In this section, I provide an account of the origin of the project and why London bus travel became the focus for an enquiry into heritage. The reasons are personal, professional, opportunistic; but intellectually they derive from a concern for and a belief in the power of our everyday lives as sites of political agency and potential sources of joy and hope, as places of enchantment (Bennett, 2001).

Bus travel is a useful phenomenon for this enquiry because of its nature as both ubiquitous and mundane, which challenges the notion that heritage things should be both rare and extraordinary (culturally significant) and its mobility, which challenges the pre-eminence of heritage as located and indeed fixed within specific places (physical sites), as outlined in designations documents such as Historic England's

'Statements of Heritage Significance' (2019). In other ways, the phenomenon shares attributes with what we might understand as official heritage – both are the product of public and private interests and activities, involving governments (at local, regional, and national level), individuals (as private citizens, as interested amateurs and as professionals), whilst delivering commercial requirements and performing specific cultural and social functions.

Fundamentally, I am interested in London bus travel as a public service, part of the infrastructure through which we enact our places and through which we live our lives as meaningful. Alternative and analogous phenomena might include the postal network, or some aspects of education, healthcare, utilities, or food provision. However, it is bus travel's overt sociality which interests me most, and which inspires my bus enthusiasm.

1.2.1 The significance of London bus travel

London bus travel is a ubiquitous experience shared by millions of people each day. As a cultural icon, the red Routemaster bus has come to represent London around the world; but on the streets, the bus experience defines a rhythm and a language for the city which you come to learn.

Riding a London bus involves: the material reality of the bus itself, the road and infrastructure such as bus stops and shelters, and the physical movement through the spaces of the city; it involves the driver, the passengers (both potential and real), the operators, schedulers, mechanics and other personnel involved in delivering a public service; it involves the flow in real-time of capital (electronic payments; fines for running too late, too early, speeding or braking too quickly) and information (the timetable, live information, radio transmissions, GPS navigation).

It is the expression of a complex social reality – Omnibus means ‘for all’ – and yet, it is those with less mobility who use it the most: women, those with low household income, ethnic minorities, the young, the old (TNS, 2014). Bus travel is an ethical act: it prioritises the mobility of the majority over the needs of the individual; like paying taxes, passengers invest in a system which serves both themselves and others. Riding the bus is better for the environment, both in terms of reducing congestion (the average bus can carry 90 passengers), and vehicles can be adapted to be less polluting (both in air emissions and noise); with reduced car ownership there is also physically more space (as cars take space both on the roads and whilst stationary) (Potter & Bailey, 2008). There’s also something important about being with people on the bus whom you may not meet in other parts of your life – as a ‘community of strangers’ (Tonkiss, 2003) – where tolerance of diversity is produced through everyday ‘rubbing along’ or sharing space with those different to yourself.

The following history of London bus travel draws on interpretation materials at the LTM (consulted in 2018-2019), Day (1973) and substantially from Lawrence (2014).

The omnibus first came to London's streets in the 1830s, an import from France. Private individuals and companies ran horse-bus services aimed at the emerging middle classes who could afford the fare, and more significantly, had reason to be travelling into the City of London each day: early vehicles include Shillibeer’s Omnibus (introduced on 4th July 1829; Figure 5.1) and Tilling’s horse bus (introduced in 1846, Figure 4.14). On the streets there were no designated bus stops (first used 1935), vehicles were emblazoned with their destinations in large letters or different colours depending on who operated them, you caught the attention of the conductor to board or alight. Passengers were cramped into a dark space below, or sat on the roof above, paying the conductor as they alighted. Working conditions were not good - with crews of driver and conductor working up to 16 hours a day, 7 days a week; the horses had more rest. Some problems which we consider to be entirely contemporary were present in bus operation from the beginning, namely:

fare structure and revenue protection, travel information and experience, staff retention, environmental pollution, and network design.

The economic and other benefits of a joined-up system gradually led to the dominance of one company – the London General Omnibus Company. Merger with the London Underground followed to provide continuous services between stations and new housing developments; eventually consolidated through government intervention as the London Passenger Transport Board in 1933. The present management structure of London Buses was a product of London Transport's 1984 restructure, requiring private companies to tender for the operation of routes over fixed contract lengths, with TfL as the regulating authority.

The London Motor Omnibus Company Ltd operated the first fleet comprising solely of motor buses, 'Vanguard', from 1905. They were also the first to introduce route numbers in 1906. The London General Omnibus Company adopted red as their livery colour in 1907. The B-Type bus was the first mass-produced motor bus and operated from 1910 to 1927. London Transport in its various configurations commissioned many of its own bus designs, including double decker types like the Regent Three (in service from 1939-1979; Figure 5.6) and Routemaster (in service 1959-2005; Figure 5.6 and others in Chapter 5). The latter was the final custom-designed bus for the capital until the introduction of the New Routemaster (in service 2012-present).

The experiences of travel changed through the development of new road and vehicle technologies, but in form and content, much of what defines the historical experience of bus travel is familiar now. For example, distinctive features of bus travel include: the negotiated terms of entry with a member of staff (was conductor, now driver only), sometimes too-close proximity to fellow passengers, the elevated views of familiar streets (from the upper deck), the transaction of (unknown quantities of) time for spatial displacement. The wider infrastructure of bus stops and shelters,

networked routes and timetables, digital 'real-time' information and so on have facilitated an easier transition from other to passenger.

London bus travel has become the object of heritagisation processes in several ways. The LTM's collection of omnibuses and other records originated as a small selection of significant items preserved by the London General Omnibus Company in the 1920s. The collection became part of the nationally owned Museum of British Transport in the 1960s (Mapping Museums Blog, 2017) before transferring to a newly created LTM in 1980. This museum became part of TfL on the latter's formation in 2000 but is now an independent charity.

TfL continues to maintain its own corporate archives; the private operators of London's bus services are responsible for their own records; some of which have been deposited with the Omnibus Society (OS) or the Kithead Trust who have recently combined to form the Bus Archive. The OS itself was founded in 1929. There is also the dedicated London Bus Museum which is operated by the London Bus Preservation Trust, a voluntary and membership organisation. Other interested groups include the PSV Circle and the Routemaster Association, alongside countless online communities with general or specialist interests in the history and contemporary operation of London buses. Sometimes individuals, interest groups and operators collaborate to offer garage open days and vehicle running days, which facilitate behind-the-scenes and alternative passenger experiences.

1.2.2 An interest in buses: the 213 bus project

By learning the relationships between bus places and bus times, you come to know and be part of the city. My interest in bus travel as a meaningful cultural activity began when I became a regular passenger on the 213 bus between Sutton and Kingston upon Thames, London, in 2011. Each day, as I travelled between home and work at Kingston Museum and Heritage Service, I would inhabit the bus for up to 2

hours due to the congested road conditions along the route. I began to learn the names of streets, pubs, and other landmarks along the route, and to understand their history from chance encounters with archival and museum material and through conversations with my customers during the working day. For those hours spent on the bus, my consciousness of time was heightened. This was not just about the historical research which the route inspired, but also the stresses of running late for work caught in a traffic jam, the discomfort of sticky seats on summer days, a chance encounter with a man attempting to return his dead wife's bus pass (see blogpost: Graham, 2013). It was also an in-between sort of space-time, 'I'm on the bus', where I could read, sew, reflect, and create.

I completed a master's degree in Heritage (Contemporary Practice) at Kingston University in 2013 with a distinction for my creative project based on the 213 Bus. The project continued until I left my role as Kingston upon Thames's Local History Officer in 2017 to pursue this PhD. It is documented at www.213bus.wordpress.com.

The project was also the beginning of my transition into a bus enthusiast, as I made connections to other people with an interest in buses. I was scouted by Robert McCloy, then Chairperson of the Roads and Road Transport History Association and former Chief Executive of Kingston Council, to join their committee; I began to publish articles on relevant themes in their journal as well as making presentations at their conferences and within the Kingston area. People started gifting me bus related artefacts and my own bus collection was established. My bus interest became part of both my personal and professional identity; at the same time, buses began to symbolise Amy to friends and acquaintances.

Completing this thesis has further enriched and extended the social connections I have made through my bus interest: in establishing myself as a researcher at Sheffield Hallam University I have gained many valued peers, and in becoming a member of the OS and the Friends of London Transport Museum to gain access to

those organisations as potential research sites, I have further developed my overt enthusiast identity. Meeting research participants has been a hugely valuable and privileged experience, as they have shared so generously their memories and life stories with me.

The next section considers how critical heritage scholars have conceptualised of heritage as a practice with specific experiential qualities and political effects. It also discusses the materiality, the thingness, of the everyday.

1.3 Researching Heritage and Everyday Life

In this section, I present the theoretical context for the investigation, establishing connections between critical heritage research and theories which attend to the everyday, as a site of affective encounter. Studies which adopt an affect orientation to heritage research are discussed in Section 2.1.

The definition and uses of heritage have formed the basis of much critical enquiry since the 1980s, leading to the formation of a coherent, if diverse research field - critical heritage studies - to which this thesis contributes. Whether heritage is materially located, or socially constructed, what its political and cultural effects are and how we assign and maintain heritage value(s) are central, ongoing problematics. Attending to these problems, a mode of critical engagement is to differentiate (or dichotomise) forms of heritage, e.g., tangible/intangible, objective/processual, official/unofficial; in adopting an affect orientation to heritage experiences, I explore these dichotomies in interaction rather than opposition.

1.3.1 Critical heritage research

Critical heritage studies is concerned with developing understandings of what heritage is, and its social, political, and cultural effects. In understanding heritage's

relationship to the everyday, or the commonplace, I refer to a dictionary definition of the term:

Heritage (n.)

1. Property that is or may be inherited.
2. Valued things such as historic buildings that have been passed down from previous generations.

Soanes, Hawker & Elliott (2005)

The two dictionary definitions of heritage suggest a relationship between heritage and capital (property), with other value systems (maybe historic, maybe material), and with a sense of passing down (inherited; from previous generations). A conventional understanding of heritage is as an object, a noun – bus, song, memory. But the definitions also suggest processes of heritage, ‘valuing’ and ‘passing’. To value is to evaluate or to consider of great worth; to pass implies movement (on, passed, through, across, between) but also connects to temporality (time going by, occupying time, coming to end) and judgement (to express an opinion). This aside into semantics proposed three approaches to defining heritage across the project: a concern with its materiality (as object, or thingness), processes of evaluation (and who is doing this) and its quality related to the temporal. I developed my own working definition of heritage as: things from the past which are able to and have been sustained, which implies both physical and symbolic survival over time or continuously, whether by active process or chance.

Critical enquiries into heritage and its effects emerged in the UK context in the 1980s, with the contribution of historians such as Wright (1985), Lowenthal (1985) and Hewison (1987), concerned with the relationship between heritage and national identity, history, and cultural consumption. In parallel, these themes were taken up in new approaches to museums studies discussed in Section 2.2.1.

The archaeologist Laurajane Smith has been instrumental in establishing heritage as a specific research field, firstly in her seminal work 'Uses of Heritage' (2006) and secondly in her editorship of the International Journal of Heritage Studies (founded 1994) in which the Association of Critical Heritage Studies was launched (Smith, 2012). Other contributors who have particularly inspired my own interest in heritage studies include Susie West (2010), Rodney Harrison (2010, 2013), Emma Waterton & Steve Watson (2015b). Definitions and themes explored have included: community heritage (Samuel & Thompson, 1990, Robertson, 2008), memory (Benton, 2010; Abrams, 2010), intangible heritage (Smith & Akagawa, 2008) and official and unofficial processes of heritage making and consumption (Harrison, 2013; West, 2010).

Critical heritage studies should be concerned with understanding how heritage functions in societies and the relationship between heritage and power.

Harrison & Linkman (2010, p.77)

Critical heritage research challenges definitions of heritage related to assumed innate material qualities of things and is instead 'concerned... with the power relations that have been formed and operate via the deployment of heritage as a process' (Gentry & Smith, 2019, p.1160). Heritages processes are concerned with how heritage values are assigned and sustained over time and across cultures (Arts & Humanities Research Council, 2018; Smith, 2012); researchers critique these processes but are also implicated in them through decisions around what is researched (defining worthy topics) and how (dominant theoretical perspectives within the field). In other words, research into heritage is itself a form of heritage practice; researchers themselves are part of the cultural and political work that heritage does (Gentry & Smith, 2019).

The stated purpose of critical heritage studies is to 'rebuild' heritage both as an object of study and as a field of research, to challenge the power expressed through existing policy and rhetoric which is characterised as exploitative, exclusionary, C/conservative, and Western/Eurocentric (Smith, 2012). Activist, non-Western, non-expert, inter- and multi-disciplinary approaches are productive towards this aim, with the Association seeking to attract an increasingly diverse membership. A further articulation of the critical position comes from Winter (2013), when he suggests that heritage research should focus on what he calls 'crucial issues' such as poverty reduction, climate change, sustainability, human rights, and the future of democracy, achieved through the adoption of a 'post-disciplinary outlook'.

The critical shift in focus has been reflected in the research agendas of, for example the Arts & Humanities Research Council and the European Commission.

The Arts & Humanities Research Council established heritage as one of three priority research areas in 2018, emphasising heritage research as innovative, cross-disciplinary, and collaborative, studying themes such as global sustainable development, heritage in conflict, anticipating future heritage(s), amongst a broad range of interests, whilst creating 'pathways to research impact' (Arts & Humanities Research Council: 2018; 2023). The European Commission's heritage research strategy has moved away from the centrality of monumental protection principles (i.e., from arresting change or development of physical fabric) towards a definition of the heritage unit as existing 'in a continuous time... in a continuous territory... and by the perceptions of its local community' (European Commission, 2018, p.12).

How heritage specifically might be implicated within critical issues and themes whilst still coalescing as a discernible concept is an interesting problematic. In researching such crucial issues, the critical agenda may create its own set of innate values for heritage related to worthiness (e.g., connected to state research agendas and capacity for impact). Further, much research is still concerned with the critical challenges to and benefits of safeguarding and preserving culture rather than

querying the conservation project all together or concentrating explicitly on the way heritage practices articulate relations to the temporal (see DeSilvey, 2017, DeSilvey & Harrison, 2020, and Holtorf & Hogberg, 2015, for exceptions).

1.3.2 Theories of and theories for heritage

In their 2013 article, Waterton & Watson promote a 'critical imagination' towards heritage theorisation by discussing approaches within the field as theories in, of and for heritage and rejecting the notion that a unifying theory of heritage can be developed (Waterton & Watson, 2013). This reflects a concern with ensuring the relevance of critique within and for everyday practices of heritage beyond the academy (Waterton, 2014).

The different theoretical approaches adopted within the critical heritage field reflect a wider tension in social research between the representative and the more-than: how discourse relates to experience, or how ideology (as power, as politics) relates to practice (or what happens). Smith's (2006) focus on a discursive theorisation of heritage has been widely adopted (this is a theory of heritage, in Waterton & Watson's (2013) framing); this is in contrast with the 'more-than' orientation proposed by, for example Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2016), Waterton (2014), and Waterton & Watson (2015a), and the approach outlined by Harrison (2013) inspired by the Agential Realism of Karen Barad.

1.3.2.1 *Authorising discourses*

The Authorised Heritage Discourse, as proposed in Smith's *Uses of Heritage* (2006), is a theory of heritage which describes official heritage practices and the promotion of associated values, e.g. the authority of heritage 'experts' in terms of designating worthy heritage objects (exemplified in the preservation rhetoric of such agencies as UNESCO), and the primary inclusion of established sites of heritage most often associated with the cultural elite (such as royalty, aristocracy and national identity)

and linked closely to theories in heritage which sustain assumed innate and universal values of material things. As such, heritage is theorised as an expression of power and governance. Smith proposes an alternative theorisation of heritage as performance, memory, identity, and intangibility – as meaningful use in daily life – drawing on evidence from ethnographic case studies in the UK, USA, and Australia.

The discursive theorisation in Smith (2006) establishes a series of oppositions: community heritage is framed as a challenge to authorised approaches, intangibility is regarded as the source of authenticity rather than materiality, visitors are framed as uncritical consumers rather than active participants in processes of meaning-making. This is purposefully done by Smith to open a space for critique and challenge the very operation of the Authorised Heritage Discourse as a self-referential system.

One way of observing the Authorised Heritage Discourse in operation is to study the textual resources created in processes of heritage designation. In Section 2.2.1, I cite a typical example of this type of research – Valestrand's (2015) analysis of how a bus shelter became subject to preservation by Norway's heritage authority. The Authorised Heritage Discourse's descriptive utility is also demonstrated in Section 2.2.2 by Mate & Pocock's (2018) examination of car and road technologies as challenging an authorising view which characterises travel as neutral, smooth, and situated in non-places.

As Harrison (2013) highlights, the discursive approach leads to debate centred around if and how 'unofficial' heritage forms should be made 'official'. The authorising process does not discriminate, any object can be integrated into systems of heritage designation, whether it is material or intangible; and heritage values are in constant negotiation (Fredheim & Khalaf, 2016; Poullos, 2010; Gibson & Pendlebury, 2009). Other researchers, for example Macdonald, Gerbich & Von Oswald (2018) and Witcomb (2015) in the context of museums, challenge the notion

that authorising institutions and organisations exist as uniform dominant agents; rather, they are socially and materially constructed.

1.3.2.2 Affective encounters and practices as 'time-consciousness'

Heritage practices are distinct from wider registers of cultural expression and activity, because of their relation to the temporal dimension of human experiences.

Associated evaluation processes determine which things from the past are conserved or sustained: Holtorf (2015) describes heritage as a process through which the past is in some senses created, whilst it is also inherently a future-orientated practice due to the conservation logic it employs (Heritage Futures, 2013).

I refer to this quality of heritage practice and experience as 'time-consciousness'. This is distinct from historical consciousness as described by Gosselin & Livingstone (2016), which has overt pedagogical functions; it is more of a feeling or sensation than a thought and it is experienced within the context of the everyday as well as through engagement with official heritage places and things. Jones (2019) employs historical consciousness in this way, as a sort of 'past presencing' (p.101) and as a framework for making sense of change over time. By understanding the present in relation to past difference, Jones suggests that heritage encounters have a critical role in promoting social change, their efficacy dependent on visitors' emotional awareness and capacity for self-reflection. Approaches to heritage interpretation, such as reenactment and museum performance make overt the role of the body and the senses in the experience of time-consciousness (e.g., Jackson & Kidd, 2011; Johnson, 2019). Witcomb (2013) describes several other curatorial strategies which deploy the 'affective encounter' as a critical pedagogy.

Affect theories have been drawn on by contributors within critical heritage studies such as Waterton (2014), Crouch (2015), Gregory & Witcomb (2007), Hemmings (2019), Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2016), and Wetherell, Smith & Campbell

(2018) to explore further the experiential, performative, and emotional work which occurs in encounters with heritage, as a theorisation for heritage. For Waterton (2014), an affective theorisation offers a 'distinct way of conceptualising heritage in terms of the body, practice and performativity' (p.823). In contrast to discursive critiques which often focus on how heritage operates at a national scale, this approach aims to offer insights that are more relevant to professional heritage practitioners and consumers. Hemmings (2019) discusses the 'power' of affect in relation to museums and heritage; describing it as 'analogue' in terms of its operation: connected and relational. However, they are sceptical of affect's transformative capacity, arguing that how heritage encounters make us feel can strengthen existent hegemonic structures, whereas critical orientations such as feminism and queer theory inherently resist these.

There is no one established 'affect theory', but rather, researchers interested in affect are generally concerned with the pre-discursive (the non-/more-than-representational, or non-articulatable) and in more explicit ways with how the sensory and the emotional relate to the cognitive and the cultural. Harrison (2000), drawing on Raymond Williams (1977), articulates affect as a 'structure of feeling [which] indicates the edge of semantic availability, a place where experience encounters language' (p.498). Affect relates to the interpersonal relationships through which subjects and objects are formed; it suggests a focus on experience and feeling and how these define, respond to, or potentially challenge existent knowledge (Gregg & Seigworth, 2010).

In relation to heritage, one of the most significant aspects of affect is its concern with the emergence of meaning which occurs in moments of encounter, marking 'territories in time' (Felix Guattari's description in 'Logic of Affects', cited in Bertelsen & Murphie, 2010). If 'history misses the vast spectacle of human existence taking place before its eyes' (Harootunian, 2000, p.154), affect theories attend to the busy

reality of everyday non-events or almost happenings, 'what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values, and objects' (Ahmed, 2010, p.29).

Affect had been drawn into critical heritage approaches in two distinct ways: firstly, by Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2016) as related to the direct experiences of, or encounters with, heritage; and secondly by Wetherell, Smith & Campbell (2018) as a resource for further understanding the ideological operations of it, as 'affective practice'.

This thesis adopts an interest in the encounter as a site of heritage constitution which is sensory, embodied and affecting. As such, there are methodological implications in attending to the cross-modal (Highmore, 2010), 'more-than-representational' aspects of subjective experience, as not just what people do but also the situation in which they act. Theoretically, the encounter operates as an interpretative device, which is open to more tentative, imaginative and speculate accounts of 'what happens' between the people and things which we come to understand as heritage. An affect orientation, in this framing, queries established boundaries of official and unofficial, museum and visitor, material and intangible; it challenges 'alterity as an organizing intellectual logic' of heritage theorisation (Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson, 2016, p.2), instead retaining an interest in the interactive and the processual.

Wetherell, Smith & Campbell (2018) adopt a much more explicit connection between affect – as emotion, as feeling – and the discursive or ideological consequences of heritage. They distance themselves from readings of affect which attend to its experiential qualities (its immediacy, its intensities, its atmospheres), and instead propose that affect research within heritage studies should be concerned with 'affective practices': emotions as legitimising forces for the doing of heritage. As such, they are interested in the role of emotions in social action and attend to them to better understand how subjective meaning translates into culturally shared practices, such as commemoration. Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2016) also state

that 'heritage and its economies are driven by affective politics and consolidated through sensibilities such as pride, awe, joy, pain, fear' (p.4). The distinction perhaps is rather about what can be claimed as observable: who, where and what is being observed and how it is interpreted.

I recognise the coherence and value of the latter 'affective practice' approach. In Chapters 5 and 6, I draw on work related to nostalgia as an emotion closely related to heritage (Smith & Campbell, 2017), described as a critical tool for making sense of change and in the articulation of desires and values (see also Leboe & Ansons, 2006; Stewart, 1993; and Boym, 2007). However, my own approach is more closely aligned with the more-than-representational reading of affect adopted by Waterton and others.

1.3.2.3 Cultural materialism and thingness

Seigworth & Gregg (2010) describe affect as 'an ever-processual materiality' (p.9), as emergent through the interaction of different bodies with different capacities. Although heritage can be understood a process of assigning and sustaining values, I maintain an interest in how this process embodies itself within the material, the heritage object. This object may be an 'authentic' artefact surviving from the past or an inscription document produced by a heritage agent stored on a computer server. The heritage object becomes an anchor by which we can articulate and rearticulate our experiences, the only evidence and expression of durational time (Hamilakis, 2017). At their most fundamental, heritage meanings coalesce within us, our own bodies, through memories, mannerisms, physical scars, wrinkles and more. I am interested in objects-as-things because of their relationship to cultural meaning; this includes an interest in their physical qualities as eliciting sensory and embodied responses.

Material cultural studies have proposed methods for evaluating the relation between objects and culture. Prown (1982) describes a research process of description, deduction, and speculation through which an understanding of objects' physical reality (decay and renewal through use) and their relation to other things, people, times, and places can be generated. One category of object which he describes is the device; devices or tools are objects which can enhance our abilities, where practical use is their most significant value. Buses could be interpreted as devices in this classification; this study is an opportunity to investigate the relationship between utility-value and heritage as a process which is part of, not distinct from, the everyday.

Prown's (1982) method includes a speculative stage, described by him as 'creative imagining' (p.10) through which the function of objects as cultural indexes is tested and interpreted. Tilley (1994) examines this interpretation process in relation to post-structuralist approaches to archaeology, proposing that the material acts dialectically with the social: objects store social and cultural information, but they also produce the social. Pels, Hetherington & Vandenberghe (2002) further discuss this relationship, asking from where is meaning emergent: do objects exist as meaningful without 'human spokespersons' and conversely are social practices always 'materiality grounded in order to gain temporal and spatial endurance' (p.11)? A post-structuralist orientation would reject that objects hold 'originating meanings'; the process of interpretation is rather understood as recursive, reflexive, and never complete.

In Chapter 5, I refer to the 'thingness' of the London bus. Domanska (2006), referencing Heidegger's phenomenology, articulates the distinction between objects and things: objects are present material entities (which exists, out there), things reveal themselves through use (they are objects in relation to ourselves). Thingness is therefore descriptive of 'a particular subject-object relation' which is contingent and intimate, often revealed when objects 'stop working for us' and become obsolete

(Brown, 2001, p.4). Materiality is inextricable from sense-making, things are active participants in social practice; the transition of objects from everyday use to their designation as heritage is one occasion where this dialectic can be observed.

1.3.3 Meaningful objects, practices, and encounters

In this section, I have developed a definition of heritage as: things from the past which are able to and have been sustained. I investigate the processes of sustaining which take place in the moment of encounter with heritage and are experienced as time-consciousness: sensed and felt, as well as known. I articulate my definition of heritage in Figure 1.2 as an interaction between objects, practices, and encounters.

The emphasis placed on the processual and intangible aspects of heritage in, for example, Smith (2006, 2011) and Smith & Akagawa (2008) ‘forces a recognition of the inherent dissonant nature of heritage because of the immediacy of its production and consumption’ (Smith & Akagawa, 2008, p.5). This distinction is for the purposes of critique. In focusing on the moment of encounter with heritage, and attending to its multisensory, embodied and affecting attributes, I hope to keep in play both the material expression of heritage and the practices through which heritage meanings emerge.



Figure 1.2: Heritage explored as three interactive concepts.

Encounters with heritage form the central object of study within the thesis as afforded by the sites of the LTM, the 15(H) bus and in participants' homes. Keeping these sites in interplay, an understanding of the relationship between everyday life and heritage emerges, speaking to my own experiences of temporality on the 213 bus and how those formative feelings, sensations, and ideas subsequently have multiplied, amplified, and resonated through my own emergence as doctoral researcher and bus enthusiast.

Attending to the affective is trying to hold on to something of the actual experience: the convivial coffee with my participants before entering the museum, the caffeine and adrenaline fuelled note taking, the hairy ears and big hands, the generosity and companionship, the warm summer sun sitting on the upper deck of an old bus; or the diversion to phone and computer screen when my dad got sick again, conducting remote interviews from the room where he would die; and later my experiences as a new mum during Covid-19 lockdowns, rehearsing my thesis in the night whilst she fed and I could not sleep. The thesis will always be an entanglement of these experiences, even if language fixes it into a specific form which subsumes them into the more readily representative and significant.

1.4 Thesis Outline

This chapter has introduced the investigation, accounting for how I became interested in the relationship between heritage and everyday life riding on London's buses and how this has been developed into a doctoral research project. The second half of the chapter discussed the theoretical relationship between the everyday as experiences of the temporal with critical definitions of heritage. Relating my observations to the three elements of heritage objects, practices and encounters offers a useful interpretative strategy which is adopted through the remainder of the thesis.

Chapter 2 expands on the definitions of heritage developed here and considers in more detail the agents and sites involved in the research study. The chapter begins by presenting critical heritage research which adopts an affect orientation towards the interactions between visitors and official heritage. I then consider what is known about the sites of enquiry: transport museums, passenger journey performances and enthusiast-heritage relations to further define my objects of study, citing pertinent studies which have been conducted in relation to transport heritage objects.

Chapter 3 describes the plan for and implementation of the investigation. It discusses the methodological context for the research and identifies how the moment of encounter might be operationalised as an observable and analytical unit. The chapter accounts for case selection, ethical considerations, and processes of participant recruitment; it provides a detailed description of the implementation of each research stage and subsequent analysis, including the use and treatment of visual materials and the different interpretative forms I have adopted, including the use of collage in the form of museum trails and participant biographical travelcards.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 provide an analysis of my research materials. They are presented as a combination of stories, diagrams, collaged-images, photographs, extracts from participant interviews and fieldnotes, alongside discussions relating to existing literature.

- Chapter 4 explores visitor routes through the LTM as forms of heritage evaluation through which institutional, personal, public, and private values and identities are negotiated. Museum communication strategies are discussed and replicated in the form of leaflet trails organising encounters into analytical themes.
- Chapter 5 explores how the London bus and bus travel experience are endowed with significance at the LTM and on the 15(H) as representative of

bus thingness and of London as both a place and as politically performed (by passengers, TfL, the London Mayor and Greater London Authority).

- Chapter 6 reimagines bus enthusiast participants as heritage practitioners, engaged in the creation of records and the accumulation of collections. This activity is related to the formation of identity and community, but also to a wider experience of time-consciousness in daily life.

Chapter 7 is a broader discussion and conclusion which relates what I found out with critical heritage research. The first section discusses the relationship between my research and critical heritage. The second represents findings across three themes: bus things (exploring the values we assign to buses), bus people (how the bus creates publics, organisations, and enthusiasts), and bus times (remembering everyday experiences and events). I then reflect on aspects of my research practice: the methodological utility of the encounter, my application of different interpretative forms, the importance of researcher-participant relationships. I also suggest some potential future research directions.

2. Research Context

This review begins by considering how heritage scholars have defined and observed affective encounters at official sites such as museums, historic houses and more. I discuss the theoretical resources they have adopted (their specific application of affect) as well as their methodological approaches and summarise central findings across the selection. Shared between them is a concern for the experiential as constitutive of meaning, whether that be a particular focus on embodiment or emotional engagement, and how this constitutes subjects – visitors – as active participants in heritage interpretation.

The second half of the chapter presents what is known about the sites of enquiry and types of participants involved in the encounters which I intend to observe: transport museums, the passenger and their journey, and enthusiasts as ‘marginal actors’ who might reveal how everyday significance makes malleable officially recognised heritage forms. Research literature with a particular focus on transport heritage phenomena is drawn into this discussion, to consider how broader theoretical arguments, such as those derived from museum studies and mobilities studies, have been applied within the critical heritage context.

Overall, the chapter explores how existent research interprets the interrelationships between the temporal, (inter-) subjectivity, communities, and institutions, and how these are emergent through and experienced in moments of encounter.

2.1 Affective Encounters with Official Heritage

In this section of the chapter, I present an overview of affect orientated heritage research which has been conducted at official heritage sites such as conventional museums (Schorch, 2014; Matthews, 2019), historic houses (Hoare, 2020), living history museums, (Gregory & Witcomb, 2007; Waterton, 2018; Witcomb, 2013),

historic sites (Waterton & Watson, 2015a; Witcomb, 2012) and commemoration sites (Waterton & Dittmer, 2014).

The studies cited adopt a more-than-representational approach to heritage research, as outlined by Waterton (2014), which seeks to address the role of embodiment, performance, and emotional resonance (or lack of) in the conceptualisation of heritage by considering the visiting experience as more-than just the consumption of authorised narratives.

The studies theorise affect in different ways, for example Matthews (2019) adopts a psychoanalytical definition of affect as 'an internal phenomenon through which the self is called into presence' (p.331) in reference to exhibits at the Canada War Museum; Waterton & Dittmer (2014) use DeLanda's interpretation of Deleuze's assemblage theory to account for visitor encounters with the variety of objects, bodies, narratives, materials and more through which the Australian War Memorial is known. The processual or emergent nature of meaning through visitor interactions is a central theme: Schorch (2014), Waterton & Watson (2015a) and Witcomb (2013) are each concerned with how the embodied, the sensory, and the emotional are discursively and socially mediated, as 'cultural feeling' (Schorch, 2014) and explicitly for pedagogic and other functions by curatorial intervention (Gregory & Witcomb, 2007; Witcomb, 2013). Hoare (2020) attempts to measure affect by triangulating qualitative data about visiting perceptions which measurements of their physiological responses during the visit.

Visitors are framed as embodied subjects, never dispassionate witnesses, but always actively engaged with and relationally defined through the heritage encounter as an interpretative in-between space between them and the heritage site. In engaging with 'difficult' heritage topics such as recent warfare (Matthews, 2019; Waterton & Dittmer, 2014; Witcomb, 2012) and legacies of colonialism (Waterton, 2018; Witcomb, 2013), the dichotomy of self-other is complicated in the creation of 'difficult' subjects

(Witcomb, 2013). Processes of recognition and identification, as well as notable absences and gaps in historical narratives, elicit emotional responses in visitors which can be nostalgic, comforting, shaming, or disturbing; erasures of the other are not always readily accepted.

Based on 70 semi-structured qualitative interviews conducted at a historic site, Sovereign Hill (Australia), Waterton's (2018) study explores how visitors interact with it as a 'highly organised, heavily curated and tightly managed space, where history appears given, fixed and timeless' (p.223). The study is interested in heritage visiting as a 'lively, everyday practice' through which visitors curate meaning about their contemporary lives (p.221). This relates to their personal biography, social status, and embodiment in dialogue with the narratives of belonging and nationhood forwarded by the museum. The article presents examples of 'ruptures' within the museum's white anglophile narrative, such as focusing on one specific live performance exhibit, and the potential these offer for the emergence of an ethical 'thinking-feeling' subject, in part through the critical imagining of absent others.

Several other studies also focus on specific objects or exhibits, recording the researcher's experiences and observing other visitors' talk, gestures, and behaviours during their experiences.

The Australian War Memorial was the focus of one such study by Waterton & Dittmer (2014). They observed visitor engagement with three exhibits related to Australian military involvement in World War Two, the Vietnam War and the Korean War; and at the Grave to the Unknown Soldier. They were particularly interested in somatic (embodied) expectations of visitor performances, for example the expectation of solemnity and composure at the Grave site. Theorising these encounters as an 'assemblage', Waterton & Dittmer (2014) describe the Memorial as being in a constant state of becoming, between 'the narrative elements which attempt to stabilize meaning, but also the material elements that (re)compose it'

(p.124). Based on six days of field observations, they collected (auto-) ethnographic materials including participant observations, research diaries, audio and video recording, and photographs. Reflections are interpreted as four vignettes – as ‘experimental writing’ – a form of research interpretation which effectively conveys a sense of being there to the reader.

In another creative or experimental approach to re-framing the established interpretation of two museum artefacts, Matthews (2019) proposes a ‘fictive exhibition’. In this exhibition, a painting depicting a Canadian soldier engaging in war crimes in Somalia is hypothetically displayed alongside a limousine once belonging to Adolf Hitler. Matthews considers both artefacts as part of the structures of imperial violence and war, as ‘trophies’, where we are forced to confront the value and precarity of all human life as inherently grievable. She queries whether it is appropriate for visitors to pose in front of Hitler’s car and theorises this act as engaging in nationalistic ideology, as the victor in that conflict. A chance encounter with a military abuse survivor, reframed her understanding of the painting as not only depicting horror against a foreign ‘other’ but also horror towards the – often unconsciously nationalistic – self. Overall, the museum is problematised as not a site of national pride, but of shame – not just in overt depictions of human rights abuses, but in the uncritical behaviours of some visitors as ‘trophy hunters’.

In terms of engaging with participants, those who did so recruited from ordinary visitors at their sites of enquiry.

Of particular relevance to this investigation are the participatory methods adopted by Waterton & Watson (2015a) in their study of Towton Battlefield (UK). They began by examining the ‘core representations’ or the ‘collective memory’ of the site as a semiotic landscape. The main part of the enquiry involved adopting techniques of ‘walking-with’ participants or ‘walking through’ (a process for participants to self-report when researchers were not present) which were documented in fieldnotes

and through photography. The study was supplemented by correspondence with enthusiasts, which elicited expressive responses including poetry, images, links to YouTube clips, and prose about the personally held meanings and feelings towards the site. The research explored the connection between mobility and affective-emotional capacities during encounters as a visitor to a heritage site; how individual memories and experiences are drawn on, and collectively shared and sustained as broader cultural meaning.

Understanding the museum visit as a communicative interaction, Schorch (2014) sought to capture something of visitors' affective responses to heritage interpretation and their longer-term effects. Their study adopted a biographical narrative approach using semi-structured in-depth interviews with 12 participants to capture aspects of their sensory, emotive, and embodied engagement with exhibits at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, particularly a reconstructed Māori house. In later follow up phone-interviews, they identified that it was the embodied experiences as 'presence-with' which were most strongly remembered, aiding also in the recall of historical information.

Together, these studies offer examples of the potential of ethnographic-inspired methods of observation and researcher participation to understand the embodied, sensory, and affective qualities of encounters at official heritage sites such as museums. They reveal the critical potential of observing visitor interactions with specific exhibits, as a means of analysing or re-imagining the museum's intended narrative; suggesting that this is in fact always disrupted by the everyday practice of visiting by 'thinking-feeling' subjects. Matthews (2019) and Waterton & Dittmer (2014) adopt fictive or experimental forms of writing which offer both analytical insight and engaging interpretations of what happened but also what might become.

This study investigates the affective encounter as a process of heritage constitution, both at recognised heritage sites such as museums but also in the practice of

everyday life, when there is a heightened awareness of the temporal dimensions of experience. In the next section, I develop an understanding of who is involved in the encounters through which transport phenomena are defined as heritage. I consider some of the practices involved such as display, designation, and collection, and cite different examples of transport heritage objects.

2.2 Making (London) Transport Heritage(s)

Having discussed examples of critical heritage studies which adopt an affect orientation, I now identify literature which helps further define my focus of study: heritage making practices associated with London bus travel. This investigation is interested in practices which occur at the nexus between the official and the personal (or the public and the private, as articulated in Figure 1.1), with a particular focus on how everyday experiences (both now and remembered; in visiting the museum, on riding the bus) query the legitimacy of authorised heritage objects. These practices relate to transport museums, the passenger and their journey experiences, and bus enthusiasts as originating communities and collectors.

This section identifies the qualities of heritage-making practices across different actors and sites and suggests some of their ideological consequences. The first part on transport museums considers what a museum is (in reference to museum studies, particularly Macdonald, 2006) and what is distinctive about transport museums, their strategies of representation and conservation. Through a specific example (Shanks & Pearson, 2014), I explore if experimental modes of display could assist in a more 'critical' engagement with transport history. I then extend an understanding of transport museums' function in relation to originating organisations and infrastructures. This part closes with two examples of how authorising discourses have assimilated material expressions of transport infrastructure, a bus shelter (Valestrand, 2015) and a bus station (Toogood & Neate, 2013), into their evaluating systems.

Section 2.2.2 refocuses on the everyday experience of bus travel, the passenger, and the journey. This is significant because part of the business of transport museums is making representations of these experiences; but also, they are resources, as memories, which visitors bring with them. I frame this discussion in reference to mobilities studies, which defines travel as a meaningful social and cultural activity (Cresswell, 2011) and consider how everyday bus encounters are 'felt' as meaningful, constituting a specific relation between the subject and the temporal (e.g., Jain, 2009). Using two distinct examples, Stih & Schnock (n.d.) and Mate & Pocock (2018), I explore how journeys, reframed as re-enactment performances, might inspire an ethical relation to the past (Johnson, 2015).

Section 2.2.3 explores the specific subject position of enthusiast as a heritage practitioner. Firstly, I theorise enthusiast groups as a specific type of originating community for heritage value, as a 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1999). I cite studies which have explored the relationship between enthusiasts (often as volunteers) with official heritage sites. I then explore collecting as a heritage practice which enthusiasts are engaged in. Best's (2017) autoethnography provides insight into the intergenerational transmission of enthusiasm, but also how personal collecting practices influence heritage consumption and his affective responses during museum encounters.

The three sites – the museum and its visitors, the experience of bus travel, and enthusiast communities and practices – are broadly reflected in the analysis presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively. However, the intention is to also always consider them in interaction, by focusing on the complexity of heritage encounters and resisting established dichotomies such as official and unofficial. This draws on the affect orientated heritage literature cited in Section 2.1, in that when people encounter heritage, their experiences, bodily performances, affective engagements always transgress or impinge upon or reinterpret existent representative and discursive meanings.

2.2.1 Museums

I begin by outlining my theoretical understanding of museums, in relation to critical heritage studies. If the latter equates processes of cultural evaluation with their ideological consequences (for the individual and for society), then museums are sites where these processes are made present: in the museum-as-text but also in its materiality (objects, displays, architecture) and in the performances of its visitors.

My study could have been located within contemporary museum studies which Macdonald (2006) describes as an increasingly mainstream and interdisciplinary field, adopting a variety of methods and theoretical dispositions. This field builds on the 'New Museology' as outlined by Vergo (1989), which Macdonald (2006) summarises as having three primary features: firstly, that meanings and values associated with museum objects are situated and contextual, not inherent; secondly, that commercialisation and entertainment are significant components of the museum, not subservient to its pedagogic functions; thirdly, a substantial interest in the visitor perception of the museum. One of the critical concerns of contemporary museum studies has been to challenge the assumed supremacy of 'the visitor' as a subject with cultural rights to representation and access (after Bennett, 1995), and instead encourage engagement with the range of professional and visitor practices which take place in museums. Ultimately, there is a concern to address the problems of contemporary museum practice through empirical observation and theoretical engagement.

My own interest in the museum relates to the 'systems of value peculiar to the institution itself' (Vergo, 1989, p.2), its purpose as generating its own organisational identity. This is reflective of what Bennett (1995) describes as the double-differentiating function of museums: as a space of representation for and of the public, but rather applied inwardly. Transport museums commonly have close connections to commercial and governmental originating institutions; the

representations they make can be understood as constituting their own institutional identity, history, and politics. However, the museum-as-organisation is not considered an undifferentiated object, but rather an interaction of actors and processes (Macdonald, Gerbich & Von Oswald, 2018).

This study also adopts an understanding of the museum as a device of and for mass communication, as its own media form (Henning, 2006; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). This suggests a relationship to its audience(s); display articulated as facilitating a specific object-subject (e.g., Witcomb, 2015). Bennett (1995) considers 'showing and telling' as a distinctive aspect of the museum's operation, through which visitors perform its itinerary during a visit; he describes this performance as 'organised walking' and refers to visitors as 'minds on legs' (p.6). Hooper-Greenhill (1994) focuses more specifically on the communication models which might be present at the museum. Drawing on semiology theories, the communicative act is considered both intentional and unintentional on the part of the museum; it is also described as an unnatural form of communication with little opportunity for feedback and clarification. Hooper-Greenhill (1994) emphasises the active role of visitors in interpreting museum messages, without which communication hasn't taken place, arguing that: 'audiences actively interpret their experiences of museums in the light of many individual and social factors, including their backgrounds, cultural assumptions, level of knowledge and personal agenda for the museum visit' (p.47). She describes approaches adopted by museums to engage audiences in more natural forms of communication such as tours and demonstrations, but also argues that features beyond the displays themselves such as the architecture, shop and café experiences all contribute to audiences' 'image of the museum' (p.50).

Henning (2006) calls for a much more explicit 'materialist study of the museum as media-form' to understand its experiential and affective appeal, arguing that the stuff which makes up the museum experience acts as interference in the more overt strategies of communication adopted in interpretative texts or in the reading of

museums as ideological representation. Further, she proposes the museum as a site of romantic encounter, where visitors might imagine themselves differently, where subjectivity is both formed and reformed through sensory engagement with things on their own terms, rather than as part of the exhibition sequence which Bennett's (1995) critique focuses on.

There are clear synergies between these interests and the literature cited in Section 2.1. By theorising the visit as an affective-encounter, there is a space to consider different media and modes of communication, how the visitor is an active interpreter of museum texts, but also how what they 'read' is influenced by all the sensory, affective stimuli of the museum (its architecture, the lighting chosen, approaches to display) and by the memories and everyday experiences which visitors bring with them; how the encounter is one of mutual constitution.

Transport museums are understood as sites of heritage practice through which (political, ideological) representations are made of the network, the passenger, the transport operator, the city. These representations are engaged with and interpreted by visitors in multiple ways, through which heritage values and meanings are agreed, contested, sustained, or made redundant.

I now address transport museums, as a sub-type, which have specific practices and challenges arising from the attempt to collect and present mobile phenomena within the mostly static environments produced by conventional interpretative and display strategies. Secondly, I consider the motivations for the foundation and operation of transport museums from the 'official' perspective, understanding the London Transport Museum's (LTM) relationship to its parent organisation Transport for London (TfL) and how it might be operated by them as part of the symbolic infrastructure through which they control the capital's transport network. Thirdly, I discuss two examples where material expressions of transport infrastructure have become subject to heritage evaluation.

2.2.1.1 *Transport Museums*

Transport is a ubiquitous phenomenon of the social world and therefore transport themes might find a place in any museum dedicated to representing human history and experience, from science and technology to design and the pre-industrial past. Living and working history museums feature vehicles in operation as part of the historical scene they create. However, there are institutions which make specific representations of transport history in a variety of ways: dedicated transport museums. These might take the form of a traditional museum, displaying vehicles and associated artefacts, or they might present heritage experiences (e.g., preserved railways); they might be dedicated to a specific mode (e.g., National Railway Museum), place and places' industrial production (e.g., Coventry Transport Museum), or even specific manufacturers-as-brands (e.g., Aston Martin Heritage Trust). As an indication of the scale of interest in transport preservation, the National Association of Road Transport Museums is a UK-wide membership organisation representing around 100 institutions and individuals providing public access to approximately 3000 historic vehicles (National Association of Road Transport Museums, n.d.).

Divall & Scott's (2001) 'Making Histories in Transport Museums' is one of few resources dedicated to the history of and best practice in transport museums, using examples both within the UK and internationally. They emphasise the need to move away from a presentation of transport history as primarily technological and functional, towards representation as social history and material culture. As they propose, a critical transport museum would address the fundamental assumption that technology is beneficial and would ask questions of cost and benefit to society in a more holistic sense (p.71). Museums might do this through the presentation of objects in the context of use or in relation to narratives of social change (a comparison between today and the past), or through opportunities to experience transport from a new perspective, e.g., that of driver, mechanic, or conductor. The

representation of transport as social history is not merely an intellectual exercise but recognised as a fundamental requirement to attract new or diverse audiences, ensuring the economic survival of these museums.

The book focuses primarily on railed transport and living history museums such as heritage railway lines. Culturally, there is a privileging of rail as the modern mode, leading as it did to the development of standardised time (Schivelbusch, 1978); in the 19th century, private companies displayed their engines as a means of illustrating technological development and modern ideals, mirroring the wider fashion to exhibit. In the second half of the 20th century, line closures encouraged specialists and enthusiasts (often former employees) to maintain tracks by opening heritage railway attractions.

In contrast, the bus is a crude technology which doesn't demand specific large-scale infrastructure - roads can be used by many modes - so heritage presentation often focuses on the vehicle itself rather than a full recreation of the street scene (i.e., displaying bus stops and shelters specific to the place and era). Similarly, to rail, conservation efforts have been led by enthusiasts and former industry employees; vehicles are acquired for display at the point of becoming obsolete from daily service.

Harrison (2013) suggests that heritage objects have generally passed out of routine use. Transport and other industrial or working museums tend to disrupt this movement from use- to display- value in that they preserve vehicles in working order and often facilitate performative experiences such as running days using old vehicle to provide passenger experiences on specific routes. Additionally, within the gallery space, vehicles are often presented as part of dioramas or stages which you can enter and experience. Divall & Scott (2001) explore the practical problem of the presentation and storage of often large and heavy objects; this has led to an 'open storage' approach such as at LTM's Acton Depot, where the behind-the-scenes

heritage work of cleaning, conservation and so on becomes part of the visiting experience (London Transport Museum, 2015). In these way, transport museums represent greater opportunities for embodied and sensory engagement with heritage objects than other museum types.

Shanks & Pearson (2014) suggest that display itself is performative, and discuss its role in the re-presenting of memory, desire, and aspiration, in relation to a piece of what they describe as 'theatre/archaeology'. They discuss the presentation of a Chevrolet alongside a documentary film and spoken word performance which was intended as a sensory re-enactment of the cultural importance of the car and driving experiences. In this material performance (or 'assemblage') and its further representation within a research article, they say something theoretically about both mobility and our experience of the temporal which it facilitates. For them, mobility is not just a physical displacement in cartesian space, but also a state of mind. The encounter with the Chevrolet is also an encounter with different temporal states: trace - the material remains from the past; vestige - the account of what happened; actuality - the moment of intervention of the past in the present; hope and future prospect - a particular kind of political representation which 'redeems past hopes' (p.110). Shanks & Pearson's example offers an imaginative and creative response to the problem of display which in my knowledge of transport museums is not widely adopted, particularly in permanent galleries. However, in applying their concept of theatre/archaeology more generally, we can infer that through encounters with heritage displays we are, in some sense, both spatially and temporally displaced; meanings emerge in the in-between.

2.2.1.2 Organisations and infrastructure

Museums are not just neutral, authorising, or monolithic sites of representation, but rather complex social organisations. They are made up of a network of people, places, objects, and others through which power is practiced and articulated as

institutional identity (Macdonald, Gerbich & Von Oswald, 2018). In the case of many transport museums, they also have an ongoing relationship with parent, or originating, organisations such as local and regional transport authorities, operators, manufacturers, and hobbyist groups.

The LTM is a public museum, with a financial and governance relationship with the Mayor of London, the Greater London Authority, and TfL. It also presents the commercial history of transport operators and manufacturers, and some of today's activities are sponsored by industry partners.

Due to the LTM's direct governance relationship with TfL it could be described as a corporate museum. Corporate museums have both inward and outward facing functions (Castellani & Rossato, 2014). Inward facing functions, those which service the company themselves include: the recording and representation of institutional history, culture, and identity, through operation as a site of organisational memory. Corporate museums are a potential resource for contemporary management decision making, inspiring creativity and innovation. They also offer a source of revenue.

Outward, or public-facing functions of corporate museums include their uses as strategic tools for the company to strengthen the bond between the consumer and the brand (Mitchell & Orwig, 2002) through promoting the company's image and reputation, its mission and impact (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2001). Many have explicit educational functions telling stories of foundation, significant staff, and events (Nissley & Casey, 2002). They engage with visitors who have some sense of organisational affiliation and through offering entertainment focused activities.

As Rowlinson, Booth, Clark, Delahaye, & Procter (2010) highlight, we live in a society dominated by organisations and yet the relationship between organisations and cultural memory (and by extension heritage) is under-researched in favour of the

nation, the local community, and the family. Questioning how and what organisations choose to remember is indicative of wider social and cultural values; in the case of the LTM, as well as serving TfL's internal needs, the museum can also be said to represent social and working history as London Transport was once the capital's biggest employer. The processes of remembering and forgetting which take place at corporate museums are used to justify and explain organisational actions (Nissley & Casey, 2002). Public relations missteps, corporate failings, union conflicts and ethical lapses can be strategically and purposefully forgotten, or potentially critically engaged with to prevent future repetition.

As such, the LTM can also be understood as part of the transport infrastructure in London, as an instrument of technopolitics (Larkin, 2013). Anand (2017, 2020) in their exploration of water supply systems describes infrastructure as a form of rule over citizen-subjects, through the distribution of goods and services; Larkin (2013) describes them as technological systems which regulate populations and territories. Publics, the political communities that infrastructures create, emerge in the gap between an expectation of 'universal, undifferentiated service' and what actually happens. 'Publics are brought into being by the material and intimate political commitments to care about... [service] distribution' (Anand, 2017) – whether that be the provision and maintenance of a bus network or representations of our (past, individual, and collective) selves in heritage places.

This connects to Bennet's (1995) premise that modern museums are 'technologies of progress', involved in nation building and the modern projects of colonialism and capitalism, in the construction of visitors as citizens and as consumers. In contrast, Gosselin & Livingstone (2016) describe the post-modern museum as orientated to serving the public good, in meeting the needs of a community or promoting social justice. The LTM is part of the wider London transport infrastructure and as a public museum, it is also part of the operations through which the state, national and local government, makes representations of themselves and their publics.

2.2.1.3 Official transport heritage beyond the museum

One of the key features of infrastructural operation is its covert nature: we think of the LTM firstly as a visitor destination, or a source of historical knowledge, rather than recognising its political and representational functions and its organisational status. Outside of the museum, heritage processes assign value and significance to the material expressions of transport infrastructure, and as such make it more visible. I now discuss this in relation to a Norwegian bus shelter and a British bus station, subject to official heritage designation which make claim to these sites as heritage objects, rather than recognising their operational value.

I discuss the following examples to illustrate how everyday objects are assimilated by the process of heritage authorisation, as described by Smith (2006). In both cases, community-held values and experiences of significance are essentially or actively excluded from official designation processes, as is the practical utility of the objects within transport infrastructure. As examples of the Authorised Heritage Discourse in action, both involve national-level official agents in processes of inscription through which tangible artefacts are conferred with innate and eternal values; analogous to the processes of collection taking place within museums.

Valestrand (2015) uses critical discourse analysis of policy documents to describe how a Norwegian bus shelter in Bjørnevatn became subject to a special protection order in March 2008. This was an official designation by the Norwegian Heritage Authority, as part of a project to select 12 examples of cultural heritage in daily life. The bus shelter is not conventional in that it is made from a piece of digging machinery (the forked scoop section) used previously in the ex-mining village where it is situated (Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1 Bus shelter in Bjørnevatn, Norway.

Valestrand (2015) illustrates how the shelter's designation documents valorise the local industrial history whilst failing to address or engage with either the contemporary social situation (unemployment due to the mines closing), the industrial use of the object, or even its present-day function as a bus shelter (as social meeting place, as transport infrastructure). The stated aim of the designation project was to inscribe everyday objects, yet the public were not consulted during the selection process, and this is not a typical Norwegian bus shelter. The shelter is transformed into a symbol or even a monument to the past successes of a now declining local industry. For Valestrand, this is an example of how the authorising discourse misrecognises and misrepresents workers and the histories of their communities. In reference to my own interests, the inscription fails to explore the values associated with the shelter as part of local transport history and use, or to the sense of place it creates by referencing the area's industrial past.

The authorising discourse frames Bjørnevatn's bus shelter as a curious material object with symbolic value. The designation of Preston Bus Station, UK, is another example where the authorising process fails to recognise the significance of heritage objects in use and as existing alongside and as part of everyday experiences. The

1960s Brutalist station received statutory protection as a Grade II listed building due to its innate architectural, aesthetic, and material value in September 2013, rather than the fact it is being used by 56,000 people daily. Figure 2.2 shows the exterior and interior of the station.



Figure 2.2 Preston Bus Station, 17th March 2022.

The station was subject to a research project by Toogood & Neate (2013) who used interview and participant observation to explore the ‘unofficial’ values ascribed to the station as a ‘public icon’. They found that many consider the station as expressive of historical and contemporary aspirations for the town and its public spaces.

The paper describes how community and creative action led to a ‘public assemblage’ of ‘informal resistance’ to the station’s demolition including a social media campaign, production of a film, a petition, and local debates. Toogood & Neate (2013) describe the four types of value through which the station was judged: as built heritage, as public space, as campaign focus, and as creative inspiration. They describe the authorising process as ‘fetishizing’ and overly legal and technical, accounting for the architectural value only and ignoring other interests including emotional, embodied, and economic arguments for the station’s survival. For an example of the station’s creative potential and use, see ‘Conductor’, a performance artwork by Keith Harrison (2019) comprising of buses in choreographed motion.

In both cases of shelter and station, we can infer that the authorising processes through which heritage is inscribed are based on technical, material, and aesthetic attributes which can adequately be described discursively, rather than values associated with context and experience: in everyday life, as memories and as acts of creativity. Although Valestrand's (2015) article is critical of this process, Toogood & Neate's (2013) contribution is a more holistic attempt at exploring what heritage is from the perspective of different stakeholders, and how one might challenge or even operationalise formal designation processes for alternative purposes. The second study indicates the critical insight of investigating authorising processes in reference to community held values, to understand and potentially challenge the values which underpin established heritage designation practices.

2.2.2 Mobilities

Representations of heritage made in transport museums and through the official designation of heritage objects might emphasise the technological and historical development of transport organisations and infrastructures, but they also make, perhaps less intentionally, representations of the passenger and their journey. In this section, I present research which accounts for the bus travelling phenomenon as an embodied and affective encounter through which the subject is constituted in relation to the temporal.

Returning to Shanks and Pearson's (2014) articulation of different temporal states, in museum encounters we might engage more overtly with trace and vestige (the material remains from the past and accounts of what happened); everyday life on the bus is an experience of actuality (the past enfolded in the present as a happening (after Ahmed, 2010)). How the phenomenon of bus travel is understood and interpreted in research literature is itself useful contextual information for investigating the representational practices of the LTM and bus enthusiast

participants. The studies cited in this section also highlight the cultural significance of bus travel as a potentially worthy topic for heritagisation.

This section draws primarily on contributions within the field of cultural geography and mobility studies which adopt qualitative research approaches to and a theoretical understanding of transport as a social and cultural phenomenon and everyday experience. Mobilities research challenges traditional conceptualisations of transport as an inherently spatial and economic problem (about getting from A to B in the cheapest, quickest time) and focuses research attention on transport as a relational practice between humans, non-humans, ideas, and more, through processes of movement. Cresswell (2011) summarises the interests of mobilities researchers as essentially resisting bounded understandings of what transport is and exploring its relationship to 'constellations of power'; against an understanding of transport as neutral, technological process (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Büscher & Urry (2009) suggest five interdependent mobilities that produce social life: corporeal travel, the physical movement of objects, imaginative travel (the consumption of representations of place), virtual travel (online, e.g., bank transfer) and communicative travel. Mobilities researchers are interested in the meanings and significance of time-travelled, as 'an ethical and political issue as much as a utilitarian and practical one' (Cresswell, 2011, p.552). Stillness and immobility are essential aspects of movement phenomena; absence is as integral as presence (e.g., the wait at the bus stop, cancelled services, being stuck in traffic).

The distinction between space and place is an ongoing problematic within mobilities research: Docherty, Giuliano & Houston (2008) describe space as a 'territory of processes' whereas place is a 'bounded location of activity' (p.84). Although movement phenomena are spatial, they are also 'always located and materialised' (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p.210); 'a multisensory materiality taps into the depths of embodied experience, establishing a space as a place that we can connect to and thus experience as meaningful' (Hopsch, Marco & McCann, 2014, p.10). Thinking of

heritage as a product of flows of movement through time and space challenges its established qualities as fixed, inalienable, a complete (past) object within a defined, unchanging place; as such, the work of mobilities scholars elides with the interests of critical heritage scholars who are exploring the potential of more-than-representational theories.

In investigating how heritage agents make representations of the bus travelling phenomenon, how it is collected as a heritage object, I draw on the interests of mobilities studies, in for example not accepting that the presentation of vehicles (as technological devices) is an adequate strategy for conveying the phenomenon's social and cultural significance. If bus travelling is rather understood as a practice, performed or enacted, then the figure of the passenger is significant, as is the experience of the journey as an embodied event. Journeying, read in relation to the temporal, can be redefined as a form of heritage re-enactment taking place in everyday life. Re-enactment is described by Johnson (2015) as both a source of historical knowledge and an ethnographically inflected method for historical enquiry, involving a 'visceral, ephemeral and sensual way of knowing the past' [p.4].

2.2.2.1 The passenger

Just as heritage practices are constitutive of identity, so has bus travel been theorised as a space-time when subjects are defined through their performances as passengers. In traditional transport research, passengers are objectified by various categories, e.g., age, gender, purpose of travel – and this is reported in quantitative ways in order to make (economically driven) service decisions (e.g., Transport for London's Bus User Survey: TNS, 2014).

Mobilities research problematises the concept of the passenger who is transformed into a cultural, ethical, and political figure; at a theoretical level, the passenger occupies a position which can be neither reduced to an objective category nor

expanded to a purely subjective position; the passenger is a liminal, negotiated identity (Adey, Bissell, McCormack & Merriman, 2012). The journey requires a sort of suspension of individual agency, passengers must be carried, they become part of a temporary community; and it requires what Goffman (1959) might describe as a 'performance' as passenger. People in the bus are a 'performance team', interdependent on each other, familiar with the rules of travel, cooperating to stage the routine of bus travel through 'the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status' as passenger (p.27).

Bus travelling has been subject to ethnographic enquiry by Wilson (2011), and Koefoed, Christensen & Simonsen (2017) who reveal wider cultural implications of passenger performances. Both studies account for bus travel as a place of encounter, with the self and the other, through which notions of belonging and difference are enacted.

Wilson's (2011) study of one Birmingham bus route explores the ethical aspects of bus travel, and the 'tacit obligations' to others which it requires. Ethical relationships between passengers, however minimal, are a requirement of the public transport experience but 'an empty bus seat on a crowded bus can have powerful and enduring effects' (p.635) which conveys and reinforces cultural attitudes such as racism or ageism.

Koefoed et al. (2017) investigated similar themes in their study of Copenhagen's 5A bus route, the city's busiest route which crosses from a multicultural suburb through the gentrified centre and to the outskirts. Through participant observation and interviews with passengers and drivers, they consider the bus journey as a myriad of cross-cultural encounters and a 'complex spatial negotiation of difference' (p.726). Differences based on gender, ethnicity, age, and use of language are ignored or marked in temporary groupings based on perceived sameness, particularly when the bus is crowded. They theorise bus travelling as a social and material expression of

global politics, performed as both-way racism and attempts at controlling the perceived threat posed by strangers. It would be interesting to read a new analysis based on temporal experiences - either how the route and the performances change at different times of day but also, how passengers relate their experiences to other times in their biography, for example rituals of bus travel in countries of origin or other experiences of 'little racism'.

A frame for which Wilson (2011) and Koefoed et al. (2017) might be understood together and in relation to the concept of heritage is 'travelling memory' as outlined by Erll (2011). Erll argues that transculturality is part of our everyday life experience, as we negotiate and perform multiple membership identities unbounded by space, time, political and national borders even as they are continually temporally constituted. Memory too isn't fixed but rather it moves and is moved, who we are to ourselves is constantly negotiated and influenced by the presence of others.

Further, I am interested in how the rules of travel are transmitted intersubjectively and intergenerationally, as a sort of intangible cultural practice. How do we learn to be passengers? The practices of passengering could be described as a type of embodied memory-work, whereby the social norms of bus travel are passed on to new travellers through routine activities such as hailing the bus, negotiating into and out of a seat and whether we thank the driver amongst other behaviours, changing dependent on the familiarity of bus route, the time of day and the demographic of the passenger body.

Travelling practices and skills are historically situated and acquired, as Lofgren's (2008) article on rail travel makes clear; travel spaces are a concrete materialisation of modernity through which citizens are characterised as timekeepers, crowd handlers and class analysts. There is an element of re-enactment in the daily repetition of bus travel, whereby we relive both the immediate, autobiographical past and the more distant past, or the past of others, in our actions.

The significance of the relationship between the everyday bus travelling experience and the historical was made vivid to me when I learnt of an entry for the Berlin Holocaust Memorial design competition by artists Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock (Stih & Schnock, n.d.; Till, 2005). Their memorial, called 'Bus Stop!', proposed bus routes - with associated stops and red buses displaying their destination in large, white letters - which would take visitors to sites of National Socialist atrocity such as concentration camps, both near and far from the capital. The intention was that through the giving over of time in the contemporary – riding the bus – passengers would directly trace the lives of German Jews, in what was often their final journeys.

Bus Stop! was designed as a critique of the function of memory within the public sphere: instead of being contained physically, spatially, and temporally within the form of a monument, the act of remembrance was directed back into the 'banal everyday' where Nazism itself was enacted. It proposed that bearing witness to the past in the living of our daily lives is an ethical demand, and specifically, that we might empathise more completely with Holocaust victims by doing so. In contrast, the memorial as built (designed by Peter Eisenman) has been critiqued as a monumental cemetery, devoid of real connection to the lives it represents.

The heritage encounters proposed by Bus Stop! are in one sense conventional (history embodied in the physical places it happened) but also provocative in their treatment of the visitor as conscious, active citizen. The proposal was popular with the Berlin public and local art scene, which eventually published a bus timetable featuring information about atrocity sites and how to use existing transport networks to get there; this was reissued in 2005. This timetable was described by the artists as a 'portable memorial in your pocket' (Stih & Schnock, n.d.), facilitating passengers in their acts of remembrance, despite the lack of specific infrastructure. The project proposed an alternative heritage practice of memorialisation through experience rather than object; in my own view, its critical potential was further heightened by official rejection and reformulation as performative using existing routes.

The problem of how passengers and their experiences are represented in a museum could be framed as a demographic issue, in for example, ensuring women, ethnic minority and disabled people are adequately present within displays and interpretation. However, returning back to Adey et al (2012), there is actually something more subtle in the passenger performance: it is about the negotiation of difference, the social processes through which identity is known in relation to others, between object and subject. The rules of bus travel, whether overt or tacit, are one avenue for heritage interpretation, and are adopted at the LTM in relation to Shillibeer's Omnibus (discussed in Section 5.2.1).

2.2.2.2 The journey

Despite a focus on the performative aspects of travel, geographers maintain a specific interest in the spatial and economic attributes of transport systems, 'because people and goods have to get places' (Knowles, Shaw & Docherty, 2008, p.4), with place understood as a sort of 'fixing' of mobility. This restraint of mobility is present on the bus, in the fare as condition of entry, the 'enforced proximity' of passengers, and the bus itself confined to a specific route and timetable (Stradling & Anable, 2008).

Mate & Pocock (2018) have explored the relationship between their own car journeys as a heritage performance implicated in the constructure of place. Their article, based on ethnographic case studies, describes the sensory experience of travel on local roads and equates this to an embodied experience of place and landscape which creates memory and meaning. In contrast new vehicle technologies as 'silent smooth cocoons' and motorways as planar non-places (after Augé, 1995) pose a threat to the conservation of their driving experiences. Contemporary travel infrastructure is characterised as homogenous, disconnected, controlled, and controlling: as space not place.

This article makes the case for preserving 20th century driving culture and experience of place, without recognising that this culture was - and is - itself destructive ('as evidence of collective madness', according to Moran, 2010, p.115). The article doesn't critically engage with why new technologies are introduced, or the affordances of contemporary mobility for the driver as engaged body (as outlined in research by Dawson, 2017). The authors' analysis of their own experiences is itself an example of the 'loss aversion' which underpins much heritage management (Holtorf, 2015), the assumption that their driving experiences should be conserved or are in some sense superior to what might come next. At the same time, the article suggests something about the heritage of everyday journeying as an embodied interaction between people, their devices, the surrounding place, and memory. It is the remembrance and reliving of experience which becomes the locus of heritage value. That these are by nature always subject to subtle or dramatic change is framed as a negative by Mate & Pocock (2018).

Through mobilities research it has emerged that time is in fact the currency of travel (Lyons & Loo, 2008): the question is not 'where to?' but 'how long?' it takes to get to or through places. In a transactional understanding, the time spent travelling can be theorised as a 'gift': to others, displaying a commitment to co-presence, but also to oneself as providing a transitional space and 'time out' (Jain & Lyons, 2008). The uses of travel time and the experience of time when travelling have attracted research interest which I discuss below.

The bus journey facilitates a relation with the temporal. In a survey conducted by Stradling, Carreno, Rye & Noble (2007), one of the significant findings towards an 'ideal' urban bus journey was the opportunity for respondents to adopt a 'state of mind' which 'involve[s] being transported while switched off. It is smooth, tranquil. Undisturbed, relaxed, absorbed, engaged with the moment yet 'elsewhere', and is pleasurable without being ecstatic' (p. 290). There's something here about being

able to maintain an absent-presence which is particular to the pace and rhythm of urban bus travel.

Jain & Lyons (2008) suggest that time is experienced in two distinct ways during journeys. The first is 'transition time', how we experience distance already travelled whilst also maintaining a state of anticipation for arrival, including the preparation of selves and belongings for departure. The second is 'time out', where the journey offers passengers with an escape from their obligations, when even the experience of boredom 'might facilitate time for thinking or relaxing' (p.84).

Jain (2009) has published a more poetic account of their experiences of mundane bus journeys as places of culture and ritual. Using ethnographic observations, they capture the essence of bus travel as a sensory, emotional, and embodied experience of place improvised by passengers and their belongings within time-space; a 'mobility-scape'. The bus service provides some limited and linear structure to time through the timetable, design of route, regulation of the service and so on in within which passengers have their own temporal experiences.

Time travel emerges in a temporary making of place; the bus...is a stage where any number of identities emerge ... spontaneous conversations and unexpected encounters shift the bus into a stage of social interaction where time is too short and the brief encounters of the short bus hop are left with promises of more.

Jain (2009, p.95; p.104)

Time is experienced subjectively on the bus, dependent on passenger activity, travel conditions and time flexibility-constraint (the urgency of the journey, e.g., running late). The journey begins with preparations for travel at home and the wait for the bus has its own performative qualities related to anticipation and expectation of becoming a passenger. Frequent bus stoppings punctuate the journey's flow.

Crouch (2015) in discussing the relation between heritage, affect and feeling, makes the analogy that heritage too is experienced like a journey:

More than individual and private, journeys are frequently inter-subjective in absence and presence. Journeys occur in and among instants and moments but act relationally with time. Our pasts are mutually enveloped, unevenly and awkwardly enfolded in this mass of convolutions: challenged, affirmed, questioned.

Crouch (2015, p.178)

Like Erll (2011), quoted above, they propose that memory travels. It is not linearly placed in time, but rather emergent in reference to the personal and institutional memories of others, activated by actions and contexts within moments.

The multiple aspects of travel time discussed here relate to my interest in time-consciousness and are perhaps how I initially connected the experience of bus travel with the concept of heritage as an affecting temporal encounter. In evaluating heritage significance, transport museums and bus enthusiasts consider not just the historical, but also the present and the immediate of being passengers on journeys. The anticipation of what happens next, of arriving in places, is a central quality of the journey.

2.2.3 Enthusiasts

In this final part, I propose the enthusiast as a pivotal subject position in the translation of everyday journey experiences into recognisable heritage forms; as a sort of 'originating community' for the activities of transport museums. As such, they are cast not only as passengers, but also as heritage practitioners with their own values and behaviours, as Waterton & Watson (2015a) found in their own engagements with Towton Battlefield enthusiasts.

In their activities, enthusiasts make visible bus transport infrastructure because they make note of matters which most of us would find unnoteworthy. As such, they also identify themselves as different. As Gobo & Molle (2017) state in their introduction to ethnographic methods, 'marginal actors', those we perceive as deviant, can be good sources of information. Enthusiasts offer an insight into the relationship between official, authorising, and professional heritage practices and the activities of knowledgeable amateurs, individually and as communities. They complicate notions of rational expertise, implicating affects such as passion, obsession, and joy in signification processes.

2.2.3.1 Sustaining communities

The European Commission (2018)'s view of the heritage unit is that it can only be preserved through the activities of a sustaining community. Dominant concepts of community within heritage practice affirm the status of expertise in preservation management decisions (Waterton & Smith, 2010). As such, heritage is done for, rather than with, the communities which are claimed to be represented in heritage places and museums, and certain group identities are affirmed whilst others are not. But expertise is not held solely by professionals.

In the case of London bus travel, the heritage community might be passengers, enthusiasts, TfL (former) employees, museum staff, Londoners, and/or tourists. The concept of 'community of practice' is useful in that it resists objective descriptors and rather suggests that communities can be formed through the collective, shared activities of individuals; not originating in who we are but in what we do, with whom we do it and why it has meaning for us.

The concept of communities of practice emerged from theories of learning and participation. Holmes & Meyerhoff (1999) define them as: 'an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour' (p.174) who

develop associated repertoires including behaviours and vocabularies. As Wenger (1999) states, we all belong to communities of practice related to our lived experiences and participation in social life; our identity, our subjectivity has multiple avenues of expression. As an example, the passenger body might be considered one community of practice, combined in the joint enterprise of enacting the journey.

Communities of practice offer an account of knowledge and meaning transmission which is situated in experience rather than social structure and hierarchy; through shared meaningful doing, organisational and other communal knowledge is transmitted to new generations of members. Geoghegan's (2013) observations with the UK Telecommunications Heritage Group affirm some of these assertions. She describes enthusiasm as emotional affiliation, not just with the object of fascination, or related to the 'felt interiority' of the subjective individual but also between members of the Group. Membership is a leveller between individuals where different experiences, histories and knowledge are respected and where individual behaviours are moderated.

Case studies of enthusiast interactions with official heritage trouble the definitions of amateur, professional, and expert. Thomas & Deckers's (2022) research about hobbyist archaeologists at Belgian First World War sites is an example of what Waterton & Smith (2010) describe; the increased involvement of bureaucratising professional archaeologists led to the literal exclusion of the hobbyist community from sites they had dug for many years. Hobbyist contributions to the understanding of those sites and their stewardship over decades was gradually reclassified and controlled as 'public participation' in response to the demand for recognition.

Craggs, Geoghegan & Neate (2016) and Meyer (2008) describe more productive engagements between enthusiasts and heritage professionals in their case studies of the Twentieth Century Society (UK based architectural conservation society) and the Luxembourg Museum of Natural History, respectively. Professionals at the Twentieth

Century Society need to perform rational expert knowledge, whilst volunteers were allowed much more freely to engage in the 'conviviality of a passion shared' (Craggs, et al., 2014, p.4), even as this passion was a motivational factor for both. Enthusiast-volunteers at the society are deemed a valuable resource to expand expertise, and provide networking opportunities with other interested bodies, in the creation of collective public knowledge. Meyer (2008) articulates the boundaries between amateur-volunteers and professionals in the construction of scientific knowledge as material, temporal, and spatial. Amateurs are free to pursue situated knowledge through practices which expand into their free-time, homes, possessions and so on; professionals have an overriding concern with the adequacy of their representations as 'objective'. 'Boundary maintenance and boundary crossing take place at the same time' (Meyer, 2008, p.46) and are part of a relationship of care between the people and things through which knowledge is created.

These examples reveal the incursion of enthusiast values within official processes of knowledge creation, with professionals and amateurs forming communities of practice and engaged in the shared enterprise of heritage-making. Motivations are shared, as emotional and passion-led, whilst their visible expressions are regulated in terms of exhibiting 'appropriate' behaviours.

2.2.3.2 Collecting practices

Best's (2017) autoethnography explores many of the seams in my own investigation: how individual enthusiast identities and practices, particularly collecting, influence the consumption of place (in his case, as touristic travel) and the visitor's interpretative and affective responses to museum exhibits. In his article, Best (2017) explains how his dad's enthusiasm for motor race cars was passed down to him through the collection of associated artefacts and ephemera. His account is an example of intergenerational transmission of enthusiasm and indicative of the role of objects in sustaining enthusiast interests.

Much of the thesis focuses on the possession of material things as an expression of heritage meanings: the collections held for the nation at the LTM, the buses owned by the company operating the 15(H) and the personal effects of research participants. The values associated with emergent collections are in continual negotiation (Pearce, 1994) with objects transitioning between categories as transient (in use), durable (as evidence) and rubbish (Thompson, 1994).

Collections reveal the personal, social, and cultural uses that heritage objects perform. They are actively curated by individuals and groups, privately and for public purposes. Collecting is linked to consumer behaviour and Marxist theories of the commodity (e.g., Appadurai, 1994); objects are made meaningful through classification and categorisation, also as maintaining a metonymic relation to the past (Pearce, 1994). For Best (2017), associations made between his collection and advertising imagery in television and print have directly influenced his touristic practices in the contemporary; they are also deeply linked to his childhood memories and identity as his father's son.

Addressing the role of enthusiasts as collectors, Belk (1988; 1991) informs my understanding of how possessions become collections and their relation to enthusiast identity. He describes possessions as an explicit tool, acting as selective repositories which represent who we wish we were, and who we want to be in the prospective future, as an 'extended self' (Belk, 1988). He describes several ways in which possessions relate us to the personal and collective past, as symbols of specific events or relationships and people, evoking memories and emotional responses which are not always predictable (e.g., the visceral quality of *Deja vu*), providing a sense of security related to our status and identity.

I am particularly interested in Belk's idea of possessions as a spatial expansion of the self across time. Gibson (2004) explores this in relation to 'melancholy objects', possessions of the deceased used by the grieving to mediate feelings of attachment

and separation. Based on 30 participant interviews, different objects such as clothing literally re-embody the deceased; they are smelt, hugged and kissed, in some sense 'part of the substance *of* their [the deceased's] very being' (p.293). Meanwhile, for the living, objects and their organisation as collections connect us to our past selves and make meaningful representations of our own biographies (Stewart, 1993).

The connections between the historical and the biographical which collections and their display make are illustrated in Best's (2017) account of a museum visit. He describes his affective responses to encountering various museum exhibits, including Rosa Parks' bus ('I could sense nothing of that eventful December day', p.62) and the car which President J F Kennedy was assassinated in which affected him profoundly ('intensity', 'shock', 'heartbreaking' even though 'no trace of that dreadful November day remains'; p.62). Best relates these responses to his own personal memories, first-hand of watching the assassination on TV, but does not critically examine why he might more readily empathise with a glamorous white male over a black woman on a bus, or how this might relate to his wider point about the commodification of place in relation to the male gaze. Through engagement with heritage objects and displays, aspects of Best's identity such as son, motor enthusiast, heritage researcher, tourist, and white male are activated in different ways. These aspects of his identity define and reinforce values he associates with his own possessions, and those items he views on museum display.

This section of the chapter begins and ends with a consideration of the museum visit. In the first part, I discussed the museum as a form of mass media communication, seeking to transmit specific messages to its visitors through the presentation of collections and more. Through the representation of transport history, organisational identities are also expressed and the function of the museum as part of transport infrastructure is discussed. I then explored more directly the relationship between heritage and the everyday, firstly in the assimilation of transport objects into official designation, but then in the characterisation of bus journeying as

an encounter with the temporal, in multiple senses. Enthusiasts, as communities and collectors are discussed as originators of heritage significance, between amateur and expert. I end with an example of how the specific enthusiast draws on his personal collecting practices as motivation for travelling and as a resource during encounters with artefacts at a transport museum.

2.3 Implications for the Investigation

Section 2.1 considered how the affective encounter has been theorised, observed, and interpreted by heritage scholars in relation to the visiting experience, drawing on a more than representational understanding of heritage meanings (Waterton, 2014). Through encounters, visitors are constituted as ‘thinking-feeling’ subjects with the capacity to interpret museums and historic sites in multiple, sometimes contradictory ways (Waterton, 2018).

Section 2.2 explicitly lays the groundwork for the investigation which follows, outlining research about the sites of my study, the museum and the bus, and about enthusiast-heritage relations. The LTM can be understood in relation to other transport museums, but its activities are also shaped by its nature as an organisation and in its governance relationship with TfL. Bus travelling experiences are sites of subjective encounter with the temporal. Bus enthusiasts can be understood as a community of practice, engaged in the joint enterprise of heritagising the bus travelling phenomenon; the boundaries between amateurs and professionals are challenged by the passion which drives their collective and collecting activities.

I now summarise some of the key implications and questions for my enquiry.

2.3.1 Mobility-heritage relationship

The mobilities turn in transport research mirrors an attempt within the heritage discourse to assert the value and significance of the intangible and performative aspects of the social (e.g., the experience of travel) which readily collapse or fix into more substantive, easily observable phenomena (e.g., the spatial distribution of passengers, representative objects in transport museums). The concept of encounter is theoretically and methodologically useful because it keeps a focus on the immediacy of experience, whilst also allowing for a reflexive reading of analysis as another type of encounter leading to interpretation.

Gathering information about encounters beyond the discursive, however difficult to do or interpret, is a productive approach considering mainstream understandings of heritage meanings as materially located. At the same time, this approach challenges us to understand how mobility and change can be accommodated within processes of heritage evaluation because of the emphasis on meaning as emergent, partial, and temporary.

Representing mobile phenomena in the heritage context poses practical questions of how to display things that are routinely experienced on the move; how to interpret movement. Divall & Scott (2001) provide a useful overview of what to consider during visits to the LTM as an authorising heritage agent. The museum has its own historiography as an institution, its collections their own histories; how and what it chooses to communicate is politically expressive. How are the values identified by Toogood & Neate (2013) related to creativity, community, and everyday experience, accommodated within the museum's practices?

2.3.2 Bus journey significance

The significance of the bus journey experience is important to the research for several reasons:

- In relating to my participant-enthusiasts, I want to understand what it is about bus travel which captured their imaginations and inspired their enthusiasm. What are the purposes of their bus travel? To get to B, for time out or something more affective-aesthetic related to 'state of mind' (Stradling, Carreno, Rye & Noble, 2007)?
- Bus travel experiences are significant sites of enquiry for understanding more about social and cultural interactions, particularly in the construction of place (Mate & Pocock, 2018). How does London bus heritage relate to our understanding of London as a place?
- In drawing on Crouch's (2015) analogy of heritage-as-journey, what might we learn about what heritage is by considering how passengering increases our heightened awareness of the temporal? Time, as observed on the bus, has different qualities e.g. historical, biographical, rhythmic, fast/steady/slow, structured or flexible.

2.3.3 Encounters with ourselves and others

In their phenomenological reading, Hopsch, Marco & McCann, (2014) characterise public transit space as an agora, the social meeting place of the city through which we experience both our objecthood and our subjectivity, where we act collectively whilst exhibiting personal autonomy. As has been highlighted by Wilson (2011) and Koefoed et al (2017), the bus is a space where the self is constituted through encounters with others. Could this be extended to include relating to past others (and indeed, past selves) as has been suggested by Stih & Schnock's Bus Stop! proposal?

Who is the bus passenger? Theoretically, the passenger is anyone. However, in this research, the passenger is also a self-proclaimed bus enthusiast and a researcher or a research participant. Bus enthusiasts are the integral link between everyday life and critical heritage in that they have assigned significance to bus travelling and they translate personal values into shared cultural, social, and political values through their activities.

2.3.4 Memorialising the everyday

Much of Section 2.2 attended to the relationship between direct experience of travel and mobility phenomena and their conservation through memorialisation in the museum and beyond. For Mate & Pocock (2018), remembering is activated in the daily commuting journeys they make, in the act of travel itself. Best (2017) suggests a connection between personal remembrance and official practices of heritage making by considering the role of his collection of artefacts in relation to responses he has to museum exhibits; how personal experiences are drawn into understanding of historical events and of ourselves. Shanks & Pearson (2014) explicitly explore the relationship between personal memories of automobility and the construction of cultural significance through experimental forms of heritage display; they theorise this as an encounter with different temporal states; an experience of time-consciousness. How do participants draw on their personal memories of everyday life in research encounters? How does this relate to heritage evaluation?

2.3.5 Querying official heritage

Throughout this chapter, the authority and coherence of official heritage has been challenged. The studies cited in Section 2.1 indicate that how visitors feel during heritage encounters has the capacity to interrupt established historical or organisational narratives, also theorised by Hooper-Greenhill (1994) and Henning (2006) in relation to museum communication.

Macdonald, Gerbich & von Oswald (2018) assert that the museum itself is a complex social organisation. Museums are also implicated in the techno-politics of infrastructure by their close relation to other organisations, such as government agencies.

Finally, if heritage conservation is dependent on communities of practice, as suggested by the European Commission's heritage research strategy (2018), we need to consider the role of 'others' in constructing heritage meanings. Enthusiasts have a special status, between amateur and expert, in recognising the cultural significance of the everyday; they often cooperate with official sites through their practices.

3. Methodology

This chapter provides a detailed account of the methodological context and subsequent implementation of the research investigation. Building on the implications derived from the theoretical literature, Section 3.1 considers how the concept of encounter might be operationalised both in the observation and collection of research materials (data) and in their subsequent analysis. I explore contemporary ethnographic methodologies which attend to the more-than-representational aspects of encounters as embodied, sensory, affective, and context-specific.

The second section of the chapter describes the study design for the investigation, accounting for case selection (of the London Transport Museum (LTM), of heritage route 15), participant selection and recruitment (practical considerations of working with bus enthusiasts) and associated access and ethical considerations. I then describe each stage of the enquiry, detailing the specific observation events and the nature of materials collected, how these have been managed, sorted, analysed, and interpreted. I consider the appropriateness of different interpretative forms, whether they be textual or visual, and provide a detailed description of the uses of collage in the thesis, in the production of museum leaflet trails and participant biographical travelcards.

3.1 Researching Encounters: Sensing, feeling, knowing

This research draws both theoretically and methodologically from the phenomenologically inflected, affect orientated research conducted by researchers in the field of critical heritage studies (as cited in Chapter Section 2.1, particularly Waterton & Dittmer (2014), Waterton & Watson (2015a), and Waterton (2018)), and as described in Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2016). The encounter is a central organising device both for the observation of practices which constitute heritage

across the stages of enquiry, and as a definable unit of analysis, recorded through the generation, accumulation, and manipulation of research materials.

In this section, I develop my understanding of research encounters as embodied, sensory, and affective. Encounters have a contextual specificity, taking place both within a field of enquiry which has its own capacities, and temporality, in relation to the historical, the remembered, the actual and the potential. Ethnography is one methodology which privileges the role of observation within a field of enquiry, to uncover the nature of a social setting and interactions therein.

3.1.1 Ethnography and encounter

This investigation is not what can be considered a 'pure' ethnography as outlined by Gobo & Molle (2017), in that it draws heavily on external theories (etic concepts: heritage, affect, temporality) rather than deriving concepts from the field (emic concepts). It might be more rightly referred to as a 'multi-modal enquiry' (Dicks, 2014), combining aspects of ethnography which privilege the moment of experience, and social semiotics as an understanding of historical norms and practices.

However, I consider ethnography as my baseline methodology because of the importance of the sites of museum, bus, and home to the enquiry and observing the actions and well as talk of my participants in these settings. Stage 1 can more directly be understood as an ethnography, in that I attended the LTM with the intention of understanding its modes of operation as a cultural institution. Stage 2 was more experimental, in that I recruited participants to observe in the settings of both museum and 15(H) and engaged with specific heritage objects (exhibits, artefacts, structured experiences). Stage 3 comprised of qualitative interviews at participants' homes alongside their bus collections. Stages 2 and 3 sought to investigate bus enthusiasm as a communal practice with established rituals, origin stories and so on;

as such, they convey something of the anthropological traditions which inform ethnographic research.

An ethnographic disposition has been adopted effectively by researchers in museums (Macdonald, Gerbich & von Oswald, 2018; Best, 2017), during journey experiences (Wilson, 2011; Koefoed, Christensen & Simonsen, 2017; Mate & Pocock, 2018) and when observing enthusiast-heritage interactions (Craggs, Geoghegan & Neate, 2016; Meyer, 2008; and Geoghegan, 2013), as discussed in Section 2.2.3).

Gobo & Molle (2017) provide an extensive introduction to doing ethnographic research which they characterise as being about the observation of social routines and rituals, or the actions people perform in a 'concrete setting'. They emphasise the pragmatic and ethical issues of entering a field of enquiry, and the necessary craft of negotiating an insider-outsider position whilst making observations which can be subject to analytical procedures. Interview and document analysis are considered extensions to the primary work of in-field observations.

An embodied, affective, relational process of knowledge co-creation, and re-circulation

Elliott & Culhane (2017, p.9)

Elliott & Culhane's (2017) characterisation of ethnography is much less staid than that presented by Gobo & Molle (2017); in their articulation, it is a creative and imaginative practice where one becomes deeply entangled in the field through imagining, writing, sensing, walking, and performing. What they propose is a reflexivity about the modes of paying attention and what purposes they can be put to, beyond the representative qualities of observing talk and articulating observations as textual accounts. Reflexivity is proposed by Elliott & Culhane (2017) is a way of articulating the researcher's role within the research event, recognising fieldwork as a form of communication which is multimodal, not merely discursive.

Distinct ethnographic approaches have developed to attend to aspects of the more-than-representational as mobile, sensory, and affective, accepting that ethnography has always been an embodied practice (Conquergood, 1991).

Mobile ethnography, described by Novoa (2015), is that which requires continual spatial displacement of the researcher or studies mobile phenomena. Examples using this methodology and cited in Section 2.2 include: Jain (2009), Koefoed, Christensen, & Simonsen, (2017); also Watts (2008), and Dawson (2017). Mobile ethnography is mentioned by Büscher & Urry (2009) within a broader discussion of appropriate 'mobile methods', those which demand participation, anticipation of movement (in order to plan observational techniques), potentially keeping time-space diaries and other forms of mapping such as exploring the cultural biographies of object.

Sensory ethnography is described by Low (2015) as attending to the multi-sensory character of encounters by using the body itself as a research tool (in their case, smell comes to define transgressive or foreign bodies within the city). A major contributor to sensory ethnography is Sarah Pink, herself influenced by the cultural geographer Tim Ingold and phenomenology philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty. In *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, Pink (2015) outlines how the body and its sensations can be a source of knowledge related to the experiences of ourselves and others. Her aim is to understand something of the tacit, unspoken ways in which the social is constructed; the focus is on participant experiences of the senses when doing everyday activities. Reading alongside another work, *Situating Everyday Life*, Pink (2012) connects the concepts of practice (as knowing-through-doing) and place (as an event), with experience as always in production, future-orientated and politically expressive.

Pink (2015) emphasises that research is a subjective interpretation of 'what happened' co-produced with participants, which requires researcher reflexivity. She

adopts specific techniques and methods which include photography and a particular interest in filming research encounters. The footage then becomes a record of the necessary movement-with required in ethnographic research and is also used as a research outcome, represented as findings. Pink argues that the use of technology as a mediator enhances her understanding of sensory experience. Pink outlines how the visual materials she collects are subject to analysis in 'Doing Visual Ethnography' (2007), although her approach doesn't offer prescriptive techniques or methods.

However, Vergunst (2011) cautions against the use of recording technologies in ethnography as an issue of research integrity: how does one go about analysing the data afforded by different technologies and the tendency to record more than can be used? They suggest that using technology as a mediator can potentially desensitise or 'isolate the researcher from the rhythms and intersecting sensory and material perceptions' of fieldwork encounters (p.214). This is a reminder that doing ethnography of any kind is an active process of analysis and interpretation even in its observation phases; how we choose to record our observations determines what we see (Law, 2004). Sensitivity to the fields of enquiry and their modes of communication in the adoption of specific techniques seems an appropriate strategy. For example, I developed collage as a visualisation technique in response to the multi-modal representations at the museum.

Museum and heritage environments prioritise the ocular, seeing, as a way of knowing because you often are not allowed to touch or experience their objects in multi-sensory ways. Rose (2016) outlines a critical approach to visual methodologies, which has these primary criteria: taking images and their effects seriously, considering the social conditions by which images are used and distributed, and adopting a reflexivity related to your position as a viewer-researcher. She goes on to describe a variety of approaches to the use and treatment of images in research such as content analysis (broadly, how I 'treat' images throughout the investigation), semiology, and discourse analysis. In an edited collection with Tolia-Kelly, Rose and

contributors explore the interrelationship between visibility and materiality, as an entangled process of embodying, feeling, practicing, and performing culture, place, and what we might recognise as heritage (Rose & Tolia-Kelly, 2016).

The connections between embodiment, the senses and everyday life have been explored by Harrison (2000) as a question of 'making sense'. He articulates the difference between the senses and the sensate - the first leading to classification (sight, smell, etc.), the second related to a 'knowing'. Sensory ethnography is perhaps more convincing when orientated explicitly towards the senses, exploring phenomena through the 'lens' supplied of hearing, smelling, tasting, touching, and seeing. Pink (2015) attempts to define and then relate explicit research practices of sensory ethnography to the broader concept of 'knowing'. In this, she is trying to hold onto something of traditional ethnographic methodology, specifically the claims of validity which can be made by researchers who 'were there' rather than recognising the explicit, although perhaps partial, contribution of using a sensory lens.

A further adaptation to the ethnographic methodology is affective ethnography as defined by Gherardi (2019). They describe this as research style, a 'relational epistemology... grounded in the intra-action of doing and being done' (p.746). By using the term style, Gherardi avoids defining a specific methodological technique, but rather tries to describe a recognisable aesthetic toward research which relates to a researcher's embodied presence in doing fieldwork, located in places, and the affective capacity of different agents. Embodiment refers to the role of the body in negotiating the sense-sensate relation. Place is described as a 'temporal enclosure', equivalent to the 'phenomenological event' in Pink (2015), through which affects form into representations – the encounter in this research. Capacity links to the broader critical position which contends that all knowledge, all interpretation, is an expression of power, recognising that this is distributed unevenly between agents.

In attending to the more-than-representational and the multi-modality of experience, the question becomes how research can attend to the multiple definitions of sense: the faculties by which we perceive, feel, and are aware; and the emergence of reason, purpose and meaning which leads to analytical insight.

I describe my own approach to research as affect orientated; my understanding of the term affect occupies a sort of middle-ground between the senses and the sensate. It is expressive of an interest in what feeling has to do with knowing; it allows me to maintain a tentative and partial position related to the mechanisms by which we feel which the term sensory does not. Specific methods and techniques of observation develop in relation to the phenomenon of interest and the field in which it takes place.

If knowing is related to modes of observation, I am interested in approaches which recognise and retain specificity and partiality. Research encounters can be understood as a 'sense-event', where our own bodies become implicated within the cerebral work of interpretation and explanation (MacLure, 2013). Holmes (2014) describes the research process as a visceral encounter where data is ingested by the researcher's body; data is (de)composed through analysis in that observations (as fragments, scraps, and memories) are regathered into accounts of experience, whilst at the same time being torn from their context. Unlike in traditional ethnographies, there is no point of saturation: 'findings' are presented as 'possibilities'. Research interpretations are not considered to be objective or neutral, but rather always socially and politically expressive.

Denzin (2013) emphasises the agency of research data and interpretations, that using data as 'evidence' is an expression of ethical and political power, with implications for social justice. Springgay & Truman (2018) describe 'practices of being inside a research event' (p.2) which dispense with procedural methods as a means of maintaining a focus on the intensity of and accountability to the material encounter.

Inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's 'speculative middle' and feminism's insistence on the partiality and situatedness of knowledge, research is a responsive and responsible process of careful experimentation. In Sociology, some of these concerns have been articulated in a call to adopt 'Live Methods' (Back & Puwar, 2012) or an 'Amphibious Sociology' (Lury, 2012), developing research 'capacities to see the whole, without a totalising perspective' (Back & Puwar, 2012, p.8).

What emerges from encounters as research outcome might be called an 'assemblage'. Marcus & Saka (2006) describe assemblage as 'a resource to preserve a mix of the aesthetic and the structural', which establishes 'the temporality of emergence ... giving a structural quality to a contingent object of heterogeneous relations' (p.104). For Hamilakis (2017), these relations have three features: the sensory/affective, the mnemonic/temporal and the political. They link the affective to a concept of material remembering: all pasts exist virtually in the present, with memory as a selective process, whilst materials, things, are the only evidence and expression of durational time. An assemblage makes partial representations of reality as observed in a specific moment: it is part description, part analysis, part interpretation; it communicates something of both the feeling and meaning of a phenomenon. Observing and interpreting the heritage encounter as an assemblage (as in Waterton & Dittmer, 2014), preserves its contingency as an interactive, materially expressed event and links both theoretically and methodologically to the practice of time-consciousness.

Through this investigation, there are multiple moments of encounter: the ordinary encounters which construct heritage objects; my research events as encounters which recreate or observe these; and moments of analysis when these encounters are remembered, represented, and interpreted (as depicted in Figure 3.1). These encounters involve human and non-human actors, with mutable degrees of capacity and intention to affect and be affected; they are both material and symbolic; and individual (personal) and collective (social). The encounters activate meanings,

emotions, sensations, and an embodied response; and are recorded through practices such as the selection and categorisation of memories, as well as in the accumulation of physical and digital artefacts.

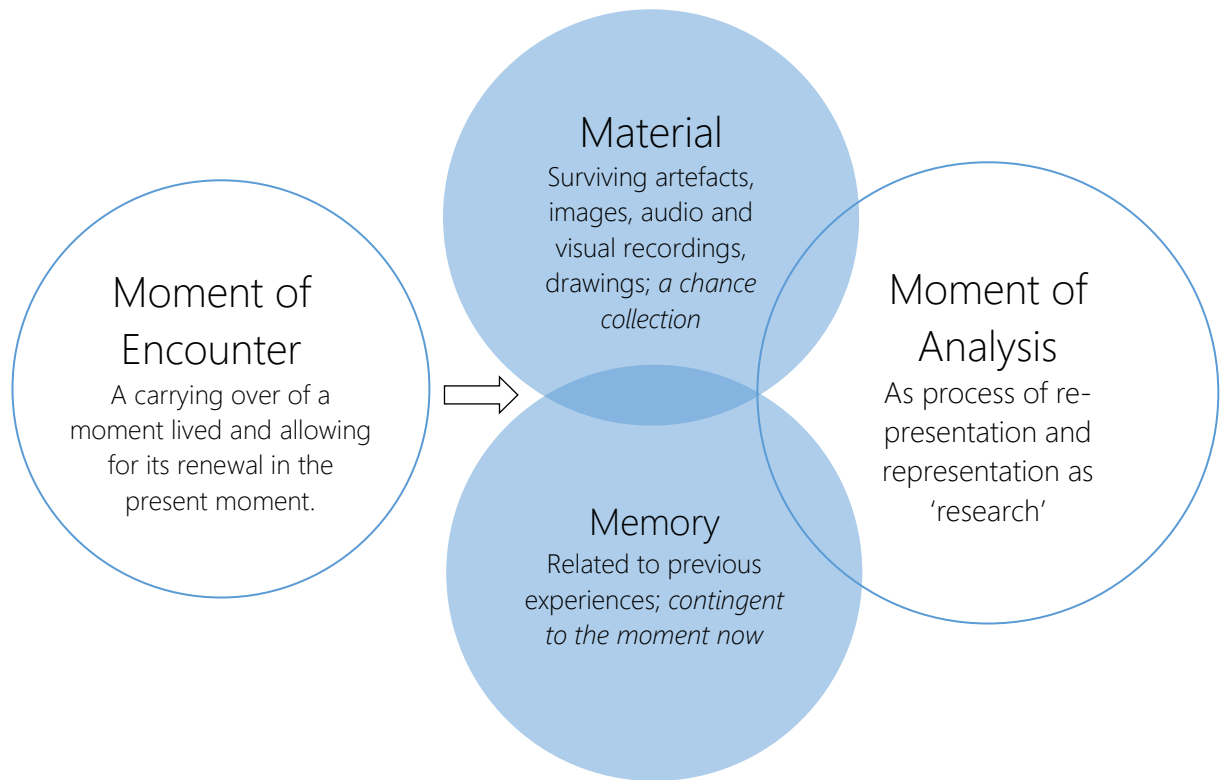


Figure 3.1: Articulating the relationship between the moment of encounter and the moment of analysis as a re-engagement with research materials and memories. The moment is always multiple, and not bounded as this diagram suggests.

Research materials are the record and the remainder of collection events - my presence as researcher in the moment of encounter activates a process of ordering experiences into a specific pattern, responding to the requirements of a thesis, and the expectation of legibility as research outcome. During the moments of analysis, materials are shaped into a representation - the thesis - which is just one potential interpretation based in evidence, presenting new insights. This interpretation exists alongside my memories of the encounters, those of my participants, the physical ephemera and research records I collected, digital photographs, and so on. The aim of the analysis is not to uncover the 'truth' of the reality observed, but rather to describe and represent some aspects of the experiences in the field, informed by cultural and heritage theories.

3.1.2 Ethical considerations

In adopting an ethnographic approach, I recognise the now well-established critique (e.g. Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Conquergood, 1991) of approaches which claim to study cultures as closed systems and treat participants as unaffected informants. As I hope I have conveyed above, my research does not claim uncritical objectivity; and the interpretations I offer in the rest of the thesis are partial and tentative.

There are two interacting themes to address here in relation to the ethics of my research practice. Firstly, related to my actions in the field, and secondly in the creation of research interpretations; both significant because they involve observing and making representations of others, my participants.

In planning participant observation fieldwork, I recognise that this is to 'stage an experience of intersubjectivity' (Hastrup, 1995, p.145) as 'co-experienced time' (Conquergood, 1991, p. 183). Fieldwork is a communicative exchange, through which my identity and those of my participants are made present in an inventive negotiation of difference (Hastrup, 1995; Conquergood, 2007). I recognise the commitment and contribution of participants as they engage in my research almost as a gift exchange, giving over a part of themselves to me. My questioning might in turn elicit their own self-questioning, of the value and meaning associated with their activities as enthusiasts – this could have a negative impact on their sense of selfhood (described as an act of 'symbolic violence' by Hastrup, 1995); or it might just be wearisome for them to explain things to me which to them are 'obvious'. I recognise and appreciate the self which participants choose to share with me. Throughout the planning, recruitment, and fieldwork process, I have evidenced my commitment to them and to the research topic, through addressing their questions with candour and in the honest presentation of myself; perhaps erroneously, I did not try to adopt the identity of 'professional stranger' but rather 'fellow enthusiast'. I

offer an account of how I recruited and engaged with participants in Section 3.2.3 and I reflect on my relationship with them in Section 7.3.3.

In terms of the representations made of participants in the thesis, I recognise that this too has the potential for harm. This relates to the authority claimed through the process of knowledge creation, as always expressive of power (Conquergood, 1991). I have adopted modes of reflexivity throughout the thesis to examine my own claims, those from within my field, and those literally made through the choice of methods and interpretative forms (see Sections 3.2.7 ad 3.2.8). The gift of time given by my participants compels me to say something – my approach to crafting this thesis has been in the weaving together of fragments (whether that be in the creation of collages, the integration of fieldnotes and photos with prose, the voices of participants and my own); through which I express the contingency of my representations.

3.2 Study Design

I now account for how I went about the research investigation, which developed iteratively and was conducted in three stages between June 2018 and February 2020. The ambition was to facilitate a variety of encounters between myself and others with heritage objects and experiences related to London bus travel. The three stages of the study were:

- Stage 1: A 'critical' research visit to the LTM.
- Stage 2: 'Visiting-with' and 'riding-with' bus enthusiasts: at the LTM and on Route 15(H).
- Stage 3: Bus Collection interviews with enthusiasts and their collections.

This section begins with a description of how I selected the cases of the LTM, the 15(H) bus service and the practical reasons for recruiting bus enthusiasts as

participants. With each, I explain how I negotiated access. I provide a detailed description of the plan for and implementation of each stage, the research materials I collected (relating to observational and accounting strategies) and how these were treated (storage and retrieval, transcription). The section closes with a description of the techniques I adopted for 'data immersion' and an account of my analytical and interpretative strategies.

3.2.1 Case selection: London Transport Museum

The LTM is an independent Charitable Trust with a publicly accessible museum located in Covent Garden, an open storage facility at Acton Town (the museum depot, accessible by appointment or on special open days) and a library collection held at Albany House, St James Park (accessible by appointment only). It is a company limited by shares, with only one share issued and owned by Transport for London (TfL). TfL has in turn been granted powers 'to provide and maintain a museum of transport artefacts, records and other exhibits' by the Greater London Authority (London Transport Museum, 2020, p.1). This research is concerned with the site and exhibits at Covent Garden, which is open to the public every day.

I selected the LTM for several reasons:

- Physical location at Covent Garden: making it easily accessible for research but also (conceptually and literally) centrally placed within the city.
- Representative claims: as a world-leading urban transport museum, inspiring conversations about London's past and future
- Institutional history: its relation to TfL and predecessors allowing for an exploration of the relationship between public and private, social and economic, values.

- Collections: the diversity and breadth of collections where the place of bus travel and the passenger could be understood within a broader transport story.

An alternative site could have been the London Bus Museum. This is operated by the London Bus Preservation Trust and is located within Brooklands Museum at Cobham, Surrey. It is a big hangar filled with buses and bus related ephemera and a workshop where volunteers can work on the preservation and restoration of vehicles. In a sense, this museum is experienced much more as a museum by and for enthusiasts, it does not employ any professional staff and its remit is more specialist. I wanted to situate my study in relation to everyday experiences, and the LTM, with its general and inclusive approach, seemed more suitable.

The research design was negotiated with the Caroline Warhurst, Library and Information Services Manager, who acted as gatekeeper and go-between me and museum staff (including Curators and Front of House teams). Through our conversations (mostly by email), we decided a form of research which would be acceptable to the museum and subsequently more practical issues such as appropriate dates and times, issues of copyright and artefact identification. Latterly, through an existing relationship with a museum volunteer, I was able to have direct communication with several of the curatorial staff: via email with Matthew Brosnan (Head Curator), and in person at the depot with Robert Bird (Senior Curator) and Katariina Mauranen (Curator – Vehicles and Engineering).

The museum had several requirements which shaped my research: they did not want me to make covert, systematic observations of visitors; they required a copyright form to be completed listing all materials photographed; they requested that I use an identification badge; and approved a leaflet which I could hand out to interested bystanders. I had to inform the Library and Information Services Manager of the date and time of each visit, and this was in turn reported to Front of House teams. I

understood these requirements as a means by which the museum could distance itself from my work and protect its visitors from any intrusion caused by my presence. However, I didn't feel surveilled or in any other way controlled during the collection events; the staff I interacted with were positive and curious about the project.

3.2.2 Case selection: heritage bus route, 15(H)

With an ongoing interest in the experience of travel, I wanted to conduct research whilst riding on the buses. From completing my MA project, I had learnt some limiting factors when considering research undertaken on in-service bus routes including the need to gain permission from both TfL and the specific operator, and limits on interacting with or 'soliciting' other passengers; these restrictions were confirmed in contact with TfL in 2018. During initial scoping, I identified nine private operators involved in delivering around 700 London bus services. The choice was to either select a route, and then recruit participants; or find participants and then get permission to study them on their route. The first option was more practical in negotiating access.

Initially, I considered selecting a regular bus route. I looked at all routes described as 'key' on the Central London Bus Map (Transport for London, n.d.), which described 25 different routes. I also looked at the usage figures available for year 2016-2017, and for the superlative routes, e.g., least used (N565 with only 827 passengers), most used (25 with 17,145,134 passengers) (Transport for London, 2017).

When selecting the case of the heritage bus route, 15(H), I originally envisaged a comparative study between the heritage experience and the regular 15 service. The 15 is operated by GoAhead London and runs from Trafalgar Square to Blackwall, 24 hours a day; together with its night counterpart (the N15), it had 5.3 million passenger journeys in 2016-2017. The 15(H) was operated by Stagecoach over a

shortened version of the route from Trafalgar Square to Tower Hill; it recorded just over 235,000 passenger journeys for the same period.

When I conducted my research the 15(H) ran at 20-minute intervals between 10am and 6pm on summer weekends (March to September) and Bank Holidays. Prior to March 2019, it ran daily at these times throughout the year. In 2020, due to the global Covid-19 pandemic, the route did not run at all, and TfL confirmed its cancellation entirely in April 2021 (Campbell, 2021). My research was therefore conducted on its final operational weekends.

The 15(H) was operated using original Routemaster type buses, the design dating back to 1956, but the vehicles themselves much adapted to conform to decades of service and increased regulation.

The 15(H) offered a unique opportunity for this study, as a sort of heritage re-enactment being managed as a routine bus service. It provided the opportunity for various types of heritage encounter and raised several questions about how heritage operates which I discuss in detail in Chapter 5, but which include: why and by whom the route was established and managed, the authenticity of the vehicles and the traveling experience, the visibility of the vehicles in the contemporary city, the utility as a regular service and enthusiast attitudes to the route.

To gain permission to study the route, I contacted David Jones, Public Relations Officer for Stagecoach in Autumn 2018. At that time, the service was subject to a public consultation by TfL. Once this consultation was completed in June 2019, he was able to proceed with allowing access for research. I made clear that the study would not evaluate the effectiveness of the operation of the heritage route as a regular bus service.

I also gained approval from GoAhead to make observations on route 15. This I did once, traveling the entire route and back again on 3rd December 2018. An account of this journey (Section 5.1) provides some context to my observations on the 15(H).

Access to research the route was on condition that I would not solicit ordinary passengers on the bus or distribute information unless asked directly, for which a leaflet was approved; that I would inform the operating company of the dates I intended to travel and how many participants I would bring; I had to pay for all fares as usual. The status of the bus as a public space allowed for general observations of routine passengers, although I did not adopt systematic approaches for doing so.

There were some health and safety considerations, most notably the ease with which participants boarded and alighted from the rear platform. The bus is not accessible to people with mobility impairments such as wheelchair users, or anyone else unable to make the step up from the pavement. The conductor's role was to oversee this process safely; my responsibility was to ensure participants were navigating the city itself with usual awareness and caution.

3.2.3 Participant selection and recruitment

Working with fellow bus passengers as participants was an overall research aim. Defining a passenger is theoretically complex but in practical terms, anyone can be one; the bus passenger might be a tourist, an enthusiast, or a Londoner; all concurrently or each at different times during the practice of their everyday lives.

In selecting bus enthusiasts as my participant group, I found a pragmatic solution to a variety of conceptual and practical issues, for example:

- How would I recruit participants? Existing contacts gave me initial access to gatekeepers such as those maintaining electronic mailing lists and helped with word-of-mouth recruitment.
- How would I explain the potential relevance and significance of my research? Our shared enthusiasm for buses was a great foundation for developing rapport and encouraging participation during recruitment and throughout conducting the research.

I am interested in how participants express and enact their bus enthusiasm: their relationships, organisations, and patterns of interaction, rather than studying them as an objective category. In selecting bus enthusiasts, I recognise that I have moved in some senses away from the everyday experiences of ordinary people on the buses; however, I would say firstly, that any passenger has the potential to become a bus enthusiast, and secondly, that in my view (and this has been reinforced in the doing of my research) there is no such 'ordinary' passenger, every person is extraordinary.

3.2.3.1 Gaining access and the recruitment process

I approached three organisations of which I am a member: the Road Transport History Association, the Friends of London Transport Museum, and the Omnibus Society (OS). It was the latter group which proved the most useful in recruiting participants. I met with three members, including the Secretary, during one of their archive working days. He was very encouraging and arranged for an introductory email to be sent to all members of the London Historical Research Group (a sub-group of the OS) which attracted around 15 responses.

The Friends of London Transport Museum did not initially respond to my enquiry for assistance in recruiting participants. By the time I received a response, I had already met with some of their volunteers at the LTM Depot through a mutual contact in the

Road Transport History Association. This group were more cautious in engaging with the project, with only one of them agreeing to participate.

One individual was recruited through the Road Transport History Association; another individual was recruited through word of mouth.

In total, 12 individuals were recruited to complete Stage 2 of the research (Participants 1 to 12) with several others agreeing to a possible interview or informal conversations. Of these, five had bus related collections and proceeded to the Stage 3 interviews (Participants 13 to 17).

There are other specialist interest groups, such as the PSV Circle, the London Bus Preservation Trust, and the Routemaster Association from which I could have recruited participants. The OS encourages both the research of bus travel, operators, vehicles and historical development, and champions bus provision now and into the future. These are interests which greatly align with my own and perhaps explains the ease by which I recruited members from this group. Members were also encouraging of me personally; I had a meeting with the Chairman of the OS, Nigel Eggleton (also Managing Director (Midlands) of bus operator First UK) and I was fortunate to have a telephone conversation with OS member and former Commissioner of TfL, Sir Peter Hendy.

The general shape of correspondence with those interested in participation was as follows:

- Email asking for help distributed to the group's mailing list.
- Individuals self-selected by contacting me; various expressions of interest and assessments of the research idea – 'fascinating', 'slightly unusual'. I'd started my email with an outline of my credentials (or membership claims) – and so

in return, I received numerous mini-CVs along the lines of 'I've been an OS member for ... and a bus enthusiast for...'.

- I responded with participant information and potential dates; they responded with a preference after which I sent an 'official' confirmation letter.
- I managed all this information on a spreadsheet with a tab for each participant, keeping a record of all correspondence.

The recruitment process seemed labour intensive and very personal and involved. I felt like I was setting up relationships with these individuals, whether sharing a joke, promising to buy them a drink or divulging aspects of our shared enthusiasm. I could also sense when there was slight antagonism or confusion about the project, when they felt that my values or approach seemed different to what they were used to. I am certainly not your average bus enthusiast: firstly, because of my gender and secondly, because of my age. This set me up as a curiosity for some participants and created a sense of insider-outsider as I joined in their activities, during recruitment and in the research events themselves.

I didn't collect demographic information from my participants as I didn't intend to use this as part of my analytical process. However, I recognise that certain aspects of their identity are relevant to the presentation of findings:

- All participants, except Participant 8 and myself, were men.
- All participants, except Participants 12, 17 and myself, were retired. I would speculate that the majority were in their 70s, Participants 2 and 16 were slightly older and Participants 3, 10 and 12 were younger.
- All participants were white; I believe they were all British, however Participant 8 migrated from Australia.

I developed 'travelcards' to represent each participant and their biography, reproduced later in this chapter. I include myself as Participant 18. These record the

information that I felt was more pertinent to my research, for example their identification as Londoner, memberships of enthusiast groups and professional background.

During Stage 2, it emerged that Participants 8 and 12 did not identify themselves as enthusiasts. Participant 8 is the wife of Participant 7 and has been heavily involved in the activities of the OS through this association; her presence as a research participant was an extension of this activity; she also lives with 'all those buses at home'. She has a stated preference for bus use over car driving and evaluated her experiences at the museum 'as a customer, not a geek'. Many of her comments related more directly to the passenger experience, reliability of the service and so on. Likewise, Participant 12 'just loves buses'; he works at a transport industry related library and his connection to the project was as a corporate member of the Road Transport History Association. Expanding on their own exclusion from the category 'enthusiast' offers a useful counterpoint for analysis (e.g., P12's responses to the 'Uniform Delivery' case in Section 4.2.3.3 and his experience of the 15(H) in Section 5.3).

Even though enthusiasts might seem as 'marginal actors' in relation to the phenomenon of bus travel and passenger identity, in relation to the heritage project, their demographic generally maps onto the standard heritage consumer identity: white, middle-class, older, and male. They could therefore be considered the 'ideal' audience for both the museum and 15(H) route. However, in describing their own activities and behaviours, and through their engagement with these sites, critical insights about official heritage practices emerged.

3.2.3.2 Gaining informed consent and managing risk

In gaining informed consent, all participants were provided with information and consent forms prior to the research event. This was reviewed verbally before signing

and each participant was able to ask questions. Participants were aware of the practical outline of my investigations, to visit the museum and ride on the 15(H) or to be interviewed alongside their collection. However, my interpretations, both in the field and in this thesis, were not foreseeable, in that I was not testing a specific hypothesis. As such, there is some difficulty in claiming I gained informed consent for how I have 'used' our encounters. One potential solution would be to check my interpretations with my participants: this was done to some extent during research events, in asking them if I had understood their point or to clarify details, through follow-up correspondence, and in presenting initial interpretations in various fora.

There were varying attitudes towards the issue of identification and anonymisation. Most participants did not understand the need for anonymisation. As much of the material collected relates to personal biography, and during Stage 3 the photographing of potentially unique possessions, it is possible that participants would be identified without being named. I decided to refer to each participant as a number and to generalise identifiable personal information, e.g., from specific job title to general profession, from specific place name to region or more general location. The issue of anonymisation relates to risk of harm, maybe reputational damage to themselves or their organisations, or even identity theft. I have sought to minimise these risks by filtering out information: firstly, in my original notes; secondly, through the transcription of notes into materials for analysis, and finally, in the writing up process.

Risk Assessments were carried out for all stages of the investigation. The most contentious issue was around my own personal safety during planned visits to participants' homes in Stage 3. Ethical reviewers required that I be accompanied by a chaperone, and this was arranged for all interviews, including the drafting of a separate chaperone information sheet. As it transpired, I only did one in-person interview with a chaperone present.

Each participant is considered an individual with a valuable, unique contribution to make. I feel a strong sense of responsibility to the participants and a gratitude to them for their generosity and contribution to the study. I cannot claim that those recruited are representative of all bus enthusiasts. I noted similarities across almost all participants: as well educated (grammar school and/or university), retired professionals, normally very articulate; and I imagine that there is a specific type of person who would find engaging with doctoral research rewarding personally and for broader societal benefit.

I now provide a summary of the plan and implementation for each stage of the investigation. I note here that the stated aims and focus questions in the subsequent sections were those adopted at the time of observation, as is common in qualitative enquiry, the overall project aims and methodological framing have since further developed. I also note that each findings chapter does not directly correspond with each stage, but rather uses material from across the investigation. A more detailed description of the research materials I collected and the analytical techniques I adopted follows.

3.2.4 Stage 1: 'Critical' research visit to the London Transport Museum

<i>Area</i>	<i>Description</i>
Ethical Review	ER6920827
Date completed	June 2018
General Aim	Establishing an understanding of the 'core representations' of bus travel and the bus passenger as defined by the LTM.
Focus questions	What thoughts, sensations and feelings do encounters with heritage objects at the museum elicit in me as a passenger-researcher, a heritage professional-researcher, and an enthusiast-passenger? What narratives are told about the value and significance of bus travel, TfL, and the purpose and activities of the museum itself? How are they constructed?
Brief Description	Two day-long visits to the museum employing a variety of observational strategies which sought to establish an understanding of the 'core representations' made about bus travel and the passenger experience.

Table 3.1: Overview of Stage 1.

Table 3.1 provides an overview of the first stage of the investigation, including date of completion, aims, central research questions and a brief description. The aim of the first study was to observe the LTM as an 'expert' and 'critical' visitor: as a bus passenger, bus enthusiast, heritage professional and researcher. I wanted to investigate the museum as a series of communicative encounters between myself and the material of the institution. Much of my initial planning was developed in reference to Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) and Gobo & Molle (2017)'s substantial introductions to ethnographic approaches. Additionally, I drew from the work of Lindauer (2006) and Ravelli (2006), explicitly adopting some of their techniques and strategies, such as writing assumptions and expectations in advance of the visit. Observations considered: the digital museum as represented by the website; its physical location, architecture, and spatial configuration; display strategies (diorama,

didactic, formal, immersive); and use of text (as result of explicit and intrinsic choices). I also had an informal conversation with the Library and Information Services Manager.

I was specifically interested in how certain objects were interpreted, for example: bus tickets, the bus driver, vehicles; and attuned to how the colour red was employed in strategic ways. I was also looking for specific manifestations of the passenger: how did the museum recreate the lived experience of travel, its feelings, looks, smells and so on; whether this was presented as practical, poetic, or critical; how it moved me (in embodied, sensory, and emotional ways). These were contextualised within a spatial understanding of the museum, how the suggested visitor route orders the experience, how intentional these decisions were and who the encounters might be for.

3.2.3.1 Research events

The study of the museum took place on 7th and 8th June 2018. It comprised of extended visits from the opening hour (10am or 11am) until 5pm. Although I had planned the study in almost prescriptive detail both for ethical review and my own sense of ease, in practice the process of observation took a more organic and back-and-forth form. I followed encounters which provoked my interest; and spent time in the field for reflection and analysis interspersed with periods of observation. There was an element of serendipity in interactions with volunteers, staff, other visitors and with the material and interpretation displayed.

3.2.3.2 Collected materials

The observed field included only spaces, areas and events open to a general museum visitor. For the field notes, I adopted a variety of 'ways of seeing', including audio recording, photography and video (e.g. Figure 3.2), drawing (Figure 3.3), the

collection of illustrative quotes and long-hand description. I also collected material objects such as leaflets, trails, a guidebook, and tote bag. I found myself adopting different personas throughout my visit, e.g., as researcher-visitor when interacting with front of house staff, or as researcher-bus enthusiast when becoming the subject of a volunteer-led demonstration, or as researcher-heritage professional when speaking with the Library and Information Services Manager. These personas allowed me to exhibit different levels of expertise and curiosity as part of rapport-building, whereby the informant (hopefully) felt confident to share their knowledge and aspects of their experiences to an engaged listener.

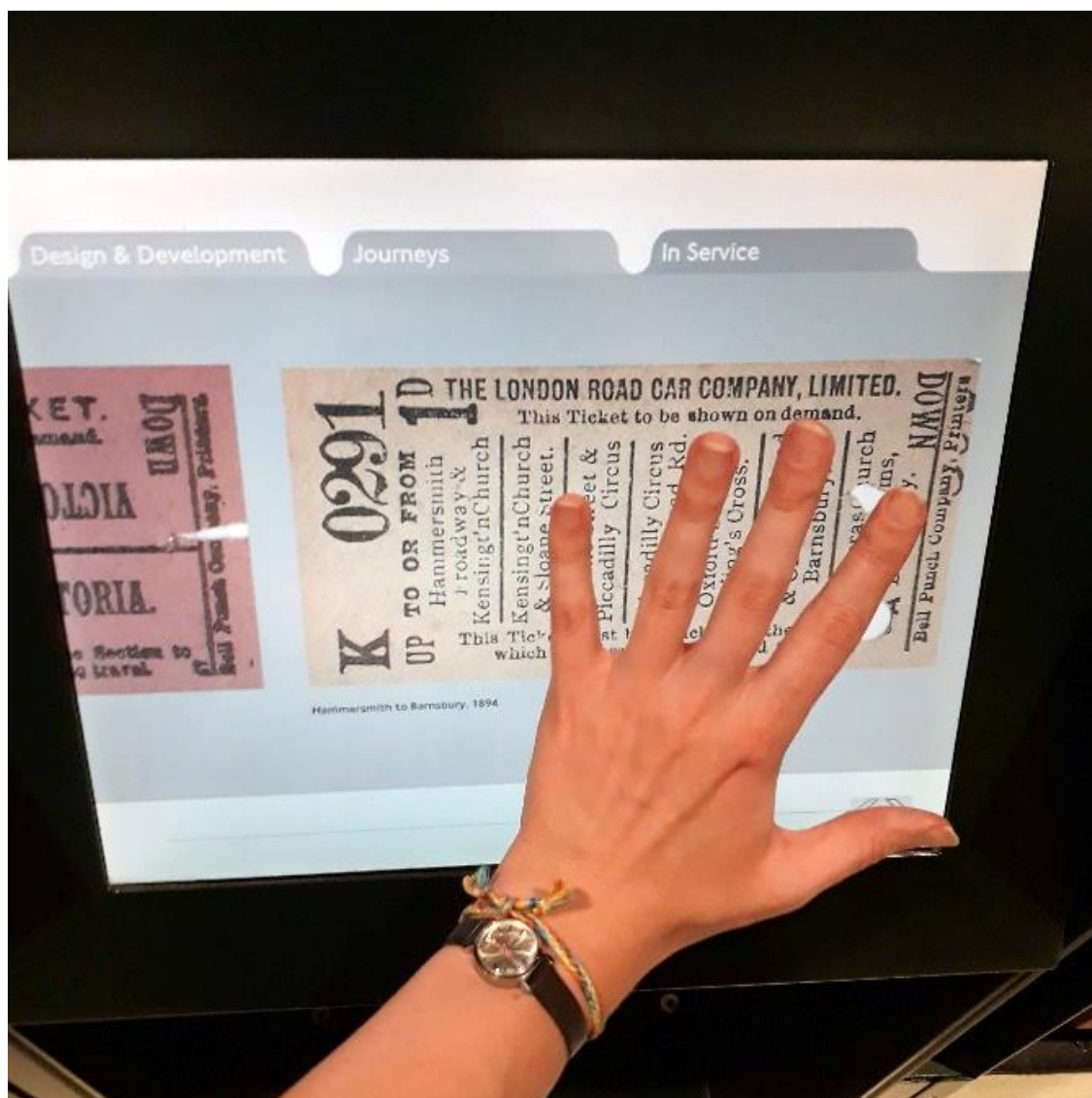


Figure 3.2: Example digital photograph from Stage 1. The researcher's body interacting with a digital museum interface.

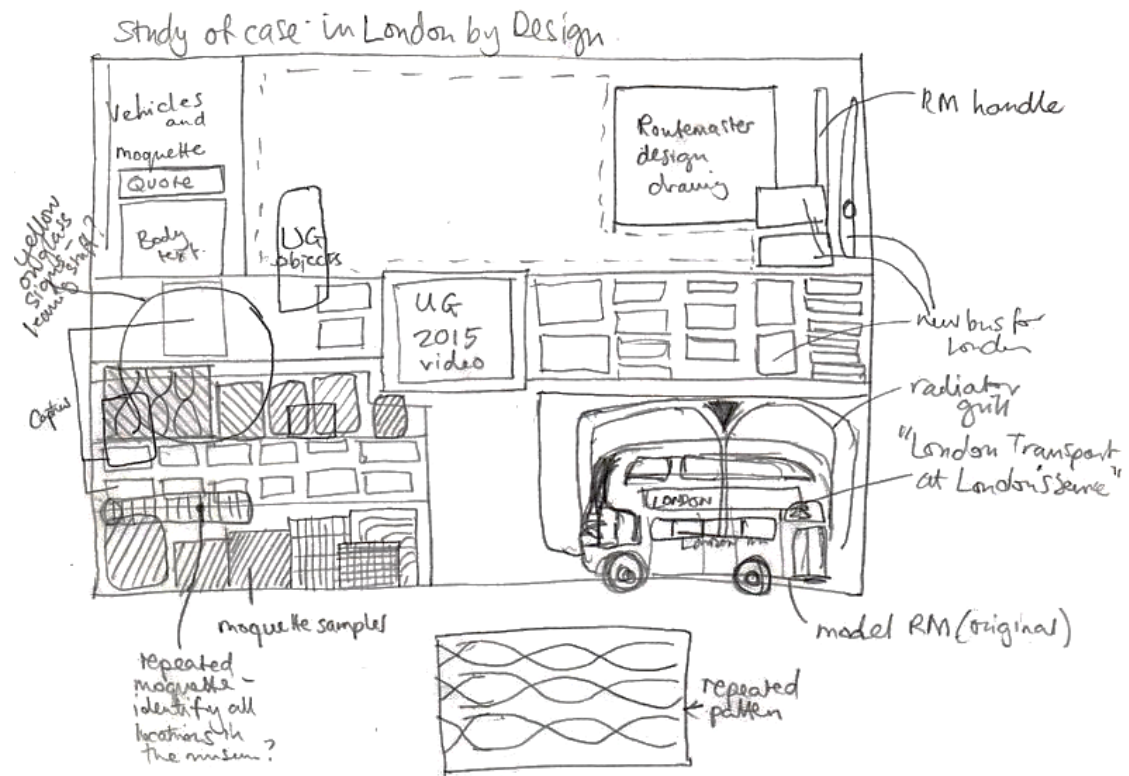


Figure 3.3: Stage 1 example study of a case. Recording textures and layers of the museum modes of presentation.

3.2.3.3 Analytical process

Initially, I devised and then abandoned an analytical framework. In 'coding' my materials as data (for example, at the level of an individual photograph), I found that this framework and attempts at categorisation added complication rather than aiding my understanding. I also wrote different accounts of my experiences: as a temporal account (this then this, creating a timeline of text and images) and as a spatial account (essentially, recreating the museum's narrative structure whereby you move through historical time as you move through the galleries, represented by annotated maps). Through this process, the material began to organise itself related to moments of experience in the field, selection criteria related to research interests (e.g., passenger experience, time-consciousness) and emergent themes (what ethnographers might call the identification of 'emic' or 'sensitising' concepts (Gobo & Molle, 2017)).

The account of my visits to the museum forms the basis of Chapter 4. Collage-fronted leaflet guides (Appendix H) reconstruct my experiences, highlighting significant objects, encounters and themes related to identified concepts: Service, Regulation, Progress, Revenue Protection, and Londoner.

This first attempts at analysis also helped to identify significant galleries, exhibits and spaces which I would revisit with participants in Stage 2.

3.2.5 Stage 2: 'Visiting-with' and 'riding-with' bus enthusiasts

<i>Area</i>	<i>Description</i>
Ethical Review	ER5448817
Date completed	August to September 2019
General Aim	Exploring bus enthusiast experiences at the LTM and on London's heritage bus route 15(H).
Focus questions	How do bus enthusiasts interact with and respond to selected artefacts and exhibits at the LTM in discursive, sensory, and affective ways? How do bus enthusiasts interact with and respond to the experience of riding on London's heritage bus route 15(H) in discursive, sensory, and affective ways? How do bus enthusiasts talk about, act on, and make sense of their identities as enthusiasts and as Londoners?
Brief Description	Research events were conducted at the museum and on the heritage bus service, 15(H) to identify how heritage encounters are experienced and activate aspects of enthusiast-visitor identities.
Related Documents	Appendix C: Stage 2 LTM Participant Worksheet Appendix D: Museum Exhibits Description Appendix E: Stage 2 Bus Passenger Laws Exercise Appendix F: Stage 2 15(H) Participant Worksheet
Participants	This stage involved Participants 1 through 12 in 9 collection events. Participants are referred to by P-number. Most events took place one to one; paired events took place with P2 & P3, P4 & P5 and P7 & P8. During analysis, research events were assigned E-numbers.

Table 3.2: Overview of Stage 2.

Table 3.2 provides an overview of the second stage of the investigation, including date of completion, aims, central research questions and a brief description, related appendices and participants involved. This stage of the research comprised of a structured visit to the LTM with participants followed by a ride on the heritage bus route 15(H). It adopted methods of visiting-with and riding-with inspired by Waterton & Watson (2015a). The purpose of the museum visit was to consider how participants' bus travelling experiences, memories and so on were activated by encounters with objects and exhibits. The intention with the 15(H) ride was to explore concepts of authenticity (as a feeling, both experiential and material) and the qualities of the experience of riding the bus with enthusiasts as 'expert' passenger-participants. Riding the route extends our understanding of heritage meanings beyond the museum, providing an opportunity to connect personal travelling experiences (in the moment and remembered) with conceptualisations of heritage. The route and historic vehicle can also be understood as heritage objects in themselves.

On meeting, participants were presented with a 'Participant Pack' including copies of correspondence, information sheet, consent form, worksheets and a thank you card. This enabled a discussion of the project, including ethical implications. Planned observations were organised in two participant worksheets (Appendix C and Appendix F) and a form for my own notes. The worksheets were designed to facilitate the participant in accounting for their experiences, attuned to representative, spatial, sensory, and affective attributes, around specific anticipated encounters. Based on a typical information leaflet issued by TfL, printed in DL format (A4 folded into 3 sections), this is a convenient size for use and carrying around. Aspects of the design were inspired by creative and playful ways of engaging participation described in, for example, Spasojevic & Souto (2017).

I also pre-planned several questions: those related to identity as Londoner and enthusiast; to previous knowledge of research sites; and others to sustain an

ongoing conversation related to biography, origins and practices of enthusiasm and broader cultural associations.

3.2.5.1 Research events

Research events were restricted by the running of route 15(H) on summer weekends only to the end of September 2019. They took place on 10th, 11th, 17th, 18th and 31st August and 7th September 2019, starting at 11am or 3pm. Each event lasted about three hours. Most were conducted on a 1-to-1 basis, although one event was with a husband and wife and two events were conducted with pairs of participants who did not know each other prior to the meeting.

To maximise the engagement with participants, the museum visit and the bus ride were conducted on the same day. I met participants at the museum entrance, discussed ethics and consent over coffee before proceeding into the galleries. Afterwards, we walked to the nearest 15(H) bus stop (Southampton Street). Unfortunately, the bus was short-working to Aldwych only on most occasions which required us to walk or ride a different bus further along the route to catch the heritage service.

Civil action which disrupted the 15(H) route during my research included: an animal rights march, an anarchist gathering opposite Parliament, a pro-Hong Kong demo and counter protest at Trafalgar Square, a 'funeral to the unknown cyclist' procession, a pro-Kashmir demo outside the High Commission of India, a Zimbabwe freedom demo on the death of Robert Mugabe, and a protest due to the proroguing of UK Parliament.

On waiting at the museum, I made my presence known to front of house staff and answered any questions that they had about my research. Similarly, on entering the bus, I introduced myself to the conductor on duty. Throughout, I wore a name

badge. Over the course of the research events, I became widely recognised by staff at both sites and engaged in friendly, constructive, and informative conversations with many of them, or otherwise exchanged a cursory smile or a pithy comment such as 'not you again?!'.

Quickly building a rapport with my participants was a key aspect in shaping the encounters, I spent much of my time reassuring them of my interests. When working with more than one participant, except for the husband and wife, I not only felt an obligation to each participant but also a responsibility to mediate between them. Their differences in opinion and enthusiast practices proved an additional resource and unanticipated critical tool for accessing the more specific aspects of bus enthusiasm (or 'insider talk') and how the meanings ascribed by individuals variously merged or contradicted each other. Often, I would observe aspects of their interaction as different when 'off-task', for example the tone and nature of chat whilst I was finishing writing up notes.

3.2.5.2 Collected materials

Observations were primarily recorded through handwritten notes in reference to each research event, participant, and planned encounter. These are supplemented by photographs, self-reflective audio recordings, typed up reflections after the event and simple diagramming. During each event, I felt incredibly busy managing and observing my participants, listening to their responses, and maintaining an awareness of what was happening in the field. Observations were made both 'on' and 'off task' as well as attempting to record some speech verbatim.

Whilst several participants enjoyed carrying their worksheets and clipboards, the worksheets themselves were not completed by them – only one was used, by me (Figure 3.4). I suggest that this is because participants observed that I was making written notes and so delegated that task to me. Perhaps participants were uncertain

about what sort of observations I would be interested in or how to use the worksheets, despite my assurances that anything they wrote would be of interest. I was also cautious about insisting that they fill in the worksheets, as I wanted the experience to be as convenient as possible for them. Two participants agreed that it would have been off-putting had I insisted that they be used.

Although I had proposed to use audio recording, this was not suitable for the actual context of collection – we held discussions in the busy environments of the museum, street, and bus, with considerable background noise, interruption in our speech and activities. The practical solution to this would have been to audio record the whole encounter, something which I had not prepared for technically and I feel would have been excessive, potentially altering the relationship between myself and the participants. By focusing on their speech and actions, and attempting to record this in the moment, I fully participated in the research encounter.

My Experience

	1 Omnibus 1830s	2 He's Really Keen	3 Uniform Delivery	4 On the RT RM
A Smells & Tastes			points to badge → green border, my badge exactly the same.	arm rest + back Seash both sides
B Textures	Good condition	as a child - mid 50s right up to the 1980s - 1990s like family things away from on Red Rover	divers had red. yellow for Turkey	elegant proportion Whodunnit
C Sounds	Familiar w/ this - quoted in authoritative book - <i>Baltes & Rein's</i>	for me → as a child - mid 50s right up to the 1980s - 1990s like family things away from on Red Rover		nice leaves little details
D Emotions		this is interesting - buses illustrated - I don't like them, I suppose. I don't like them, I suppose. I don't like them, I suppose.		starting hard rails alternately place
E Memories		this is interesting - buses illustrated - I don't like them, I suppose. I don't like them, I suppose.		nothing overstated No smoking no other wagging notices
F Notes	Replica of 1829 bus - suited my impression is amazement	maps + buses illustrated - I don't like them, I suppose. I don't like them, I suppose.		these days 'fashioned with sliders'

Map of the visit

at home → 1830s
Annotate the map of the Museum in any way you like...
a cabinet

Figure 3.4: Worksheet completed during Stage 2 with Participant 1. My handwriting and annotations. This was the only completed worksheet.

3.2.5.3 Analytical process

In organising the research materials, I treated each combined museum visit and bus ride as an event. This allowed me to speak both about the individual participants involved and their interactions but also the event as whole, making relationships across and between events.

The analytical process for Stage 2 involved several processes of reflection and reorganisation at varying degrees of temporal and spatial dislocation from the originating events. I sought to record immediate ideas and responses to each: in audio format when walking home, or in textual notes and diagrams that evening or within a few days (Figure 3.5). On return to university, and in uploading materials and reviewing them, I created a collage travelcard for each participant reflecting my impressions of them (Figures 3.9 and 3.10).

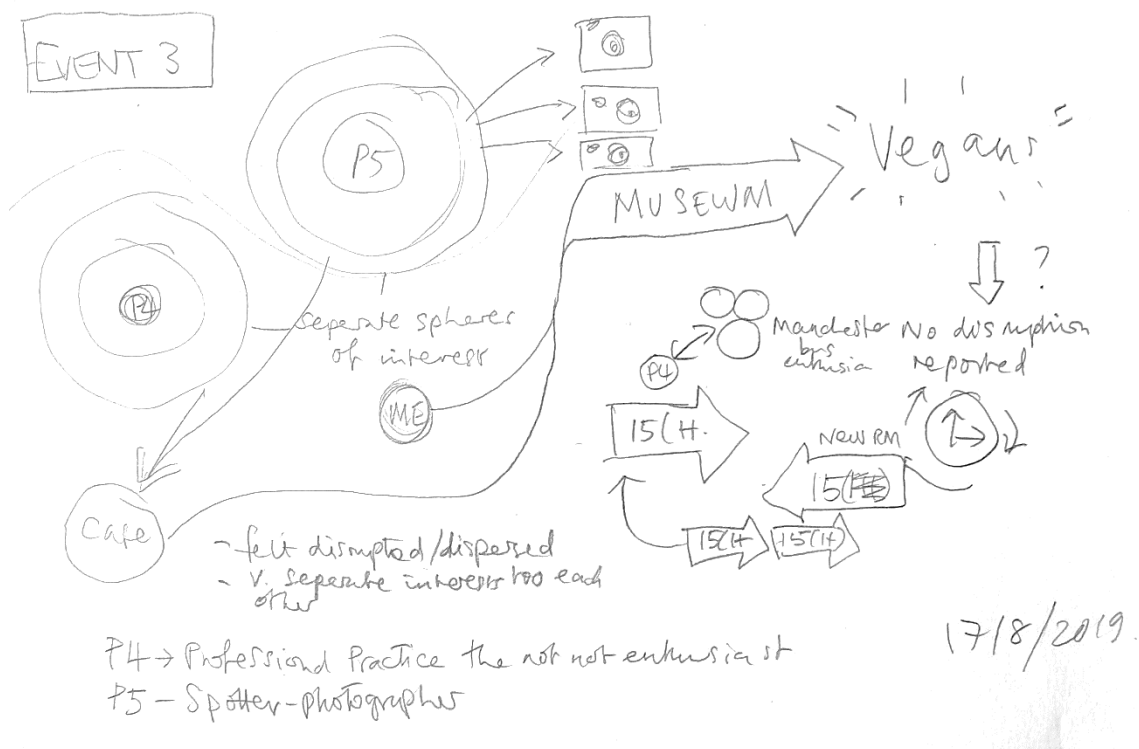


Figure 3.5: Diagrammatic depiction of Stage 2 Event 5. Reflecting on the interactions between participants and the process of research, recording my own responses.

Pg 1

→ New PM to the rescue! 6✓

2. Hailing & Boarding
 Street closed for some reason, no disruption reported online; → Signs on lamppost near Royal Courts of Justice → boarded the New PM, told to get off and board the service in front (not leaving for 6 mins).

3. On the Bus New PM: nostalgia for using rear staircase, retro to old of the bus; very hot upstairs, sound of air con; reminiscent of old key bus when in electric motor → seamless acceleration "self generating by bridg". Let kids use front seats → visibility out of the window
 → nice backgrounds for bus photography
 → No. 25 (P4), (P5) used to drive X37 Aldershot to Aldgate Aldersley South
 • anecdotes about aggressive driving → like a rollercoaster ride, P4 to 1956 at but good to drive (P5); P4 - license to road test for job at Essex magazine weekend coach driving to keep up license P5 - free pass to ride buses from one end to the other, same at 9:30, Stagecoach lifetime pass → can be used in Scotland + Wales. - P4 P5 15th going to the other way
 4. Reaching the stop contactless system → good or bad for tourists?
 P5: "were there already"

(P4) Nods to the past: pleasant riding experience "modern interpretation of a classic style"

backstairs (P4) "I have no NOT being on bus enthusiast"

Notes from initial discussion
 LTM vol. @ Depot; baby bus → "not popular" first thing he shared me
 LTM → predecessor - British Transport Museum
 → schoolboy interest
 been a vol. for 15 years → takes guided tours at Acton Depot; used to do them at depot but not needed; once a month, news + open weekend → positive relationships → communication w/ staff.
 Last time as visitor → couple of years ago for posters exhibition.

0. General Observations and Notes
 Bus enthusiasm → Yes → transport, how far buses to train → bus maps, 8 years old → explore on his own → developed from there. Aged 11 - noticed boy w/ ABC book → got one for xmas. Early 1960s, bus spotting v. popular, maintained interest → postcards in car w/ follows enthusiast; OS joined 1971 → social and access to information → magazines + visit, open weekend - missed one in 40 years; happy to claim interest → "something of an amateur, but I don't care".
 Worked for LT as buyer in supplies, made redundant 1991 - then hired office in UG; trained as tube driver → enjoyed that. First job in gas board. → behind the scenes.
 Londoner - hesitant Londoner; lived in Southampton for 8 yrs 4 months → start to finish → secondment in London "10% off for good behaviour"; lives in Ealing and has for 4 years.

affected
 Lio
 cult
 mat

Figure 3.6: Photocopies of the Observation Record Form completed during Stage 2 with Participants 4 and 5 (Event 3) and Participant 9 (Event 6). Marked up related to affective, material, biographical and enthusiast related content as an initial familiarisation technique.

I transcribed my observations into one large table organised by event number. Photographs were similarly organised. I also transcribed audio notes and listed the material artefacts collected. This was the beginning of a process of immersion and re-immersion, organising collected materials in different ways. For example, in one iteration, I sought to 'code' observations related to materiality, biography, emotion, and the senses (Figure 3.6). In reviewing visual material collected, there were two approaches: firstly, the selection as 'illustrations' or evidence related to textual accounts; secondly the identification of 'moments that glimmer' which might not have been recorded in textual accounts.

3.2.6 Stage 3: 'Bus collection' interviews

<i>Area</i>	<i>Description</i>
Ethical Review	ER18711385
Date completed	November 2019 to February 2020
General Aim	Interviewing bus enthusiasts with their collections of bus artefacts in their homes.
Focus questions	How do bus enthusiasts talk about their routine bus travel now and in the past? How do bus enthusiasts talk about, act on, and make sense of their identities as enthusiasts? What and why do bus enthusiasts collect things? What role do these collections have in the everyday lives of bus enthusiasts?
Brief Description	Five interviews focused on participants' routine bus use across their biography, the origins and expressions of their enthusiasm and their collection practices.
Participants	This stage involved Participants 13 through 17 in individual interviews

Table 3.3: Overview of Stage 3.

Table 3.3 provides an overview of the third stage of the investigation, including date of completion, aims, central research questions and a brief description, related appendices and participants involved. This stage of research comprised of interviewing bus enthusiasts in the presence of their bus-related collections, ideally in their own homes. The original idea for an interview came from wanting to maximise engagement with potential participants who came forward during Stage 2 recruitment; those who did not want to (or couldn't) visit the LTM or ride the 15(H) but who had expressed some interest in participation.

The interviews sought to address the concepts and patterns of behaviour surrounding the practice of bus enthusiasm, specifically in relation to the collection and display of material artefacts. This expanded on information provided by participants during Stage 2 as a response to the display strategies of the museum.

Methodologically, it draws on existent research which interview respondents alongside and in response to their possessions. For example, Miller's (2008) ethnographic study presents portraits of 30 households along one south-London street which explore the residents' relationships with things as a form of identity and cultural expression. Mason & Davies (2009) 'Living resemblances' project interviewed participants at home, making explicit observations of and enquiries about displayed objects and photographs to explore the inter-generational transmission of gesture and tone of voice between relatives. Woodward (2016) explored the material capacities of old jeans: firstly through 'object history' interviews with the original owners; the future for the jeans were then discussed at an interdisciplinary focus group before being remade into a new garment. During the interviews, participants demonstrated certain points by holding and touching their jeans, this haptic relationship helping them to articulate vivid memories and routine relationships.

Research with and about enthusiasts by Geoghegan (2013, 2014) and Craggs, Geoghegan & Neate (2016) aided in the generation of potential questions and sub-themes. The initial draft had seven questions, but this was reduced to three for the final interview template, with additional prompts for my own use to ensure a short, focused format which would nevertheless allow participant to expand on their own interests. Interviews included the examination of collections and the home context. The interviews were recorded in audio files, through photography, and in related notes and diagrams I made on an interview outline form.

3.2.6.1 Research events

Five qualitative interviews were conducted between November 2019 and February 2020. The first two of these were conducted in person in the participants' homes, as planned. Three interviews were conducted via telephone after my father was hospitalised and moved to palliative care. These interviews therefore didn't have the embodied and sensory qualities that I had planned for, altering the types of

(particularly visual) data collected and approaches to analysis. Participants were very understanding and accommodating; I wish I had met them in person, but I couldn't foresee how long my dad's decline would be and wanted to make progress on the research.

Interviews in the home:

- The first of these was conducted in the home of a long-standing family friend in his dining room and kitchen. Photographs included objects brought specifically to the table for interview and collections 'in-situ' on bookcases and in kitchen cabinets.
- The second was conducted with my participant in his dining room, whilst a chaperone waited in the living room and was served tea by his wife. Most objects photographed were brought to the table specifically for interview.

Interviews via telephone:

- Three interviews were conducted by phone at the time appointed for the original in-person interviews; they were much shorter, lasting about 1 hour including ethical briefing, the interview itself and post-interview debrief.
- Interviews were conducted at my parent's dining table with the participant on loudspeaker so I could record their responses.
- Photographs of objects and other information (e.g., scans of publications mentioned) were provided by the participants prior to and post interview, some images prompted by the researcher.

Prior to interview, I explained the project, reviewing the consent form and information sheet with each participant, answering any questions that they had. Audio recording was started after this process. The three interview questions are outlined below (Table 3.4).

<i>Question</i>	<i>Scope</i>	<i>Implementation</i>
3. 1. How often and for what purposes do you use buses in your everyday life?	The experiences of participants-as-passengers across their biography	An 'easing-in' type question which allowed them to talk about a range of experiences including childhood, education, professional life, and retirement.
S3.2. Do you describe yourself as a bus enthusiast? What is a bus enthusiast?	Participant understandings of bus enthusiasm in relation to their identity and activities	This question explored the relationship between being and doing, in that bus enthusiasm is defined by the practices that individuals engage in.
S3.3 Collections: Let's now discuss the artefacts and materials that you want to show me.	Values associated with bus related ephemera and collecting; their organisation, display and use	In person, this question elicited interactive exchanges of pointing, demonstrating, and so on; over the phone it was more descriptive and question-response in style.

Table 3.4: Stage 3 Observational strategies and summary of implementation.

3.2.6.2 Collected materials

Each interview was audio recorded and manually transcribed involving the translation of about five and a half hours into nearly 55,000 words. Transcriptions were sent to each participant for correction and approval. With the in-person interviews, I took photographs for several reasons: to capture participants in the act of demonstrating (e.g., pointing out something or showing how a machine worked), as illustrative of the breadth of collections held, with the intention of including specific images in the thesis (e.g. model display strategies), as visual reminders of something discussed in the interview, and at the direction of the participant. With the telephone interviews, two participants sent images in advance of the interview; I requested further images based on the information provided; in this, I had much less control about what was photographed and how. One participant supplied copies of two articles he has written about his bus experiences. Additionally, I sought further details and clarifications via email during the writing up process.

3.2.6.3 *Analytical process*

Alvesson (2002) helps me to articulate the status of interview in this study as being not just a tool for the extraction of data, but as existing within an empirical situation which can also be observed (their homes, my home, my grief, and my anticipation of loss), which is focused on building an ethical, empathetic relationship between my participants and me as the researcher. There is an indeterminacy of what emerges from the interview, accepting that participants have motivations or inclinations for being involved and in disclosing certain information. There is no suggestion that participant responses are representative of all bus enthusiasts.

Analysis of the interview material began during the interview process where I made notes or sought to draw connections between what the individual participant had said, and then in relation to previous interviews as a sort of building up/on process.

I used both printed out and digital copies of the transcripts to complete a coding process inspired by Braun & Clarke's (2022) reflexive thematic analysis. Byrne's (2022) article provides a worked example of this method as a six-stage process of familiarisation, generating initial codes from which themes are defined, reviewing, defining and naming themes, and then producing the finished report. Broadly, what is distinctive about the approach as a form of thematic analysis is a recognition of the researcher's active role in knowledge production, and the final report as an interpretation of patterns of meaning rather than objective truth. Reflexive thematic analysis is conducted at the intersection of the dataset, theoretical assumptions about analysis and the analytical skills of the researcher. Throughout, I felt that my inexperience in formal methods of analysis made this process difficult and at times unproductive; I was afraid of coding wrong.

Familiarisation techniques I adopted included purposefully manually transcribing the interviews. The transcriptions themselves act as 'evidence' of the audio material

(checked by participants and for archiving as anonymised data) but in early analysis phases I favoured listening to the audio whilst making notes and annotations rather than just reading.

The process of code and theme development was less formal than the method proposed by Braun & Clarke. It initially involved a contents analysis/overview of each interview, before grouping into shared themes, the significance of which were developed through the crafting of my thesis and in conversation with my supervisors rather than through the production of coded tables. Braun & Clarke (2022) recognise the recursive, fluid, complex, contested and at times joyful process of analysis; a different version of this thesis could be produced through adopting their more rigorous and systematic approach. I intend to complete this towards publication and in reference to a more specific research question: 'What heritage work, understood as the observation and communication of temporal difference, do bus enthusiasts engage in?'.

As well as attending to emergent themes, there were several stand out moments in each interview, preserved as quotes, and similarly several striking images, which have been instrumental in forming my interpretations. I also produced a travelcard for each participant as with Stage 2 (Figures 3.9 and 3.10).

3.2.7 Research materials

I have developed accounting methods which attune to representative and more-than representative attributes of moments of encounter, designed to collect something (but not everything) of my own and participants' thoughts, feelings, speech, and actions. I prefer to use the term research materials rather than data as it suggests an embodied and relational collection rather than fixed packets of information.

The breadth of collected material is manifest in the variety of media used for fieldnotes – handwritten, digital, and audio notes, quotations, full prose; maps, diagrams, and drawings; photography, video, gif; audio recording and associated transcripts; the collection of artefacts such as tickets and leaflets; and gathering responses directly from participants (text, images, publications extracts and gifts). I also consulted secondary and pre-existing materials such as the LTM website, publications at the LTM library, bus enthusiast websites and TfL information. There is a sense that all this material grew out of, or was drawn from, my sites of enquiry, through the process of research. In one sense, this is exploitative as I select and manipulate material for my own purposes, but it also feels like these sites remain intact and abundant, that the material collected wasn't just gathered, it was generated. Accumulated research materials are recirculated and reorganised as contingent interpretations of 'what happened' for the purposes of 'wrighting' (Ashmore, 1989) a thesis.

Although I sought information on appropriate techniques for writing fieldnotes (for example, to indicate verbatim speech versus analytical notes), I found it difficult to differentiate between modes of observation and analysis in the field, perhaps reflective of my relative inexperience in research. Each medium has its own qualities and uses; for example, audio recordings of the interviews are more observational, whereas audio notes were first attempts at working through analytical ideas.

3.2.7.1 Media types

There is an underlying tension in affective research about what can be communicated and what is left unsaid. Different media do different things; in terms of observation, reflection, and communication; for me as the researcher, for participants and for recipients of research outputs. In Table 3.5 (below) I describe the media produced across all stages of my investigation. I describe their approximate

relationship with the original research event and the 'knowledge pay-off' (Silverman, 2014, p.5) of each.

<i>Type</i>	<i>Primary use</i>	<i>Temporal relation to research event</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Audio notes	Analytical	Post-encounter (close by)	Convey the immediacy of the experience and useful prompts for further investigation. Also used as reflective accounts as I made my way between research events or home at the end of the day; they provided a medium by which I could express my feelings and thoughts with an immediacy which writing can stifle.
Audio recording	Observational	Immediate	Used to record Stage 3 interviews and some ambient sounds at the museum during Stage 1. Accessed primarily through re-listening alongside reading transcripts.
Collected artefacts	Practical	Immediate	Used to lean on, navigate with, understand more about, gain entry to etc. Interesting to recreate the museum experience as an accumulation of material objects as a self-referential heritage practice.
Diagram making	Analytical	Post-encounter (close by)	Generated after Stage 2 events to explore ordering, interrelationships, and interactions during the experience, between participants and in relation to museum displays and journey.
Digital Photographs	Observational	Immediate (mostly); some taken in relation to handwritten notes (i.e., as illustrations)	Reviewed as 'evidence' of specific encounters and to identify 'moments that glimmer'; employed both at my participants' direction but also when I found something interesting to record; I did ask participants to 'pose' at times. I found photography a useful medium to record what participants 'did' aside from their verbal reporting.
Digital text	Analytical	Post-	Used for reflections and

		encounter (close by, and further and further away)	interpretations, the primary medium through which the thesis has been crafted.
Digital video and Gif	Observational	Immediate	Video and gifs used during Stage 1 only; gifs were particularly effective as records of specific bodily gestures.
Drawing	Observational	Immediate	Described by Rose & Tolia-Kelly (2016) as making visible the 'mind's eye' (p.6); Taussig (2011) describes his use of drawing in anthropological research as an intimate and immersive process, an 'autobiographical record of experience' (p.3) which connects movement with sight.
Handwritten notes	Observational	Immediate	Hard to maintain distinction between observational type notes versus analytic, reflective, and evaluating notes in the field; a conscientious effort to return focus to embodied, sensory, affective, and emotive responses. This was the dominant method of recording in-field observations.
Screenshots	Practical	Post- encounter (close by)	Unanticipated use as an immediate record of external events which coincided with my research events or related to participants information; primarily for reference.

Table 3.5 Media types in use.

3.2.7.2 Transcription

I view transcription as a process of translation across media types. All the research materials have gone through some form of transcription into the format of digital text files which are the easiest to retrieve, manipulate and use. Full transcription was completed for all audio material, using conventions suggested in Silverman (2014, p.449):

- [indicates an overlap of speech between participants
- indicates an emphasis in tone or pitch.
- AAA indicates an emphasis in amplitude.
- () indicates an inability to hear what is said.
- (word) indicates a possible hearing.
- (()) indicates transcriber's notes which were not part of the recording.

3.2.7.3 Storage and archiving

Digitised materials were stored on a secure, password protected server managed by Sheffield Hallam University, accessible only to myself and my supervisory team. All materials were anonymised and the list identifying participants kept physically. Paper records were stored at university prior to Covid-19 lockdown in March 2020, and subsequently at home.

Post-completion, relevant materials will be identified with the help of library staff and archived in the Sheffield Hallam data repository (SHURDA). They will be retained for 10 years as a condition of 'Gold Standard Open Access' as required by my funder. Although there is always the hope that these materials may be accessed and used again, I feel that the main benefit of access is that I can be held to account for my own interpretations.

3.2.8 Analytical techniques

My approach to analysis is essentially interpretative, in that I am making culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life world I have observed (after Crotty, 1998). I have used a variety of techniques to immerse myself within the materials collected, forever accompanied by my own remembrances of those events and with the ability to search for new or related material both within the academic literature and at the sites of enquiry. The thesis makes new representations of 'what happened' for a specific purpose, getting a doctorate. The quality and form of my interpretations relates to my understanding of theoretical and methodological research contexts and my capacity as a researcher to record, organise and communicate. As analysis begins at the point of observation, in what I chose to record or unconsciously commit to memory, interpretations are also limited by the breadth, quality, and quantity of collected research materials.

Techniques of immersion I have employed include writing/re-writing, ordering/re-ordering, listening/re-listening, and transcribing, generating reflexive accounts, and visualisation techniques such as diagramming and collage making. As Goldstein (2017) outlines in their description of reflexive practice, the purpose of immersion is to continually refocus on the reality of research events, and the phenomenon of interest, whilst attempting to reconnect with participant experiences (or more rightly, my experiences of participants). Example strategies of reorganisation included:

- Attention to specific types of response: the sensory, affective, material, or biographical, though often these were interactional.
- Embracing 'moments that glimmer', where something in the material, or a photograph or artefact holds a particular attraction, or made me more attentive to its power. I relate this to the material's 'affective capacity'.
- Thinking about structure and relationships: how images and words are used to signify concepts and themes (such as passenger, Londoner), their specific

context of use, and how they are used together (through combination or by contrast); between participants and across research events.

3.2.8.1 *Making interpretations*

What happens is neither remembered nor forgotten.

Carter (2004, p.31)

A distinctive attribute of ethnographic methodologies is the way in which the presentation of findings is integrated into a narrative description of what happened. Akin to the description of practice-based research (in Batty & Berry, 2015), ethnographic texts convey the intellectual work and process of their own making within the final descriptive form, so in a sense they are both a process of research and its outcome. Ethnographic interpretations are most often textual, but not always so, they can include or comprise entirely of film footage, photography (e.g., Pink, 2007) and drawing (e.g., Taussig, 2011). In titling this section 'making interpretations', I emphasise the creative and pragmatic thinking, the craft, which goes into constructing ethnographic representations.

I am inspired by Miller (2008) and Watson (2006) who both write what I'd think of as 'standard' ethnographies, i.e. books made of chapters of different case studies; Taussig (2011) who uses drawing practices as 'a suggestive fragment' (p.2) and seeks to convey the immediacy of fieldwork through his writing; and Stewart (2007) who uses very short pieces of prose to convey something of the intensity and aesthetic texture of the experiences she describes. DeSilvey (2012) effectively employs an 'experimental narrative form' to present and discuss the history and imagined future of a Cornish harbour (her chosen heritage object). This comprises of ethnographic descriptions alongside extracts from printed media, historical images, quotes, and reflective passages, structured as a temporal account going backwards in time.

Issues at play in the construction of an ethnographic interpretation, include:

- Form & aesthetic: feelings conveyed using language, drawing, structure, typography, etc.
- Expression of familiarity & difference: that observations are not merely 'seeing' but are a sort of witnessing (Taussig, 2011), the texts express something of the ethical relationship between researcher and the observed.
- Interest in categories of meaning: e.g., ethnicity, gender, class, kinship, rituals as identifying a logic to the patterns of peoples' relationships with other people and things (Miller, 2008).
- Truth-making claims: objective observation versus a more ready acceptance of ethnography as imaginative and fictive, yet no less real; 'receptive to the limits of knowing' (Gherardi, 2019, p.753).

As well as thinking through writing, I adopted a practice of collage making during early analysis. This seemed like a natural response to the visual and material richness of the sites of my enquiry. My own background as an architecture undergraduate and in professional practice designing heritage interpretation predisposes me to think visually. The embodied process of moving hands, cutting, sticking, and making lines is a different kind of thinking which appeals more directly to the embodied experience in the field. The process of making enabled an understanding of the structure and process of research events, and to identify relationships and themes.

Collage and scrapbooking are traditional approaches to storytelling and making sense of experiences. They are generally made from a combination of found images, text, and objects, combined in a process of making new meanings from fragments and through juxtaposition, conveying a narrative of their own making and eliciting different readings, engagements, and responses (Wilson & Flicker, 2014). Butler-Kisber (2008) describes this as a process of translation from 'intuitions and feelings to thoughts and ideas' [p.6]; the collage is not the 'truth' but rather a means by which

some aspect of reality is known. Vaughan suggests that collage making is a 'transborder practice' (2005, p.32) between text, the visual and the haptic, between creative experiment and everyday life experience.

Norris (2012) suggests that collage can be used in research to explore the research question or process (conceptualising), record participant experiences (elicitation) and/or develop emerging themes, and as well as a means of communicating findings. I used collage in each of these modes but primarily as a route of paying closer critical and reflexive attention to the collected research materials. There were two areas of collage making: museum leaflet trails and participant biographical travelcards.

3.2.8.2 Museum leaflet trails

Leaflets and trails are a familiar mode of heritage communication which visitors can choose to engage with. They potentially allow the museum to reinterpret or further contextualise objects and displays without wholesale redesign of galleries; they can be used to engage specific audiences or to suggest specific routes through the museum. Adopting this format was a way to critically engage with the 'how' of heritage and public communication methods; it also seemed the most appropriate way to interpret the 'feel' of my experiences (as aesthetic and embodied) and keep a focus on the 'being there' of my research encounters. They were a determined act of authoring, inserting the personal and the imagined in juxtaposition with the informative and the real. Additionally, they act as a sort of audit trail of my own analytical process, as depicted in Figure 3.7.

The leaflet trails were produced through engagement with Stage 1 research materials. Making them helped to identify 'sensitising concepts' across the visits and to communicate this in visual ways. The design was inspired by TfL ephemera such as bus route maps, a visual language also adopted by the museum. Indeed, this

design language is so coherent and integral to the museum's presentation that any analysis or interpretation of it would seem incomplete without an attempt at imitation. As such, the leaflets perform as an additional reflexive comment on the museum as communicative heritage agent.

The museum produces its own trails; existent examples include the Stamper Trail which is the only printed map of the museum generally available. Aimed primarily at children it locates machines throughout the galleries which can be used to literally cut different shaped holes into the edges of the map, e.g., a horse represents the 19th century gallery. There is also a BAME (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) trail which identifies the location of associated objects and stories. In the 'Family Station', you can pick up a variety of informal education activities which offer alternative, creative and insightful ways of seeing the museum, e.g., Shape Spotter (encouraging visitors to find different shapes whilst folding the physical trail in different ways) and Tell us your transport tales! (creating a transport story to send to a friend). I didn't come across these until after completing Stage 2 of the research, but they could have been useful artefacts to use with participants.

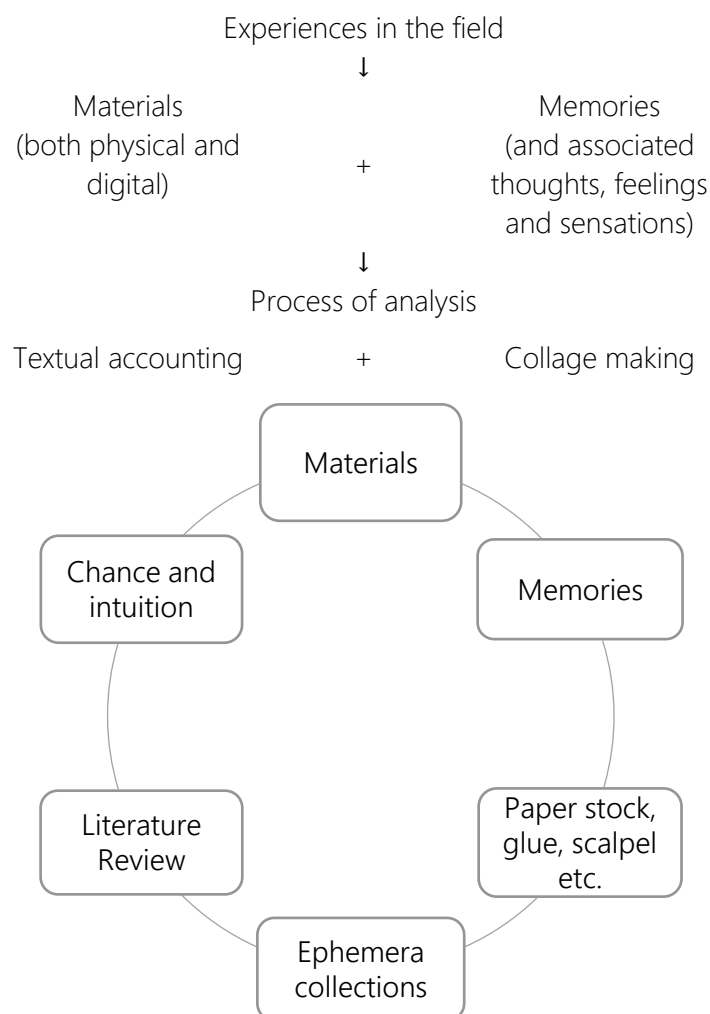


Figure 3.7: Process of analysis and interpretation making of the leaflets. Note: Ephemera collections consist of materials related to my interest in buses and London transport, biography and memberships e.g. magazines, bus timetables, gifted photographs and maps.

If this process, which was initially ill-defined and circular, was written up as a linear list of tasks, as a reproducible method, it might read something like the following:

1. Experiences in the field.
2. Review materials collected in relation to memories, literature, project aims etc.
3. Identify specific moments of encounter, sensitising topics, connections across materials and interesting facts.
4. Creative-intuitive process of making, e.g., selecting coloured card stock, images and text from magazine pages; referencing ephemera collections.
Placement of materials in relation to each other to create new juxtapositions which provide additional analytical insight.

[Evidence points 2, 3 and 4 by writing down thoughts, data points, etc. into a 'reflexive log', as suggested by Norris (2012)]

5. Fix a specific form and photograph.
6. Decide how this will be displayed in your published research (See Appendix G: Museum Leaflets Design Description)

The finalised leaflet trails (Appendix H) account both for my experiences in the field and how I have used the research materials to derive core concepts and generate new meanings, as well as being a means of communicating these to an external reader who could hypothetically take the leaflets to the museum and 'validate' my findings. They therefore function in several ways within the research process:

- As an analytical tool (creative practice as a research process).
- As a visual record of this analysis process.
- As a means of communicating findings.
- As a potential tool for testing findings.

Beyond this, as an ethnographic artefact they adopt and manipulate approaches to communication from within the field. As museum leaflets, they provoke critical questions about:

- Who is speaking as the museum?
- Who is this communication intended for?
- Strategies of communication, including text (both the words used and how they are formatted), colours, layout, physical format, choice of images, use of maps to convey spatial information etc.

The leaflets are presented as analytical and interpretative artefacts in Chapter 4. They challenge the authorising power of the museum through the assertion of personal, sensory, and affective qualities of the visit into the traditionally passive and 'factual'

trail format. As such, they might be understood as ‘critical artefacts’ or ‘design fictions’ (e.g., Gonzatto, van Amstel, Merkle, & Hartmann, 2013; Hales, 2013). Their critical potential is intentional and not foreclosed, they are open to interpretation. Indeed ‘the viewer should experience a dilemma, is it serious or not? Real or not?’ (Dunne & Raby, n.d.). They challenge assumptions of what museum trails are and what they could be.

3.2.8.3 Biographical travelcards

The participant travelcards are a novel way of presenting information about my participants from Stages 2 and 3 whilst also conveying something about my relationship with them and how they interacted with the research process. Post-anonymisation, the travelcards ‘issue’ participants with new research identities. Nos. P1 to P12 were completed concurrently and within a month of the Stage 2 investigation. This felt urgent because the various encounters at the museum and on the 15(H) became somewhat repetitive and I wanted to keep a focus on my participants as individuals during initial analysis. Nos. P13 to P17 were made after returning from maternity leave as a means of getting back into the interview data which I had collected about a year earlier. P18 is representative of my status as a research participant made at the same time.

The process of making involved reviewing observational records, analytical notes, correspondence and other administrative notes. These were reviewed in reference to and concurrently with material things like ephemera collections, paper stock and magazines, as conveyed in Figure 3.8.

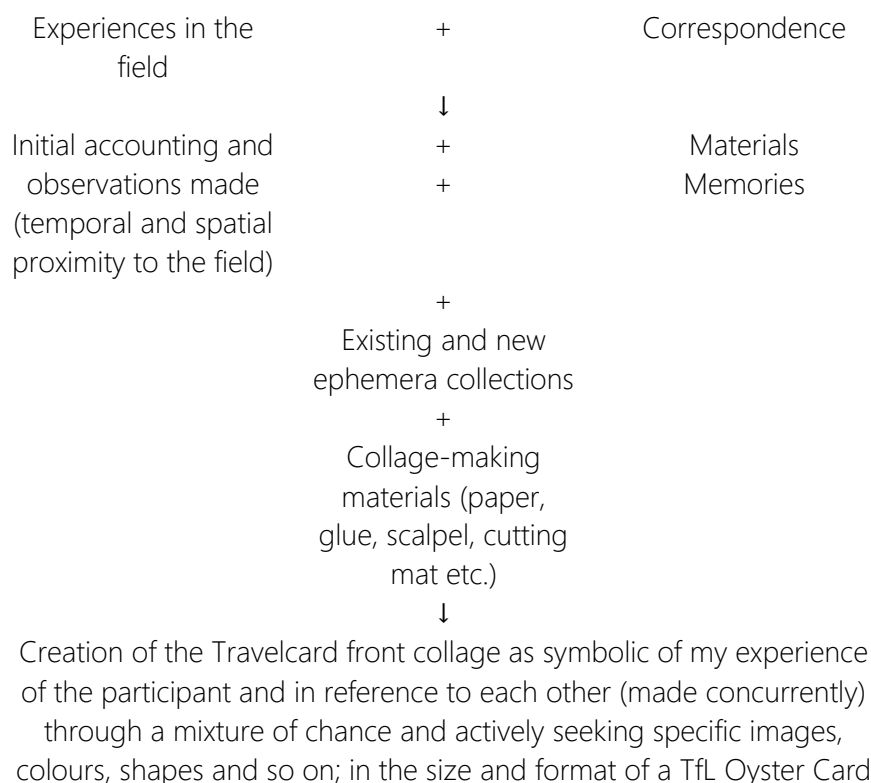


Figure 3.8: Process of analysis and interpretation related to Participant Travelcards.

The original collages were photographed and inserted into publishing software, the format based on a London Oyster card, copying its design proportions for the font sizes and layout. Each collage corresponds to a P-number, indicating the participant. See Appendix I: Travelcard Design Description

The reverse of the travelcard which usually carries 'Conditions' was planned to contain a short biography in prose based on my reflections. However, these accounts were a mixture of analytical thoughts, biographical information, and my own reflections; they were not consistent across the participant group. I standardised the contents to convey information about participant identities and memberships whilst retaining space for my reflections in the 'Observations' section.

The cards were then collectively formatted in a table for inclusion within the thesis (Figure 3.10). I also made physical cards which could be held, ordered, and displayed in different ways and used as part of discussions with my supervisors; taking on a

collection-like quality which mirrored my participants' collections. These are part of the physical submission; Figure 3.9 is a photograph of the travelcards as artefacts.

It is common in social sciences research to provide participant descriptions as a means of evidencing and validating findings as based on 'real' observations. I want to emphasise the partial, and perhaps caricaturised nature of these descriptions, more closely tied to the representations of participants present within the thesis than to the individuals themselves.

Participants were shown the cards in a general way but were not invited to feedback or told explicitly which card belonged to them. If the participants were to identify themselves through either the design, description, or pseudonym, I hope that they would recognise my creative intentions; the cards sincerely reflect my (mostly affectionate) impressions of them.



Figure 3.9: The travelcards as physical artefacts to handle and sort.



000RS02 0P1

REFLECTING THE SELF

Londoner: Yes
 Enthusiast: Yes (60 years)
 Memberships: OS, LTM Friend
 Professional ID: LT from mid-1960s to mid-2010s; senior management, bus driving

Observations (if any): Gifted me a book of his memoirs; professional and straightforward

On London's Buses



000RS02 0P2

ONWARD CONNECTION

Londoner: Yes
 Enthusiast: Yes (~70 years)
 Memberships: OS, LTM Friend and volunteer
 Professional ID: Committee member of London Bus Museum, bus driver at special events and open days

Observations (if any): Smartly dressed, displayed volunteer's lanyard; open and friendly countenance

On London's Buses



000RS02 0P3

DETAILED SPECIFICATIONS

Londoner: Yes
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS volunteer
 Professional ID: Previously worked in transport industry; volunteers at the OS/Bus Archive

Observations (if any): Activities limited by desire to 'make a valuable contribution'; seemed bemused by questions

On London's Buses



000RS02 0P4

THE BUS CRUSADER

Londoner: No (although lived there for decades)
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS committee member
 Professional ID: Buses magazine contributor, passenger rights advocate; involvement in sector for 40+ years

Observations (if any): Interested in role of public transport in society; 'normal and also extraordinary'

On London's Buses



000RS02 0P5

THROUGH A LENS

Londoner: No
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS
 Professional ID: Former bus driver (outside of London)

Observations (if any): Has photographed every New Routemaster; gifted me a copy of his local bus interest group bulletin; unabashed enthusiast/bus spotter

On London's Buses

**TRUTH SEEKER**

000RS02 OP6

Londoner: No (lived there since 1975)
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS, PSV Circle
 Professional ID: Former civil servant, previously armed forces

Observations (if any): Researches bus company histories reconciling public and private records; fairly timid

On London's Buses

**NETWORKER**

000RS02 OP7

Londoner: Yes
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS Committee member
 Professional ID: Former LT manager; volunteers at OS/Bus Archive

Observations (if any): Interested in link between transport and wider social scene; likes camaraderie of enthusiast community

On London's Buses

**PREFERENCE FOR BUSES**

000RS02 OP8

Londoner: Yes
 Enthusiast: No (Buses preferred mode)
 Memberships: N/a
 Professional ID: N/a

Observations (if any): Married to P7 and involved in the OS and other enthusiast activities by association; interests include sewing and quilting

On London's Buses

**ON SCHEDULING**

000RS02 OP9

Londoner: Yes (hesitant)
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS, LTM Friend and volunteer
 Professional ID: Various roles in LT including as buyer, ticket office attendant; trained as Tube driver; worked for gas board

Observations (if any): Felt immediate affinity

On London's Buses

**TOWARDS THE BOTTOM LINE**

000RS02 P10

Londoner: Yes
 Enthusiast: Yes (hesitant)
 Memberships: LTM Friend and volunteer
 Professional ID: Worked for LT; holds PSV licence; volunteers for LTM and TfL Archives

Observations (if any): Very intellectual and self-critical when considering research questions and ID as bus enthusiast

On London's Buses



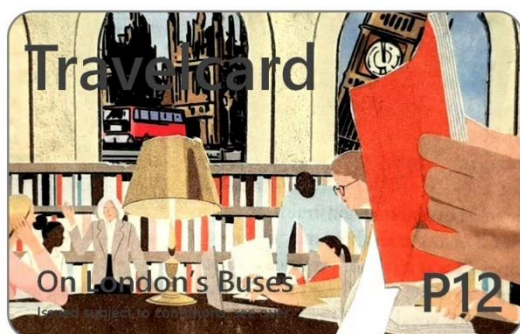
000RS02 P11

AMOROUS ENTHUSIAST

Londoner: Yes
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS
 Professional ID: Former scheduler and bus driver

Observations (if any): Demonstrative of knowledge as 'obvious'; published guides to bus garages across Britain

On London's Buses



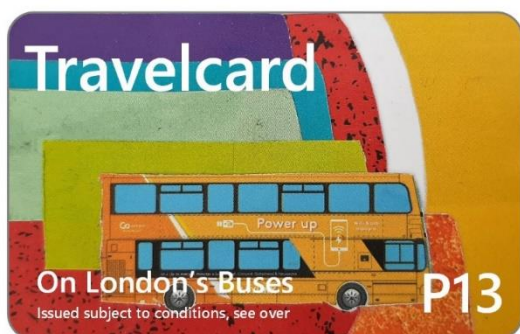
000RS02 P12

BUS LOVER

Londoner: No
 Enthusiast: No (just loves buses)
 Memberships: (Professional member of RTHA)
 Professional ID: Works as a librarian for a transport professional body

Observations (if any): Collects comics and preserved insects; lived opposite a bus terminal in childhood

On London's Buses



000RS03 P13

MEASURED ENTHUSIASM

Londoner: No
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: N/a
 Professional ID: Retired EU civil servant involved in local and regional development (North-East England)

Observations (if any): Preference for buses in everyday life; bus enthusiasm one of several interests

On London's Buses



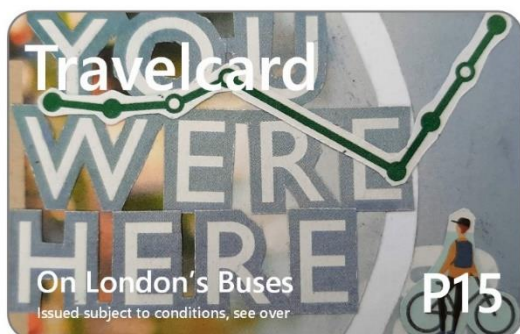
000RS03 P14

AFFECTIONATE COLLEAGUE

Londoner: No (former)
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS
 Professional ID: Former conductor, driver and transport manager incl. work in consultancy in the EU; continues to drive heritage vehicles

Observations (if any): Enjoys remembering former colleagues

On London's Buses



000RS03 P15

USING TIME

Londoner: No
 Enthusiast: Yes
 Memberships: OS, Model Bus Federation
 Professional ID: Soon to be retired judge and barrister

Observations (if any): Writes books about local and regional operators and church histories; recent return to hobby of bus modelling

On London's Buses

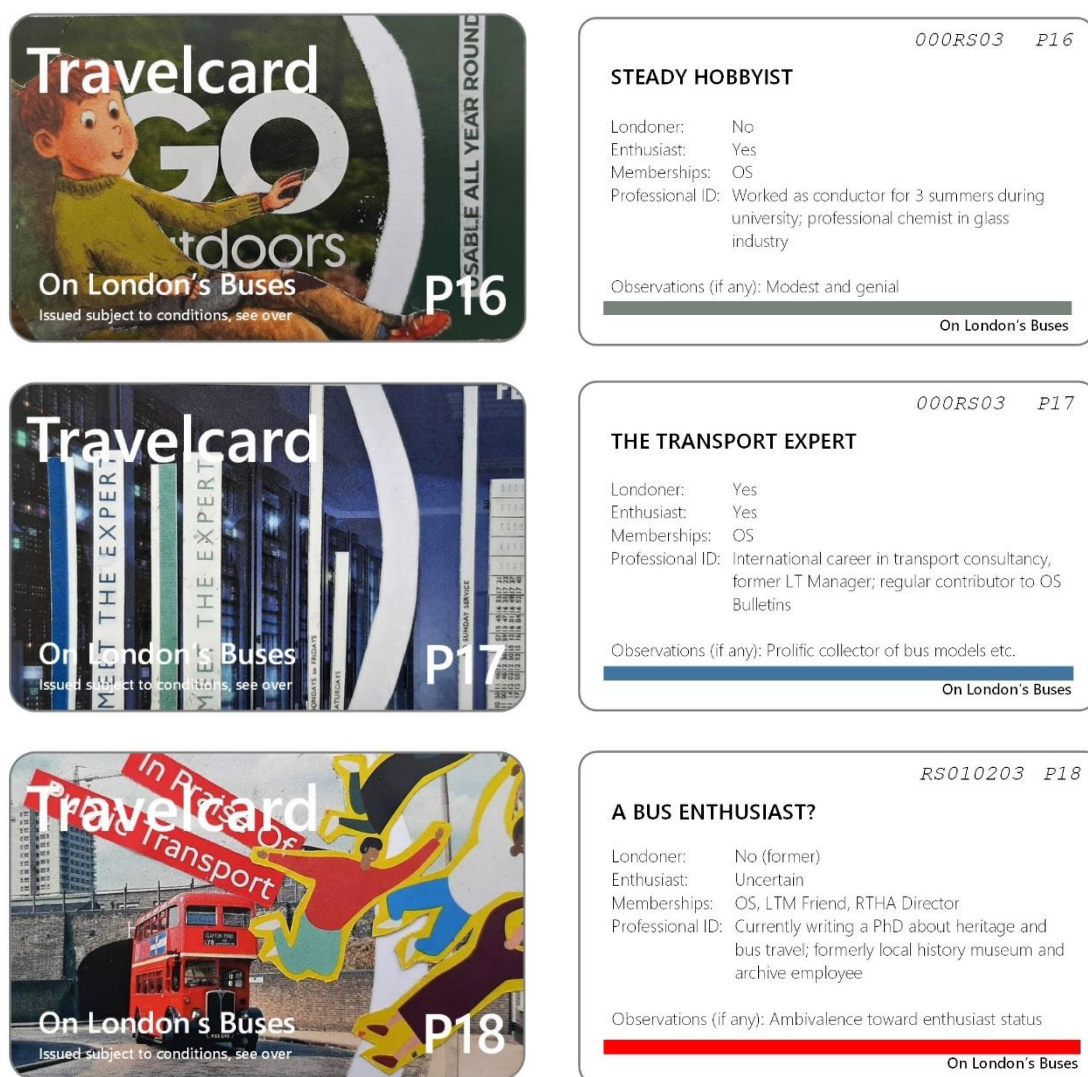


Figure 3.10: Participant biographies as travelcards, reproduced here at ~80% actual size.

3.3 Presentation as Findings

This chapter has established the methodological context for and made an account of the research study. I presented ethnography as a research methodology which might capture aspects of embodied, sensory, and affective experiences, considering the observational and analytical utility of the moment of encounter, which expands on its theoretical utility as outlined in Chapters 1 and 2.

Section 3.2 described the plan for and implementation of the study in some detail. I outlined the rationale for selecting the cases of the LTM and the 15(H) as well as for the recruitment of bus enthusiasts as research participants. I described each stage of

my enquiry, and the research materials collected and gave some evaluation of their utility. I also explained my approach to interpreting research findings, including a detailed account of the use of collage.

Findings are presented across three chapters:

Chapter 4: 'At the Museum' presents an interpretation of Stage 1; it also draws on Stage 2 participant responses to the 'Uniform Delivery' display case and in relation to their identity as Londoners. The leaflet trails are referenced throughout the chapter, as structuring devices and in relation to other research data.

Chapter 5: 'On the Buses' is a more substantial engagement with Stage 2 research materials. It is split into two halves: firstly, considering how London bus thingness is defined and experienced at the LTM, and secondly how this is experienced and utilised for political purposes in the operation of the 15(H).

Chapter 6: 'Collecting Enthusiasts' interprets the heritage values and practices which bus enthusiasts are engaged with in their everyday lives, on and off the buses. It draws primarily on Stage 3 interview data but also references Stage 2 participant responses to the LTM's 'He's Really Keen' drawer.

The findings chapters are followed by a discussion explicitly addressing the research aim and objectives as outlined in Section 1.1.

4. At the Museum

This chapter presents the visitor journey as a process of heritage evaluation conducted by the museum, as an official or authorising agent, and by the visitor, as a subject with relevant lived experience. The chapter considers how understandings of heritage are generated through museum visiting experience as an active process of negotiation between institutional, personal, public, and private memories and values. It also focuses on the qualities of the encounters facilitated at museums, as purposefully designed forms of communication which are sensory and affecting as well as informative (Henning, 2006; Dudley, 2019). What meanings emerge through these encounters, and who is this production of meaning for?

Taking the presentation of transport history at the London Transport Museum (LTM) as my focus, I consider how practices of display and interpretation aid in the construction of institutional and visitor identities. These aspects of identity-work, at both individual and collective level, are related to the valuing process by which bus travel might be constructed as a heritage object.

The chapter uses research materials from Stage 1 of the enquiry when I visited the LTM by myself specifically looking for accounts of the (bus) passenger; also, participant responses to the 'Uniform Delivery' display case during Stage 2. It begins by introducing the museum and describing the typical visitor route. Section 4.2 presents the analytical themes identified through the production of leaflet trails (Appendix H; Figure 4.1), as unofficial or researcher-visitor generated routes through the museum. The themes are concerned with how the museum constructs its own self-image, the claims it makes about itself and the institutional history of Transport for London (TfL); how a visit activates or not aspects of my own identity or reflects my subjective experiences as a female passenger, heritage practitioner and bus enthusiast; and how specific encounters allow participants to tell their stories as transport people and Londoners. Each theme is presented in reference to the leaflet

trails as physical artefacts, alongside ethnographic accounts, photographs, drawings, and direct quotes from museum interpretation to evidence and foreground the discussion on 'authoring heritage' in Section 4.3.



Figure 4.1: Five leaflet trails. Devices used in the production and presentation of analytical insights from Stage 1, submitted as are part of the physical submission for the thesis and reproduced in digital form as Appendix H. Their material reality as leaflets to be held is of significance, the intention being that they are not merely read, but used as prompts to imagine a tangible visit, situating the reader as a museum visitor.

4.1 The London Transport Museum

The LTM originated as a small collection of significant vehicles preserved privately by the London General Omnibus Company in the 1920s. Since 2008, it has operated as a registered charity, to 'advance the heritage of transport in London' through

education, helping 'the general public/mankind' (Charity Commission, n.d.). The museum is an amalgamation of:

- Physical locations at Covent Garden (organised as galleries, shop, café), St James's Park (library relocated here in 2019), and Acton (organised as an 'open store').
- Collections comprising of 500,000 or so artefacts including vehicles, photographs, ephemera, audio visual materials, artwork, drawings and more.
- Personnel teams which include management and trustees, curatorial, marketing and retail, education, volunteers, and Friends.
- A website, online shop, and social media presence on multiple platforms.
- Events programme and permanent features tailored to specific audiences including schools (focusing on skills and employability), families (several 'All Aboard' dedicated play spaces for children under 7), disabled people, other visitor segments such as younger people; exclusive events such as 'Museum after dark' (for adults includes a signature cocktail called the Routemaster) and 'Hidden London' tours (opportunities to explore 'secret' transport buildings).
- Contributions from private patrons and external sponsors such as charitable trusts, commercial partners, and its own Friends organisation.
- Visitors.

The above list illustrates that what we understand by the museum is not one thing, but is rather distributed across different spaces, collections, and agents (Macdonald, Gerbich & von Oswald, 2018). London transport heritage values are not merely communicated in the display of artefacts but also through the museum's marketing strategy, choice of commercial products it sells, partners it works with, and types of events it organises, amongst other activities.

My interactions with the LTM have comprised of:

- Several visits prior to commencing doctoral research.
- A two-day research visit (Stage 1); a few hours in the library at Albany House; meetings with the OS Archive volunteers, LTM volunteers and two curators at Acton; attendance at a Depot Open Day (All Change! September 2019); the nine research visits of Stage 2; a visit with my daughter in May 2022.
- Chance interactions on social media, particularly Facebook, as prescribed by their algorithm.
- Regular visits to the website, and in particular the online shop.
- Sporadic email correspondence with several members of staff.
- Receipt of regular newsletter and email correspondence as a member of the LTM Friends.

Commentators such as Hooper-Greenhill (1994), Lindauer (2006) and Ravelli (2006) address explicitly the role of text in museums communications beyond the static interpretation panels installed in galleries and exhibition spaces. It is accepted that websites, leaflets, adverts and more all contribute to the 'image' of the museum. In its published guide, the museum claims to be 'the world's leading museum of urban transport' (London Transport Museum, 2017, p.5). In its general promotional leaflet, the museum uses words such as: 'inspire', 'imagine', 'explore', 'discover' to describe the visiting experience, and claims that what you will see is 'iconic', 'awesome' and 'exclusive'.

In terms of how the museum defines heritage, this concept spans across temporal dimensions of past, present, and future as stated in the 'Our Supporters' panel. Stated heritage objectives include the production of events and exhibitions (practices which define and sustain certain values), debating the future of London's transport (as an overt practice of time-consciousness) and making representations of London's transport heritage (defining the heritage object). Through these objectives, the museum defines itself as the producer of educational and entertaining experiences,

as a custodian of London's transport history but also an active participant in the future development of London's transport infrastructure. Its purposes include: the collection and conservation of material and information, encouraging Londoners to value their city, to act as a networking hub, and as a showcase.

The museum has an established visitor route supported by its child-orientated Stamper Trail, signage, and other temporary printed guides (such as Figure 4.2). The route presents London's transport history in a broadly chronological way: after entering the galleries via the shop and a corridor space, visitors ascend in the lifts to Level 2, an LED display counts backwards from the current year's date to 1800 and the lifts open into the 19th Century London gallery. As you move around and down the building, you move forward in time towards the 20th Century galleries on Level 0, and the final Futures gallery.

The historical presentation is made in reference to the introduction of new technologies: horse-buses and trams, Underground trains, trolley- and motor-buses; with a distinction made between on- and below- the surface (i.e., operations above ground, such as buses and taxis, and below ground, the Underground and other rail), reflective of TfL's management structure. Temporary exhibitions are housed in dedicated galleries accessible from Level 1 and supported by other temporary displays such as the Poster Parade (also on Level 1). There are dedicated children's play spaces on Levels 0 and 1 which include the front end of a bus to sit in, role playing equipment (dress up, engineering tool toys), and climbing frames. The exit takes you directly into the shop, which you must walk through to exit the building.

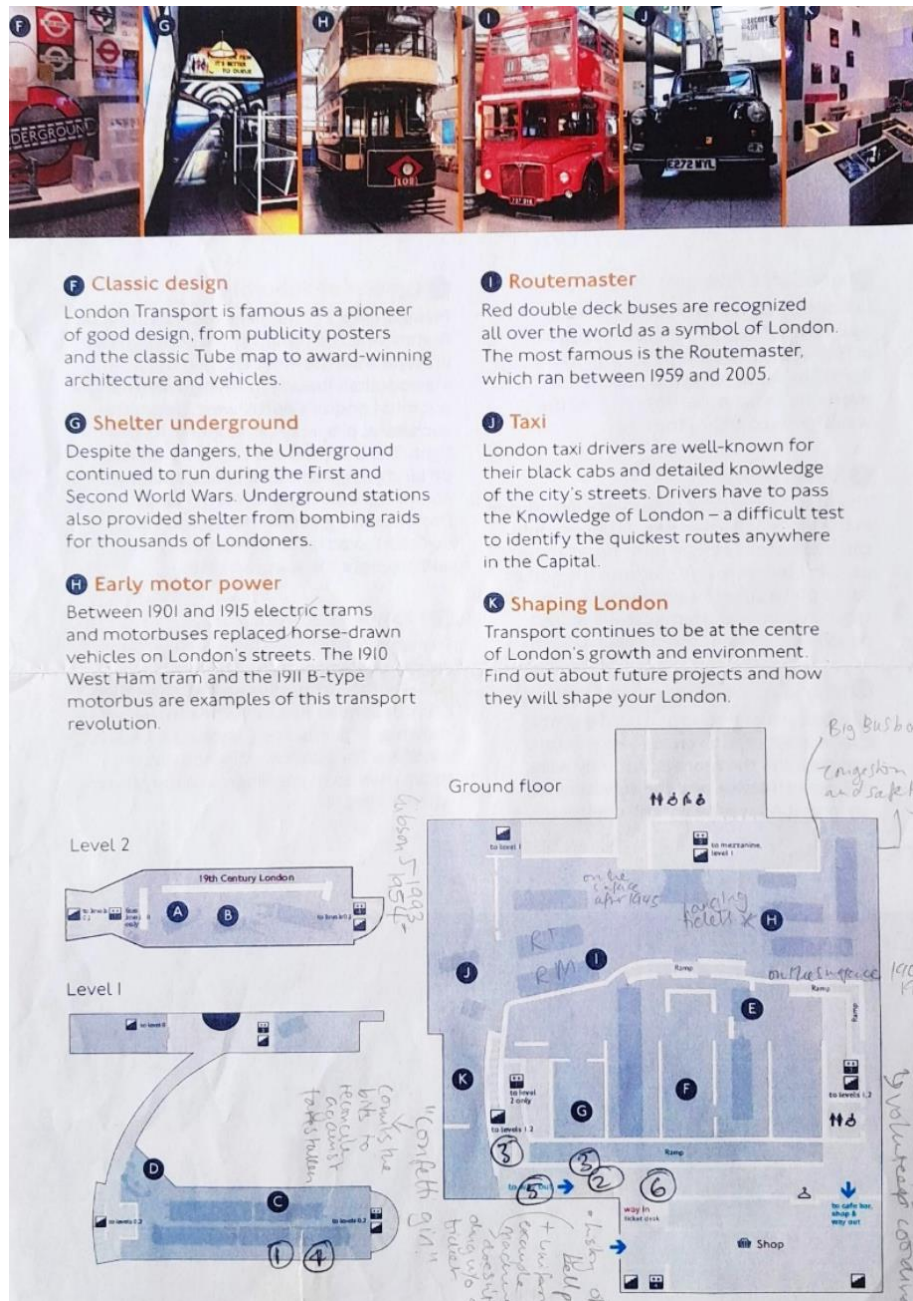


Figure 4.2: Printed 'Gallery Highlights' trail issued by the museum, summer 2018. The established visitor route begins in the 19th Century London gallery (A) on Level 2 and progresses chronologically as you move down the building to the Futures gallery (annotated as '5')

I now provide a visual-textual interpretation of the general visiting experience which I compiled from my fieldnotes and recollections:

A visit to the LTM begins on the streets of London and continues there after you leave. I arrived at King's Cross and took a walk on a hot day, inhaling traffic fumes, and wondering if a bus would be faster.



Figure 4.3: Entry to the LTM off Covent Garden.

The museum is at the south-east corner of Covent Garden, a tourist spot, in what was a purpose-built flower market, with beautiful Victorian cast iron detailing and bright red brickwork. The entranceway (Figure 4.3) looks just like a shop window, 'Museum' written large, with 'London Transport Museum' in much smaller font. The museum employs the TfL font 'New Johnston' for all its signs; but it isn't just this visual continuity which connects it to the city.



Figure 4.4: Stage 1 entry ticket for the LTM. Validated by my signature to allow future re-entry

The entrance to the museum proper is inconspicuous. I pay for the ticket (Figure 4.4) and enter what is essentially a corridor although it is 3-storeys high, passing information panels about the museum's donors and environmental impact, an informal arrangement of children's buggies and a cloakroom. Turning 180 degrees, I ascend by ramp (Figure 4.5) to the

elevators which will take me to the second-floor galleries. Overhead, there are curious jagged luminescent red arches, to my right the wall is covered in large format transit maps with destinations in many different languages. Small screens display commuters on the move. A sign proclaims that: 'Public transport is the city's lifeblood. From Tokyo to New York, transit networks help shape urban identity and are the backdrop to our lives. How does transport define where you live?'. Its message is translated into Japanese, French, Mandarin Chinese, and Hindi.

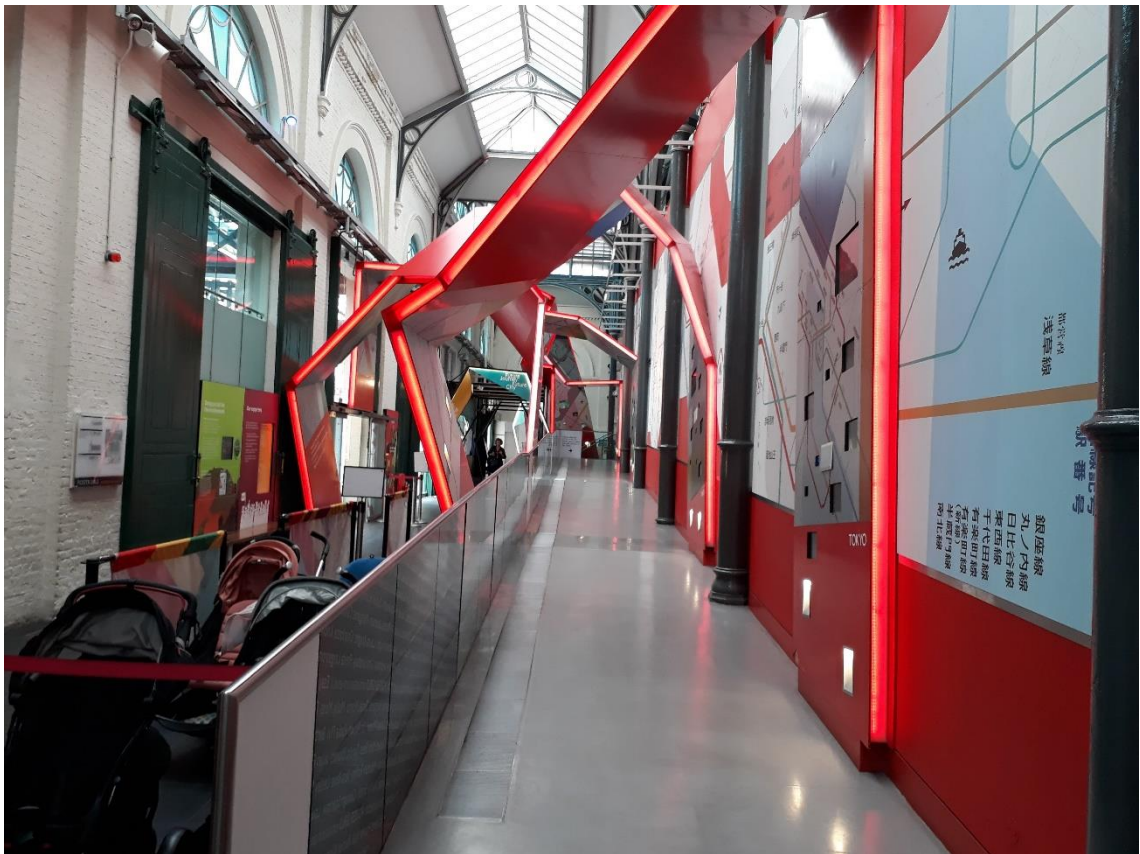


Figure 4.5: Entrance ramp leading to the museum lifts.

The story told is one of change: the growth of London and transport's fundamental role in meeting the challenges posed by the ever-expanding metropolis. The historical presentation begins in 1800 on the second floor of the building, and continues chronologically to the future, as represented by the final gallery. Through the layout and required circulation routes, I am continually brought back to the central atrium (Figure 4.6) where bus blinds unfurl from the ceiling showing all their destinations at once. Here, I can get an expansive view of the vehicles and other artefacts on display below. The story is of and for 'ordinary' Londoners: I watch digitally recreated real-time movements via the live travel information displayed on the giant

Connections Map. As a visitor, and a passenger, I begin to sense that riding the bus each day makes me part of the story too.



Figure 4.6: Museum atrium. As viewed on the bridge connecting Level 1 galleries with the Information desk, temporary exhibition galleries and children's play space.

The ground floor of the atrium is a space of great excitement, used as a play area for children whilst volunteers demonstrate the bell-punch ticket machine with its 'ding' and tourists hop on and off buses. It represents the 20th century history of surface transport in the capital, with the story of the Underground, London design and London during the World Wars presented in galleries off this space. Order and any sense of chronology is only partially maintained, as different objects and cases vie for attention and the entire institutional history of TfL and its predecessors is told. As I take my lunch in this space, I watch 'traffic lights going green, going red' (audio note: 7/6/2018, 13:34) and a child practicing at crossing the road. The changing lights create a rhythm, red-stop-green-go but the bus's wheels do not turn.

As I go to leave, a sign on the floor of the final gallery (Figure 4.7) reads:



Figure 4.7: Floor-sign on leaving the Futures gallery. Features a quote by Robert Noyce, founder of Intel.

I find it a curious choice for an institution seeking to convey the value of London transport history to the contemporary city, as a source of pride and inspiring future innovation. The quote implies to me that history impedes rather than impels wondrous action.

To leave, I walk again along the entrance corridor and through into the back of the museum shop. Here I can purchase the usual: postcards, mugs, tea towels and t-shirts, and the less usual: authentic, decommissioned, original artefacts from the London transport network such as platform signs and vehicle fittings. These provide an additional source of revenue for the museum, whilst also facilitating my transport enthusiast's collecting and consumption.

4.2 Routes through the Museum

This section attends to 'what happens' when a visitor interacts with the LTM. Drawing on the more-than representational research into museum-visitor experiences,

discussed in Section 2.1, and specifically the way that these researchers (such as Waterton, 2018) frame the visitor as a 'thinking-feeling' subject, I explore some of the representational consequences of embodied, affective encounters: how the museum is read differently, beyond its historical and technological presentation. In other words, rejecting Bennett's (1995) conceptualisation of visitors as 'minds-on-legs' engaged in 'organised walking' or the performance of the museum's itinerary, I refocus on encounters as specific instances of subject-object relation (Macdonald, 2006) through which new meanings emerge.

The presentation in this section is structured thematically rather than in the spatial and chronological order of the established visitor route. A focus on specific artefacts and displays produces a more fragmented understanding of the visiting experience, which emerged as a quality through repeated visits and the analytical process: the deeper I looked, the more complex the museum's communications appeared.

The section is divided into three parts. Section 4.2.1 considers what the ideological function of the museum is in relating its activities to the wider organisation, TfL. This is interpreted as, on the one hand an attempt to produce a communicative brand, casting the visitor as a consumer, and on the other, as an act of collective memory for TfL. This part relates most closely to the 'Service Regulation' leaflet, with some reference to 'Revenue Protection'. Section 4.2.2 explores how my own subjective position as researcher, enthusiast, woman, interrupts the museum presentation and offers an insight into the potential critical capacity of subjective experience in evaluating heritage-making practices. This is based on the insights from the 'Positive Growth' and 'Disrupting the Flow' leaflets. Section 4.2.3 extends this in interpreting Stage 2 participant experiences of the museum and how their identities as Londoners, enthusiasts, passengers, transport professionals and volunteers are enacted through visiting experiences; it relates to the 'Omnibus for All' leaflet. Table 4.1 (below) summarises the themes emergent through the making of each leaflet trail.

	<i>Leaflet Title</i>	<i>Trail title</i>	<i>Description</i>
	Service Regulation	In Service trail	Explores the qualities of the public service delivered by TfL and its predecessors.
	Revenue Protection	Ticketing trail	Ticket-related exhibits and interpretations encountered during the visit; processes of exchange which they represent
	Positive Growth	Passenger trail	Transport's historical and contemporary role in facilitating the spatial expansion of London which, despite environmental costs, is qualified as positive
	Disrupting the Flow	Body trail	Explicit focus on sensory and embodied aspects of being both a passenger and a museum visitor
	Omnibus for All	Londoner trail	Interactions between the transport network and passengers in the symbolic construction of the city and its citizens

Table 4.1: Summary of the themes emergent in and interpreted through the leaflet trails.

The subject of the museum, the content of what is communicated, is considered at the same time as its modes of communication. Figure 4.8 illustrates, in the form of an imagined transit map, how the trails intersect in several ways and ignore or contradict each other in others. This reflects the complex and multivalent nature of both the museum's presentation and how it is experienced by visitors.

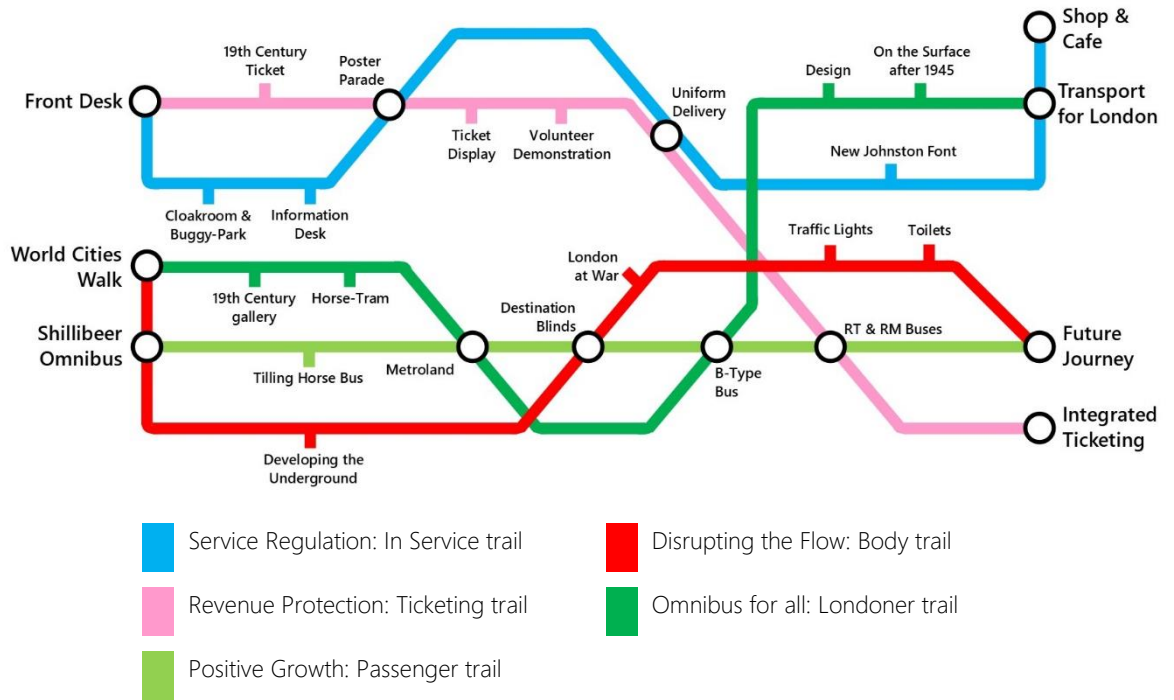


Figure 4.8: Trails transit map. Illustrating each point in the trails and their intersections. The spatial location of each is noted on a plan of the museum in the leaflet trails. A confluence in the historical narrative, as revealed in the production of this map, is dated to c.1930s and the foundation of the first public transport authority for London.

4.2.1 Service regulation: the Museum as institution

I now present the first of several themes derived through my analysis. I consider the different strategies, both explicit and implicit through which the museum defines itself in the presentation of TfL's institutional history. I discuss the content and design of a specific gallery, London by Design, and then the emerging theme of 'Service Regulation' in relation to TfL's provision of a public service. I also consider the ticket in its many forms as symbolic of the visitor-museum/passenger-infrastructure relationship, reflecting on the reciprocity implied by 'service'.

4.2.1.1 London by design

A primary and distinctive attribute of the London Transport experience is the adoption of a strong visual and design language in station and bus stop signage, marketing, and information materials such as bus maps. Good design is described by

the museum as an institutional tradition and philosophy in the gallery 'London by Design' off the atrium space on Level 0.

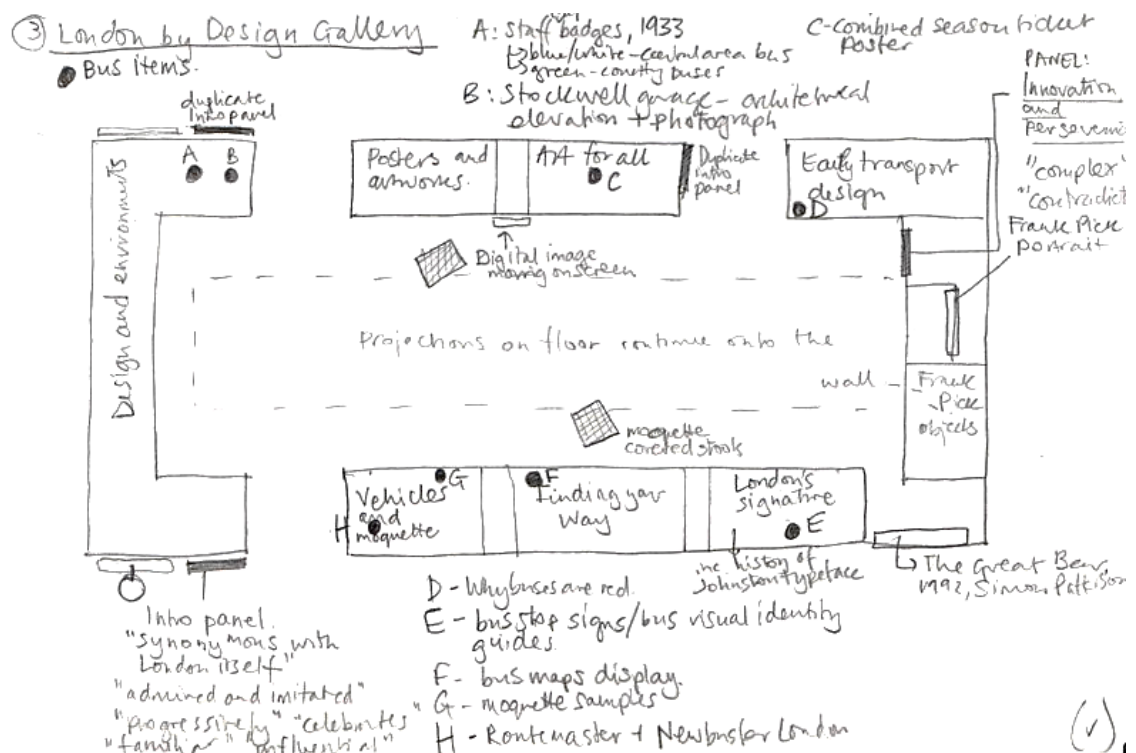


Figure 4.9: 'London by Design' gallery plan. As drawn in fieldnotes for Stage 1 which records several features including the location of bus travel specific artefacts and displays.

The gallery is a combination of standard interpretation approaches such as panels and static objects in display cases, combined with digital projections on the floor and wall, moquette covered stools (a product available to buy in the shop, which links to the historical samples on display at 'H' in Figure 4.9), overseen by a portrait of Frank Pick, as a 'face of the institution' (Nissley & Casey, 2002) (amongst other famous faces, e.g. Figure 4.10). Also presented here is 'The Great Bear' (1992), an artwork by Simon Pattinson. The gallery adopts a much more dynamic approach to display in the multi-layering of objects, images, and texts and in the choice of artefacts, from moquette samples to original prints, drawings, and artwork. It presents information about the origins and development of many familiar everyday objects and design features of London's transport infrastructure such as handrails, typography and signage, which might ordinarily be overlooked yet are intimately part of routine travelling experience.



Figure 4.10: Example display in the London by Design gallery. Poster printing process from original drawing to full colour final production (dated 1943) featuring a widely recognisable image of UK wartime Prime Minister, Winston Churchill.

The gallery illustrates the role of design in mediating interactions between passengers and the service, and between visitors and the museum: 'great efforts are made to ensure that simple leaflets ... are visually interesting and communicate as effectively as their larger counterpart, the poster' (interpretation panel, London by Design gallery). London's transport design is described as synonymous with the city itself; it is coherent, familiar, and good. The Underground Roundel is London's logo, New Johnston Font is London's signature; in navigating the city, we are interacting with the London Transport brand.

London Transport's brand is presented as a sophisticated mode of public communication, whereby the institution communicates with a universal yet singular person: you, the passenger. The success of design is based not just on creativity, but also recognisability, standardisation, and regulation. In turn, the museum borrows from the success of London Transport design. Their signage uses the same font (only

licensed for use by TfL, the museum, and the Mayor of London), a design strategy that connects it to the city beyond its limits and the presentation at the museum to an understanding and appreciation of the service provided by TfL. Leaflets are formatted in similar ways to their transport equivalents: they feature the TfL roundel as a symbol of the museum and appear to be authored or authorised by the Mayor of London.

Besides this, the design legacies of London Transport offer an important revenue opportunity for the museum. It claims to have 'London's greatest poster collection' and 'one of the most important collections of graphic art in the world', selling reproductions online and in a dedicated poster shop at Covent Garden, alongside a range of other products. These are explicitly signposted in the museum through additional adverts promoting the poster shop.

4.2.1.2 Public service

Service is an important concept which the museum adopts as a theme for its own uses; although this is not explicitly stated and was an insight from the production of the 'Service Regulation' leaflet. Service implies a sense of altruism, whereby both the museum and TfL can be characterised as benevolent and acting for the public. The museum goes some way to define what the service is and who is doing it through its presentation of working histories and the biographies of specific individuals, although it must be noted that this is from a managerialist perspective and not necessarily generated through the voices of workers themselves. As passenger-visitors our role is to use the network.

The museum tells the story of London's transport development and much of this is connected to the public agents involved, i.e., TfL and its predecessors. TfL is still actively involved in the governance of the museum and is a collaborator in staging 'transport-related festivals' which 'keep the world's attention on the city' (Lawrence,

Taylor & Green, 2015, p.422). TfL wields considerable influence over Londoners' everyday lives through the service decisions it makes and is the subject of a brief museum interpretation board (Figure 4.11). This is located prior to entering the Futures gallery and it titled 'The Tide Turns'.

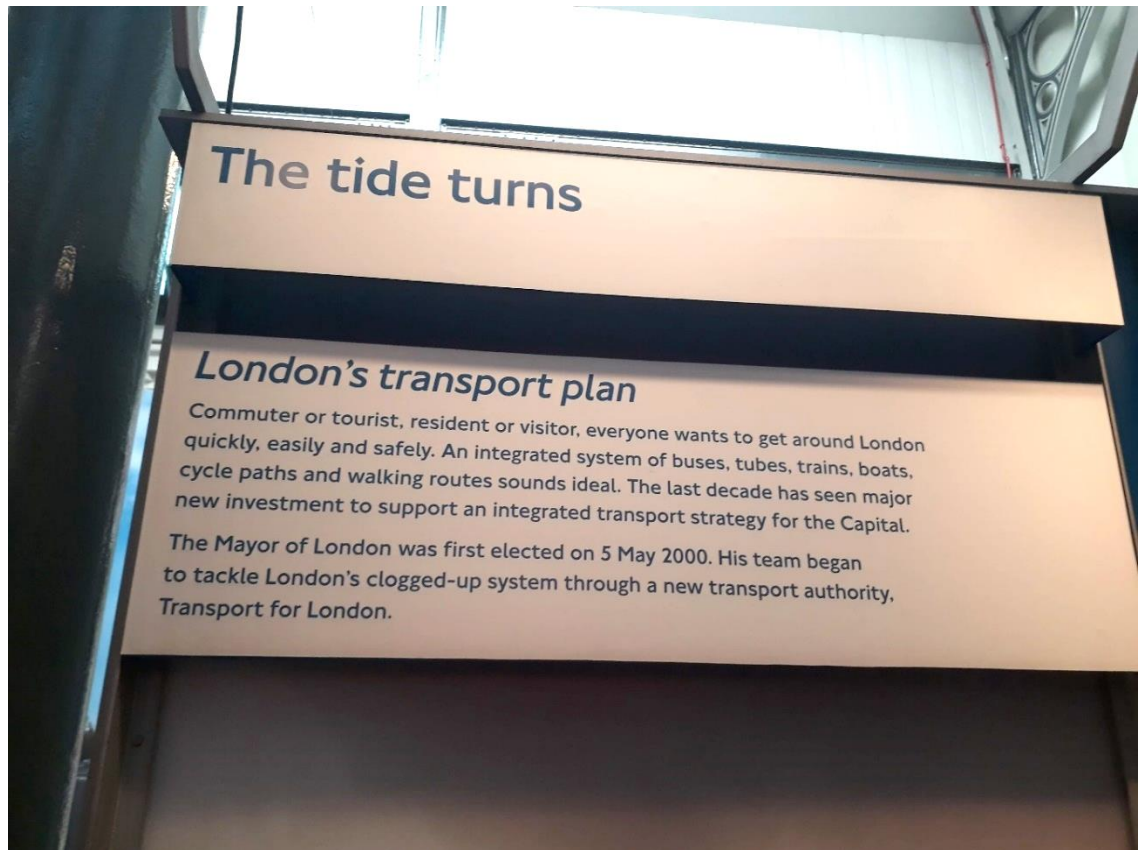


Figure 4.11: 'Tide turns' panel. This panel introduces TfL into the museum's historical narrative.

The text of this panel constructs the passenger as a consumer who wants quick, easy, and safe journeys; it suggests that it is the Mayor of London who will deliver this, by lending their authority to TfL and in the production of an integrated transport system. This panel reads like marketing material: why, in the context of a historical presentation, is the mayor not named? The characterisation of London's system as 'clogged up' – and a nearby panel about underfunding – make an implicit connection, which contextualises the foundation of TfL to better manage the network. The result is a message which suggests that success of TfL is dependent on continued, increased patronage as well as good political and managerial practices.

Museum visiting can be conceptualised as an example of 'consumer experience tourism' (Mitchell & Orwig, 2002); by engaging with the museum as an extension of TfL, the bond between consumer-passengers and a product-network is reinforced. The museum is 'a permanent means of communicating the importance of its [TfL's] mission and its impact on the community' (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2001, p.32). Castellani & Rossato (2014) describe company museums as a 'relational marketing and communication tool' (p.240) directed at both external clients and internal stakeholders, contributing not just to external image perceptions but also internal corporate identity. Institutional history is presented to emphasise social contribution, resilience and reinvention, innovation, reliability, and quality; visitors are encouraged to make personal connections to the presented history.

A complementary interpretation is to suggest the museum as a site of organisational memory, with TfL understood as a mnemonic community (equivalent to the state, the family) constituted through the collective memories of individuals. Nissley & Casey (2002) and Rowlinson, Booth, Clark, Delahaye & Procter (2010) both suggest that corporate museums are evidence of selective remembering and forgetting which has ideological value to the institution, defining it through language, favoured narratives, rituals, and symbols. An example narrative is that of foundation and success attribution to specific employees; this is evident in the London by Design gallery which features a prominent portrait of Frank Pick (Chief Executive Officer of the London Passenger Transport Board, 1933-1940). The panel dedicated to him allows for some ambiguity in his character ('Pick was a complex and sometime contradictory figure') whilst crediting him with changing 'the face of transport in London' through the artists and designers he employed.

He believed that 'fitness for purpose' was the key to a progressive modern business or public service. Good design could give order, style and efficiency, and even a moral and spiritual dimension, to everything a civic organisation did.

Panel in the London by Design gallery

Nissley & Casey (2002) go on to suggest that 'corporate museums can also be understood as strategic assets that influence organisational actions' (p.39); this is suggestive of the critical potential of the museum to shape contemporary management decisions. If this is the case, it would seem important that the museum actively remembers institutional failures as well as successes. However, its public presentation does not describe issues such as public relations mistakes, labour-management conflicts, or ethical lapses. Although such histories might be significant and instructive, they would not necessarily benefit the museum, undermining the progressive chronological narrative it presents and the bond (based on pride and duty) it aims to create between visitors-as-passengers and TfL as the network providers.

4.2.1.3 The ticket

Through the purchase of a ticket, individuals become passengers or visitors. I have described above what the museum does in making representations of the service and TfL as an institution with a brand identity and holding specific values. The ticket is a materialisation of the relationship between passenger-visitors and the service provided; it makes real the ephemeral experience of the travelling-visiting journey.

The ticket itself has many qualities: it is a physical artefact which is shaped to be held by a human hand, on it is inscribed evidence of its monetary value and the time, date, and place of its use; it is much duplicated and yet particular, specific to one journey or visit. Its heritage value is dependent on its material survival and yet is probably entirely symbolic, related to the significance of the event or the identity of the passenger, or as a specimen within the ticketing taxonomy. I am fascinated by the ticket as a particular type of object which reveals the complexity of cultural value as interaction between people, things, time, place, capital, and movement. The ticket's form and function make these interactions visible.

The ticket could be used as a device to tell alternative or lesser-known stories. In the Revenue Protection leaflet, I highlight a volunteer demonstration of the bell punch ticketing machine and explain how the tiny circles cut from the ticket would be counted by 'confetti girls' and reconciled against the conductor's takings. This story was absent from the permanent 'Uniform Delivery' display which explains the conductors' role, a missed opportunity to tell of female workers' contribution.

Connected to the remembrance of the demonstration is a very strong visual image – that of giant tickets falling from the museum's ceiling into the central atrium (Figure 4.12).

As Schorch (2014) and Witcomb (2013) both found in their research, sensory interactions with and creative approaches to museum interpretation aid in both the recall of historical information but also in the process of seeing things differently. I remember the ticketing demonstration, and particularly the role of women, through the visual cue 'confetti'. The actual significance of the 'confetti girls' story is the multiple absences it evokes: the literal punching of a hole into the ticket, the lack of this story in permanent interpretation, and the lack of fair gender representation generally in the museum's display.

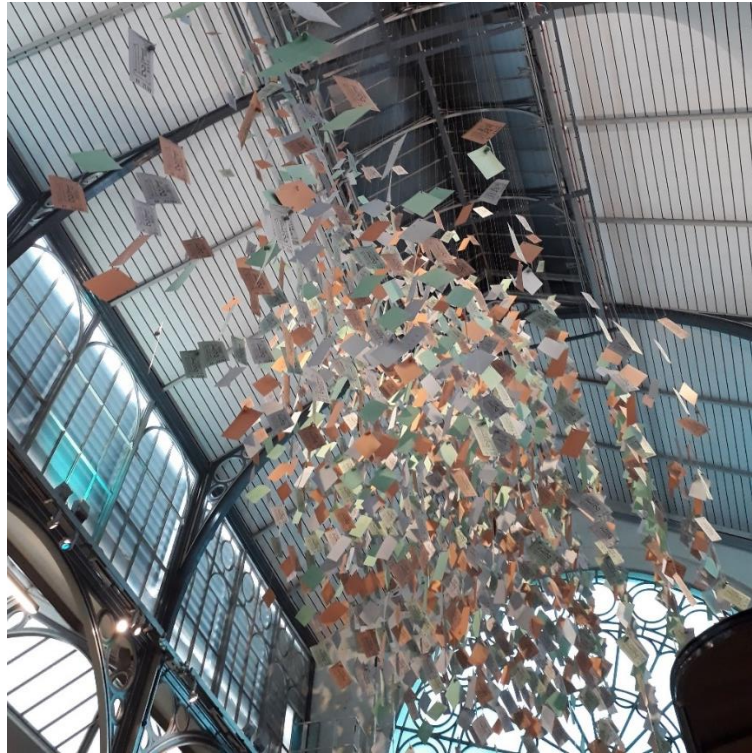


Figure 4.12: Ticket display. A temporary installation of ~A5 sized bus tickets hang down into the atrium space, 2018.



Figure 4.13: Stamper Trail bits. Depicting a horse and horse bus from the 19th Century London gallery. Punching machines were undergoing routine maintenance during my visit and exhibition technicians allowed me to take these home. They are a tangible record of literally thousands of visits.

Coincidentally, or perhaps not, the act of punching holes is conducted by many visitors to the museum – anyone who picks up and uses the only permanent printed route guide, the Stamper Trail. Punching stations throughout the permanent galleries can be used to create shaped holes (Figure 4.13) directly into the surface of the museum map, a physical record of the visit (highlighted as Point A in the Ticketing trail). This engages the visitor in a collection activity which requires navigating the whole of the established visitor route to complete it.

The remainder of this section is concerned more directly with what happens when people visit the museum, describing the incursion of the subjective into the established presentation, the holes made in the map. 4.2.2: Disrupting the Flow is broadly based on my personal experiences; the following, 4.2.3: Omnibus for all, that of my participants.

4.2.2 Disrupting the flow: passenger presence and absence

As well as functioning as a communication device for TfL, the museum's presentation also makes an explicit claim to be speaking and providing for Londoners and the city's visitors, in other words, the network's passengers. I now account for the 'core representations' (Waterton & Watson, 2015a) of passengers found during Stage 1 of the enquiry. A particular approach adopted was to find examples of how the lived experience of passengering is evoked within exhibits and displays. I then explore, through personal reflexivity (Wilkinson, 1988), how my subject position as a woman interested in transport and as a heritage practitioner has influenced my engagement with a temporary display of posters.

I am interested in how the museum defines its visitors-as-passengers, connecting this identity position with the quotidian, universal-yet-particular experience of everyday bus travel. Much like the museum visitor, the passenger is both hypothetical and real. Are passengers passive consumers of TfL's public service? Are

visitors passive consumers of the museum's presentation? The visitor presence and their subjective experiences disrupt the coherence of this presentation, not only cognitively but also through visitors' embodiedness, their sensations and feelings, and their needs (such as using the toilets or eating lunch, see Points F and G of the Body Trail.).

4.2.2.1 The passenger experience

The passenger has an explicit presence in the 19th Century London gallery, where the museum employs various strategies to evoke the experience of early omnibus travel including the presentation of vehicles with mannequins or visual representations of passengers. These are accompanied by other materials presented on text panels and in digital information boards such as contemporary accounts, newspaper extracts, cartoons, artwork, advertisements, and tickets. This gallery has an information panel titled 'The Passenger Experience' addressing the topic directly, not repeated in the presentation of other transport modes.



Figure 4.14: Tilling horse bus. Presentation of the vehicle featuring a graphic of driver and passengers on the roof which disrupts the otherwise 'realist' presentation, complete with replica horse excrement on the floor of the gallery. A hyper-real aspect is that the horse mannequins speak as you approach them.

Through this presentation, the bus passenger is defined as someone who puts convenience above bodily comfort: an historical account of travel describes passengers as peas in a pod, 'sweating citizens, jammed, crammed and squeezed into each other'. A graphic panel depicts a passenger body of all men in top and bowler hats (indicating their middle-class status) crowded onto the roof of a moving horse bus (Figure 4.14).

Mannequins are used in the presentation of many of the vehicles on display, routinely dressed in clothing contemporary to the era when the vehicle-type was first introduced. For example, the Routemaster bus has a variety of mannequins staged

within its lower saloon, evoking the 1960s (Figure 4.15). There is also some attempt to represent a variety of passengers, e.g., men, women, different ethnicities.

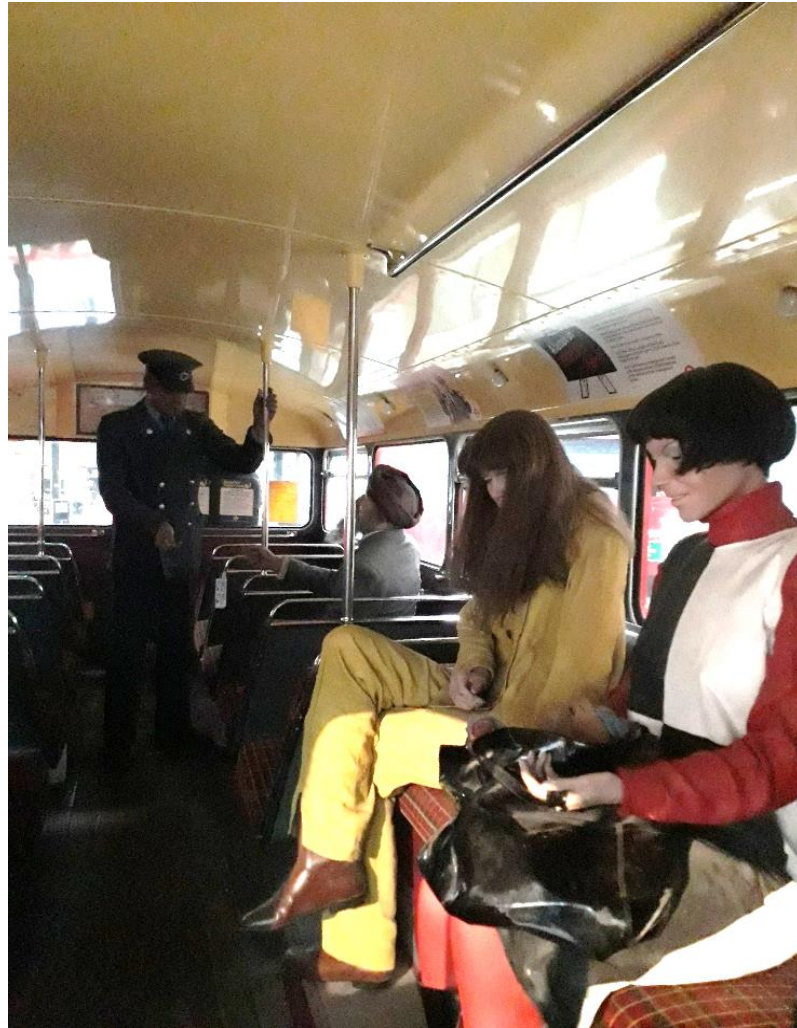


Figure 4.15: Routemaster passengers. Passenger-mannequins and a conductor-mannequin inside lower saloon of the Routemaster. I noted that 'they look kind of dingy and bored in there'.

The vehicles themselves also speak to and about passenger behaviours and expectations from a service regulation perspective using interior notices; they define passengers as those who must follow the rules. These notices are signs of (dis)obedience where the behaviour of staff and passengers are regulated so that the transport service can be safe and efficient. They also convey the changing demographic and needs of passengers. On the buses, example interior notices include:

- Information about how many passengers can be safely carried: 'To carry 24 passengers 10 in 14 out' (Tilling Horse Bus); 'To carry 56 passengers, 26 lower deck, 30 upper deck' (Regent Three); '64 passengers 28 lower deck 36 upper deck' (Routemaster).
- Direct commands and suggestions: 'Passengers must not give the starting signal'; 'Push once'; 'For the present, folding pushchairs only may be left here, and are carried at owner's risk'; 'Light luggage or parcels may be left under the staircase by permission of the conductor but at owner's risk'; 'Passengers are not allowed to travel on this platform'; 'FIVE standing passengers are allowed inside this vehicle at all times unless seats are available'.

The 'rules' of travel are explicitly interpreted in the audio presentation of the Omnibus Law, experienced while sat inside Shillibeer's Omnibus, and discussed in Section 5.2.1.

There were two examples where the atmosphere of travel was evoked through the staging of more immersive experiences. One of these is a mock-up of entering an Underground station complete with ticket office, a partial bit of escalator and platform (if you step on the track, flashing lights indicate a mock electrical shock). Another is entering the front end of a contemporary bus, where the use of an interior photograph alongside one of the street outside creates the illusion of depth. (Video References: 20180608_160836 and 20180608_171140, accessible via YouTube, here <https://youtu.be/eljahVyug-w> and here: https://youtu.be/7V7B0mAX_rE). These both have an instructional quality, in that they demonstrate the stages of entering the network, how to become a passenger, and yet both present opportunities to sit in the driver's seat rather than adopt your routine place on board.

The presence of the passenger is therefore felt in terms of practical aspects – like what they may have looked like, the clothes that they wore; and how their behaviour was managed or directed by staff and signage in the production of a functioning

service. Other than the description of what travel was like replicated on 'The Passenger Experience' panel, the museum does not make presentations of routine journey experiences; neither the bus passenger as subject, or their journey as experience, are substantially present in the museum.

4.2.2.2 Representing transport people

The presentation of the passenger at the museum is primarily as a body to be moved or frozen in a state of movement. I now explore more explicitly how the museum addresses issues of subjective identity: how it makes representations of myself and others and how these are experienced through the visit. Although identity is often talked about in the abstract, it is useful to remember that it is materialised within our bodies, in their form, the colour of skin, their capacity to sense and move. The museum makes limited representations of 'others' in several ways.

Because of the absence of passenger-specific stories, it is through the stories of transport people, past and contemporary workers, that attempts at representativeness are made. The interpretative use of workers stories is a strategy adopted by corporate museums to convey the human side of their operations (Nissley & Casey, 2002). Examples at the museum include:

- A dedicated BAME trail highlights the presence of Black, Asian and minority ethnic people in existing displays and objects (e.g., an image of a bus being used in the First World War which has Sikh soldiers aboard is highlighted using an addition BAME trail emblem sticker).
- In the display case, 'Our staff at work and play', an official TfL poster is displayed, showing a rainbow fleet of buses and the caption #RidewithPride, above information about staff canteens and social clubs.

A caption in the same case reads: 'Look at the colourful and vibrant display that celebrates the diverse workforce of TfL and London Transport', an overt appeal to visitors to agree. It is hard to critique these representations in any substantial way because their inclusion in the museum itself feels so trivial. Using temporary trails and extra signage, such as the example pictured in Figure 4.16, these stories are 'othered' from the core presentation; and opportunities to explore more substantial topics such as migration's role in the growth of London are missed.

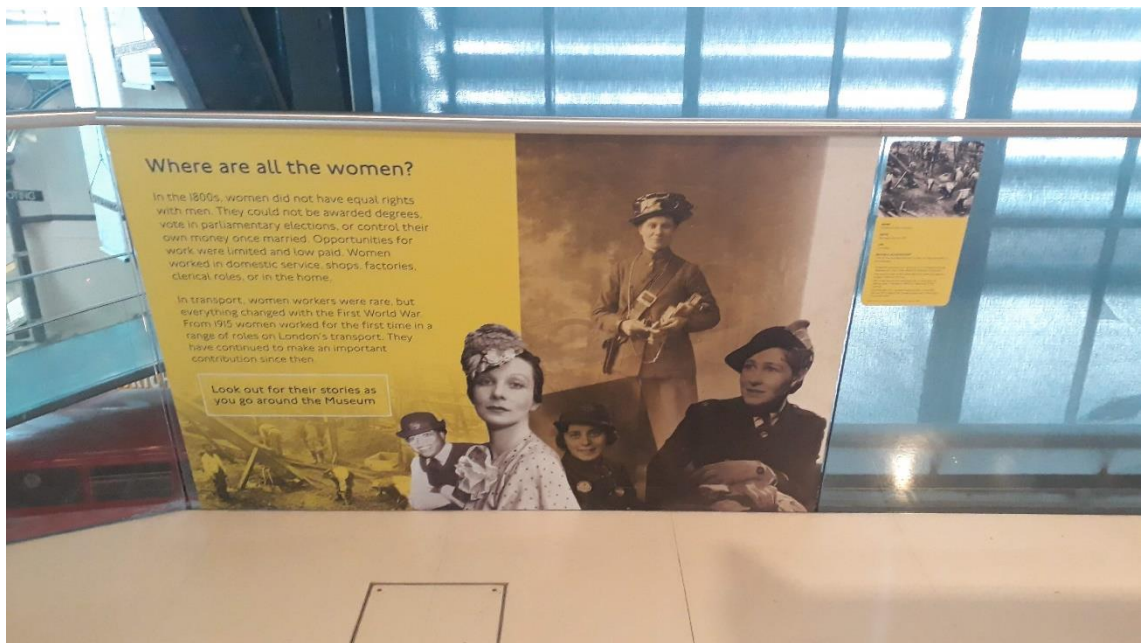


Figure 4.16: 'Where are all the women?' sign on Level 2. Introducing the addition of yellow interpretation panels throughout the museum which insert women's stories into the established narrative.

During the Stage 1 visits in June 2018, the museum was celebrating the centenary of women's suffrage through a series of events and exhibitions: the main temporary exhibition was dedicated to women designers and called 'Poster Girls'; the Poster Parade displayed several London Transport recruitment posters related to the female workforce. I engaged with the messaging in the Poster Parade display because it reflected my experiences as a female bus enthusiast, a marginal position, characterised as rare by several research participants in later research stages.

The Poster Parade display was called 'At London's Service' and displayed posters from the early 20th century to the contemporary, creating an account of how women were gradually 'integrated' into transport work. This is linked to wider historical events such as gaining voting rights and both World Wars. Women were allowed to 'serve' in an increasing capacity but denied certain roles such as that of bus driver until the 1970s, as well as facing inequalities such as exclusion from the pension scheme. The display claimed that today women are recognised, encouraged, and supported in the creation of a 'more diverse workforce', promoted through a dedicated 'Women's Staff Network Group'.



Figure 4.17: Poster Parade. 'Why not a canteen job?' asks one poster, displaying the London Transport roundel fashioned as a teapot.

As a visitor, it was important to read the captions alongside the posters as they could otherwise be read wrong, several featuring stereotypes about women and women's work, e.g. 'Who needs women drivers?', another advertising working in a garage canteen (Figure 4.17) or about the appropriate size of heel for work shoes.

On their webpage, 'Women in London's Transport', the museum states that as of 2019, women occupied 25.4% of the highest paid jobs at TfL and 44.6% of the lowest and that they still have a minority position within the workforce, particularly black and ethnic minority women, compared to London's population demographic. The gender pay gap is stated at 12.2% (London Transport Museum, 2023).

Women use public transport, and particularly buses, more often than men, for different types of journeys, often more complicated than simply A to B (referred to a 'trip-chaining' by Badstuber, 2019). One story of improvement missing from the museum is how the increased involvement of women in the workforce has impacted on the transport planning process, and potentially improved experiences for female passengers.

The heritage research cited in Section 2.1 considers how the subjective is felt during museum visiting encounters; also, in Best (2017) and his ease/unease at engaging with specific vehicles he encounters. In both the example of the BAME trail and the Poster Parade, I engaged firstly as a visitor, finding the former trivialising and the latter interesting. I carefully examined both the visual and material aspects of the posters, but also read all the captions which is not a visiting practice I normally adopt. Now, in the moment of analysis and interpretation, I feel a frustration which connects to my position as a heritage professional, who has produced similar interpretation in the form of themed trails and temporary displays. Seeking to represent the population demographic of London is a worthwhile endeavour on behalf of the museum. However, the BAME trail in particular feels tokenistic and the label within the staff-themed case condescending. There must be a better way of engaging with topics that are so significant for a 'World City' like London, than merely applying new interpretation on top of an essentially white, male, privileged story; the passenger a neutral figure to be moved? I recognise the resources needed for wholesale re-presentation of galleries, but as indicated in Waterton (2018) and from my own engagement with the ticket-machine demonstration, more

performative 'live' strategies can effectively convey 'other' stories with nuance because they offer more natural forms of communication (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994).

4.2.3 Omnibus for all: bus enthusiasts visit the museum

This part of the chapter considers the relationship between the museum and Stage 2 participants to further expand on how the visit presents opportunities for individuals to enact or connect with aspects of their identity. This is related to their subject position as Londoner, as transport worker and as enthusiast. It explores the challenges and potentials of displaying heritage stories which are within living memory and representing lived experiences for some visitors; when historical objects, viewed with fascination, become objects which are or have been familiar to us in everyday life. Direct experiences as passengers and transport people support or contest the institutional legacies presented and by extension, the authority of the museum.

4.2.3.1 *Londoner-, visitor-, status*

...encourage, enrich and inspire all Londoners and those who love this city.

Museum entrance ticket

The museum states that it is of and for London. In asking Stage 2 participants to consider their own identity, the majority (8 participants of 12) self-defined as Londoners (P1, P2, P3, P7, P8, P9, P10, P11). This was because they had either been born or had grown up in the capital and had a lack of desire or ambition to live elsewhere. However, there was also something about feeling familiar with the city, through living and working there ('a lifetime in London', P3; 'born and built' P11) which also qualified P8 as a Londoner, despite growing up in Australia. P4 expressed their love for the capital but rejected the idea he was a Londoner, despite decades of residence; also, P6 despite having lived in London since 1975; and P9, a 'hesitant

Londoner' who has lived in Ealing for 45 years. P12 described himself as a visitor to the city.

Beyond their status as Londoner, the participant group could not be considered as ordinary visitors. Their relationship with the museum is complicated by their professional and enthusiast interest in transport which has brought them to engage with it in several ways, sometimes over several decades. All Stage 2 participants had previously visited at least once, although this was as much as 15 years ago. P1, P4, P7, P10, and P12 had done so in a professional capacity, for example on guided tours or for colleagues' retirement parties. P11 had visited the museum's library on several occasions to conduct specialist research. The occasion of P5's previous visit had been to view the prototype New Routemaster temporarily on display.

If you're a bus enthusiast and you come here - you've got to just love it

Participant 11

Some volunteers have a real love of London Transport history, though it is not essential.

Volunteering Opportunities leaflet

In their article about amateurs involved in museums, Meyer (2008) suggests that the boundary between amateur and professional identity is relationally defined. Through a relationship with the museum, several of my participants extend and perform their enthusiasm by providing expert knowledge and practical help as volunteers or members of the Friends organisation. P2 and P9 are longstanding volunteers and Friends, P9 offering guided tours at both the Covent Garden and Acton Depot sites over the last 15 years. P10 has been volunteering at the Acton site and the TfL corporate archives for around 5 years. P2 and P10 are involved in vehicle management and conservation. All three participate in delivering the 'Depot Discovery' open days, as stewards and drivers. Engaging in this way provides them

with access beyond that of the routine visitor, although they do become visitors again for special exhibitions or other events. Returning as visitors during the research allowed participants to evaluate their position as bus and transport enthusiasts; for P4, the visit 'brought the interest back to the surface'.

The interactions facilitated by the visit connected participants with aspects of their biographies across their lives: early memories were recalled, connections to places by birth or by chance expressed, former colleagues and professional roles remembered. Engagement now (during retirement, for most) gives further meaning to their activities and status as enthusiasts, both within and beyond the museum.

4.2.3.2 Entering lived experience

The moment when the museum narrative enters lived experience is different for different visitors. I first came to London in 2007, my personal knowledge of transport in the capital coincides with the most recent refurbishment of the permanent displays and very little of my story is told. For my participant group, aged in their 60s, 70s and 80s, the first exhibit which evokes something of their own experience is the 'He's Really Keen' drawer discussed in Section 6.2.1 and the nearby display of Metroland furniture, located about halfway around the first-floor galleries. P12 articulated his feelings at this point as a wave of nostalgia, distinct from the engagement with earlier material which was felt as purely historical; he remembers relatives with similar furniture during his childhood in the 1950s. He also described the experience of being able to touch and connect with exhibits as lending a literal, material solidity to his memories: it 'gives it a reality'. Participants enjoyed sharing early memories of commutes to school and leisure journeys on the Underground rolling stock also displayed on this level.

As we descended to the ground floor, the clarity of the historical story became less coherent. This is where artefacts from and information about the 20th century were

presented. The lack of coherence is understandable as temporal distance is needed to develop a 'totalising' viewpoint. The ground floor galleries also comment on current developments; here, the stakes are high in terms of maintaining a good story for the contemporary service providers whilst not alienating visitors with relevant and potentially contradictory lived experiences.

As an example, difficulties in service delivery in the second half of the 20th century, when many of my participants were at the height of their careers, are discussed as an issue of low monetary investment and due to societal reasons beyond the control of managers (e.g., increased car and TV ownership as leading directly to reduced passenger numbers). Potentially challenging narratives are not made explicit, for example problems in staff recruitment, heavy unionisation of the workforce and poor or outdated management practices. P10 shared an anecdote about a management visit to the Aldenham Works where he did not find anyone working. In relation to increased diversity in the workforce, Lawrence, Taylor & Green (2015) suggest that recruitment of women and of people from the West Indies in the 1950s was related to a general labour shortage, rather than an inclusivity agenda. There is a cursory engagement with contemporary issues such as level of public subsidy and cost of fares. I only briefly engaged participants in critical and evaluative work in relation to this theme, how their direct working experiences challenge what is communicated, and perhaps this was due to the limited opportunities which the museum itself provided.

4.2.3.3 *'Uniform Delivery' case*

The 'Uniform Delivery' display offered one opportunity to discuss participants' relationship with TfL and their expertise as transport professionals and enthusiasts; it was a planned Stage 2 encounter with prompt questions asked both about the historical development and potential future directions of transport services in London. I found our interactions to be less engaging and positive than with the other planned encounters of Stage 2.

The case features a conductor's uniform and possessions (ticket machine, cash bag, ticket rack, ID badge) and a mirror which used to hang in the bathroom of the Chiswick Works, where all London Transport drivers and conductors were trained. Alongside these items is a toy bus conductor's dressing up set which was a typical Christmas present for boys from the 1930s until the late 1960s; both P9 and P10 had owned such sets in their childhoods.

During my Stage 1 visits, I made a detailed study of this case (Figure 4.18). My experience of it came immediately after a volunteer-led demonstration of ticket machines which I had found fascinating, in the contrast between the materially located historical experience and contemporary abstraction of contactless payment. For me, the case connected to the ideal of public ownership and a mythical golden age of effective public service, embodied in the figure of the conductor.



Figure 4.18: 'Uniform Delivery' case. As I drew it, including a self-portrait reflection in the mirror. The boxes 'A', 'B' etc. indicate descriptive labels stuck to the glass.

All participants had known a time when conductors were on London's buses and their responses to the display were therefore quite different to mine: reflecting both their personal experiences, and historical and service knowledge.

P12's response was most like my own. It reminded him of childhood relationships with the conductors who worked from the garage opposite his Oxfordshire home. In his remembrances, the conductor 'was the person that would give the answer', an approachable figure of authority. P12 and my own responses represent the ideal, nostalgic reading of this case. In contrast, P3 was happy to reflect on the conductor as an historical role, now redundant.

Several participants connected objects in the display to their own experiences as conductors. P1 pointed to the conductor's badge with green border - 'my badge

[was] exactly the same' before reciting his number. He reflected on the significance of being assigned a unique number on completion of your training versus a simple name badge - today, uniquely numbered badges are not issued. P4 was also reminded of his driver's badge and similarly recited his number. P1 also commented on the mirror: it 'reminds me of the actual mirror in the big Chiswick Works'; he did not make the connection that this was the mirror from his own past, now in a museum case.

The authenticity of the displayed uniform was questioned by P7 and several others - particularly the accuracy of the tie and the cancelling machine which was used on trams rather than buses. P10 corrected the record here: London Transport did not provide shirts or ties until the 1970s but only the overgarments, therefore the choice of shirt and tie was at the discretion of the individual conductor. In this case, the museum has been 'clever' in styling a 1930s conductor's outfit.

In responding to the overall intention of the display, which articulates how 'uniform' delivery led to a high-quality service, participants felt that this wasn't distinctive to London Transport but rather of a specific time, from the 1930s through to the 1950s. According to P6, every major company had a uniform and style. For P7, what was distinctive about his later experiences in London Transport management was not working to the bottom line but rather to an agreed set of standards. These standards of reassurance and reliability of the service, that 'it'll be there' (P8) create passenger expectations: 'people complain if they've got to wait more than 10 minutes for a bus' (P6). P10 indicated that these standards and expectations are incredibly expensive to maintain, an issue addressed briefly by the museum later in the permanent displays.

In Lindauer's (2006) description of critical museum visiting, she suggests that there are three types of visitor: the ideal, the typical and the critical. If museums are sites of negotiation and contested meaning which emerges through engagement between visitors and curatorial strategies displayed as Witcomb (2015) suggests, the point

when museum stories enter lived experience seems like a potentially rich encounter for critical visiting. However, the interactions between participants and the Uniform Delivery case illustrated how the universal narrative so acceptable to me as an 'ideal' or 'typical' visitor was interpreted differently by them. P12 had the 'ideal' nostalgic reading, and others drew on the case as a resource for their own identities, offering material evidence of their working lives. Enthusiasts could occupy a space between the 'critical' and 'ideal' visitor for museums if their expertise could be accessed; volunteering is one approach which offers this opportunity (Geoghegan, 2014).

The literature on organisational memory suggests a tension between collected memories, as individually held, detailed and subjective, versus collective memories, which are those which together produce myths about an institution (Rowlinson, Booth, Clark, Delahaye, & Procter, 2010). The study of this case shows these two types of memory in conflict, as the myth of the conductor as a valuable bus presence is challenged by the lived and worked experiences of participants. At the same time, the myth also serves as a source of comfort to those who were there.

4.2.3.4 The contemporary citizen

Omnibus: For Everyone. This is a powerful political declaration; it reconfigures the bus passenger as a Londoner and as a citizen who can affect change. What does it mean to be a citizen? Of all the trails produced, this is the most significant and instructive about what the museum is for, its political or ideological functions.

The museum provides us with an opportunity to reflect on contemporary developments in the city and to query our values, our hopes and even our fears for the future: it asks us to consider the value(s) of public transport. Implicitly, it asks the question of who should pay. The interactions which construct the transport network (as spatial, temporal, material and virtual) also construct us as passengers and the city beyond; passengers shape the network, and the network shapes us. The

museum suggests that TfL has and will meet this demand, whilst stating that we must play our part, too.

It does so explicitly in the final Futures gallery, when various rhetorical statements are made such as: 'As for the future, your task is not to foresee but to enable it' (quote by Antoine de Saint-Exupery in 'Citadelle', 1948), and 'You are part of the pulse of the city'. Contemporary initiatives such as Crossrail 2 are presented as 'improving our lives' alongside historical examples of imaginative thinking, e.g., a graphic panel displaying flying buses. In this gallery, the museum speaks directly to visitors as collaborators in the making of London, today and in the future: if the network is the lifeblood of the city, passengers are the pulse.

4.3 Authoring Heritage

The *production* of meaning in museum classification and display is mystified as adequate *representation*.

Clifford (1985, p.239)

If heritage is about assigning and sustaining value to things from the past, a museum practices heritage in certain recognisable ways; through the interpretation of meaning which is structured around the presentation of heritage objects. As visitors, we encounter these objects as either historical or familiar to our own lives; our subjectivity (as identity and experience) challenges the adequacy of representations being made. Display-use, or an object's representativeness, emerges as a central heritage value.

This chapter is partially about how the museum constructs the heritage of London Transport as an overall object - a progressive narrative which is sustained into the present moment and projected into the planned future. The museum appeals to visitors as proactive agents in the formation of the city, whilst also making a

presentation of public service for which we should be grateful and proud.

Fundamentally TfL, and the museum by extension, are interested in the commercial viability of the public transport service. This requires the creation and sustaining of a desirable product, with strong brand identity and the continued patronage of passengers, whether they be visitors or Londoners.

I have titled this section 'Authoring Heritage' because my engagement with the museum, both with and without research participants, has emphasised the fragmentary nature of sense-making as a collaborative effort. Yes, the museum posits an overall benevolent narrative of progress (Bennett, 1995), but this is constructed and contested by the multiple interactions afforded between people, things, and texts which make up the experience of a visit (Henning, 2006). There are many trails and routes through the museum, and the telling of them as a story which makes sense, is not the work of the institution alone. Each visitor has the capacity to co-author the heritage of London Transport through their everyday experiences at the museum but also, vitally, on the transport network itself.

The leaflet trails I produced are examples of this co-authorship. They adopt a language familiar to the museum, whilst conveying something about my specific experiences. They are a record of the research materials becoming materially and discursively something new (after Springgay & Zaliwska, 2015), helping me to understand the visit and how the passenger is made present. Their success as communication devices has not been assessed which itself raises one of the challenges of museum communication, to whom does it address, the specific individual or a universal, anonymous visitor?

4.3.1 What the museum is and how it does

The museum describes the visit as a journey. This journey must appeal to an abstract audience, and it must be legible to that audience. There are various levels at which the museum can be read: through its ambiance and by engaging with the objects on display (these are the attributes which I think are distinctive to a museum, in contrast to a history book), or you can read the textual interpretations which range from use of text as image, through to 'streaker' headings (the top level headers of interpretation boards), through to individual object labels, and further detailed information on digital displays and the website.

The remit or purpose of a museum is to construct heritage as an object which is valuable and significant in a variety of ways. This naturally suggests a proximity between the heritage object and the author of the heritage. Not only in London's transport heritage significant, but the LTM is itself 'world leading'. Does the heritage exist independently of the museum or is it shaped and crafted by their activities? Would the institution be able to function if it took a more critical approach to how it defined heritage value? Are curators at liberty to tell historically accurate and potentially difficult stories? The presentation is complex; there are existent examples where the wider context of transport development is introduced, particularly in temporary exhibitions and trails.

What is a museum and from where is its authority drawn? The LTM can be conceptualised as an agent for the London Mayor, the Greater London Authority and TfL, but it is a place where professionals practice heritage (and educating, marketing, customer relating) within and beyond the confines of a specific building, its spaces, collections, objects, and interpretation panels. As Macdonald, Gerbich & von Oswald (2018) suggest, the museum as an organisation is complex, there is no one source of authority. They also note that the public perception of a museum is one of autonomy and shaped by how the museum is marketed as a unified story.

From within, those involved in authoring the stories told might be doing so against resistance from managers, peers, donors, or visitors, or with limited resources. In critically evaluating the museum, I accept the shortcomings of my own observations as partial and at times trivial.

In their monograph, Divall & Scott (2001) propose that transport museums should be 'critical', by which they mean that museums should address fundamental assumptions of technology as beneficial, presenting the costs to society as well as the benefits. In a review of the most recent large-scale refurbishment of the museum, published in the *Journal of Transport History*, Schmucki (2009) stated that it 'is clearly a place where visitors are encouraged to start to reflect on the future of urban mobility' (p.230), but I wonder how does one reflect on the future which has not yet happened? What the museum does propose is that transport history can inform and inspire us in the resolution of contemporary problems; this is suggested in the use of rhetorical questions within the Futures Gallery and attempts at representing 'others' in displays illustrating 'cosmopolitan ethics' (Witcomb, 2015). Critical museums are a 'forum in which confrontation, experimentation and debate go on between exhibitors and visitors' (Divall & Scott, 2001, p.5); meaning, on a personal level, certainly emerges through encounters at the museum but how this creates a dialogue to which the institution responds, is not clear. Pragmatically, the LTM must meet the needs of its funders: TfL and its visitors, and in doing so it negotiates the boundaries between institutional and personal values.

4.3.2 Researching visitor-museum interactions

The museum is an agent of the state through its governance and funding relationship with the Greater London Authority. This relationship is mutual, the Mayor's Office funds certain activities at the museum, in return the museum promotes the actions of TfL and the Mayor, as well as the city itself as an attractive place to visit and invest in. One could suggest that the museum is an authorising

agent, with more power to define heritage than the citizen. However, the Greater London Authority, TfL, and the museum themselves are dependent on concrete actions by citizens which confers power to them (through voting, paying taxes, travelling, paying fares, visiting, buying souvenirs). I am more interested in these concrete actions, as by their nature interactive and with capacity to affect change. Put otherwise, I do not theorise heritage communication as an act of transmission from author to reader, but rather a co-constituted and interpreted experience, an encounter.

The LTM's presentation and activities define the city and Londoners, raising questions of inclusion, exclusion, and representativeness. In doing so, they are claiming to speak not just about the significance of transport in the capital, but the city's identity as a totality and the identity of its inhabitants both historically and in the present. Is the museum's ideal visitor a Londoner or an international visitor? Within the introductory World Cities Walk gallery, claims of London transport's global significance are made. Migration is an obvious theme which the museum doesn't engage with in its permanent displays.

Rees Leahy (2011) suggests that in today's market orientation, the measure of a museum's success is in audience access and inclusion. This relates to 'our consciousness of ourselves and others in the act of looking' (Rees Leahy, 2011, p.35), whereby it is not just what is displayed which matters, but also how this is experienced in a performance as visitor and in reference to other visitors. Visiting-with my participants allowed them to verbalise the sense-making processes involved in interacting with a museum exhibit. There is a role for visitors as experts, particularly in relation to everyday themes, to challenge, ignore or reject some of the presentation as irrelevant or uninteresting. The Uniform Delivery case, for example, offered participants with a chance to evaluate and account for their working lives. But, more so, interactions with organisational memories displayed were a resource

for identity work, offering a stability and materiality to their subjective remembrances.

4.3.3 Relating to everyday bus travel

Much of this chapter has been concerned with the business of the museum as both a heritage institution and as a communication tool of or mnemonic device for TfL. The chapter has also considered what happens when visitors enter the museum with specific reference to their subjective position as (potential) bus passenger.

What is missing from the museum is any substantial engagement with the qualities and significance of the travelling experience itself. There is some limited historical evidence presented in the 19th century gallery. Is this a problem and what does it say about the nature of heritage? Bus travelling is such a commonplace experience in daily life that it does not demand representation in a museum. In other words, it is not under threat and does not require conservation. But what is missing is an understanding of the historical insights which contemporary journeys can inspire. Another means of communicating the value of TfL today might be in encouraging routine customers to care about why a bus stop is called what it is, or in cultivating the sense of identity conferred to the passenger when riding 'their' route. What does it mean to us when we say 'I'm on the bus'? The museum, and TfL, might benefit from finding out.

In the next chapter, I focus more specifically on the heritage objects which are displayed and endowed with significance within and beyond the museum by exploring the 'thingness' of London Bus travel. I draw on Stage 2 participant experiences at the museum and riding on the 15(H) bus.

5. On the Buses

This chapter explores the thingness of the London bus: what material and symbolic qualities make us know or interact with it as a London bus and what is specific about the bus-subject relationship. I am interested in how these qualities subsequently constitute London buses as heritage objects and riding the bus as a type of heritage encounter. These qualities are not ones which we might consider to be intrinsic such as their monetary value as historical artefacts. Rather, they are related to the heritage themes of authenticity and significance, not as a matter of judgement (not more or less truthful or important), but instead to the bus's affective capacity and the emotional resonances we feel as passengers. The qualities relate our experiences of London's buses (red, double-decker, half-cab, rear-entry) to the symbolic, and in turn, the symbolic to the political; they show how London's buses help to define London itself.

The chapter begins with an account of a bus journey on the regular 15 service, detailing the experience of temporal and spatial location which it facilitates. The main body of the chapter is split into two parts: both related to Stage 2 of the enquiry. The first focuses on encounters between participants and vehicles-as-heritage-objects at the London Transport Museum (LTM). This section provides the historical foundation from which we understand what London bus thingness is. The second takes us back onto London's streets and provides an account of riding-with my participants on the 15(H). The account is contextualised within the broader story of the route's foundation and subsequent demise, identifying the political value of the London bus as a recognisable form. The concluding discussion determines more about the qualities which define heritage things.

5.1 Monday Morning Bus Ride

Below is an account of a journey I took on 3rd December 2018 on a New Routemaster bus from Charing Cross to Blackwall and back again. It is based on field observations, and I include it here to foreground the experience of bus travel, providing a gentle challenge to the explicit function of the journey as rather more recursive than its characterisation as getting from A to B might suggest. This account brings to the fore themes which percolate throughout the chapter:

- The bus as a site of human inhabitation and bodily performance
- Time awareness on the journey, as both anticipation and remembrance
- Place as 'framed' by the experience of travel.

I board the bus at Charing Cross around 9.15am in early-December. Footprints at the doorway mark the movements of fellow passengers as I ascend the rear staircase and take my seat, dragging my travel case behind me. By Aldwych, it is just me, four men and a cosy couple on the upper deck. I don't like the interrupting recorded voice of the man announcing: 'stand clear of the opening doors'. By 9.45, the bus is on diversion and the couple have detached, gazing at phone screens, their bodies sprawled. A man with a hoody enters and takes the front right seat, above the driver. I read a text from my dad:

Thinking of you this Monday morning, having just realised that a msg I sent you days ago didn't actually get transmitted. Have a good week, all my love Dad xxxx

Dad (3rd December 2018, 9.30am)

There is a very vocal woman pointing out the sights from the lower deck, but my own view is interrupted by the low ceiling and window design of these 'new' buses. I check the GPS on my phone to find out where we are. Blackwall DLR is still 3.7 miles away and it's already 9.52.

Everything feels very calm as we move past a queue of traffic using the bus lane but then we are held at a stop whilst the drivers change over. Three 78s go by, we wait, there's a 42 and a 100. I worry about the anecdotal nature of my observations. Eventually, we move off at 10.07.

At 10.14 a woman in a flowing yellow dress enters and takes the front left seat. At 10.18, yellow dress woman's friend boards and they greet loudly, proceeding to have an animated chat, interspersed with coughing, in a foreign language that I do not recognise. At Stepney Methodist Church, the cosy couple disembark; the man looks back as he leaves to check he hasn't left something behind.

This is a part of the capital which I don't know at all. The next stop is University of Cumbria in London, which messes further with my sense of place. I move seats so that I can sit straight, and it feels cold and damp beneath me. At 10.26, Canary Wharf rises to the right and the sunlight is blinding, the two friends depart at Poplar Station. Now it is just me and hoody man. He is slumped and possibly asleep. At 10.29 he rubs his face and straightens up; he looks around the bus, descends clumsily with newspaper and bag, grabbing to the handrail. At 10.32, I'm alone on the upper deck, next stop: terminus.

The return journey begins at 10.36 when I take a seat at the back of the lower deck. This journey has periods of intensity when the bus is full, multiple passengers required to stand including schoolgirls, older people, mothers with children. I observe a large amount of construction work outside the window, also kebab shops and independent fashion stores. At 10.59, a lot of people alight at New Road. We are now back in shiny glass land (Aldgate East). Drivers exchange pleasantries across the traffic, the rattle and rumble of the engine an accompaniment to the mass of moving bodies outside the window: workmen and tourists, city workers, travellers. It starts to rain, and I am now desperate for the toilet. 'The bus will wait here for a short time'; 'the driver has been instructed to wait for a short time to even out the service'. I am looking forward to the release of getting off this bus. Still a mile to go. At 11.38, a heritage route 15 overtakes and beats us through a changing traffic light. By 11.46, there is so much congestion and I feel like I am running out of time. I didn't expect that it would take so long. Coming up to Charing Cross now (11.53am), we are discharged from the bus at an undesignated stop.

5.2 The Thingness of the London Bus

In Section 1.3.2.3, I introduced the concept of thingness, describing the distinction between objects, as existing out there with definable attributes, and things, as being expressive of a relationship between objects and subjects (Brown, 2001). In encounters with objects, their physicality as things, their 'force as a sensuous presence or as a metaphysical presence' (Brown, 2001, p.5) is revealed; this in turn helps us to understand how objects become valued and iconic.

The thingness of the London bus includes the vehicle itself as material object, 'great big red things' (P1), but also our interaction with it as thinking bodies and its motion or stasis on the city's streets. In this section, I consider vehicles at the LTM which are presented and experienced as heritage objects to understand more about the specific materiality of London buses, whilst keeping in mind how this constitutes passengers and other transport people.

This section focuses on Stage 2 planned encounters between my participants and three vehicles: Shillibeer's Omnibus, a Regent Three and a Routemaster. It considers how the form of the London bus developed into what we recognise today but also what the museum can tell us about the passenger performance across almost two centuries of London bus travel. Visiting-with participants as passengers and transport people creates an opportunity to explore the qualities of heritage display in relation to memories of everyday travel.

5.2.1 London bus prototype: Shillibeer's omnibus

A reconstruction of the Shillibeer Omnibus is one of the first objects you encounter when visiting the LTM (Figure 5.1). Physically located at the start of the 19th Century gallery, it also marks the beginning of the museum's historical narrative. This was the first omnibus to enter service in London and was introduced by George Shillibeer

running between Bank and Paddington on 4th July 1829. It is a single enclosed coach - like a van - with a rear entrance; operated by driver, conductor and three horses. The reconstruction dates from 1929 and is presented in green and yellow livery. You can access information about it and early bus travel from a digital display nearby; there is also a 1:8 scale model showing it in service.



Figure 5.1: The Shillibeer Omnibus.

Despite having visited the museum multiple times, it was only at the direction of an attendant did I realise you can enter the coach (Figure 5.2). I boarded the Omnibus for the first time at the end of my research visit on 8th June 2018.

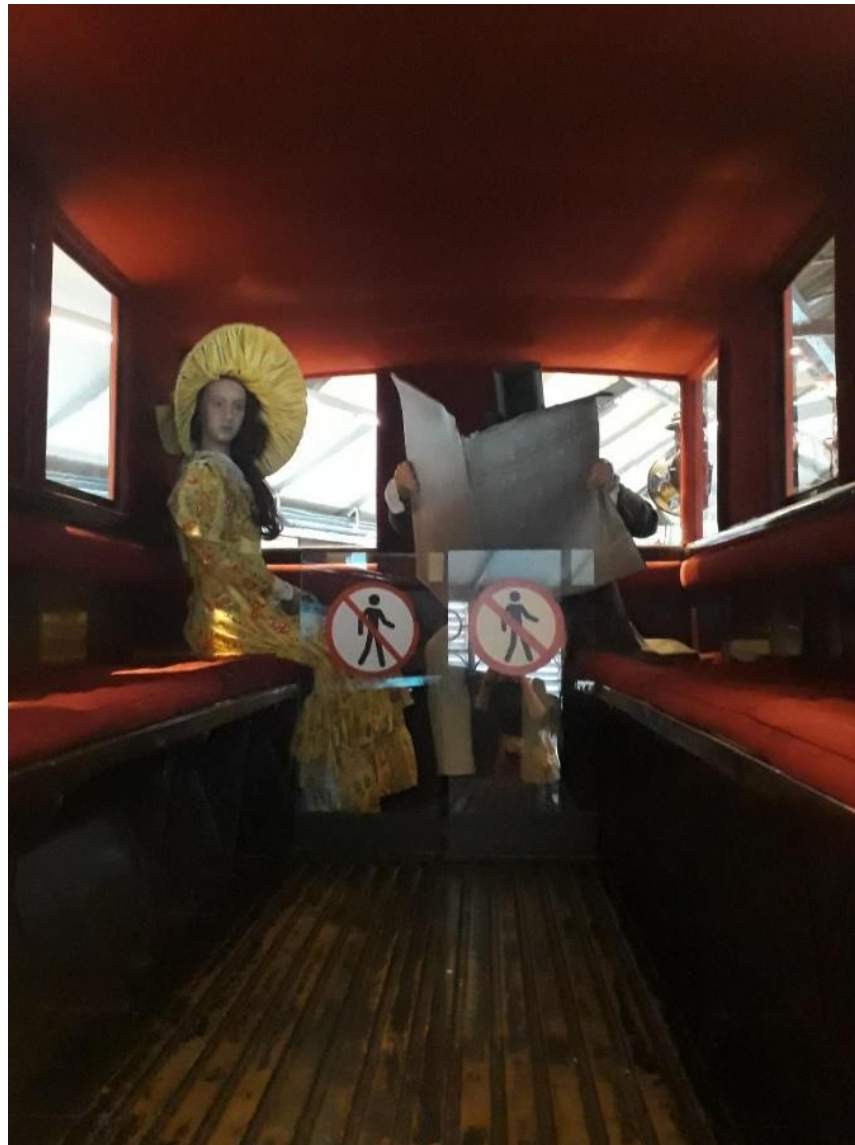


Figure 5.2: Interior of the Shillibeer Omnibus.

This is curious experience, as the outside of the vehicle is so sparkling, but the stair treads and coach floor show the wear and tear caused by thousands of visitors' feet, evidence of its transition from heritage object (of appreciation, to be looked at) to heritage experience (a place to temporarily inhabit). The red-velveteen, low-ceilinged enclosure felt secure and comfortable. However, this experience is also a sanitised version of the reality of bus travel in 19th century London: there is no straw on the floor to catch the spit, muck, and horse-excrement; a passenger inexplicably reads a broadsheet newspaper when ordinarily this space would be shared with 19 others; there is no experience of the sway, bump and stop of horse-powered travel on solid wheels with no suspension.

Entering the vehicle triggers an audio loop of the male mannequin reading out in increasingly exacerbated tones 'the Omnibus Law' from his newspaper. Published in The Times, 30th January 1836, the Omnibus Law is a series of statements related to passenger behaviour, which although written in a satirical tone, convey the variety of experiences and annoyances of passengering during that period.

Returning with my participants, I wanted to use the Omnibus Law to open a discussion about contemporary bus passengering (see Appendix E). There was something intimate about the process of boarding the Omnibus and sitting together within the space as our first research interaction: the bodily performance of climbing the steep rear steps and deciding where to sit, and the necessity of closeness to communicate across the sound of the audio loop, the smell of coffee on our breath and my own sense of exposure, adrenaline-rushing and sweaty. By extending the experience of the exhibit in this way, I sought to ease both myself and my participants into the research event and to encourage my participants to relate responses to their own lived experience as well as to acquired historical knowledge.

Questions of authenticity or 'realness' were at the forefront of several participant interactions. P1's first impression was 'amazement... I'm surprised that the public are allowed to get on it'; whilst P5 asked 'is it real?' before reflecting on the age of the replica being 'old in its own right'; P6 also asked 'are these original, I wonder?'. P7 was the only one to mention that the vehicle was painted green and not red as might be assumed for the first London bus, whilst P11 pointed out that it was Manchester which had the UK's first omnibuses; both P11 and P9 said that the vehicle was a nice thing to look at.

In terms of the design of the interior space, P1 felt it was rudimentary and unsophisticated, whilst P12 thought that, despite the steep steps, it was well designed, requiring a lot of monetary investment to establish. P5 found the space to be dark and gloomy, commenting that people must have been physically smaller; P6

compared omnibus travel to today's Underground in rush hour, P10 also mentioned the limitations on personal space and P12 imagined the proximity to others. The presentation doesn't attempt to convey what this might have felt - or perhaps more significantly, smelt like - to share the space with others; the additional barrier between us and mannequins not only clearly demarcates this as a visiting experience but also restricts a complete understanding of the scale of the space, as noted by P4.

Our considerations of the Omnibus Law inspired several common responses (as noted in a survey-format, see Figure 5.3 and Appendix E). There was a distinction made between the idea of explicit laws versus more implicit understandings (P2), with the fundamental rule of bus travel being around respect (mentioned by P4, P5, P9) and tolerance (P1) whilst accommodating the needs and requirements of individuals (P4, P6, P11, P12). Whilst P1 found the presentation of the Law too theatrical, generally participants found the compare-and-contrast with contemporary experiences amusing, often laughing out loud.

The similarities between the past and what are often framed as contemporary antisocial behaviours was clear, for example: No.5 'Sit with your limbs straight' to 'manspreading' (P1, P6, P8, P10); Nos. 10 and 11 relating to appropriate topics of conversation which participants compared to mobile phone use (although P10 admitted to finding some of those conversations quite interesting, and P5 recalled a passenger who was 'broadcasting her sorrows' on his bus one day, when she left, a fellow passenger shouted out "that was better than EastEnders!"). In this exercise of comparison, participants reflected on their experiences of passengering and found much that was familiar to them; they were also recast as informants on the appropriateness of others' behaviours.

		Office use only		P12		Office use only	
		A	B			A	B
1	Keep your feet off the seats.	✓	[]	1	Keep your feet off the seats.	✓	[]
2	Do not get into a snug corner yourself, and then open the windows to admit a North-wester on the neck of your neighbour.	[]	[]	2	Do not get into a snug corner yourself, and then open the windows to admit a North-wester on the neck of your neighbour.	✓	[]
3	Have your money ready when you desire to alight. If your time is not valuable, that of others may be.	✓	[]	3	Have your money ready when you desire to alight. If your time is not valuable, that of others may be.	✓	[]
4	Do not impose on the conductor the necessity of finding you change: he is not a banker.	✓	[]	4	Do not impose on the conductor the necessity of finding you change: he is not a banker.	✓	[]
5	Sit with your limbs straight, and do not with your legs describe an angle of 45, thereby occupying the room of two persons.	✓	[]	5	Sit with your limbs straight, and do not with your legs describe an angle of 45, thereby occupying the room of two persons.	✓	[]
6	Do not spit upon the straw. You are not in a hogsty, but in an omnibus, travelling in a country which boasts of its refinement.	✓	[]	6	Do not spit upon the straw. You are not in a hogsty, but in an omnibus, travelling in a country which boasts of its refinement.	✓	[]
7	Behave respectfully to females, and put not an unprotected lass to the blush, because she cannot escape from your brutality.	✓	[]	7	Behave respectfully to females, and put not an unprotected lass to the blush, because she cannot escape from your brutality.	✓	[]
8	If you bring a dog, let it be small and confined by a string.	✓	[]	8	If you bring a dog, let it be small and confined by a string.	✓	[]
9	Do not introduce large parcels - an omnibus is not a van.	✓	[]	9	Do not introduce large parcels - an omnibus is not a van.	✓	[]
10	Reserve bickerings and disputes for the open field. The sound of your own voice may be music for your own ears - not so, perhaps, to those of your companions.	✓	[]	10	Reserve bickerings and disputes for the open field. The sound of your own voice may be music for your own ears - not so, perhaps, to those of your companions.	✓	[]
11	If you will broach politics or religion, speak with moderation: all have an equal right to their opinions, and all have an equal right not to have them wantonly shocked.	✓	[]	11	If you will broach politics or religion, speak with moderation: all have an equal right to their opinions, and all have an equal right not to have them wantonly shocked.	✓	[]
12	Refrain from affectation and conceited airs. Remember that you are riding a distance for six pence which, if made in a hackney-coach, would cost you as many shillings; and that, should your pride elevate you above plebeian accommodations, your purse should enable you to command aristocratic indulgencies.	[]	[]	12	Refrain from affectation and conceited airs. Remember that you are riding a distance for six pence which, if made in a hackney-coach, would cost you as many shillings; and that, should your pride elevate you above plebeian accommodations, your purse should enable you to command aristocratic indulgencies.	✓	[]

Thank you for your help

Figure 5.3: Participant 4 and Participant 12 Omnibus Law response surveys

Beyond the experience of passengers, the vehicle survives as material evidence of horse-bus working practices. P10 compared the physical hardship of operating such

a vehicle to his own experiences of driving older, pre-assisted steering vehicles in his volunteering capacity at the LTM depot. He also highlighted that it was the Tilling Company (Shillibeer's competitor) who made this replica vehicle and that coach building was a skilled activity, which has perhaps now been lost. Working practices are evoked when the coach is used on running days (Figure 5.4) and subject to the necessary maintenance to keep it in working order.



Figure 5.4: The Shillibeer Omnibus at Battersea Easter Parade, 15th April 1979.

Interactions with the Shillibeer Omnibus illustrate how the material can be used to evidence practices: you can't understand the bus as an artefact without imagining how it was manufactured, operated, and used. We understand this referencing our own experiences, during encounters with heritage objects, which themselves have a spatial and temporal specificity – described by Participant 3 as a 'heritage experience'.

From participant interactions with the Omnibus, we can infer the expected qualities of heritage experiences with things: aesthetics (well designed, nice to look at),

material authenticity (age, originality) and bodily experience (cramped, dark and gloomy – the articulation of difference to contemporary expectations). These are contradictory, in for example, the demand for material originality but without the patina of age and use; that a thing which is 100 years old should look nice and not be presented as dirty, smelly, or broken; presentation reflects the museum's capacity to care for objects over historical realism. The vehicle becomes a witness to our witnessing (after Carter, 2004), a suitable object for a visitor's gaze rather than representative of the uses it was put to. The museum experience itself therefore carries its own authenticity (Benton & Watson, 2010): being able to enact the passenger experience (even stationary within the gallery space) is a form of embodied historical performance (Rees Leahy, 2011; Johnson, 2015).

In most of my remembrances of the Shillibeer Omnibus, I focus on the interior space, the sense of enclosure provided by the bus. I wonder if this relates to the feelings of relief I had on resting there during my first research trip. However, it is no less part of the experience of passengering to view the bus as an object, a totality coming down the street. The next section considers this aspect of the passenger-bus, visitor-object interaction in more detail.

5.2.2 Half-cab double decker: Regent Three and Routemaster

Watch any film set in London, and it might begin with a scene of Portland Stone-faced buildings as a backdrop for red double-decked buses. A red double decker bus is an internationally recognised symbol of London, sold on mugs, t-shirts, keyrings, and postcards; and not surprising when there are currently seven thousand of them serving the capital's streets.

There is one vehicle type which has come to exemplify the London bus, and that is the Routemaster which ran in service from 1956 to the 1990s, reintroduced briefly in the 2000s and subsequently used to operate the heritage routes (Figures 5.5, 5.6,

5.7, 5.8). The Routemaster was the final bus commissioned by London Transport and manufactured by the Associated Equipment Company for London operation. It is considered a significant example of British design due to its innovative use of lightweight aluminium and its integral construction, where the body and chassis are structurally dependent, an innovation which differentiated it from traditional bus design. The first Routemaster, RM1, has been described as 'every young boy's pin-up, or more accurately, scrapbook star' (Elborough, 2005, p.65) which genders bus enthusiasm as male and characterises the interest in buses as aesthetic. P9 remembered an image of the Routemaster featuring in the centre-fold of his childhood Eagle comic.



Figure 5.5: Participant 4 demonstrates the Routemaster's shiny and smooth curves.

Is the Routemaster distinctive enough from other red double decker buses to be identified by ordinary people? The Regent Three was the first standardised red double decker half-cab bus with rear entry, introduced in 1937; historically, over

double the number of Regent Threes were produced than Routemasters.

Subsequent one-person operated buses are also red double deckers. To me, these buses all symbolise London.

A Routemaster bus (RM1737) is presented alongside a Regent Three (RT4825) at the museum, waiting at a changing traffic light (Figure 5.6). You can board both at the rear platform and ascend the staircase, but barriers prevent you from entering either the lower or upper saloons fully. The Routemaster is presented with mannequins of a driver, conductor, and several 'representative' passengers (Figure 4.15); the Regent Three is empty.



Figure 5.6: Routemaster (left) and Regent Three buses.

The vehicles were the focus of another planned encounter with participants, which facilitated a process of showing and telling: sharing expert knowledge, and recounting past experiences through physical movement and gestures (touching the

handrail, pointing to external features, climbing the stairs). By looking afresh with their expertise, I was acquainted with specific material qualities of the vehicles, a closer inspection which revealed to me why they are so important to, and in some senses revered by, the enthusiast community. These vehicle types were regularly used by participants as passengers, so they provoke an additional sense of familiarity and attachment.

There were two ways of experiencing these vehicles: one was on the surface or specifically visual, considering the total image of the bus; whilst boarding with my participants-as-experts encouraged a different sort of looking.

Figure 5.6 is representative of this first 'image' encounter which elicited responses related to historical knowledge. For non-expert P12, who couldn't identify the specific vehicle types, this was about going on the 'old one' first, he described the Routemaster as looking more modern and more London. The visual appearance of both vehicles evokes a specific era, which my participants related to their own childhood and early adulthood: P7 playfully described the vehicles to his wife (P8) as 'as old as us, dear!' whilst she described them as being in 'the style of the time'; for P1, P2, P3, P9 and P12 it was this distinctive appearance which encouraged an initial fascination in buses. In this type of encounter, the specific vehicles displayed represent all buses of their type.

Both the Regent Three and the Routemaster are half-cab double decker buses, where the driver enters their cab from the road whilst a conductor and passengers use the rear entry platform from the pavement (Figure 5.7). For my participants, it is this overall form which is distinctively London, with non-experts assuming that all of them are Routemasters. 'People don't understand that there were buses before the Routemaster' said P6, of which a large number were produced (~2800) and many since preserved (~1800, 'too many' thinks P9). For P4, 'the RT is actually the archetypal bus': he recounted how one came on a demonstration to Manchester in

1963 and was the first London bus he ever saw (but he remembers the red as a bit more orange-y); he also described how the engine had a distinctive mellow sound which became the BBC sound effect for bus: 'the whole thing sings out London'. P9 described the Regent Three as the 'ultimate derivation', P10 thinks that the Regent Three has generally been forgotten despite it being 'more of an achievement', P11 exclaimed that 'I just love RTs, they are the ultimate beautiful bus', 'the finest bus ever built'. In sharing that I prefer the Regent Three because of its elegant interwar design and the proportions of its frontage, sleek compared to the squat design of the Routemaster, I was demonstrating my own superior knowledge and identity as a bus connoisseur. The effective design of operational vehicles, their layouts and materials used, speaks to the institutional legacy of service regulation which the museum narrates (Section 4.2.1).

On closer inspection, the specific vehicles' history emerged alongside detailed information about how they functioned in service. P2 was disappointed in how the Regent Three was presented with a missing side panel blind and its winding handle. P1 explained that the Routemaster on display, presented in standard red livery, was historically significant because it was the first London bus to run in all-over advertising (for Silexine paint between 1969 and 1971 on route 11; he saw it in service; see Lloyd Rich (2009) for an image). This detailed information was elicited by a material absence, supplanted by expert knowledge, and might not be noticed by a general visitor.

Being able to board the vehicles provided opportunities for a more intimate way of looking which didn't consider the bus as image, but rather an encounter between participant and object. There are moments when this is felt more intensely, for example hopping on and off the rear platform or ascending and descending the stairs, and perhaps epitomised by the material textures of the handrails.



Figure 5.7: Textures of the rear platform. Required for the safe negotiation of entry and exit, the white grip sections particularly evocative and expressive of the specific motion performed by millions of Londoners daily.



Figure 5.8: Mirror on the upper deck. To help negotiate the stairway or prevent interactions with 'bully boys' (P12).

Our conversations about the interior of the bus primarily took place on the upper deck. Several participants described the rush up the stairs for their preferred seat: front, top right (above the driver and directly beside the heaters) for P3, P9 and P12, or the very back seat which had arm rests on both sides for P1. Both P11 and P12

mentioned the smell as being evocative and pleasant, although in service the ceiling would have been stained by cigarette residue prior to the prohibition of smoking on London's buses in November 1990. For P12, their ascent was determined by the view afforded using the mirror at the top of the stairs, he would use it to avoid the 'bully boys' (Figure 5.8). Other features highlighted included: the winding mechanism used to open the windows, in contrast to contemporary 'hopper' windows (P1, P6, P9); the presence of a pull cord or button which would indicate to the conductor to ring the bell (P6, P9); the handrails placed at alternate sides of the gangway. During his management training with London Transport, P7 conducted for a time on both Regent Threes and Routemasters, he described different approaches to fare collection, zigzagging down the gangway or up one side down the other. The rear platform was a place of play for P12, but P7 commented that there was a lack of space on the Regent Three's platform making it difficult for conductors to get out of the way of passengers. Reflecting his specialist professional knowledge about revenue protection, P10 described how the increased passenger capacity of the Routemaster demanded improved technologies for fare collection to make the conductor's job quicker.

These details may seem trivial, but in everyday life, it is exactly these things which make a bus function for and with its users. A handrail in the wrong place has no value; or put otherwise, to understand the value of these vehicles there is a need to understand them in use.

5.2.3 Interpreting material culture

In the museum, vehicles are presented as typical examples in the historical development of buses. These representations are mostly surface, in that, although you can enter them, their primary function is as objects to be viewed and perhaps read about in nearby interpretation. Being inside the vehicles only makes sense in reference to visitors' existent knowledge as passengers: in the Shillibeer Omnibus, our own creative imagining helps us relate to the Omnibus Law as historical experience and interpretation strategy; on the Regent Three and the Routemaster, knowledge through use imbues items like the mirror, the handrail, and the window-opening mechanisms with a different kind of significance related to personal familiarity, the sensate, the embodied and the affective. These experiences are significant because they reframe the bus as a site of human inhabitation rather than a technological tool.

As Prown (1982) states, artefacts are not merely illustrations, they are evidence of human thought and practice at the time of their fabrication, through which we understand something of the values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions made by a particular community or society; they are 'useful as objective cultural indexes' (p.2). Put another way, materiality acts dialectically with social practice, artefacts store social information (Tilley, 1994; Pels, Hetherington & Vandenberghe, 2002). As mass-produced objects, buses become symbolic of the specific zeitgeist, and the Routemaster, as a product of post-war engineering was representative of a positive, future-orientation; reflected in its form, scale, surface, and colour. In the contemporary, these vehicles-as-heritage-objects have symbolic meaning for the museum, particularly the Routemaster, as an example of London Transport's contribution to British design and engineering innovation.

A direct engagement with the materiality of the past and what it can tell us seems surprisingly absent in the museum's interpretation. The interactions facilitated by my

participants were getting at something about the bus on its own terms, towards an understanding of it as a thing which acts as a trace of past human activity (the deductive and descriptive stages of Prown's (1982) material culture method). It was a privilege to witness these vehicles with participants, how the buses provided a tangible framework for sharing personal experiences. Allowing entry to the vehicles encourages their reflexive potential and use.

The museum offered an opportunity to scrutinise the materiality and visuality of the bus, but as indicated in relation to the Shillibeer Omnibus, the experience of travelling and the journey itself is hard to evoke in stationary artefacts. The next section of this chapter considers the heritage presentation of a bus journey in the form of the 15(H).

5.3 London – Bus Interaction

This section considers how the London bus was used in the production of a heritage experience, the 15(H) bus service. This service provided a unique opportunity to consider the relationship between heritage practices and everyday life and how heritage can be politicised, demonstrating the material and social consequences of enacted policy. There is a direct relationship between the 15(H) as a heritage experience and as a routine bus service in concrete terms – the experience on the street – but also more conceptually in how the foundation of the route related explicitly to the political cost of withdrawing Routemaster buses from service. The 15(H) was an attempt by official actors to present an everyday experience as heritage for specific purposes.

I begin with an account of the foundation and eventual withdrawal of the heritage service. I then describe experiences with participants riding on the 15(H) as a series of encounters with bus thingness through which their subjective identities as passenger-tourists, Londoners, transport professionals and bus enthusiasts are

enacted. In concluding the story, I return to official uses of heritage in describing how the idea of the Routemaster was recycled through the introduction of a New Bus for London.

5.3.1 The 15(H): a bus (hi)story

In Section 5.2.2, I suggested why the Routemaster might be considered as particularly significant in both the history of London bus development and in global representations of the city. During the 1990s, the remaining fleet of Routemaster vehicles were being withdrawn having reached the end of their functional lives and replaced by one-person operated vehicles.

The affection for the Routemaster amongst the city's electorate was substantial enough that Ken Livingstone, during his successful 2000 London mayoral campaign, made a promise to reintroduce them and increase the number of conductors by 2004. Subsequently, forty-nine vehicles were brought back into regular service (Capital Transport, 2006).

However, there were several reasons for the original withdrawal which soon challenged their reintroduction. Research indicated that crew operation (with both conductor and driver) neither improved efficiency nor passenger safety, the vehicles did not meet required UK accessibility standards; and there were threats of legal action from those injured by falling from the rear platform. Additionally, the fare structure for London Buses changed from a zone-based system to a flat-rate fee, and cash operation was being replaced by pre-purchased tickets and electronic payment methods. The bus network was expanding with passenger demand increasing; there were physically not enough Routemaster buses to meet this demand. As well as this, the Routemasters did not meet a European directive for reducing emissions (Capital Transport, 2006; Elborough, 2005). The Mayoral policy

had to change: Routemasters would be withdrawn and replaced by efficient, fully accessible 3-door articulated, 'bendy', buses.

In 2004, the London Evening Standard led the 'Save the Routemaster' campaign, which coincided with the 50th anniversary year of the bus's inception, for which the Routemaster Association held a celebratory event in Finsbury Park.

The world asks why scrap this bus?

London Evening Standard (17th September 2004, p.31)

However, the campaign was unsuccessful, and withdrawal continued. Observers began to collate publications about the bus-type and attend the last running days on specific routes, recording their experiences through photographs and notes of vehicle numbers. The final running day of a Routemaster in regular service was 9th December 2005, on route 159 (Martin, 2018). The route was lined with people, some holding signs which read 'The End is Nigh' and '81% say keep the Routemaster' (Capital Transport, 2006, p.116).

Despite the withdrawal from service, most of the individual vehicles were retained either for private preservation or for commercial reuse by tour operators and events companies (such as the vehicles featured in Figure 5.9 and Figure 5.10). As material artefacts, they continue to tell their unique story and 'remain to be seen and enjoyed by future generations' (Willis, 2006, p.151).



Figure 5.9: Routemaster converted to a frozen yogurt cart, Southbank, London, 18th July 2019.

A state-led compromise to avoid full withdrawal was the repurposing of some remaining vehicles as a 'London landmark', to be enjoyed on dedicated heritage routes. The original proposal mooted six central London routes, served by fifty preserved vehicles, and first mentioned by Livingstone in March 2004 (Elborough, 2005, p.167).

Eventually, only partial sections of two routes were selected, 9 and 15. The vehicles were repainted to 1960s colours with a London Transport logo. The services were launched by Livingstone on 14th November 2005. It isn't clear how the operational costs of running historic vehicles at a standard fare was justified, but in 2019, TfL estimated that each customer on a 15(H) journey was subsidised by £9, compared to an average of 23p across the network (London Assembly, 2019; Brown, 2019).



Figure 5.10: View of a Routemaster converted into an open top bus for tourist operation through the window of a 15(H) service.

In 2019, only the 15(H) was still operating and that year it was reduced from a daily to summer weekend operation. TfL consulted on these changes, citing a fall in ridership, the lack of physical access for mobility-impaired passengers, meeting reduced emissions targets and the high fare subsidy as reason for the curtailment.

Reducing the frequency of the 15H will ensure that the Routemaster remains a visible icon of London's transport heritage, while at the same time ensuring that public funds are invested prudently in transport services that benefit everyone that lives, works or visits London.

London Assembly (2019)

My first encounter with the service was in December 2018, when I was refused entry, not knowing that only Oyster card payment was accepted; a sign on the bus read: 'we regret that contactless payment is not possible on this bus. Modern buses on route 15 do accept contactless payment cards'. I returned with participants and

Oyster cards in August and September 2019. The only publicity for the route is a small line on the regular 15's timetable which reads: '*Heritage Routemasters operate extra journeys to Tower Hill on summer weekends and summer bank holidays from March to September only. These buses cannot carry wheelchairs and are operated by Stagecoach London for London Buses'. TfL confirmed to the Greater London Authority in 2019 that it had never specifically marketed the heritage service (London Assembly, 2019); the heritage service ran with a '15' route number blind, despite being referred to as the 15(H) in evaluation reports. The lack of investment, evident in not providing alternative payment methods, limited the route's ability to collect revenue from routine passengers.

The LTM sells a variety of Routemaster themed toys, t-shirts and so on which feature the number '15' and the destination 'Covent Garden', evidence of an attempt to create a heritage route brand. However, the museum librarian confirmed that this was a marketing decision and that professional heritage staff had never been involved in the operation of the heritage routes. I speculate about how little resource was provided to develop the 15(H) as viable visitor attraction, with attention to experience and customer satisfaction after the initial overhaul of vehicles in 2005.

The 15(H) was managed and evaluated as if it was a routine bus service. The Greater London Authority, in trying to preserve the Routemaster as 'a visible icon of London's transport heritage' indicates that the priority was having these vehicles visible on the street. P5 confirmed that the route chosen provided 'nice backgrounds' for bus photography and as such, the 15(H) could be described as part of the 'production of contemporary visitability' (Dicks, 2003) in making overt representations of London as a 'destination'. The 15(H) was never about the journey itself.

In 2020, the service had been further restricted to operate from the last weekend of March until September (Railforums, 2019), it was also the year that the current route

tender was expiring. The Covid-19 lockdown was introduced on 16th March 2020 which restricted non-essential contact and travel in the UK. The heritage service did not run at all in 2020 and permanent withdrawal was confirmed by TfL in April 2021, saving £825,243 (Campbell, 2021). The heritage routes' political utility changed from benefit (in 2000) to liability (in 2020), illustrating that authorised heritage values are not innate, but rather responsive to the needs of the authorising agent.

5.3.2 One final summer

I now interpret what happened when my participants and I rode the 15(H) during its final summer of operation. It is tempting to evaluate the 15(H) as either a bus service or a heritage experience, but it was both and neither at once. The proximity of this heritage experience to everyday life has been useful in trying to understand something about the heritage work that bus passengers might be doing on routine journeys.

This section illustrates how the 15(H) journey allowed participants to demonstrate different aspects of their subjective identities. In characterising the route as a tourist-orientated heritage experience they drew on knowledge gained as routine passengers to evaluate its material and intangible authenticity. The journey facilitated the remembrance of earlier times and places: travelling through this part of London in childhood and adolescence; working as transport people across the network. The experience as a research event and my own questions explicitly addressed their identities as enthusiasts, and a chance encounter provided further insight. These elements of participant subjectivity were expressed in interaction throughout the journey, through what they verbalised, but also in their actions and gestures.

5.3.2.1 *Lived experience as an authentic journey*

The 15(H) route was selected for its tourist credentials, connecting Trafalgar Square to Tower Hill, along the Strand; it ran through the busiest part of the city and although founded as a response to the demands of a London electorate, its visibility as a London icon for visitors to the city was a key consideration in its continuance. For example, on alighting at Trafalgar Square with P2 and P3, we met a woman visiting from Switzerland who had previously lived in London in the 1990s; in referring to the Routemasters she said, 'I thought they didn't exist anymore', and was clearly excited about seeing them again.

For the research participants, there were various ways in which they evaluated their journeys, firstly in relation to the service as tourist offer, a heritage experience; and secondly related to the memories of everyday London bus travel which the route elicited. On the one hand, there was a tolerance for errors in terms of authenticity because of the enjoyment of riding these old buses; on the other, there was a degree of pleasure taken in pointing out when things weren't right based on their passengering expertise.

The service was perceived as a tourist operation by P3, P9, P10 and P11; indeed, P9 would occasionally come to this part of London just to ride the route again if he hadn't in a while. P5 had photographed it but never ridden on it, and neither had P6, P7, P8 and P12.

P12 described himself as a 'lover' of buses, but not a typical enthusiast or Londoner; his journeys exemplified the tourist experience. He reported that he was tempted to look up the service prior to our meeting but decided to go by gut reaction instead. He didn't enjoy the wait ('I'm not happy standing here with the traffic'; 'I want this bus to arrive') and the uncertainty of trying to find the bus. However, once on the bus, he described the experience as attractive, a nice feeling, comfortable, and a

novelty. He liked the musty smell and the interactions we had with the conductor. He had expected audio commentary along the route. Compared to contemporary transport, which he described as purely functional, this service had character. He thought that it might appeal to the older generation (as nostalgic, showing appreciation for the past) or to younger visitors (as a novelty), but that ordinary Londoners would use any bus.

The utility of the service for tourists was limited, with payment restricted to Oyster card and, unlike modern buses, no display to help you know if you've reached your stop. Over several journeys, I observed tourists photographing the service. Even though 'central London is chock-a-block with tourists' (P6), it often ran empty (e.g., with P7 & P8 outward, with P9 return). P9 was realistic about the route's prospect of survival, considering that the tourist market could not seem to sustain a regular ridership. P11 described the 15(H) as a tourist service 'over and above the normal', one that was slower ('but on this occasion it doesn't matter'); on our return journey we sat at the rear of the lower deck and observed a family asking, 'is this a tourist bus?', to which the conductor replied, 'no, but it looks like it is'.

P1, P3 and P10 had previous knowledge about the route's foundation and management: P1's comment was that the 15(H) was 'Livingstone's sop', expensive and arguably using resources which should be spent elsewhere; P3 described the service as a half-hearted attempt at creating a tourist attraction which was expensive, lacked publicity and was never fully thought through; P10 had mixed feelings about the service as 'a bit of a sop when the Routemasters were withdrawn'. He was the only participant to comment on the route as an additional heritage offer to the museum's 'artefacts not in use'.

The journeys were evaluated as heritage experiences, with P3 commenting on it as 'Mickey Mouse', to which P2 replied, 'it's not far off, is it?'. For P7, a previous manager at London Transport, he described the service as 'mediocracy practiced

well’ and felt that if TfL were to run such a service, they should do it properly, seeking to make it successful and to justify investment; he thought that it would be a good graduate trainee project.

P1, P2, P4, P9 had previously used the route for its transport qualities because it was the first service to arrive which would take them to their destination. Participants questioned whether routine passengers would make a distinction between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ 15s: ‘do the visitors even realise it’s an old bus?’ asked P8. For P2 and P3, the pull of it operating an old bus wasn’t enough to encourage ridership; P10 observed that ‘a lot of people just get on when it comes’ rather than actively seeking the experience. Interpreted this way, it was part of the transport network infrastructure, as any other bus is.

Reflecting on their routine journey experiences, participants were able to comment about the authenticity of the vehicles used on the route and the experience of travel itself. On founding the heritage routes, Routemaster vehicles were refurbished (to a greater or lesser extent) back to a 1960s ideal, reversing decades of adaptations demanded by the requirements of routine service. Participants pointed out original light fittings which had been replaced by strip lights in the 1990s but other modern features such as the hopper windows, emergency signage, and CCTV cameras were not removed.

It’s not how I remember the Routemaster.

Participant 10

The overall impression was good (‘not much modified’ in P9’s view), but for several participants, the attention to detail was missing: P2 said that the vehicles were ‘refurbished beyond life’ and reflecting on what he meant, in material terms they are a hybrid of Routemasters in the 1990s and 2000s with 1960s features, a form which never existed during routine service; as P10 said: ‘a recreation’ compared to more

authentic vehicles which ‘have made it all the way through’. A prosaic example of the lack of attention to detail is that the window of the lower deck beside the driver’s cab was ‘grubby’ - unreachable by modern automatic bus washers when in the past all buses were washed by hand (Figure 5.11).



Figure 5.11: Unwashed windows of the 15(H) service. Inaccessible by contemporary automated bus-washers.

In terms of the journey experience, several participants noted that the engine didn’t sound right (P1, P2, P7, P10), and that the ride was not as smooth as they remembered (P6: ‘jolting... not smooth like on modern buses’, P7: ‘never recall them being this bouncy... crap ride’, P1: ‘8 out of 10 for smoothness, fractionally heavier on the brake, always regarded as a bit jerky even when new’), or that the bell didn’t ring loudly enough (P10). Accumulated experience, as well as expert knowledge, told participants that this experience wasn’t quite right.



Figure 5.12. The view of St Paul's from the upper deck of a 15(H). Showing a 'New Routemaster' running on route 11. There is something in the quality of this image which makes it feel hyper-real, like a virtual recreation of a London street.

However, the journey did allow some participants to recall memories of routine travel and of the specific route itself. Sitting at the front of the bus, travelling eastbound and watching St Paul's Cathedral come into view (as illustrated in Figure 5.12) framed by the window of the bus, the feeling of being in the city is intense: 'we're going through London and I love it!' exclaimed P2. He used to live in East Ham so knew the route well, it didn't run on a Sunday in his childhood, and he made some general observations about the pace of change in the city, with new road layouts and closures; when he was a boy the streets were thick with smoke on a winter's day; P6 found the changes disorientating. P7 also had memories of the route from working nearby and was happy to point out 'Little Linda's' bus stop to me and P8 (his wife), Linda was a previous girlfriend and he would wait with her there for the bus decades ago; he also pointed out a pub called Ye Olde Cock Tavern where

the Omnibus Society had held its 40th anniversary party; P9 and I went for a drink there later that day.

When it was full or getting busier (for example the return journey with P4 & P5 and P7 & P8), the bus literally started to buzz with different voices; P7 reflected on the different languages being spoken, the different types of people, mannerisms and cultures reflected in the body of passengers and described how 'public transport holds them all together'. Similarly, after riding with P1, my own reflection was how the bus afforded opportunities for 'interactions between different bodies', this is a quality of London bus thingness which was present even on the 15(H), during its busier moments.

My journeys with P11 were characterised by both an ease and an unease which come with bus travel. We sat at the front of the upper deck on the outward journey and observed as the bus first got stuck behind a car parked in the bus lane and then in some congestion: 'I bet there's roadworks at the end of this... typical London, you can't move a hundred yards without stopping'. On the return, we sat chatting with the conductor at the back of the lower deck, my participant enjoyed showing his publications to him and the conductor was happy because this was his last run of the day. A slightly drunk female passenger began to participate in our conversation and was interested to know how we knew each other; when she alighted the conductor remarked 'Thank God for that! In a nice way, yea!?!'. We observed as tourists 'hopped on'. And then, it was all a rush as my participant had to catch a train from Liverpool Street, he alighted at the Royal Courts of Justice, and I was left to ride the remaining stops alone.

Riding the 15(H) engaged with the different temporal states outlined by Shanks & Pearson (2014). The buses used on the 15(H) facilitated a direct physical engagement with traces from the past, specifically in the vehicle's form as ever adapting to service demands, a hybrid of features from different periods in its operational history. The

route inspired specific remembrances of London as a place from participants' pasts framed by bus windows (the vestige of an old girlfriend or smog hanging in the air). It also evoked remembrances of bus travel more generally in the embodied experiences is provided: the jerking brakes, the hopping on and off from the rear platform, the sound of the bell; the sorts of experience of place which Mate & Pocock (2018) believe are being lost in the adoption of smoother, new technologies. The immediacy of stop-start caused by congestion and passenger requests (described by Jain, 2009), is specific to bus travel, independent of what vehicle is being used and was particularly evoked for me on riding with P11, as was the anticipation of arrival; my feelings of relief mirroring those expressed by the conductor. The embodied aspects of travelling experience connect us to the actuality of the present moment, as an authentic encounter, as well as to a whole collection of past passengering memories.

5.3.2.2 Significance of transport people

A distinctive aspect of the 15(H) experience was the opportunity to witness crew operation, no longer part of routine travel in the capital. Several participants had experience of or continue to work in the bus industry as drivers (P3) or conductors (P1, P7) or in scheduling (P11) and revenue protection (P10). They were able to share information about the intangible practices adopted by transport staff in discussing the driver, the conductor, and their communication. Notably, informal practices adopted by crews, and well known to participants, were absent from the 'Uniform Delivery' case discussion (Section 4.2.3.3), highlighting the difficulty of translating 'what happened' into a static museum display.

P7 shared his motivation for bus work in remembering the occasion of telling his mum about joining London Transport, as a desire to be 'one of the real people with a real job'. On the 15(H), staff do not attempt to re-enact or embody drivers and conductors from a previous era, they are wearing contemporary uniforms and

carrying contemporary duty cards. Some conductors were more curious than others about our activities: on one hand, it seemed to be just a job to the staff we interacted with, but on the other, there was a level of enthusiasm for this 'old' bus.

In terms of the core role of the conductor in collecting fares, sometimes staff didn't bother at all (e.g., with P2 & P3), sometimes the Oyster card reader was malfunctioning, passengers with bank cards were sometimes allowed to board and at other times denied; on several occasions potential passengers were discouraged from boarding and told by the conductor to 'get the new one'.

The journey made participants reflect on the specifics of crew operation which allowed them to emphasise the bus industry as a 'human industry' (P10), versus its more overt technological identity. For example, the separation of driver in their compartment (Figure 5.13) and conductor within the vehicle required the development of novel means of communicating: using the bell, gestures or even the occasional foot-stomp: 'Ding' means 'Stop', 'Ding Ding' means 'Go', 'Ding Ding Ding' means 'Full bus, don't stop' (P1). Today, passengers want to ring the bell for themselves.



Figure 5.13: 15(H) bus driver in his cab.

Our engagement with the driver was through the quality of the driving experience, discussed above as jerkier than remembered. The driver as a solitary figure, isolated in their cab was subject to a description by P7 as we viewed the RT at the museum which I summarised in my fieldnotes (Figure 5.14). Isolated in their cab, drivers are both loaded and lonely, surrounded by the world but not talking to anyone.

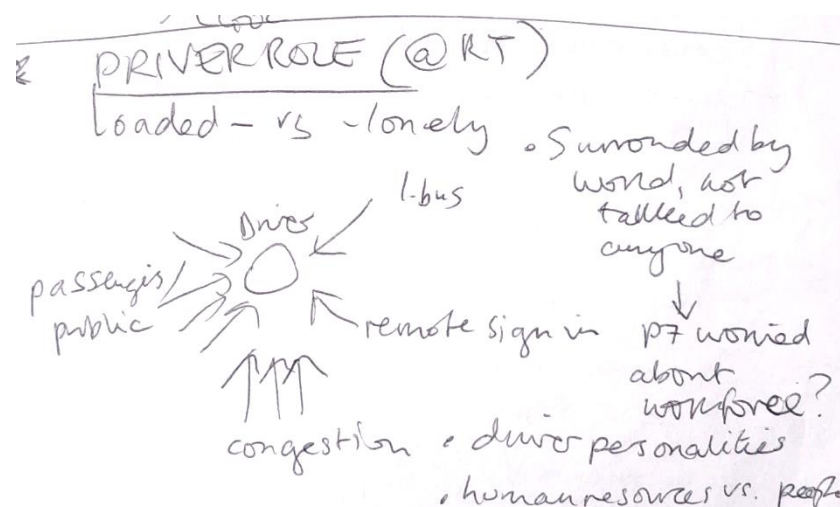


Figure 5.14: P7's description of the bus driver's role as noted in the Observation Record Form

P10 was particularly articulate in reflecting the human story of bus travel from his perspective within management and subsequently through knowledge acquired volunteering at the LTM and TfL archives: when conductors disappeared, so did a lot of the activity on the bus. He described how the dynamic of the relationship between driver and conductor might alter the service provided. For example, the driver could make working conditions more difficult for a conductor (they could ‘throw the bus at them’) by stopping at a waiting queue even if the bus was already full; conversely, they could make it easier by ‘scratching’ which meant going slowly to reduce loading (meaning other buses would take on more passengers). He shared several anecdotes about how the service used to be regulated through route and fare inspectors. The former would wait at different points along a route and note if individual crews were running to time to ensure a regular service (preventing ‘bunching’) but also so that crews could come off for their breaks on time. Today, this is monitored by ‘I-bus’, a GPS system which is overseen by ‘service controllers’ in offices away from the street. Fare inspectors would board the bus in plain clothes and observe the conductor taking fares; today, they check if individual passengers have activated their Oyster or other payment cards. Modern efficiencies make the conductor’s role redundant, whilst requiring the driver to take a more active role in monitoring passenger interactions with and on the bus, whilst being subject to ever increasing digitally mediated regulation and surveillance. There is increasing dislocation from the materiality of the street as buses more rigidly service the abstraction of the timetable.

5.3.2.3 Performing bus enthusiasm

The 15(H) journey allowed me to observe participants in the performance of their bus enthusiasm, and equally to learn from them, expanding my own understanding and adoption of enthusiast practices (Wenger, 1999). Additionally, I learnt the definitions of specialist terms, as already highlighted above related to bus operations.

For several of my participants, their knowledge of the city has been acquired through decades of bus journeys across the capital; my own interest in buses began when I realised that knowledge of the network would enable cheap and convenient connections to nearby places. Bus travel was both ‘how you learnt about life’ (P3) and ‘how you learnt your way around London’ (P2) for us all.

P9 suggested that ‘being interested in buses keeps you off the streets’. However, what I observed, was that bus enthusiasm gave participants a sense of street-smartness. An example of this was the wait for the bus at Southampton Street in the direction of Tower Hill (unique stop reference: 75322).

Waiting for the service was one of the most anxiety-provoking moments of each research event for me, uncertain that it would show up. Luckily, I was with the right people – it’s ‘par for the course to go bus hunting’ (P11) – the encounters became an exercise in reading the street, or Bus Enthusiasm.¹⁰¹ P1, on waiting said, ‘the clue will be whether we see one going the other way’, you then know that your service it is likely to arrive soon, and it promptly did so on four occasions.

However, for five of the nine attempted outward journeys, the route was short-working (operating on only part of the route) and would never have arrived to pick us up. The first occasion this happened was with P4 and P5, P5 asking ‘has something gone wrong then?’. After a short wait, P4 accessed live bus information using the SMS-text service to find out that there was no 15 due for 25 minutes and a large gap between the 11s, and no information provided for the heritage route at all. He advised that we try to find the bus further along its route; expert knowledge indicated that a typical turning point would be Aldwych/The Royal Courts of Justice. We walked there, caught a regular service to Tower Hill and the heritage service on the return only. Subsequently, when it seemed like the bus wasn’t going to arrive, I used this new knowledge to ensure that we would find it: we either caught another bus to the Courts or walked there and caught the 15(H) from that stop.

Subsequently, whenever a 15(H) came into view, at whichever stop we were waiting at, I felt a sense of relief.

Several participants speculated that most passengers, enthusiast or not, have bus seating preferences; for P1, P2, P3, P9 and P10 on the Routemaster that is the front seat lower deck (left side), described as the ‘best seat in the house’ (P1) because you can see where you were going; followed by the front seats of the upper deck.

What perhaps defines a bus enthusiast, is someone who rides the buses as a leisure activity, or not ‘in anger’ (a routine service or a mandatory journey). P1 and P11 gave examples of how they would prepare for such leisure journeys: P1 carries a duffle bag containing a bottle of Tizer to keep him going and makes sure he has a jacket with pockets; P11 carries biscuits, milk, and mince pies in his bag, ‘I’m prepared, used to be in the Scouts’.

The appropriateness of disclosing their enthusiast status was both a topic of discussion and something I observed during the journey. P6, P7 and P10 all minimised the significance of their enthusiast activities when speaking to me, suggesting a level of embarrassment (P6) at potentially being considered weird (P10). This is discussed further in Section 6.2.2 related to bus enthusiast identity, but perhaps hints at the desire to be perceived as rational experts rather than passionate amateurs discussed by, for example Geoghegan (2014).

Waiting for the heritage service at Tower Hill with P2 and P3, (other passengers boarded a contemporary 15 instead) gave us the opportunity to talk about definitions of enthusiasm. They both said that it was not generally appropriate to broadcast it. At the same time, they agreed on certain behavioural expectations such as dressing smartly and not eating on the street which is considered bad etiquette.

P1 described how during his work in London Transport administration in the 1960s, one might choose to disclose your enthusiast status. Colleagues would ask ‘is he a hairy?’ (bus spotter). After explaining a point about route scheduling (why on a 20-minute schedule we might see two buses running in the opposite direction within 10 minutes), P4 added sarcastically ‘there’s me NOT being a bus enthusiast’.

P9 was the only participant to actively display his enthusiasm, as a ‘bit of an anorak’ who ‘didn’t care’. On boarding the 15(H), he recorded the journey time and fleet number (unique vehicle identifier) in a notebook from his jacket pocket for both outgoing and return journeys. He would add the start and finish points to a later record in a more formal book at home. On boarding with P7, he claimed that ‘a real enthusiast would take a note of the fleet number’ which made me wonder that perhaps if I wasn’t observing him, he would have done so.

A significant chance encounter occurred on the return journey with P4 and P5, recorded in post-fieldnotes on 20th August 2019:

This was where things got interesting – I’d spotted a guy and two young boys (maybe 12, 13?) outside the museum in the morning and I could just tell that they were young enthusiasts by their behaviour and animated chat (photographs of the museum entry – in fact, I moved out of the way so I wouldn’t be in their shot). The same group were at the Tower Hill bus stop as we were about to board and I just said to the adult – oh, I saw you earlier. That started a conversation as we ended up sitting near to them on the return. They were from Manchester (Stockport actually) (same as P4) and had travelled down the day – one of the boys was mostly just excited and possibly a little overwhelmed. The other was so smart and seemed to know all about the geography of London despite this being his first visit – P4 commented on this, and he said it was because he enjoyed studying maps and had attempted to memorise a number of the bus routes and their start and end points. I found this comparison between older and younger generations quite fascinating.

For me, it was a poignant set of interactions watching young and older enthusiasts share their knowledge, experiences, and enjoyment. It was impressive to hear about the young boy's activities and how knowledgeable he was about a city that he had not visited before, because of his love of buses. P5 commented that 'the young man's done it all'. I speculate how much this interaction connected with participants' own remembrances of childhood bus trips and the origins of their enthusiasm (see Section 6.3). Ultimately, anyone can become a bus enthusiast through routine journeying, and the sense of self and practical skills which riding the network develop. This was evidenced to me directly in the doing of this research, which expanded my own enthusiast vocabulary and practical knowledge.

In returning to the theme of everyday journeying as a source of authentic experience, I quote the 'so smart' boy who said: 'people pay loads of money to get on a bus tour whereas this is more authentic'. He represented a minority of passengers in his status as tourist-enthusiast, only shared by P9 in his own irregular, 'leisure' use of the route; they were satisfied with the experience as 'not much modified' (P9). For the other participants, the 15(H) experience didn't seem to adequately satisfy their expectations as passengers, enthusiasts, bus professionals or tourists.

5.3.3 A (new) bus for London

Although the heritage services have now been cancelled, this does not mark the end of the Routemaster story in London, for in 2007, its name and features of its design were co-opted for a New Bus for London. Boris Johnson, in his London mayoral campaign manifesto, committed to introduce a new custom-designed double decker bus. This was based on a similar pledge by a previous Conservative Party candidate Steven Norris in 2004 and to contrast the single decker articulated buses introduced by Livingstone. Despite their efficiency, and reported popularity with passengers, these buses were not liked in the media and by some enthusiasts. They had too few

seats, encouraged fare dodging and they were too European. The bendy buses simply didn't look 'right' on London's streets.

TfL, ultimately answerable to the London Mayor, had to make this commitment a reality. It is worth noting that two of the people involved in delivering the New Routemaster, Leon Daniels and Peter Hendy are both bus enthusiasts. Daniels is now retired from his role as Managing Director of Surface Transport at TfL and is currently Chairperson of the London Bus Preservation Trust; Hendy is now Chair of Network Rail, previously holding the role of Commissioner at TfL, and currently the Honourable President of the Trust. To some extent, TfL would have had to oblige Johnson no matter the cost, but it helps if organisational decision makers are 'on board'.

Boris Johnson simply ploughed forward through any obstacle that presented itself, to oversee the reinvention of the London bus... such was the new Mayor's persona, everything he touched seemed to attract his name.

Curtis (2014, p.28-30)

The vehicle's design was the result of a public competition, won by Thomas Heatherwick Studios and manufactured in the UK. The New Routemaster was said to represent 'the optimism and dynamism' of London and Londoners (Johnson, in Lewin, n.d., p.7). It was also meant to reflect a futuristic image of the city, whilst referencing technology from 50 years earlier. The original production order was for 600 vehicles.

The New Routemaster entered service in February 2012, but this name wasn't official adopted until November 2013, previously being referred to as the New Bus for London or the 'Borismaster'. Their popularity was cited as a reason for cancelling heritage route 9 in July 2014 (Evening Standard, 2014). Originally, the services had

both a driver and a 'customer assistant', the new conductor, but this was considered too expensive, and the routes quickly reverted to one-person operation. The middle and rear doors and double staircase design have been shown to encourage fare evasion and as of August 2019, some bus routes required passengers to board from the front so that the driver could monitor payment.

My participants had mixed views about the New Routemasters: it's 'not an Routemaster for a start!' (P9). In terms of the design and the co-option of Routemaster features, P4 was appalled initially but now describes them as a 'modern interpretation of a classic style' which nods to the design of both the Routemaster and trolleybuses of a similar era, is pleasant and satisfies a nostalgia for using the rear staircase; however, they do get very hot upstairs. For P9, it was a political project with some nice and some awful features, making it distinctive but not iconic. P10 had a negative opinion of the New Routemaster as a reinvention of the three-door bendy bus (making 'Boris's vision more or less manageable'), which didn't solve the problems of fare evasion. P11 described them as a 'waste of space', asking 'why did they make them so ugly?' and answering, 'too big, too thirsty, too inefficient'.

5.3.4 Mobile monuments

Maintenance ... is preoccupied more with reinstating the mundane temporalities of the present rather than producing powerful visualisations of a different future.

Anand (2020)

The Routemaster story offers an insight into the maintenance of the bus network as one of London's infrastructures: a 'material forms that allow for the possibility of exchange over space' (Larkin, 2013, p.327) and how heritage is implicated in this maintenance process. The transport project involves bus vehicles, London's streetscape, passengers, transport staff and politicians. The 15(H) was a moving

monument to the Routemaster's era on London's streets. The New Routemaster adopts the same visual language to reinvoké that era as a time of innovation and future progress, to imagine again what London can be. Both suggest that heritage forms are not distinct from but rather constitutive of everyday experiences.

The 15(H) and New Routemaster projects illustrate the relations of power which govern bus travel, particularly the agency of the London Mayor over TfL, and subsequently, their attempt at providing an improvised solution to a political problem. In enacting manifesto commitments, it is notionally the electorate (Londoners) who are being served. Both illustrate how the social and the material are entangled in the production of infrastructures and how these in turn produce publics (Anand, 2017; 2020). But both projects have been costly.



Figure 5.15: Routemaster interior. A Golden Age for buses? Routemasters renovated back to their 1960s appearance with reproduced original light fittings, but inauthentic 'hopper' windows and CCTV cameras. The sun shines on the empty upper deck as we reach Tower Hill.

Figure 5.15 is reminiscent of the many heritage images analysed by Watson & Waterton (2010), devoid of human inhabitation, the bus is presented in a monumental way, as a sublime object, decontextualised and clean. Although it looks

like a bus interior which invites us, the absence of passengers indicates its failure as a bus service. Further, it's material originality is a pretence: the vehicles used on the 15(H) were not authentic material survivors from a specific past but were a contrived heritage form, something made new to facilitate the heritage routes. Conservation in this case, was not as an act of care towards the material thing, but towards the maintenance of an image of the thing which leant political agency to Ken Livingstone.

The continuation of the 15(H) route despite the age of the vehicles and their unsuitability for contemporary operation, despite the redundancy of crew operation, despite high subsidy for several years is at once both a product of political interference and public indifference. The heritage routes were never a viable part of the transport network. They were subject to regular disruption in the centre of London but not overseen in the way that routine services are (was anyone checking if 15(H) conductors gathered fares?). They weren't promoted for their heritage qualities and didn't meet the expectation of a heritage experience, for example. in providing costumed interpreters or an audio guide. Other Routemaster vehicles exist and meet the needs of the tourist demographic in different ways – offering guided tours of the capital or used as food trucks; the 15(H) was old, slow, and inconvenient.

The New Routemaster project could be considered an example of technopolitics (Larkin, 2013), a technology used to organise populations and territories – in this case, what is to be a Londoner, on a London bus, in London; and the promise of a new future which the image of the bus creates. It met a political idea that London deserves a purpose-designed bus, but its production costs were considerably more than equivalent types, and its manufacturer Wrightbus - the last UK-owned bus manufacturer - went into administration on 25th September 2019, its financial problems in part caused by liability for the New Routemaster's faulty battery design (BBC, 2019). The bus's form hasn't reduced fare evasion, leading to loss of revenue for the network. The New Routemaster has inspired new bus forms influenced by its

design; however, services are back to one-person operation, and back to front entry only.

The thingness of the London Bus has a political utility that was used by both Livingstone and Johnson, but this is about its visibility as a distinctive form on London's streets (as either retro or futuristic, or a strange amalgam of both?). At the same time, the development of new bus forms is part of the rhythm of bus-service life: vehicles and routes become obsolete every day.

5.4 Heritage Things

This chapter has considered the thingness of the London bus as a heritage object which facilitates a range of encounters at the museum and on London's streets. The primary mode of encounter is symbolic; we are encouraged to appreciate the bus as something to look at, a visible icon of London's transport heritage. To inspire attention the bus must be both familiar and strange; the contrast presented between original Routemasters running on the 15(H) and the New Routemaster buses had critical capacity to reveal something of the politics of our own time; the encounters with the vehicles at the museum enabled participants to demonstrate their enthusiast knowledge and to validate their experiences.

According to Elborough & Kerr (2018), the first bus company to use red livery and route numbers was called 'Vanguard', an appropriate name for a company which introduced longstanding features of the London bus. Their name also suggests a connection between transport and progress which is often made at transport museums (Divall & Scott, 2001); in turn this is connected to the cultural experience of modernity and its continual demand for something new. The vehicles discussed in this chapter are a material manifestation of this progressive story, yet the form of the London bus from the early 19th century to today is curiously recursive.

I have referred to the thingness of the London bus throughout the chapter. My understanding of the distinction between objects and things is informed by Leslie (n.d. a, n.d. b) in her analysis of the work of Walter Benjamin, Domanska's (2006) use of theories by Martin Heidegger and Bruno Latour, and Brown's (2001) 'thing theory'. Whereas objects might refer to things-in-themselves, a present material form, things are known through their use, their historical contextualisation, their social lives, and the role they play in forming publics.

This chapter presents the personal and the political uses which London buses-as-things are put to as a continuous story of significance. It is through everyday familiarity with buses that my participants can make revelatory observations of the nature of heritage work at the museum and on London's streets.

5.4.1 Built-in obsolescence

Often, we think a defining feature of the heritage thing is that it has passed out of routine, daily use, it has become obsolete. As Smith (2006) has pointed out, qualities by which we define heritage things enable us to use them for a variety of purposes, although perhaps not for what they were originally designed. This can be seen at the museum, where artefacts are encountered as images or as typical-examples-of; but also experienced for entertainment, educational or autobiographical purposes whilst implicitly bolstering claims of authority made. Fundamentally, the purpose of the bus is to transport people from A to B; artefacts in the museum may not do this literally but figuratively they might, in that our encounters with them can change our understandings of ourselves.

Objects with iconic or associational value are preserved, but when they lose that association...they become disposable.

Prown (1982, p.4)

The 15(H) was always anachronistic, out of time, in its attempt to deliver a routine bus service through heritage re-enactment. It offers an example of how heritage is defined and sustained across multiple levels of meaning: firstly the innate qualities of the material artefacts involved (the historic vehicles); then in the specific practices of how these objects are used to deliver an authentic heritage experience (recreation of the past and experience in the present); further how this experience is intended to stand in for or replace something which is lost (as symbolic reference); how the heritage is used to signify qualities of other things i.e. as London icon (a means by which the heritage lends significance to something external to itself); and how heritagisation practices can themselves be abandoned as obsolete. The cancellation of the heritage route indicates that assumed innate heritage values (e.g., historical, technological) were not as valuable as the contemporary costs (financial, environmental, political); it suggests that the motivation for the route was not related to historical value but contemporary political utility.

Obsolescence doesn't define heritage objects, or another way, heritage values themselves can become obsolete. In modernity, the demand for something new, means that obsolescence is built into everything, even as we transition objects into heritage things (Harrison, 2013).

The implications of heritagising London's buses extend beyond the heritage services. The New Routemaster is an example of the reuse of historic ideas and cultural forms for political purposes; where the historical thing (the original Routemaster vehicles) becomes redundant, but the idea of the thing is adopted and reused. Both Livingstone and Johnson's activities were politically motivated, to borrow cultural agency from the bus-as-symbol-of-London to support their own claim to Londoner status and their plans for the city. Both have placed the iconic, ideological value of the bus higher than the economic costs to public and private interests.

5.4.2 Everyday life in the city

The red double decker bus is like a prop on the city's stage which carries messages of progress and vitality, but the bus is also a stage set for human interactions and is itself a place through which the city is viewed. The city is known through the passenger body as sensate and affected; the journey is also a personal mnemonic, today's travel a reliving of memories and experiences which mostly go unrecorded and untold (after Sheringham, 2015), the unclassifiable things (after Pessoa & Lancastre, 1991) which make up everyday experience.

The concept of nostalgia has been used to describe how individuals relate to modernity (Boym, 2007) and has also been offered as a driving force behind the heritage industry boom whereby people seek stability in the past (Hewison, 1987). Ferguson, Harrison & Weinbren (2010) suggest that almost anything from everyday life can be conceived of as heritage, as it moves from functional to other uses, and whilst it is not classified as rubbish (Moran, 2004). This movement doesn't quite get to the interest that I have in the everyday as a site of heritage practice; those repeated experiences through which temporality and time passing is sensed and located. It is 'Little Linda's' bus stop or the event of a convivial drink which helps us know and belong in the city.

This chapter explored what it meant and felt like to ride on the buses as a form of human inhabitation and site of activity. I had appreciated this from a passenger perspective; the Omnibus Law of 1836 still fundamentally relevant to today's experiences, the footprints at the door of the 15 and climbing into Shillibeer's Omnibus, a literal trace. However, participants helped expand an understanding of the bus as working space. Crew operation and on-the-street inspectors made the industry of transport visible; today's efficiencies hide this work from view.

Boym (2007) suggests that nostalgia has two modes: restorative and reflective. Heritage seems to be theorised as restorative nostalgia: a search for home, truth, tradition. However, working with participants has revealed heritage's reflective potential, as a sensation of longing expressed in the precise descriptions of the red-bus colour, its sounds, smells, the smoothness of the drive which all construct London bus thingness. 'If restorative nostalgia ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time, reflective nostalgia cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space' (Boym, 2007, no page ref.). Nostalgia is not anti-progressive - it is both retrospective and prospective, as much about fantasy and imagination as it is about the recovery of a truthful past. Encounters with heritage have critical potential for understanding ourselves and the contemporary moment; the Routemaster story reveals much about the political influences which structure everyday service decisions.

In the next chapter, I explore the personal connections to bus heritage in more depth, presenting research materials from the Stage 3 bus enthusiast interviews. Insights are contextualised with example data from Stage 2 and particularly in reference to a drawer at the museum, titled 'He's Really Keen'.

6. Collecting Enthusiasts

This chapter explores how bus enthusiasm is defined and practiced by those with a self-identified interest in buses, my research participants. There are several ways in which I am relating bus enthusiasm to heritage in this chapter. The first is considering it as a cultural activity worthy of objectification, the second is considering the types of activity undertaken by bus enthusiasts as equivalent to the heritage processes which do the objectifying.

The perceived status of the interest as geeky, unusual, or 'sad' (P14) led to several participants minimising their enthusiasm in the course of their professional activities. Now in or approaching retirement, their knowledge and collections are valuable to museums and other bodies seeking to understand 'what happened' during their time in the transport industry and as bus spotters. At the same time, their own interests continue to develop in the contemporary moment, from daily imaginings whilst waiting at bus stops to the ongoing collation of records and curation of home displays.

A central theme of the chapter is the role of objects in the creation of the hobby and its sustaining over time, in practical and symbolic ways. Studying enthusiasts as heritage practitioners reveals how identity-work is implicated in the heritage process, in relation to a community and in the contribution to public discourse around historical and cultural significance.

Section 6.2 begins with a consideration of the representation of transport enthusiasm made by the London Transport Museum (LTM) in the He's Really Keen drawer and how enthusiast-visitors during Stage 2 responded to it. I then discuss aspects of enthusiast identity, as individuals and in the formation of communities, and the future of the hobby in relation to official heritage processes, drawing primarily on Stage 3 interviews.

Section 6.3 positions the journey as of central importance in the development of bus enthusiasm: how routine journeys sparked their interest and conversely, how their interest began to inspire further journeying. I relate this to the remembrance of now, the everyday events of the past, which are recalled in affective and sensory ways.

Enthusiasts as heritage practitioners is the overall theme of Section 6.4. I develop this idea in relation to two associated practices: the making of records and the collection of things. The section considers how these practices are used to translate participants' subjective experiences into stable material forms. In doing so, some insights can be drawn about the function of collecting for heritage agents and how collecting practices construct our understanding of heritage itself, as an evaluating process related to the experience of time-consciousness in everyday life (discussed in Section 6.5).

The chapter begins with three short accounts based on fieldwork observations and personal experiences gathered during the writing of the thesis, which have been significant in developing my understanding and interpretation of the interrelationship between heritage objects, practices, and encounters, and why heritage matters (in multiple senses of the word).

6.1 Temporal Objects

Below is an account of my father's death; it is followed by two extracts from my fieldwork: a description of first meeting P9 during Stage 2 and an extract from P15's interview which relates to his bus modelling hobby. Including these accounts, I want to illustrate what's at stake in the constitution of heritage; how routine objects or subjects can evidence something substantial about human identity and experience; how we live meaningfully. The accounts foreground core heritage themes such as loss, inheritance, the different experiences of temporal - as a moment (a breath, a tick of the clock), transitional life phases (pregnancy, dying), the power of objects as

insistent upon attention (physical presence, sensory absorption beyond thinking), and their role as extenders-of-the-self (or others, after Belk, 1988).

6.1.1 'OK' bus clock

I lie here, 4.59am on a Sunday in March 2020 and listen to the laboured breathing of my dying father through the baby monitor I have bought for my firstborn, due in 3 months' time. For a while, his breath becomes so shallow that I am made aware again of the persistent ticking of the clock above his head.

Here is the clock (Figure 6.1), and its place on the mantelpiece in our family dining room, where my father will die:



Figure 6.1: The OK bus clock in my parents' dining room, 16th October 2019.

This clock used to tell the time on the OK Buses which ran between County Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne. Dad remembers ones like it from his early childhood, but this clock was

inherited by my mum from a great-uncle who used to be a bus driver. Dad winds it twice a week, 'just to make sure', but it always runs fast. He likes it because the face is so large, that he can see the time through the doorway from his spot on the living room sofa. The style of it suits our 1920s house.

I like the clock, but never considered its significance in relation to my interest in buses until now, as it marks the final breaths of my father. It is a piece of our family history, connecting me to an unknown ancestor, whose story intertwines with that of my dad's; connected by a place: Spennymoor, the OK bus journey, my parent's home, the dining room; connected to a body: the passenger's, my father's, my own, my baby's.

After he dies, it goes unwound for days or weeks. After he dies, I see visions during the night: the clock above the body, the body with the hand reaching toward the sunlight, the hand that wound the clock, the hand I held and knew that he was gone.

6.1.2 Bus enthusiast's baby book

Extract from field observations during Stage 2:

Several of the enthusiasts I met reminded me of my dad (white, retired professional, 70+ years old, shared post-war memories), none more so than Participant 9. He was smartly presented, perhaps a little nervous about the meeting, but prepared. We entered the museum immediately and before we could even review the consent information, he produced a baby book, in which his mother had written 'Interesting Records to Remember'. One of the records, in blue ink and small, neat handwriting, read:

14. 7. 48. Saw first bus - eyes nearly popped out of his head!

I took a photo. When I look at it, I notice the illustration of the tubby cherub and the size of my participant's thumb, this in turn reminds me of his hairy ears and bodily solidity, sat next to me on the bench and later, on the bus.

6.1.3 Bus modeller's tray

Extract from P15's interview transcript; see also Figure 6.2 below:

What I intend to use the, er, bus models for, is what I said earlier - it keeps me occupied. It kept me occupied, it kept me on the straight and narrow when my wife was really very ill. And afterwards, it's been one of the things, 'cause, it's very difficult if you - we were married for 45 years and so, being on my own, I've never lived on my own because I went from being a student to getting married, more or less, erm, and obviously we've been together, we were together all that period of time. I've never had, other than the odd week here and there when things would happen, I've never lived on my own. So having something to do like that, which doesn't require, er, reading - because I read too much at work all the time - but involves brain and eye and er, hand coordination, is actually quite good for you. And also, if you are doing buses, you can, I don't have music on very much but I do occasionally, or you can watch something on the, on the computer, watch the TV on the computer or something, at the same time because it doesn't take, it doesn't make any noise when you are painting buses. So, I use it really as a prop and in my mind, in my own mind it was very much bound up with, er, my wife's illness and er, her death, because it, it was another means of keeping on the straight and narrow.



Figure 6.2: P15's bus modelling tray. Alongside his computer desktop featuring an image of his deceased wife. Modelling provides the participant with a much-valued time-space for the processing of grief and loss; the messy modelling process is contained within the tray.

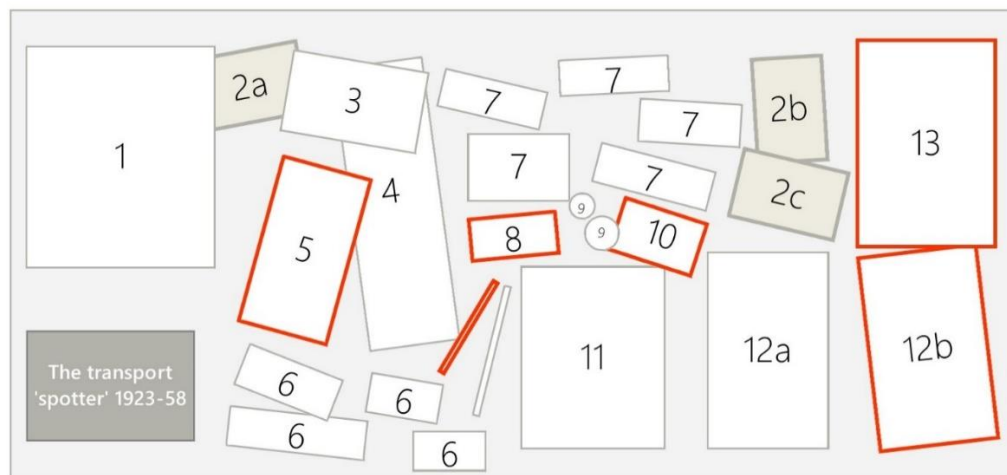
6.2 Bus Enthusiasts as Heritage Objects

This section considers how meanings associated with 'bus enthusiast' are stabilised by museum representations and in attempts to narrate our own lives as sensible. It does so by considering Stage 2 participant responses to the museum's 'He's Really Keen' drawer; and from this, interpreting Stage 3 participants' understandings of what it means to be a bus enthusiast.

By considering the bus enthusiast as a heritage object, I say something about what happens when experience, or (interpreted otherwise as) intangible cultural practice, interacts with official heritage processes. How do individuals respond to being displayed? What is the role of the museum in ensuring the survival of the hobby in representative and practical ways? Who constitutes the heritage community through which bus travelling is itself conserved as a heritage object; is this implicated in the survival of the bus enthusiast hobby itself?

6.2.1 'He's Really Keen' drawer

There is a drawer on the first floor of the LTM labelled 'He's Really Keen'. Inside the drawer are displayed artefacts related to 'The Transport 'Spotter''. The interpretation panel describes the activity of transport spotting as a normal hobby which, for some, became a lifelong passion. What is displayed inside (Figure 6.13) are the tools by which an interest in buses could become a viable hobby, and records of observations made, journeys taken: the material remnants of past lived experiences.



Key	Description
1	Scrapbook of collected tickets belonging to E A W Paulsen
2a	BW photo showing street scene with woman and tram.
2b	BW photo showing tram
2c	BW photo showing a partial view of a country bus
3	Coloured drawing of a K-Type bus
4	Lined notepad with observations in pencil
5	Bus Map – Central Area
6/7	Special running day tickets
8	Matchbox toy tram
9	Pre-decimalisation coins
10	Red Rover Day ticket
11	'He's Really Keen' image of a smiling boy reading a transport magazine
12a	ABC London Transport Railways spotter's guide
12b	ABC London Transport Buses and Coaches spotter's guide
13	Buses Illustrated magazine

Figure 6.3: Diagram of the 'He's Really Keen' drawer. Items outlined in red provided anchor points for the discussion of bus enthusiasm; items in grey were historical photos which also inspired close observation. There is no formal description of the artefacts.

I showed this drawer to Stage 2 participants and recorded their responses (Table 6.1). This showing provoked enthusiastic responses and engagement as it not only marked the moment when the displays switched from the historical to reflect their own lived experiences, but also offered them with the opportunity to discuss the origins of their bus enthusiasm, and the artefacts which have sustained their interest over several decades.

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Response</i>
P1	This is interesting for me.... Almost uncanny
P7	I confess to all that... it's like coming out... I was expected to enjoy football
P9	Oh yes
P10	Oh goodness me, yes
P11	God, I remember that one, I bought that one. [Item referred to not recorded]
P12	[Pointing to item 11] That could be me

Table 6.1: Participant responses on opening the 'He's Really Keen' drawer.

I include the responses in full to illustrate how the drawer immediately connected to participants' sense of identity as a felt familiarity, an emotional and yet uncanny recognition of themselves on display. It was an effective reminiscence tool for participants, bringing back memories of their childhood bus enthusiast hobby and reminding them of belongings they had then; P1 still has his formative collections but doesn't look at them, whilst P7 disposed of his long ago.

Participants were keen to demonstrate how the artefacts displayed were used together to facilitate bus trips: through pointing and movement between artefacts to show the interrelationship between the Bus Map [5], Red Rover ticket [10] and ABC Spotter's Guide [12b]. The Red Rover ticket allowed for a day's ride on central London buses at a reasonable cost (half a crown, or 2 & 6pence for a child) replacing a 'staged fare' system and making the riding of the entire network possible. Participants describe the service as so reliable that, if you planned your route correctly using the map, there would always be a bus to take you home. The ABC book might be taken along for the ride or completed at leisure once home (see: 'Compiling fleet lists', in Section 6.4.1.1).

P7's 'confession' is representative of the ambivalence felt by some participants as they identify as transport spotters. In their childhoods, it was an ordinary hobby, although perhaps not as mainstream as playing football. It also connected to their everyday life experiences, with P2 characterising it as being 'alert to what's around' and P10 as 'showing an interest in what's going on' rather than 'spotting'.



Figure 6.4: 'What's in here?!' cartoon. Depicted on top of the He's Really Keen chest of drawers, it invites curiosity.

As an interpretative strategy, the drawer format (Figure 6.4) invites interaction as does the choice of objects. Even without lived experience of the hobby, one can associate with the smiling-faced boy, the coins, the toy vehicles as items from childhood and formative experiences of freedom (for example, going to spend one's pocket money). I omitted to ask participants what, if any, validation they drew from being represented at the museum in this way, but their active role in pointing and showing, explaining, and connecting to personal experience and possessions was a moving and enjoyable process to witness.

The intentions behind featuring this drawer and collection of items are not made explicit, with the only interpretation being the title as 'He's Really Keen' and the following panel (Figure 6.5):

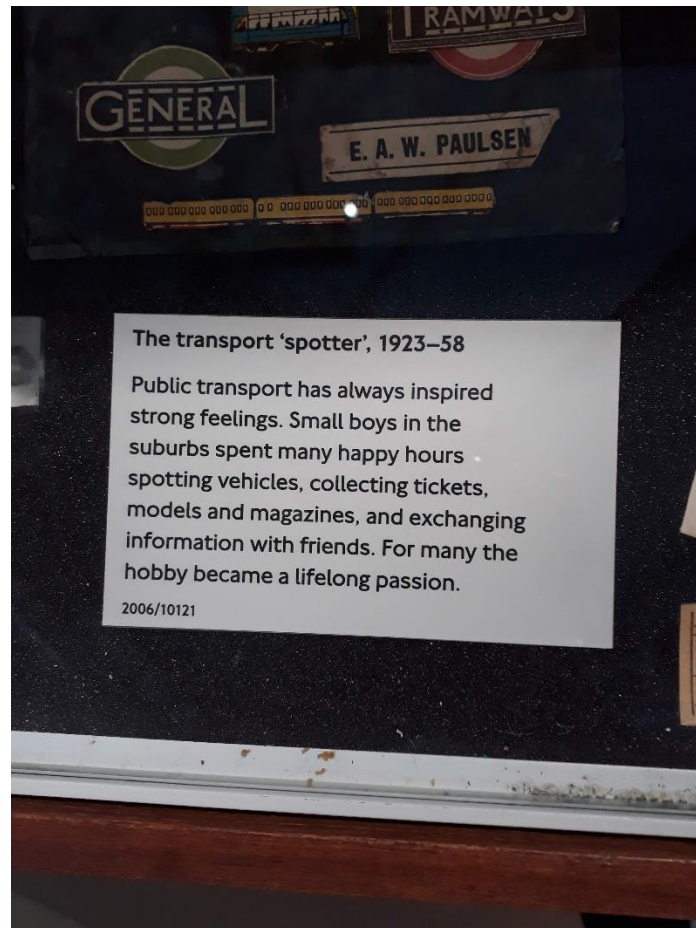


Figure 6.5: Interpretation panel in the 'He's Really Keen' drawer. There is something poetic about the text of this panel, is it the -ing verbs: feeling, spotting, collecting, exchanging? Is it the emotion: strong feelings, happy houses, lifelong passion?

Through the curation and display of artefacts, in the text of the interpretation panel, and in the context of a drawer within the museum, the enthusiast hobby is defined as belonging to the past, a heritage object preserved here. This is an interesting appraisal by the museum, considering their own ongoing engagement with the enthusiast community (as volunteers, donors, research collaborators) and neglecting the potential benefits to the institution if more visitors were to become enthusiastic.

6.2.2 Bus enthusiast identity and community

Encountering an overt representation of themselves within the museum was a provocative and productive experience for Stage 2 participants. I further explored what it means to be a bus enthusiast through conducting Stage 3 interviews and learning more about the biographies of my participants. During this process, I

sought to understand how much bus enthusiasm was accepted as part of participants' self-identification and how they expressed this in relation to others, for example through joining membership organisations, participation in informal networks, volunteering, and professional activities; how they formed communities.

Every participant across the investigation was asked if they were a bus enthusiast, and to define what a bus enthusiast was. Table 6.2 (below) records some of the Stage 2 responses:

<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Response</i>
P1	Other people would anyway
P6	I am a bus enthusiast, not a number chaser
P7	Of course, I am
P9	Something of an anorak, but I don't care
P10	I'm still not sure what a bus enthusiast is
P11	A bus enthusiast is someone who likes buses... I've always liked buses

Table 6.2: Stage 2 responses to the question: 'Would you describe yourself as a bus enthusiast?'

Several participants were resistant to describing themselves as bus enthusiasts as this term only gives a partial account of who they are, what they are interested in, and what they do. The Stage 3 interviews allowed for a further exploration of bus enthusiasm as an identity position firstly, in reference to showing a liking for or interest in buses, and secondly, in the sort of activities enthusiasts engage in.

Participants defined bus enthusiasm as an interest in buses and bus operations beyond the practical utility of getting from A to B. Routine bus passengering is not a requirement for bus enthusiasm and an enjoyment of bus travelling does not automatically categorise you as a bus enthusiast, although travelling just for fun is an enthusiast thing to do.

There are some people who like travelling by bus, but aren't really bus enthusiasts, in the proper sense of the word, because they're not

interested in knowing much about the vehicles or the history of the route or anything else.

Participant 15

An 'interest in buses' might relate to the vehicles themselves, their design and engineering, their service history; it could be related to bus operations, both historical and contemporary, scheduling, route design, working practices and so on.

The perception of the hobby is something internalised by participants in relation to their identities and comfort with being perceived as 'odd' because of their interests. Through the interviews, bus-related activities were used to describe different categories of enthusiast, on a scale of 'normal hobby' to 'anorak'.

I'm more of a latent one than an active one, the active one I was a teenager, for example.

Participant 13

'Active' (P13), 'Proper' (P15), 'Strict' (P14), 'Hard core' (P14) enthusiasts are 'number chasers', people interested in going onto the streets and recording the vehicles going by. 'Latent' or 'Passive' (both used by P13) enthusiasts engage with their interest in a less public way through, for example, consuming media (both traditional, such as printed magazines, and new, such as social media content). What was once a source of joy in childhood is reframed as a serious adult interest; this also marks a shift away from direct experience as the source of knowledge. For P13 the bus enthusiast as identity position is 'other' to themselves, whether that be the person they were as a child and adolescent or contemporaries who he observes participating in 'active' practices which he would now characterise as juvenile.

The types and levels of activity have changed over the life course of most participants, with a very active phase in their youth and early twenties, and a

resurgence in activity on or nearing retirement. It is therefore related to the capacity of participants, both in terms of time and monetary resource but also their skills, knowledge, and physical ability to continue. For example, maintaining a bus driver's licence requires passing an annual medical assessment: P17 hasn't taken a licence because he feels his eyesight isn't up to it, P15 is a Type-1 diabetic and not allowed a bus driver's licence, P16 had to cease driving his community bus once he reached 75 years old because they would no longer insure him.

There is something also about the capacity of the hobby to sustain the enthusiast during periods of transition in life: from the period of skills and knowledge acquisition of adolescence through to 'keeping on the straight and narrow' (P15) in later life, when retirement and older age forces a reappraisal of purposefulness.

Social connection is another important sustaining factor in the practice of bus enthusiasm, providing opportunities to share information (both historical and contemporary) and experiences (both retelling past experiences, outings in the contemporary, and organising future activity). For P16, his membership of the Omnibus Society (OS) is one aspect which defines him as an enthusiast; others illustrated their commitment to enthusiasm by stating long-standing membership (P11 since 1962, P7 since 1963, P9 since 1971). It is also a means by which personal values can be translated into shared values, potentially communicating to non-enthusiasts, or encouraging others to become enthusiastic and broadening the cultural significance of the hobby.

It is through the creation of community that bus enthusiast values are defined and sustained; together they construct what we might recognise as different heritages of the bus industry. P13's attempt to establish a 'Bus Club' at his school is one example of an informal organisation of fellow pupils and some teachers, focused specifically on his local area and short-lived. The OS is a formal association, founded in 1929 'to bring together those with an interest in all aspects of bus operation' (OS information

leaflet), both historically and in the present. It is organised into six branches covering Britain with their own events, visits, and bulletins; as well as this, there are two research groups (the London Historical Research Group functions as a Branch; and the Provincial Historical Research Group as an extra). They maintain a library in collaboration with the Bus Archive which is accessible to the public and 'serious researchers', by request. Although a collection of individuals, the OS and Bus Archive clearly perform authorising functions in terms of 'what counts' as bus heritage, with the latter claiming to be 'the memory of the bus industry' (The Bus Archive, 2023).

As well as maintaining a bus interest over their lives, many participants decided to pursue careers in the sector. For P17, an initial interest in timetables at the age of 11 led him into a career in transport lasting nearly 50 years. On leaving school, he became a London Transport Management Trainee and worked his way through that organisation before moving into the private sector and latterly working as a self-employed consultant ('industry specialist'). He is proud of his reputation but does not readily disclose his enthusiast activities which are prolific for fear of ridicule.

In contrast, P14 developed a varied career which began at East Kent and London Transport. He started in administration before becoming a conductor, then a driver and returning to management through a role in the Underground before a successful international career in rail. In retirement, he is involved in the industry driving mainstream and vintage coach services. His enthusiasm is very explicitly connected to his own early experiences at East Kent and the colleagues he knew as 'family' there. Wearing his old uniform when driving his vintage coach is a source of great personal satisfaction.

There is a tension set up between external perceptions of enthusiasm in relation to assumptions about what professionalism is. For P17, professionalism is about reputation and rational expertise which is quite distinct from the 'passion' he holds for buses; for P14, it is about authenticity and enjoyment. There is also a question

about how expertise is acquired and expressed. Both P14 and P17 describe themselves as generalists, not experts, despite their contributions both professionally and to the enthusiast community. For P17, experts are 'people who go very deep into very narrow areas'.

Whether it be a close affiliation to the companies they have worked for, or the societies they have been members of, enthusiast communities are a means by which bus enthusiasm as a hobby is sustained. These communities can be interpreted as what Wenger (1999) calls a 'community of practice' whereby knowledge about buses is acquired through direct engagement in the world and this knowledge is transmitted to new members through the interrelationships established between individuals and organisations and the activities they participate in. Identity is not a fixed object but rather it is constructed through meaningful practices. The He's Really Keen drawer is tangible evidence of these activities, but also indicates the complications of collecting and representing intangible cultural practices which are still 'alive' within the community. This is one way in which the participant-as-bus-enthusiast might be understood as the 'true' heritage object with their stuff a sort of by-product of their practices.

Overall, this section demonstrates that identities are felt and known in relation to others: our previous selves, other people with a shared interest, and colleagues, dependent on the times, places, and contexts in which we practice as ourselves. In the next section, I consider what might be at risk of loss as my participants' generation declines. What are the implications for official and community-led heritage organisations if we consider bus enthusiasm as an intangible cultural practice?

6.2.3 The hobby's future

Bus enthusiasm in the 1950s and 1960s was characterised as a normal, common hobby for young boys, a poorer cousin to railway or plane spotting. The convenience and relative cheapness of the hobby explains how and why it was popular in participants' youth, and perhaps why it was sustainable even as they grew up and went through different stages of life, the greatest outlay being time spent waiting for and riding the buses. In this period, it must also have been linked to the relatively low (although growing) rates of car ownership and practices of holidaying within the UK which facilitated the 'compare and contrast' work of spotting, alongside the variation in types and colours of the buses themselves which made it 'a great time to be interested' (P13).

Today's buses are boring; even my participants were derisive of contemporary spotters:

Contemporary enthusiasts are forever posting photographs and identifying tiny identifying differences between two vehicles - the radiator cap hasn't been put on properly or something extremely minor.

Participant 13

However, if enthusiasm is concerned with the observation of and appreciation for difference, then it follows that spotting and other activities continue, no matter how minor the variation in buses is. A nostalgic, if perhaps justified, reading is that things were more interesting when they, the participants, were really interested.

P17 posed a broader question of whether hobbies themselves are out of fashion: 'it's unfashionable to have an old-fashioned hobby'. He, as well as P7 and P11, contrasted bus spotting with football where an interest in the latter is considered socially and culturally acceptable.

Changes both economic, technological, and cultural do restrict the development of the hobby in the contemporary. Modern bus types are less unique in style, and access to bus spaces like garages is now much restricted. Decisions, such as no longer producing paper bus maps (withdrawn by Transport for London in 2016) also have a potential impact on sparking initial enthusiast interest, although maps are now produced commercially.

The future of the OS was also a point of comment for those participants involved in its management:

There was a time when it was all spotty youths and of course they've all grown old.

Participant 17

Membership seems to plateau at about 1000 people, and it is a much smaller number of members involved in organising the various activities of the society. P17 was uncertain about who would take over drafting his contributions to the OS magazine and bulletins; he's been editing a specific section on timetables for over 30 years. The OS's survival depends on recruiting (younger) proactive members, its potential failure also jeopardises the future of the archive it holds, and the information held therein. This point illustrates how spheres of public and private are interconnected and sustained by each other – institutions are shaped by individuals and shape the activities of those individuals; the society archive only exists as a public resource because of private contributions.

If you haven't driven it for a week then you'll forget it and it'll be crash-crunch-crash.

Participant 14

As the 'old guard' of bus enthusiasts die, it isn't just the hobby and the societies which change and lose expertise. Enthusiasts have specialist skills and professional know-how which are useful to and used by transport museums in their activities. It is through their engagement that heritage vehicles are maintained and operated. P14 was particularly descriptive about the challenges of driving older buses and the technical engineering knowledge required; he was also clear that buses have a material capacity and their own limited lifespan. Networks of enthusiasts often have first-hand knowledge about aspects of transport history which is an important public resource. Is there an explicit understanding by transport museums that these are intangible skills which are at risk in themselves? What efforts are museums making to ensure knowledge transfer and retention? Or is this part of the very cycle of loss through which heritage objects are produced?

This section began with a consideration of how transport enthusiasts are represented in a drawer at the LTM, it closes with questions of how such official heritage sites might capture the expertise held by enthusiasts, their skills, knowledge, and experience. The next sections (6.3 and 6.4) discuss how enthusiasts themselves try to make sense of their experiences and find means of communicating and sustaining this meaning beyond themselves.

6.3 Significant Journeys: Becoming Enthusiastic

Journeys are both constitutive of the subject (Wilson, 2011; Koefoed, Christensen, & Simonsen, 2017) and affecting encounters (Jain, 2009; Mate & Pocock, 2018). This section pivots our interest away from the bus enthusiast as an object or identity category to focus again on the object of their interest: bus travelling experiences. Their reasons for becoming enthusiastic have an historical specificity, as indicated by the museum's interpretative dating of the hobby to 1923-1958, but also relate to the presence of buses within their everyday lives, both in the past and the contemporary. For several participants, it was specific journeys which initiated their interest, inspiring the collection of routes, bus types and bus times. Becoming enthusiastic required both a stimulus and an instinctive preference for buses. How journeying experiences become subject to enthusiast-led heritage processes is developed in Section 6.4.

Each Stage 3 participant mentioned the transition to Secondary School as the time when they developed an interest in buses. This related to their sudden capacity to travel without parental supervision: to school, to relatives' houses or even across the network; their new sense of freedom became associated with the bus. Connected to this was also the discovery of places, both their own local area, town or city, and others visited on daytrips or holidays. This discovery might be quite abstract, for example showing an interest in the place names on buses they had spotted and going on to learn about the routes from timetables, maps, and fleet lists (P16); but it was also translated into riding those routes, going out on 'excursions' or 'expeditions' by bus through which the network became known.

It was one Saturday, I think it was in 1967. I thought, 'I know what I'll do, I'll go out for a run on the buses', to look at the world really. And it was that which I suppose, that particular trip, then was really the formative time.

Participant 14

During the interviews, bus journeys (most often repeated journeys) were recalled with an evocative level of detail and a sense of immediacy, decades later. P13 remembered aspects of his school journeys related to the colours of the different buses, school fellows smoking on the upper deck, and the conductor's role as crowd controller on rainy days. P14 could name one of the conductors on his regular school journey, John, who was a recent school leaver; this created a specific comradery between him and his passengers; P14 recalled that John allowed him to ring the bell sometimes, a sort of early training as conductor which furthered his bus interest. Another recalled journey was that to his grandparents on weekends when his family car wasn't available. He only did this journey four or five times, but could remember the bus route numbers, connection points and operators, where he waited or ran for the connection with his mum and sitting on the upper deck of a bus designed to go under low bridges, ducking his head as it did so. P16 recalled eight years of catching the 8.20am or 8.30am bus to school every day, each taking a different route and operated by a different company with different vehicle liveries; he eventually settled on one specific operator so he could travel via his first girlfriend's stop. These experiences resonate because we all have them: our first memories of parents, childhood trips, excursions alone and young love.

The journey as a means of discovering places is an activity which interview participants continue to do in later life. P15 recounted a trip from Land's End to John O'Groats by service bus. This was particularly significant as it marked his first ever paid holiday (as he had previously spent several decades in self-employment), he planned the trip himself and enjoyed seeing parts of Britain he didn't already know.

P17 has undertaken an even greater project by attempting to ride every route in Scotland; this is connected to the experiential qualities of the journeys: both the views out into an attractive landscape and his opportunity to photograph buses in such landscapes. It also relates to the scarcity of certain services, with some scheduled routes operating only two or three times a day, or even once a month. He

takes regular trips to Scotland for the purpose of riding new and altered routes. This theme of collecting and possibly possessing the network, in tangible and intangible ways, is expanded on in Section 6.4.

P16 described present day 'study tour' outings which the OS organises for its members on private hire or service buses. These are essentially a formalised version of individual's network-riding practices, described by him as a 'campaign'. They result in a report for the society magazine which includes photos and information about the routes and vehicles ridden. Most of his bus use is through these excursions as he hasn't routinely used buses in daily life since acquiring a car over 50 years ago. Some tours recreate routes which no longer exist or look at the workings of defunct operators; in a sense, these trips are a heritage re-enactment of thousands of daily movements through and in places.

The visual and sensory appeal of the bus was an initial stimulus for the interest, and has endured through the years, both in terms of enjoying the contemporary traveling experience and in the invocation of a magical, authentic past. P13 explained this in relation to waiting at a bus stop in his everyday life:

And I often think, if, forty years ago, or even longer ago when I was very interested in buses, what would they have been? What colour would they have been? ... So, I sometimes play this game of visualising the colour and the type of bus which would have operated on those particular routes.

Participant 13

P13 lived in Middlesbrough and was allowed to take excursions to Manchester by coach. Manchester's buses were multiple colours because of its political organisation: each corporation making up Greater Manchester was responsible for their own transport service, and each chose different colours for their bus liveries. This variation was also true for parts of Wales which P16 explored in his youth and found 'quite

interesting'. Observing differences, colours and shapes provided the motivation to use and expand the remit of new-found freedoms.

Stage 2 participants also recalled early memories of the red London bus. As a 4-year-old, P1 was 'fascinated by these great big red things'. His house was on a bus route, and he remembers observing buses going by from his bedroom window. P2 also mentioned seeing the form of the red-double decker and feeling 'hooked'. P11 was born in Enfield, evacuated during the Second World War, and returned on VJ Day 1945. He described this as the date when his love affair with buses began because he lived opposite the bus terminus and could watch the bus movements from home. Additionally, P17's school was directly opposite the local bus garage: he would sit with a friend watching the buses run out for the evening rush. Watching buses in movement and formation is intimately connected with some participants' earliest memories of their childhood and selfhood.

What these accounts of journeys and memories indicate is the significance and value of everyday, routine experiences in constructing meaning for research participants. It is the rhythms of bus movements, both observed and experienced, which contributes to their sense of self, stimulates the acquisition of more knowledge and information, and provides a source of enjoyment. Their sense of time on the bus is now, but also the 'now' of decades past.

6.4 Bus Enthusiasts as Heritage Practitioners

The bus travelling experience is a sort of heritage encounter, through which bus enthusiasts have a heightened time-consciousness; they observe what is happening and perceive changes and diversity which they value as worthy of record. This section considers the role of material artefacts in the hobby and how participants translate everyday experiences ('what's going on') into events with both personal and potentially historical significance. In doing so, the idea that heritage is a

privileged practice of meaning making is problematised both in terms of who does it (official vs community) and what is considered worthy (intangible cultural heritage vs everyday experiences).

Viewing the He's Really Keen drawer elicited responses about the collections held by participants, and raised questions about acquisition, retention, disposal, and legacy planning, which were explored further during the Stage 3 interviews. In particular, the collection of bus models emerged as a key area of activity with specific purposes in the contemporary, distinctly different from the presentation of the toy tram as an item from childhood.

There are analogies between official heritage practices and the way in which enthusiasts make representations of their bus experiences, specifically in the activities of making records, collecting things, and curating displays which this section explores. Enthusiasts record everyday experiences through the compilation of fleet lists and by taking photographs. They collect various artefacts as records of journeys taken (such as timetables and tickets) and of buses seen or ridden on (such as bus models). These records and collections are more-or-less organised (certainly retrievable, 'I do really know where to find anything, just because you do, somehow' - P17) and are curated into displays at home. This section considers how records and artefacts relate to lived experiences and how they are assigned value and significance by participants; how they become the heritage object, both the material remnant of experience and its symbolic representation.

6.4.1 Making records

Observing and recording change is central to the bus interest (e.g., bus forms, service and timetable changes, standards). The records compiled by enthusiasts are evidence of them having 'been there'. Making records was a significant 'active' pursuit in the (past) moment, so that they could compare what they saw on the

street with peers and available published information. In the contemporary, participants relate their activities to historical significance. They share information and photographs on fora such as Facebook stimulating interest and discussion. Several use their records to produce specialist interest books and articles on a variety of topics, both personal and 'serious'.

This part discusses two types of records made when participants were active spotters: annotated fleet lists and photographs, before discussing how they relate now to their records as evidence of the past, holding historical value.

6.4.1.1 Compiling fleet lists

In the 'He's Really Keen' drawer, there are examples of possessions which facilitated the spotting hobby. One of the most significant of these is the fleet list (Figure 6.6). These were published in local newspapers or sold in newsagents as 'ABC' books (produced for bus, tram, and rail services by Ian Allen, two examples feature in the drawer). The ABC books are lists of the individual vehicles which made up a fleet being run by local bus operators. P13 described his encounter with a London 'ABC' at his local WH Smiths in Middlesbrough, over 250 miles away from the capital, as 'some kind of awakening', a 'trigger', that made him 'realise that there was a hobby to be had'. He was fascinated by the ordered lists and bought it, later acquiring one for his local area.

The 'ABC' books facilitated the core activity of bus spotting, where various notation practices were used to mark when a bus had been seen or ridden on. In a period when the vehicle allocation was varied and regularly changing, through the introduction of new technology or working practices, the 'ABC' books were never up to date, and so enthusiasts could also practice at correcting the record, adding on 'things as you saw it' (P16).

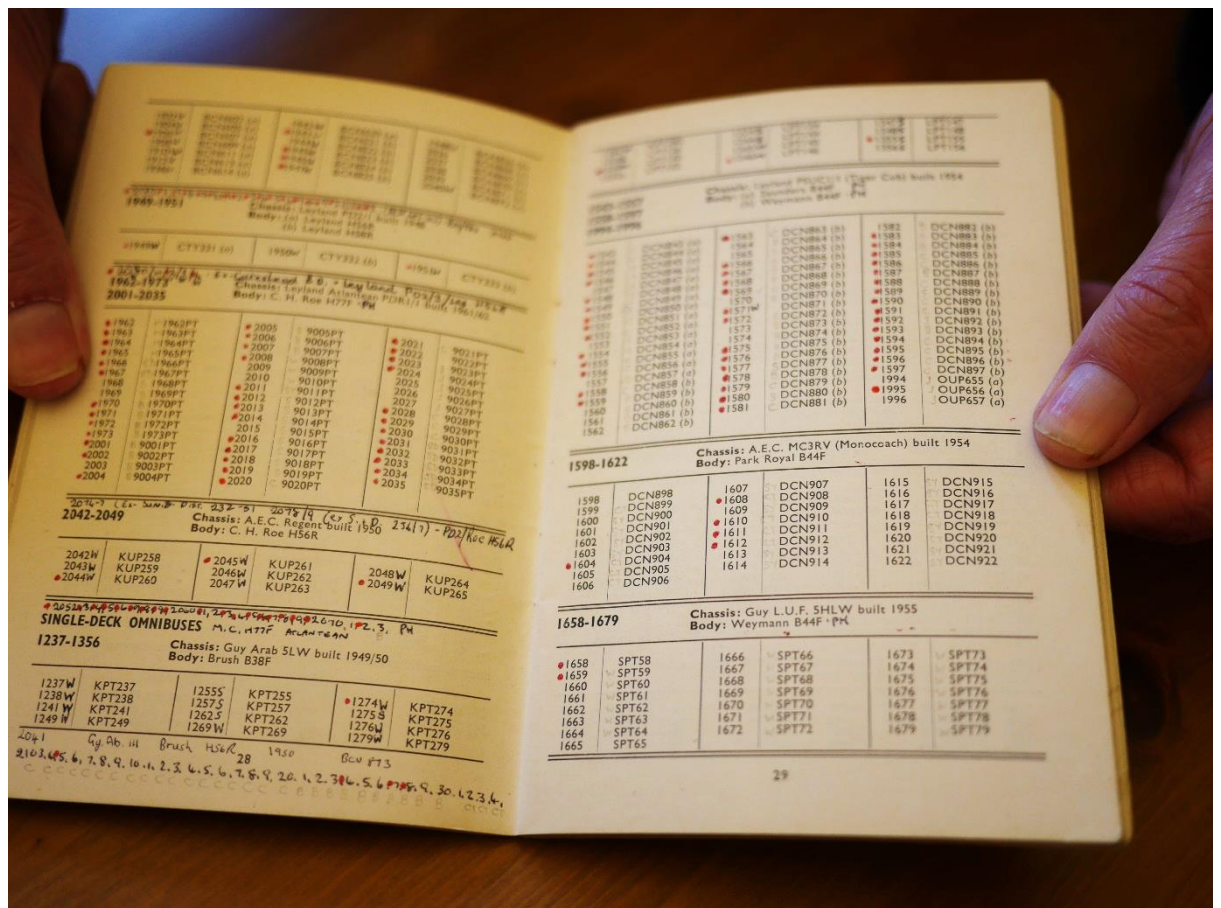


Figure 6.6: P13 demonstrating his first 'ABC' Book, published 1962. The red dots indicate vehicles seen with handwritten annotations of additions and amendments transcribed from the monthly *Buses Illustrated* magazine or PSV Circle new sheets.

The 'ABC' books provided a vital record of what was seen and experienced, a proof that 'I was there' to participants, and so they are highly valued and for many retained over several decades. P9 got his first copy as a Christmas present aged 11 and still retains his 60 years later, P2 acquired his first from an aunt in 1951, P3 still owns his first 'ABC' from 1962. The publication and subsequent spotting activity also suggests that the whole network and its fleet can be known and observed, and inspires a quest for completion, literally chasing numbers. The last ABC book was published in 1966, but the PSV Circle continues to produce contemporary vehicle allocation lists which serve the same function.

6.4.1.2 *Photographing buses*

As well as chasing vehicles from their fleet list, several participants would photograph some, and later perhaps most or all, buses that they observed. As P13 describes below, bus photography is for 'active' enthusiasts:

The second tip into 'activity' I suppose, is photography, you know, hovering, hanging around the edge of bus stations or bus depots, taking numerous photographs.

Participant 13

Bus photography is an activity which not all participants were able to take up, particularly in early life. P13 described the reasons for this as related to cost, the purchase of equipment and processing of film was expensive and a limiting factor (you only had 12 or 24 exposures) which made the hobby unaffordable for some (e.g., P2 and P3). However, he also described another issue – access – which he said was easy during his adolescence – lots of different types of buses running on the streets and a laissez-faire attitude of garage managers who would tolerate visitors or even assist them. He made an explicit contrast with today's 'spotter' photography, which is essentially free once you've got a digital camera or smart phone, but where access is limited, in both the lack of variety in fleet vehicles and a health and safety culture which forbids access at garages and stations. This contrast was also discussed by P4 and P5, describing the skill needed to photograph a moving vehicle in the context of every shot counting, versus today's technology which allows P5 to 'take everything and delete when at home the next day'. He has been photographing buses since 1957 and a recent project was capturing every New Routemaster in service. Figures 6.7 and 6.8 are two example pages from P13's bus photo albums.

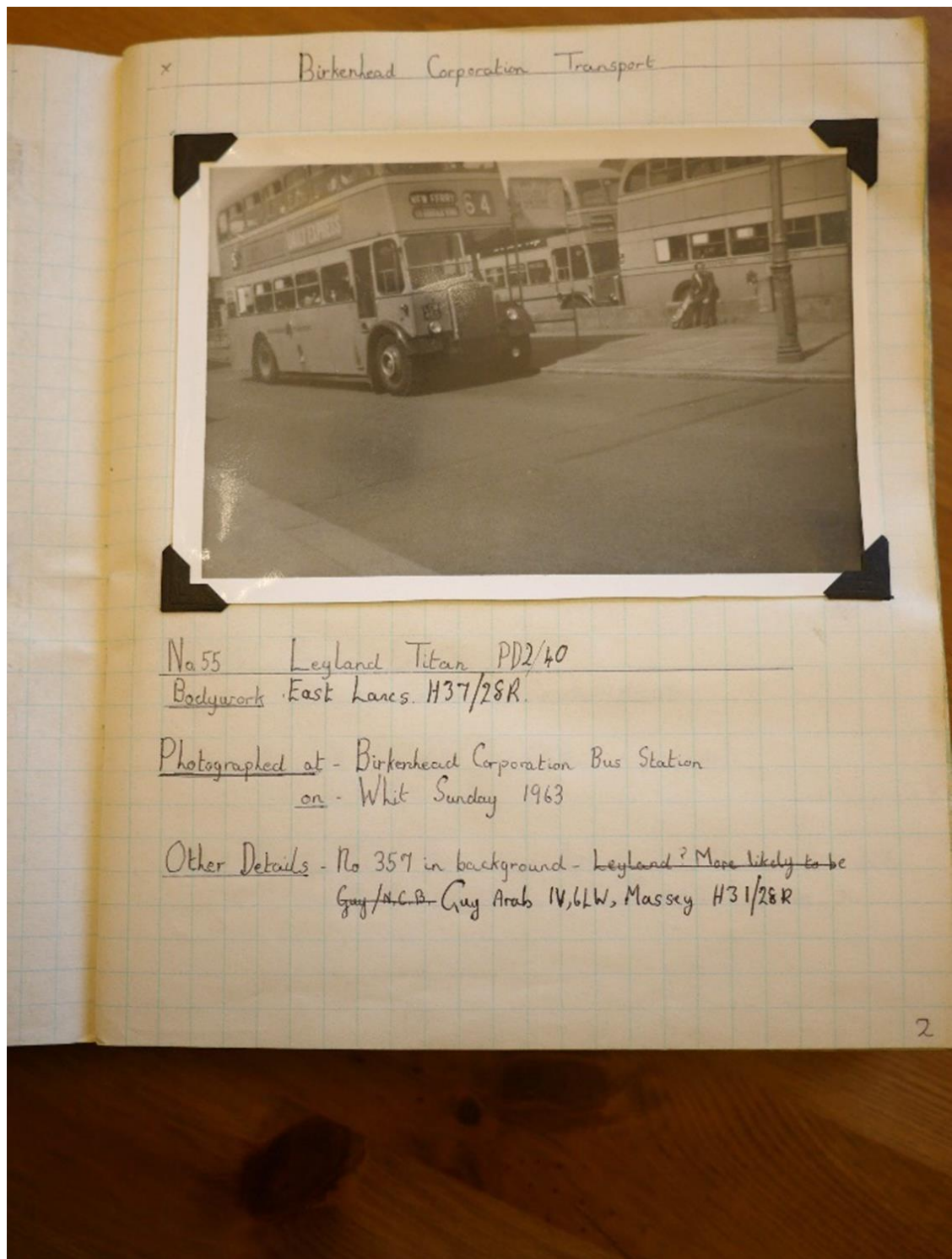


Figure 6.7: A bus spotter's photograph album, compiled by P13 at the age of 12. He highlighted the poor quality of the image with the bus hardly in frame, and the neat schoolboy handwriting during the interview. There was no coherent order in how the photos were mounted in the book, but he thinks this is the first bus photograph he ever took. My Director of Studies noted how much it looks like a curator's label.



Figure 6.8: P13 points to a photograph which he digitalised and shared on Facebook, drawing 'lots of attention' due to the 'compare and contrast' of the subject. The album itself was compiled during his 20s when he had a renewed interest in bus photography due to the half-cab form being withdrawn. Most of his photographs are kept in a large shoe box with only a few labelled and compiled into albums. Another contribution to Facebook attracted about 70 'likes', and lots of comments; he selectively posts images which he thinks will stimulate discussion. Facebook offers P13 with an informal community in which to enact his enthusiasm - he isn't a member of a formal enthusiast society such as the OS - it is also a particular type of public display of his enthusiast-identity.

P16 has systematically digitalised his black and white 35mm negatives of buses and selectively posts online to Facebook. He has retained the originals from which he can improve his scans as technology changes. He also has a collection of colour photographs 'hiding' in a cupboard which he hasn't yet scanned, although he speculates that 'there'll be some in there that are probably worth doing if they're still OK'. His comments give a perceptive insight into the potentials and problems of digitisation as a conservation strategy. For example, it allows mass storage and the ability to widely share images online. But as technology changes and digitisation becomes more sophisticated, previous digital artefacts (his scans) become redundant

and he must return to the 'originals'. One of the reasons he hasn't digitalised his colour photographs is he doesn't have the required technology to do so.

Cameras allowed some participants to record the visual aspects of their experiences. However, other sensations were also significant to the experience and hard to capture. For P13, the smell of new buses, the plastics and other materials used, was particularly pleasant but with no means of recording it. Engine noise was another identifying and familiar feature, he recalled other enthusiasts attempting to capture the sound using portable cassette recorders. Today, enthusiasts riding on historical buses such as those operating the 15(H) complain when the engine doesn't sound 'right'.

6.4.1.3 Relating to historical value

As well as keeping records for personal purposes, enthusiasts become involved in more formal recording activities, either in a voluntary capacity for enthusiast groups or through the publication of articles and books.

As a living and working industry, bus records are never up to date. The OS attempts to record changes in several ways, for example in the recruitment of 'Route Recorders', volunteers who compile information about changes to local bus routes. P16 undertook such work for around seven years but suggested that the job 'was a long way behind when we started, and it was still quite a way behind when I finished'. P17 has compiled a library of every change to every timetable for every bus in the country in Scotland, an occupation which requires almost daily attention and he described as a labour of love. The changes he uncovers are reported in the branch bulletins and the material itself will eventually be offered as a permanent record to the OS. For him, this activity of recording is intrinsically historically valuable, knowing every timetable change is essential in compiling a complete archive of the industry.

The desire to record their observations, or what happened, for the future, from their unique position as having lived and worked through it, has encouraged several participants to make their own contribution to bus history through researching for publication (P4, P6, P11, P14), writing autobiography (P1) or compiling reports for journals and magazines (P7, P16, P17).

However, 'serious' research is often disconnected from personal experience. For example, P15 has conducted archival research into municipal bus operators in Wales, producing a series of books on the topic; he sees his research as one vehicle for understanding social and labour history of the region. He claims to be one of only about 40 people writing 'serious bus books', 'in other words, not just picture books'. Likewise, P17 believes that writing a 'high quality' bus book requires a lot of detail about a specific and potentially unique or untouched topic, something he doesn't feel qualified to do. In defence of picture books, several participants (P2, P3, P13) mentioned the social history value of bus photography as illustrating changes to the street scene and fashion.

Who is the process of recording for? Describing bus use in daily life was a means by which P13 and P16 were able to make accounts of different life phases: of places they lived, jobs they had, and changing demands on their time; as a source of personal value.

Personal memories also contribute to the understood significance of shared events, either in transport history or in culture more broadly. P17's favourite route (No. 62) was the one he used in childhood and the last to run with Regent Three buses: 'I was on the very last one', 'I was there', an 'enduring memory'. His memories, and those of other passengers on that journey, contribute to an understanding of the value of Regent Threes as part of London's transport history. P14, during his time as a London Transport employee in 1977, collected discarded tickets from the bus floor which carried different advertisements related to Queen Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee.

These tickets evidence the significance of that event, advertising and design history, and consumer history. He acquired a range of artefacts during his working life, through which he was able to write two books on the operator he first started working for (Figure 6.9). Due to his collection of both memories and artefacts, he felt qualified to produce these books which he describes as evidencing working practices and social history.

In the interview, P14 rationalised his collecting behaviour because of the 'historical interest' of the artefacts, most often acquired as they became redundant from routine use. It's not clear how much of this is a post-rationalisation, as opportunity (being in the right place at the right time) was also a component in their acquisition. Most of the material he holds for London Transport is stored away, for example the collection of Jubilee tickets is kept within a larger box of tickets; their potential historical value has not yet been explored.



Figure 6.9: P14 demonstrates a Gibson ticket machine during our interview. He issued me with a ticket on 'genuine' paper. Also featured, the history book he has written open at the chapter about bus ticketing systems.

Indeed, the historical value of most of the records and artefacts held by Stage 3 participants has not yet been appraised; most are waiting until after their own death to offer items to the public record through donation. For P17, the main role of the OS is in preserving the industry archive, and it is for their benefit that he collects so many timetables; yet he is retaining the physical items for now. Museums and society archives offer an official place in which participants can trust their personal collections; they are also realistic that some items will be disposed of ('they aren't just kept for the sake of it', P17) and hope that their sale might also benefit these organisations. Both the Friends of London Transport Museum and the OS offer a resale service of items which are either duplicate or not within their collections remit. This is an example of how the public record is made more complete through the contributions of individuals.

Historical value seems to be derived through a translation of the personal into the public, a more 'official' heritage form, through publication or archival and museum bequests. Participants make selective attempts to do this act of translation. However, it is only when the personal link is 'clearly severed' (P13), once the originator-participant is dead, that a final evaluation can begin. This somewhat undermines the historical-value-as-justification argument for their activities, because the actual valuing process is to be completed by others in a projected future. It indicates that other values are in play such as enjoyment and self-identification, which are of greater personal significance.

6.4.2 Collecting things

Enthusiasts are collectors, generating records of their experiences in active ways – such as bus spotting or creating their own fleet lists – but also through the accumulation of physical artefacts, those things that are acquired during routine journeys. I use the word 'accumulation' to highlight the progressive nature of much collection activity, as the purposefulness and level of intentionality changes. In this

part of the chapter, I am explicitly referring to the collection of physical stuff (artefacts, objects) which become participants' possessions, as distinct from the records which act as evidence of past experiences.

I keep the ticket for every journey.

Participant 17

Whenever we went anywhere, I always bought a bus timetable... and then subsequently I've bought stuff to fill gaps in the collection.

Participant 15

The level of intention involved in the acquisition and retention of artefacts varies. Enthusiast collections often originated as a by-product of enthusiast practices: to ride on a bus, or the bus network you need to acquire maps, timetables, and tickets. Once acquired, these take on a serial or specimen quality, the desire is then to collect all the timetables in a series, or all the different types of ticket and so on. P17 described this transition from accidental acquisition to active collection as (almost) the development of an addiction, although he suggests that hoarding is a common attribute for a bus enthusiast (also suggested in comments by P14). Additionally, some artefacts are collected because they look 'interesting', others are gifted to participants from friends and family who know that they are 'interested'.

Stage 3 participant collections vary in scale and content. Some participants are better at creating boundaries around what they collect and have a more comfortable relationship with disposal than others. For example, P13 and P16 have limited collections of books, photographs and models which are organised and contained in specific places (stored in cupboards, discrete areas of display); P16's childhood notebooks were disposed of, whereas P13's four fleet books have been kept as prized possessions. P14 and P15 have more extensive collections which demand an entire room dedicated to them, but are then organised by type of material and into

labelled boxes; P14's attic contains the artefacts he has collected from his working life such as ticket machines, tickets, timetables, fare tables, and waybills; P15 estimates to have 1,500 bus-related books, timetables boxed by area (dated from 1960s to 1970s) and almost every bus magazine ever published (complete runs of 'Buses', 'Buses Extra' and 'Classic Buses') kept in his store room (also referred to as a library). P17's collection is similarly organised but has now grown into three rooms of his house, it includes several thousand models (many in display cases), tickets, timetables, maps, books and 40,000-50,000 photographs. These example collections illustrate the movement from accumulation related to direct experience through to the active curation of a representative collection.

6.4.2.1 Bus Models

Unlike other items in their collections, bus models are acquired specifically for their symbolic attributes and often in a very purposeful manner. Contrast this with 'the ephemera that goes with the interest' (P10): tickets, timetables and so on which are accumulated through riding on and spotting the buses in everyday life. P10 stated that he'd stopped collecting that sort of material a long time ago, before it emerged that he had a reasonable sized and growing collection of models.

There are several types of bus models available, for example: Dinky Toys (as featured in the He's Really Keen drawer, diecast zinc, produced from 1934 to 1979 by Meccano Ltd), modelling kits (diecast and plastic which you assemble yourself; as practiced by P15), and precision scale models (such as those produced by Exclusive First Editions, discussed here).

Exclusive First Editions began selling 1:76 scale models in 1989. Designed in Britain, they aim to authentically represent the history of British road transport, with subjects which include lorries, London Underground trains as well as buses and coaches. Models retail from £10.00 to £47.00 on the LTM's online shop (as of February 2022).

From Stage 2 responses, there seem to be two approaches to the collecting of models: the selective collection related to personal biography or specific technical attribute and the more wholesale acquisition for their intrinsic value as objects. Some participants have also received models as gifts and do not describe themselves as active collectors. Those with a collection tend to organise it into displays, themed by place, type, operator, and livery; in a sense creating their own miniature fleet.

The Stage 3 interviews explored the activity of collecting models and considered the function of display in creating meaning for participants. The different strategies used by participants pose questions about formality and informality of displaying possessions for themselves, or potentially others, which relates to the mnemonic role of the models, the ways objects are implicated in the process of remembering.

Below (Figures 6.10, 6.11 and 6.12) are examples of ‘formalist’ displays of bus models in three participants’ homes, where the vehicles are presented in ordered rows:



Figure 6.10: P13's collection in a purpose-built cabinet in the kitchen.



Figure 6.11: P17's display of part of his model collection in his living room.

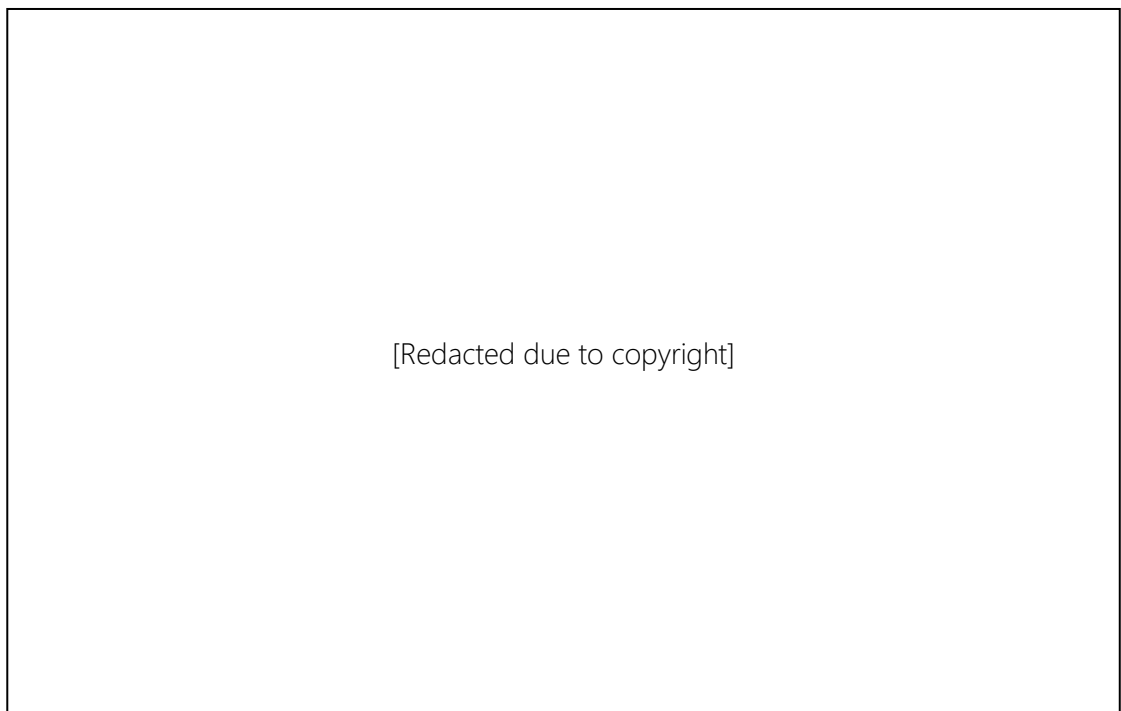


Figure 6.12: P16's modest collection of models. This is one of two displays.

P13 and P17 have created purposeful displays in prominent parts of their homes. For both, this is primarily for their own enjoyment: P13 likes to look at his collection during meal preparation, P17's collection is the result of 'a particular weakness' which made him become 'completely engaged' in the process of model collecting to which

he attaches social and sentimental value. In contrast, P16's collection is very modest and displayed in his bedroom and private office.

In terms of collection strategy, P16's (Figure 6.12) represents what a formative collection looks like: he has acquired a small collection of models in recent years which are representative of specific vehicles across different times in his life: from his childhood, time in the Air Training Corp, summer work as a conductor, and present local area. He can name them all and relate where, how, and why he acquired them. He doesn't seem to assign much personal value to the collection, rather describing the acquisition of models as just another expression of his bus interest.

P13's collection (Figure 6.10) is an expanded version of a similar strategy, all the models are representative of the vehicles he has seen and ridden on, those he has known 'in the flesh, in the steel or rubber'. He has collected all commercially available models which represent North West Corporation buses for which he had a fondness during his 'active' spotting days, and all North East buses, that being the area he has spent his entire adult life. They are organised by area, operator, and livery. He described his collection as complete, although he would expand it if Middlesbrough Corporation bus models became available (his hometown) and to North Yorkshire buses if space and money weren't a factor (where many of his family lived).

The interview provided P13 with an opportunity to evaluate his model collection, as being of value in the present moment, to look at and derive enjoyment from, and to remember past experiences. He doesn't see them as the '[Participant 13] Heritage Collection', although he did concede that if the North East had a bus museum 'of any significance' he would consider donating the relevant part of his collection to them. In realistic terms, he stated that the personal value of the collection would cease once he dies, although perhaps it would carry meaning for his loved ones, but

the interview also prompted a more emotional reflection that: 'I think I'd be upset; I'd like to think that somehow they could be kept as an entity'.

P17 initially collected London bus models, having been born and lived his whole life in the city. He has since acquired several thousand models including trucks as well as buses, which go beyond the remit of personal experience. Many are 'shut away' because he doesn't have room to display them, despite reorganising his display cases to fit as many in as possible (Figure 6.11). He has a more ambivalent relationship with both the process of collecting and the collection itself; much of his interview was concerned with accounting for and justifying to himself why he has acquired so many models. He had the capacity to do so (both the space and the money) and ultimately doesn't see the collection as detrimental to anything else (it's 'harmless'). Another justification is the potential value of models as representative of all UK buses, worthy of bequest to a museum or other heritage body. Attempts to identify somewhere to leave the collection have so far failed, for example the OS 'does not have any role when it comes to models' and several museums have mentioned the large size of the collection as a factor in their refusal.

Commercial value was mentioned by all three participants when considering the acquisition and potential disposal of their models. P13 bought many of his second hand due to the high retail price on first release; he mentioned often seeing models for sale on Facebook. P16 and P17 both mentioned the retention of the models' original boxes as a way of preserving (speculative) economic value: despite leaving his boxes to collect dust, P16 commented that what was inside was 'pristine'; P17 thinks the presentation of models in boxes is 'untidy', and so retains his empty boxes in the garage. The potential of the models as a monetary investment was a further justification for his collecting. However, commercial interests have also limited his collecting capacity: the manufacturer is only going to produce models which will sell, and therefore the representative value as complete is subject to market forces.

P13, P16 and P17 use their collections and displays as symbolic aids in remembering past experiences, whether that be of specific journeys, vehicles, periods in their life or even how the models were acquired. This latter point was particularly true for P16 who has received several models as a gift from his daughter and bought others from memorable chance encounters at second-hand shops. In this way, the models take on a social and personal significance, which is located in multiple temporalities and places. The following examples (Figures 6.13 and 6.14) of retirement gifts illustrate this even more clearly.

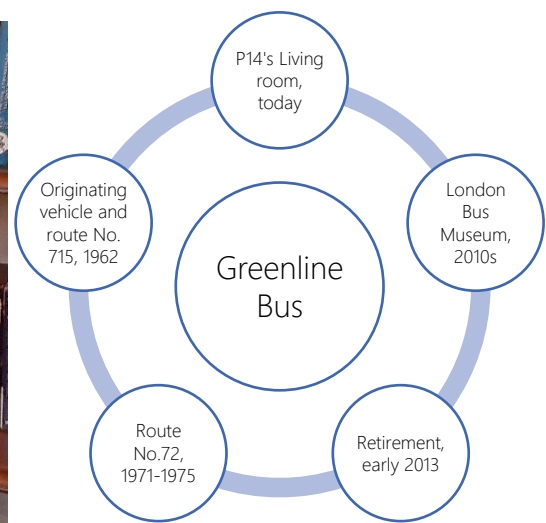


Figure 6.13: P14's bus model. A London Transport Green Line Routemaster, at 1:24 scale, is displayed on P14's living room bookcase; diagram depicting the places and times it recalls.

The Greenline bus model was a retirement gift from colleagues to P14 in 2013. It is displaying blinds for route 715 which paralleled the red 72 route along the Kingston By-Pass which the participant worked on in the 1970s. Since retirement, he has driven this type of vehicle in a voluntary capacity at the London Bus Museum, Brooklands. Its prominent display in his living room indicates its significance, as recalling multiple aspects of his professional identity: as a bus driver (both past and present) and a valued colleague.

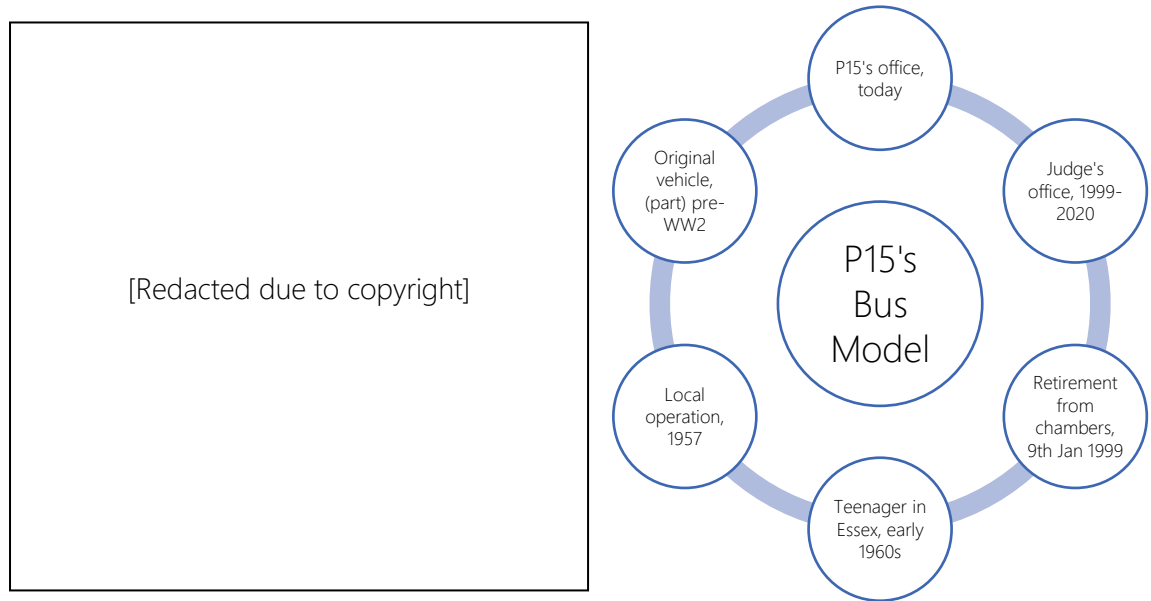


Figure 6.14: P15's monumental model bus. Recently relocated from his work office; diagram depicting the places and times it recalls.

P15's model is accorded great status through its presentation within a glass case, mounted on a plinth, with an inscription. It was gifted from peers in his barrister chambers when he became a judge. It was then displayed in his judge's office before being moved to this location prior to retirement. It therefore represents a significant transitional moment in his career, alongside his more enduring interest in buses, something which was celebrated and displayed for all to see. The bus model itself was commissioned by a colleague to represent one of the local buses which ran in Essex at the time when P15 moved there, coinciding with when he became enthusiastic.

These examples use models as tokens from significant life events, perhaps also representing the colleagues (and friends) from whom they were received as gifts. The display of the models in prominent locations is less a sacralising of the bus-as-object and rather the object-as-symbolic of the participants themselves: their identities as known bus enthusiasts and their well-regarded status amongst peers. They both problematise the duality of social and personal value: on the one hand, the models are clearly representative of and useful to the participants' sense of self;

but through their more public display, they signify the participants' wider professional contribution and status within a network of peers.

6.4.2.2 Displaying ourselves

In his 1988 article, Belk describes possessions as part of one's 'extended self', whereby we relate our identity to experiences and attachments felt to other people, places, and things, symbolised in our possessions. He describes adolescence as a phase of 'doing' and pre-retirement as a shift towards 'having'. This is evident in my participants' practices: from the doing of bus spotting, to the having of bus models and curation of their possessions into a collection. Additionally, he suggests that older people use objects to perform a 'life review' which offers a source of dignity, security, and status within our Western materialistic culture (Belk, 1991). Possessions are selective repositories of 'the selves we wish to preserve for the future' (Belk, 1991, no page ref.) edited in relation to memory and nostalgia, but also reflective of how we see ourselves in the present.

The curation of collections and records into an order, a display - whether that be in neatly labelled boxes or overfull showcases or by posting online - is not merely a practical solution to the accumulation of stuff, but also a means by which participants make sense of their experiences and create a coherent unity from the fragments. Their collections function as a material autobiography, for their own use but also for others, most notably their peers.

There is a distinction made by Belk (1994) between possessing and collecting, with the latter characterised as more selective and about creating sets of interrelated objects. As Danet & Kariel (1994) state: 'to collect is to set up an agenda for future action for oneself', towards a sense of (self) completion through consumption. P13 and P16 are comfortable with relatively small model collections which they characterise as holding personal value only; P17 believes that his vast collection has

representative value as a record of British bus vehicles, but this could also be related to his professional contribution as 'industry specialist'.

Collecting is a cultural activity not specific to bus enthusiasts. Stewart (1993) has reflected upon the relationship between collecting and lived experiences and the uses collections are put to.

As experience is increasingly mediated and abstracted, the lived relation of the body to the phenomenological world is replaced by a nostalgic myth of contact and presence.

Stewart (1993, p.133)

By creating and viewing collections, Stewart suggests that temporality, our life history, is reconfigured spatially and materially, the formal replacing the real, and a sense of symbolic stability (meaningfulness) defined.

Fleet books as a record of bus spotting and tickets from bus journeys, are much closer to the sensory, lived experience of participants. This was reflected in how the items were demonstrated to me by P13 and P14, with greater haptic engagement: touching, pointing, passing. Meanwhile, bus models were presented as a flat image, just to look at.

Model collecting relates to participants' mediation of their experiences through the consumption of commercially available objects. I would suggest that bus models are an overt example of nostalgia-driven heritage production, a true example of an 'heritage industry': as mass-produced 1:76 scale objects, they are marketed as exclusive and authentic even though they have no direct, sensory, material, or affective relationship to the vehicles which my participants knew. They are 'miniatures' in Stewart's (1993) terminology: a detailed description far removed from lived reality. A display of models offers a panoptical view, a 'representational

understanding' through which origins and endings can be inferred and meaning stabilised. Concurrently, the collections displayed create a sense of presence, a reminder for participants that they were there, an evocation of the past as an experience of 'now' in the present moment of looking which can inspire further action, or cynically, further consumption.

6.5 Heritage Accumulation

This chapter suggests the role of material things as both tangible, surviving evidence of a life's experiences and the symbolic uses we put them to in self-identification work (Belk, 1988). Articulations of affect as 'an ever-processual materiality' (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p.9) marking 'temporal contours' (Stern, 2004 in Bertelsen & Murphie, 2010) emphasise a close relation between time (routinely understood in the abstract) and its material expression. Routine bus journeys lead to the accumulation of things; their transformation into representative collections inspires further journeying in an ongoing recursive process.

Returning to the 'temporal objects' which I used to introduce the themes of this chapter (Section 6.1) illustrates the processes of growth and decay, accumulation and loss which are inherent to the heritage-making project. I include reflections here to emphasise the emotional resonances which engaging with things elicits, and ultimately why I am so interested in heritage as a meaning-making process. I then discuss the evaluation process which transitions everyday objects into heritage, using the example of the He's Really Keen drawer and attempts by participants at translating personal value into official heritage forms. This is followed by a section considering the journey as ultimately the origin of heritage significance.

6.5.1 Passing time

I see visions of my dad's sunlit hand in the night. I see his hand in my own, and in the growing hands of my daughter, who he cradled within my tummy but never met. In winding the clock, I can relive his actions and feel his material presence once more, maybe even smudging a thumb print he has left behind. The bus clock is an extension of his body, connecting him to me even after his passing. It is in the action of winding it with my own hand that my father is known again.

The bus clock functioned for me as a transitional, 'melancholy object' (Gibson, 2004) through which I could memorialise and grieve for my father; it is connected in my mind to the event of his dying as both a process, over several months and years, and a moment, the moment I discovered his body. Writing about it, and the necessary rereading, has provided me with 'a means of holding on and letting go' (Gibson, 2004, p.288) and in winding the clock I do derive comfort in sensing a direct material connection to him. His hand was there, his hand is there - in my hand.

The bus clock is a category of object, a 'device' (Prown, 1982), which makes specific demands on its owners; its primary function (telling the correct time) requires human attention (winding up) and creates a co-dependent relationship. If we think of heritage objects as devices, then their utility as records of change demand constant reappraisal; this is experienced through moments of encounter, and the knowledge and memories these encounters sustain.

Participant 9 uses his baby book, the records his mother kept of his most formative experiences and responses, as proof of longstanding, even pre-self-conscious bus enthusiasm. Today, he records every bus he rides on, firstly in a pocket-book before transcribing into a larger volume at home. This attention to his routine journeying marks his use of time, making the virtual durable (after Hamilakis, 2017).

The bus modelling process is a prop for Participant 15. Returning to a childhood hobby when his wife became ill, the time he spends gluing and painting is physically contained within the tray, but also allows him the space to grieve, to remember and to forget.

6.5.2 Re-evaluating things

Our understanding of heritage is mutable, it tends to change even as we attempt to describe it. Heritage is both an object with values and the practices which create, sustain, or even erase those values. It is produced by individuals and organisations independently and collaboratively, it defines identities (of ourselves, of places) and it also assigns significance through processes of identification.

The 'He's Really Keen' drawer reveals this quality of mutability: everyday and personal objects are assigned representative functions, elevated to display artefacts. Interactions between enthusiasts and the drawer are characterised by self-reflection and familiarity. As an observing researcher, I could ask questions and find out the meanings which extend beyond the contents and form of the drawer.

But what would a general visitor to the museum think? What would they know or feel on opening the drawer? Without the co-presence of an enthusiast, a greater appeal must be made to the viewer's childhood or the activity of collecting itself as a common cultural practice.

The items on display do have a general appeal because of their familiarity: coins, old photos, a notepad, and pencil. As Dudley (2019) writes, 'materiality matters', not only can a general visitor imagine what it feels like to hold these everyday items, they can find their own meanings in this imagining which is independent from their relation to the transport spotter hobby. A lack of further interpretation in the drawer perhaps encourages this. The appeal of collecting is reinforced by the proximity of a penny-

press machine alongside the drawer; P12 was briefly tempted to collect one as a souvenir of his museum visit.

The movement from souvenir to fetish object (from possession to museum artefact) is one of evaluation, from the personal to assumed intrinsic values such as historical and material (Pearce, 1994). Museums and private collectors are engaged in the same type of activity, but the difference is one is perceived as professional and afforded associated status, and the other amateur; this distinction is itself independent from notions of expertise. Belk (1988) proposes that acts of philanthropy such as donation of possessions to a society or museum can be understood as further extending one's self, as immortalised through the conservation of your objects. This is a process of evaluation, a movement from unofficial to official and personal to public heritage forms, through which communities, and cultures come to be defined.

In considering the relationship between heritage and everyday life, the established heritage dualism of the tangible and intangible is revealed as problematic. Enthusiast journeys are recorded in tangible forms of ticket, timetable and in their own bodies. What is at stake is not the preservation of the heritage experience or object, but rather its subjective valuation. Heritage designation policies might prescribe certain values, but these are open to debate and restructure – the Authorised Heritage Discourse expands to include what might once have been considered marginal histories, cultures, and events, as Valestrand's (2015) research about bus shelter designation illustrated.

6.5.3 Time-consciousness in everyday life

Encounters with heritage, such as viewing personal displays of bus models, heighten our awareness of the present moment and the remembrance of 'being there' in the past (the 'place of the event', Pink (2015)). These objects offer a 'temporal anchoring'

(Jones, 2018) whereby the past can be used in processes of individual sense-making and in making accounts of change. Even replica models function as a physical connection to participants' pasts, but these pasts are plural – not just the vehicles seen which these collections represent but also the places and times of the models' acquisition and multiple other associations.

But it's on the street where the spark of bus enthusiasm can be felt and known, in the observation and recording of bus movements. Bus spotting isn't limited to the past but is still practiced today. P13 imagines changing bus colours and forms as he waits at the bus stop; P14 dresses in his old uniform to drive his vintage coach; P17 travels to Scotland multiple times a year to ride and photograph new and amended services.

The bus journey affords a particular relationship with time. Structured by the bus schedule, passenger-enthusiasts 're-perform their own temporal experiences' (Jain, 2009). This performance can be understood in relation to Shanks & Pearson's (2014) concept of theatre/archaeology. The participant's body is the trace, the material remains of past journeys; their memories are perhaps the vestige (the haunting non-presence of what happened). The contemporary moment, with its sensations, feelings and affects is the actuality; hope and future prospect on the bus might be the anticipation of social contact which it affords (either on board, or at B) or the sense of satisfaction when witnessing and recording change.

For my research participants, developing the interest over decades led to a process of translation whereby their personal memories are re-formed as historically significant, whether that be in providing accounts of the bus industry or an even broader appeal to working and social change. The processes by which heritage is made take place over time but also through it, in taking actions in the present. Enthusiast practices record contemporary experience because it is interesting; potential future significance of these records is mostly left for others to judge.

Maybe this delaying of the appraisal process is less to do with loss and more to do with time. The interest keeps them going, it is active; and although some of participants' time is spent recollecting previous experience, most of their interest is concentrated in the present moment of being enthusiastic.

7. Discussion

This chapter provides an overall summary and extended discussion of my findings in reference to existent literature, making interconnections whilst also recognising inconsistencies and the messy business of making research interpretations.

Section 7.1 addresses directly my contribution to critical understandings of heritage and heritage research. It does so by examining how the everyday challenges or confirms definitions of heritage. I also practice disciplinary reflexivity by considering my investigation alongside what critical heritage studies says about worthy topics and in relation to other affect orientated heritage research.

Section 7.2 explores how the investigation has addressed the research aim and objectives using the three elements of heritage objects, practices, and encounters to structure these interpretations and referencing findings from across the sites of enquiry. This section describes the agents involved in the construction of heritage, the values and significance assigned to the London bus travelling phenomenon, its experiential qualities, and the ideological consequences of its heritagisation.

Section 7.3 considers how the investigation has developed my research practice and potential implications for future research and professional activity. This section is generally reflective rather than evaluative in tone, considering: the practical and analytical utility of the moment of encounter; how I used visual and design-inspired approaches to create interpretative forms; the importance of the researcher-participant relationship in my approach; and potential future research directions.

7.1 Critical Heritage and the Everyday

In this first section, I identify how my investigation relates to the critical heritage studies knowledge base by considering how bus travel, as an example of everyday life might challenge or confirm definitions of heritage.

I am committed to being a reflexive researcher as I believe that this is part of developing an ethical research practice. If we are interrogating the patterns of sense making by research subjects, it is right too that we analyse, query, and challenge our own approaches to knowledge creation. Reflexivity as defined by Wilkinson (1988) has been an essential component of my research practice and contribution.

I focus here on disciplinary reflexivity and particularly ideas of merit: what are worthy topics for critical heritage research? I discuss this in relation to the field's foundational statements of intent by Smith (2012) and Winter (2013). I also explore dominant theories within critical heritage studies and offer an understanding of my investigation in relation to other affect orientated heritage research.

7.1.1 Heritage as an everyday practice

Choosing bus travel experience as the central focus of enquiry, and drawing on associated mobility theories, destabilises notions of heritage as physically located and fixed in objects and places. The development of new bus forms is part of the rhythm of bus-service life: vehicles and routes become obsolete every day. This suggests that there is a cultural and material requirement for processes which can manage loss and decay as inevitable aspects of experience; heritage meanings are not privileged from the everyday but part of its recursive nature.

As I outlined in Chapter 5, the 15(H) provided a vital example to explore this relationship. Its status as a heritage experience and everyday bus service made

apparent the different types of value which sustain objects or define them as heritage things: the vehicles as material artefacts which have survived from the past, but which have been re-formed for contemporary uses; how these vehicles deliver a heritage experience of riding-on as a reliving of past human experience, how they function as moving monuments or landmarks on London's streets; most crucially, how 'heritage' values themselves can be abandoned as obsolete if contemporary costs outweigh them. Another entirely different example is of how the London Transport Museum (LTM) sells off redundant fixtures and fittings supplied by Transport for London (TfL) to fundraise; these genuine historical artefacts are worth more as commodities to exchange than as artefacts for research, conservation, and display.

The work at the LTM operated on at least two levels: firstly, in seeking out the 'core representations' of bus passengering which the museum makes, I was trying to understand claims of authenticity and significance made about that as a concrete, everyday phenomenon; but then secondly, as a heritage researcher and former professional, I was concerned with the how and why of the museum's heritage-producing practices. This raises the question of whether the 'meaning' of bus travelling experiences can ever be separated from the ways in which that meaning is generated and who is doing that (described as 'authoring' in Chapter 4); in other words, does the heritage exist independently from the processes of its objectification?

Divall & Scott (2001) suggest that a 'critical' transport museum would address the fundamental assumption that technology is beneficial and would ask questions of cost and benefit to society in a more holistic sense. Critical approaches to heritage value would potentially destabilise the overall image of the institution, if they were made overt; on a practical level, are curators at liberty to tell potentially problematic stories? Visitors also seem to demand an experience which is coherent and enjoyable, rather than critical.

As Macdonald, Gerbich & von Oswald (2018) suggest, the museum as an organisation is complex, there is no one source of authority. They also note that the public perception of a museum is one of autonomy and shaped by the way the museum is marketed as a unifying story. Although it seems like a valid avenue of academic critique, it would be good to understand what 'critical practices' can offer to the museum and its visitors, versus the more sustained engagement with historical or theoretical debates which research activity can facilitate - the museum could be part of these, but these do not define what a museum is.

Different heritage practices afford different types of encounters which configure us in different ways. Entering the bus we become passengers, opening the He's Really Keen drawer we become enthusiasts, viewing the Regent Three and the Routemaster we become bus connoisseurs, riding the 15(H) we become historical reenactors (mostly re-enacting our past selves), through record-making we become historians, through collecting we become curators; in heritage interactions we become ourselves. This is also a communicative act as we are performing and displaying for others in social processes through which places and communities begin to coalesce.

7.1.2 Worthy topics

Smith's (2012) editorial, which announced the foundation of the Association for Critical Heritage Studies, alongside Winter's (2013) article both tie the critical position in heritage research to what I term as 'worthy topics', for example, research focused on activist, non-Western, and non-expert heritage processes, or about global challenges such as poverty reduction, climate change, and protecting democracy. The critical agenda has been supported in the UK by the Arts and Humanities Research Council Heritage Research policy (2018; 2022). The agenda seems to resist definitions of what heritage is whilst having clear expectations of what it for, its pedagogical and social justice functions, and its role in promoting cultural change.

How and why is heritage implicated with these worthy topics? What meaningful change can heritage research enact?

My own endeavours have fluctuated around the question of what bus travel has to do with heritage. One of my answers to this is that it is a concrete example of the experience of time-consciousness, as such it relates to the conservation (sustaining) of meaning and social practice. In Chapter 2, studies cited by Wilson (2011) and Koefoed, Christensen, & Simonsen (2017) indicate that bus travel is a site where injustices such as racism are enacted and felt; a future study could examine how this expression of racism relates to the temporal in multiple senses (personal remembrances, historical understanding, felt 'stranger danger' in the contemporary). The bus space is worthy of critical scrutiny, and heritage could provide a theoretical lens for doing so.

Heritage research about transport themes by, for example Valestrand (2015) and Toogood & Neate (2013) reveal the multiple ways in which heritage objects can be evaluated and used, in official and community-led ways. A strength of my investigation is it tries to keep in play multiple sites of heritage-making to get at where the authoring actually takes place: not just the official process happening at the museum, but also the work of enthusiasts on the street. Enthusiast activities contribute to understood cultural significance in multiple ways: through publication and communication practices, the creation of their own archives and in volunteering time to the LTM; these traverse the boundaries of official and unofficial.

As Chapter 4 indicates, the passenger is mostly absent from the LTM; they tell 'others' stories through the presentation of their own organisational history and the people that TfL and predecessors employed. This lack of representation is linked to the discussion of critical transport museums, but also to the experience on the bus. Who is an ideal passenger? And how can heritage interpretations be informed by sociological research on the buses?

This investigation has shown the role of the organisation in heritage production: how interactions with TfL as workers, passengers and as represented at the museum create a community of practice, engaged in the heritage work of conserving bus travel as a heritage object. There is more potential to explore critical readings of the literature on corporate museums, consumer experience tourism and organisational memory in other contexts.

Finding modes of heritage production and feeling (instances of time-consciousness and its effects) well beyond the boundaries of museums, heritage sites and so on, situated in everyday processes, might help explore the relationship between critical issues and heritage as a research focus.

7.1.3 Affective critical resources

There is not a consensus within critical heritage studies about how we construct knowledge about heritage. Waterton & Watson (2013) articulate this as theories of, in and for heritage with the latter connected to a more-than-representational approach, concerned with our responses to heritage 'the role played by the personal, the ordinary and the everyday, within spaces of heritage, whether they are physical, discursive or affective' (p.551) or the 'situational affective context' of heritage production and experience (Waterton, 2014).

A potential insight offered by adopting affect orientated approaches is relating more directly to professional heritage practitioners and understanding the experiences of heritage consumers. Hemmings (2019) describes affect as about connection and relationships, focusing on how experience and feeling define, respond to, or potentially challenge existent knowledge about heritage. However, adopting affective approaches is not inherently critical.

I have sought to attend to the more-than-representational through the adoption of novel observational and analytical strategies (more in Section 7.3.2). More than using this as an explicit theoretical resource, phenomenological readings of affect influenced my disposition towards doing the enquiry and its interpretation.

Waterton & Watson's (2015a) study of Towton Battlefield was a direct methodological antecedent which inspired Stage 1 and 2 of the enquiry: understanding 'core representations' made about bus travel at the LTM and then visiting-with and riding-with research participants. The study also highlighted the critical potential of involving enthusiast communities in relation to official heritage practices. Together with Johnson (2015), and Geoghegan (2013, 2014), this encouraged me to pursue bus enthusiasts as research participants, a particular 'aha' moment of my doctoral journey which has helped to investigate the connections between bus travel and heritage significance.

Stage 2 adopted approaches to museum studies similar to those in Waterton & Dittmer (2014), Schorch (2014) and others cited in Section 2.1, in focusing on responses to specific exhibits, both my own as researcher but also observing those of participant-enthusiasts. I devised worksheets which might aid in the recording of sensory, affective, and embodied responses and managed to capture some participant gestures through digital photography. Unlike existing studies of affect related to the museum visiting experience, by for example Waterton (2018), which recruited participants at the site of enquiry, my study was more constructed, as an act of showing-to participants brought with me. Because we had already discussed the investigation and I'd gained their consent, a sense of familiarity was established which made it easier to take images of their bodies both at the LTM and on the 15(H).

The participant recruitment process also allowed me to build longer term relationships, and to trace the 'affects' of heritage encounters forward in time, as

Schorch (2014) did using follow up phone calls. However, this was achieved through continued co-presence at Omnibus Society (OS) meetings, through publication and presentation within an enthusiast community (the Road Transport History Association), and in forging personal relationships with some of my participants through email and the occasional convivial drink.

A central way in which my work extends from other studies is that it takes the affective back into the arena of the home. There are analogies with Best's (2017) article in this and the relationship between personal biography, consumption practices and how my enthusiast-participants experience heritage. Stage 3 interviews allowed for a greater contextualisation of the resources which enthusiasts might be bringing to the museum: understanding their journey experiences, the significance of the hobby for identity work, their professional backgrounds and more. This extends Waterton's (2018) study of how personal biography interacts with meaning-making during heritage encounters in relation to contemporary social life. Personal biography as a critical resource was particularly evident with participants who had worked for TfL when discussing the Uniform Delivery case at the LTM and the quality of the 15(H) as a routine bus service.

Research findings presented as vignettes or short ethnographic descriptions in Waterton & Dittmer (2014), Waterton (2018), and DeSilvey (2012) encouraged and inspired my own experiments in developing interpretative forms which might retain something of the embodied experiences I had in the field. Including passages about the experience of journeying in Section 5.1 Monday Morning Bus Ride and the processes of loss and recovery evidenced in Section 6.1 Temporal Objects, was an attempt at grasping the 'so what' of my investigation, how and why the heritage project matters to people. At the edge of my interpretations is something related to the capacity of people to care, to care for objects but also for people, and the role of things as self-extenders; in caring for other peoples' things, we honour them. Through heritage encounters we feel a sense of physical continuity and

connectedness to past lives, we renew their presence through our own actions and inhabit their spaces again.

7.2 London Bus Heritage

Throughout my research, I adopted a working definition of heritage as: things from the past which are able to and have been sustained. In developing a framework for my interpretations around the interactions between heritage objects, practices, and experiences, I sought to understand what is preserved (materiality), how meaning is assigned and sustained (significance) and how temporality is known (affective experience). Attending to each and each in interaction, with me and my participants as feeling bodies across the sites of enquiry, allowed me to explore the processes of meaning making associated with heritage as acts of co-authoring, between people, organisations, and things, across time. It provided me with a way of holding onto the emergent qualities of this sense-making whilst not diminishing the role of the material and the embodied (the 'real').

I now address each element in relation to findings from across the enquiry.

7.2.1 Bus things

This part of the chapter suggests what examples of transport and bus objects can tell us about the values which define heritage things. It expresses the expectations of how heritage things should be, related to legibility, permanence, use (redundancy versus function), and authenticity. It also suggests recognisable forms of conservation practice in the display and symbolic reuse of things.

7.2.1.1 *Utility-value*

Transport things are a useful case study for understanding the conservation of objects as heritage. Because of the close association with technological development

and everyday service, buses are designed with a specific operational life in mind. Other transport artefacts have even greater ephemeral existences, where almost immediate obsolescence is built in, for example: tickets, posters, timetables. Then there are the fleeting experiences facilitated by movement through places on the bus.

Transport objects reveal several things: they have a specific temporal utility (e.g., a ticket for a specific journey) but they also have a style related to the time more generally (e.g., the Routemaster as post-War optimism and dynamism), they reveal how material things cannot be made to last forever, but that their symbolic qualities can be renewed or remade.

The London bus is a recognisable material form which has performed its function for almost two centuries on London's streets; there are similarities between the Shillibeer Omnibus displayed in the 19th century gallery of the LTM and its contemporary New Routemaster successor running down the Strand, as their material forms reflect their function despite technological and engineering advancement. The bus resists heritagisation, in that its overt form, what makes it a bus, is not yet obsolete; it has not adequately transitioned from use to display value. This suggests a potentially alternative way of assessing heritage significance – rather than redundancy, perhaps it is functionality, something's fitness for purpose, which should be recorded and celebrated through heritage designation, even beyond its cultural associations and meanings.

The LTM facilitate several embodied and sensory experiences with their objects. They maintain vehicles and other machines in working order, creating opportunities for visitors to ride on their artefacts. Even stationary in the gallery space, interactions between participants and the Shillibeer, Regent Three and Routemaster buses allowed them to demonstrate their physicality, their liveness. There was something significant about being shown the window-winding mechanisms, or how P7

described collecting the fares during his time as a conductor and how the placement of the handrails facilitated this. In becoming passengers at the LTM or on the 15(H) we experienced directly how objects have been shaped by and provide a record of human activity and presence.

A ride on the 15(H) shows the interactions between bus materiality and symbolism in the service of heritage display. As participants became passengers again, they were able to identify how the bus as an object was adapted for contemporary operation, retaining modern additions of CCTV cameras and Oyster Card readers, whilst notionally restored to an authentic object from a past era in terms of painted livery, other internal fixtures and so on. That this hybrid form didn't function fully as either routine bus service or tourist re-enactment was valid justification for its cancellation. Further, this indicates that when heritage objects and experiences themselves are no longer fit for purpose, they can be easily reassigned as rubbish.

Bus objects have also been adapted for uses beyond routine service. Participants mentioned the many vehicles now in private ownership which are hired out for events or adapted to tourist operations. Buses, particularly Routemasters, have been converted into frozen yoghurt stands, oyster bars and more. These material adaptations are all forms of conservation but are not widely recognised as or discussed in relation to heritage because of their maintenance as things in everyday use.

As P8 commented in reference to the museum's Routemaster, the vehicle itself speaks of a particular era, 'of its time'. Prown (1982), Leslie (n.d. a), Tilley (1994) all describe how quotidian objects, the bus, and its stuff, are unconscious and objective indexes of the cultures of their production. In other words, artefacts store social information. In this way, transport collections can offer a wider understanding of past culture and social history than how they are routinely interpreted.

7.2.1.2 *Display-value*

Display-value is one of the most significant associated with and defining of heritage objects. By this, I mean their capacity to be displayed and make representations (as typical examples of, or as authentic relics), but also our capacity to interact with them and find relevance to ourselves in this viewing. Displays, in their production and in their consumption, function as a practice of heritage evaluation determining how successful objects are as records of cultural change.

Participants use displays whether at the museum or in their own homes in similar ways: they look for a recognition of themselves. This is made literally clear in the 'Uniform Delivery' case and the display of the mirror from the Chiswick Works which P1 interpreted as a replica of the mirror he had used during his own training rather than the actual mirror from his past. The organisational history on display at the LTM offered my participants a stability to their subjective remembrances. As P12 suggested, the ability to see and touch artefacts lends a physical reality to his personal memories. Viewing displays brings 'the interest back to the surface' (P4), reaffirming participant identities as child, passenger, transport worker or enthusiast.

In one way, display might be interpreted as transmission from creator to viewer, but relevance is a driving factor in the ongoing production and consumption of heritage: viewers need to connect with and derive meaning from the display in order that it maintains its function and fitness for purpose as heritage. This is apparent at the museum, when displays transitioned from historical to lived memory for participants. It is also articulated by P13 in reference to his own bus model display and the connections that he feels would be 'clearly severed' upon his death. Maintaining relevance and meaning beyond the originator is a fundamental aspect of the work which takes place at official heritage sites.

However, there is something 'smooth' or even sanitised about heritage displays of experience, as objects are further removed from their original use. Pearce (1994) describes how artefacts which have had a physical presence in the historical moment retain that metonymic relationship, but they are also purposefully reused in the present for representative purposes. There is an expectation of legibility, heritage objects must be suitable for the visitor's gaze and take their place in the narratives created by museum or by individuals. They need to look nice, good enough or proper, like they have been cared for, reflecting on the professionalism of museum or enthusiast in the process of conservation.

An example from this study in the Shillibeer Horse Bus at the LTM. Itself a century old replica, it represents an even earlier bus form. But it is presented in a sanitised and glossy way, paint and metal fixtures sparkling. The only evidence of its use are the marks of thousands of visitors' footsteps as they ascend and descend the rear staircase. That artefact revealed the requirement for heritage objects to maintain sufficient familiarity to and, at the same time, differentiation from the contemporary.

Enthusiast collectors in Section 6.4.2 provided examples of bus model collections which had been curated into displays. There is a negotiation between the things as objects and their visuality and appreciation as a totality; Watson & Waterton (2010) describe heritage as a scopic regime which is interested primarily in the latter. The LTM challenges this division through the presentation of objects which visitors can board, sit in, move around and otherwise inhabit. More broadly, although all heritage displays function in visual ways, they are also always embodied; as viewers we move ourselves to see better, or to avoid seeing, leaving nose smudges and fingerprints behind on the glass.

7.2.1.3 *Symbolic-value*

The materiality, the form of the bus, is not just experienced as ridden on, but also from the street as an object in movement to which we pay attention. Red London buses are recognisable symbol of London, locally, nationally, and internationally, and they have an appeal for ordinary and notable Londoners.

In Chapter 6, we saw how the form of the bus sparked participants' initial bus interest. They recalled their earliest memories of London's buses, viewed from bedroom windows and the wall outside school; their form represented freedom of the network and opportunity. These early encounters with big red things were the catalyst for their enthusiasm, which has endured over decades.

The 15(H) and New Routemaster stories indicate the potential symbolic power of the London bus, as Ken Livingstone and Boris Johnson both made claims to Londoner status through their bus-related political campaign projects. This suggests a broader way in which citizenship of London is performed, through knowledge and manipulation of the bus and its network. The original Routemaster came to be understood as the height of modern design, both from an engineering perspective, but also in its 'smooth curves', it was defined as a 'classic style' from its inception whilst also symbolising progress. The New Routemaster essentially reinterpreted this same style, for the same symbolic reasons and is an interesting example of how heritage (or historical ideas, material forms) can be reused and sustained in the present without necessarily conserving physical fabric: it is the idea of the London bus which is renewed within the context of everyday bus operations.

So, what is preserved? The capacity for a thing to perform as a heritage object, in the production of representational displays, is central to its classification as 'not rubbish'. Bus things have an overt, inbuilt obsolescence which can draw attention to the transitional process from utility to display value. At the same time, the LTM seeks

to preserve original functionality by maintaining vehicles in running order and facilitating embodied interactions with visitors. Sometimes, it is not the historical artefact which is conserved but rather its symbolic value: red half-cab double decker = London bus = Londoner = London.

7.2.2 Bus people

This section explores the identity-work involved in heritage practices of riding, visiting and collecting by considering passenger-place relationships and the role of the LTM in constructing an understanding of the city; how working history is told at the museum and its status as a corporate museum; what functions collecting and the collection are put to by bus enthusiasts.

7.2.2.1 *Creating publics and places*

The discovery of new places was a central driving interest of Stage 3 participants' enthusiasm. P13 travelled to Manchester for days out on the buses; it was one such daytrip around Kent that sparked P14's initial enthusiasm; P15 spent his first paid holiday traversing Britain by service bus; P16 observed bus destination blinds in Wales which inspired trips to see those places. P17's fascination with Scottish buses began during summer holidays taken with his first bus-enthusiast friend and their family.

P4 and P5's encounter with the next generation of enthusiasts on the upper deck of a 15(H) confirmed this ongoing connection. The young boys practiced riding the routes via the internet before travelling for real; one knew how to navigate London by memorising the bus routes and their interconnections even though this was his first trip to the city.

If remembering is about finding ourselves in a specific past place, bus travel also has the potential to help us interpret and define the city: through the image of the bus, through the images created by the bus's window frames and through the experience of passengering in relation to felt subjectivity. As Pink (2015) states: 'individual biographical past experiences are implicated in the constitution of place in the present' (p.44). Bus travel is an opportunity to feel London intensely: it sustains its ridership as individuals and creates publics through defining the wider passenger body, 'public transport holds them all together' (P7).

Bus passengering constructs a sense of place in sensate (knowledge acquisition, which is historically contextualised) and sensory (direct embodied, spatial, and practical know-how) ways.

The LTM repeatedly describes the transport network as the lifeblood of London. The network is implicated in the very vitality of the city; this is linked to the costs and benefits of growth and development, (see Appendix H: Positive Growth and Disrupting the Flow leaflets).

The LTM states that it is for Londoners and all who love the city. One of its representative functions is to promote London as a global city and associate it with positive attributes such as innovation and creativity. Visiting the museum, you not only demonstrate an interest in transport history but can also associate yourself with the city and enact your Londoner status.

Chapter 5 outlines the story of the 15(H) as an example of how transport policy is enacted and by whom, and its material and social consequences. It is an overt example of the interaction between politics and heritage practices: the route existed because of political necessity, but eventually, its utility undermined the authority of the political and managerial agents involved in its production. As P7 described it, the

route was 'mediocracy practiced well', undermining the progressive and effective image that TfL and the LTM promote.

Bus enthusiasm as expressed by the OS and in the formation of the LTM are two examples whereby heritage practices produce publics. In defining the 'public', Anand (2017) states that these are always situated and plural, emergent through interactions between authority, the social and the material. The public is not a stable, uniform thing. When all is well with the bus network, ordinary citizens have the 'luxury not to notice' it (Anand, 2020) and yet enthusiasts make this infrastructure visible, they take note.

Further, the bus creates a temporary public, the passenger body. There has been a move in recent heritage designation, to move away from assigning heritage values to places as fixed. For example, the European Commission's (2018) heritage research policy suggests that the 'heritage unit' is defined across continuous time and territory by communities as custodians. Authorising processes of heritage are realising the role of communities in sustaining value. As such, the ridership of London's buses can be understood as custodians of the network and perhaps enthusiasts are the experts through which significance is recognised.

7.2.2.2 Organisational legacies

My research revealed information about the working lives of transport people; partly because this is a primary focus of the LTM, but also in that many participants had direct professional experience in the sector. Heritage practices around transport objects sustain information about working lives in several ways: firstly, recorded in the material reality of objects (e.g., the Bell punch, its 'ding' and the 'confetti' it produces), and secondly, in the efforts to conserve objects in working order – this demands the retention of excess material (spares) but also the maintenance

knowledge – how to fix engines, how to drive them safely. Places like the LTM have a role in ensuring these ‘intangible’ (craft, know-how, skills) are transmitted.

One of the most significant findings from my investigation has been in understanding the relationship between heritage production and civic and corporate organisations as a source of collective identity. As well as the family and the nation, TfL and other companies have shaped the identity of participants and are a resource from which they derive pride and a positive sense of self, to which they also feel allegiance. In the case of TfL, I accept that this could be interpreted as allegiance to the state (TfL as agent of the Greater London Authority), although the complexities of how this is produced and experienced makes this a rather reductionist argument. The interactions between agents are dynamic and certainly not ‘top down’ or entirely prescribed and controlled by one authority; for example, the museum has corporate relationships which it serves alongside political requirements.

A visit to the LTM is narrated in such a way as to invite all Londoners and visitors to draw on the history of London transport as a source of civic pride but also responsibility in our daily lives (see Appendix H: Service Regulation trail). This can be understood in several ways: in the construction of a brand identity for TfL and in theorising TfL as a site of collective memory (a distinction made by Nissley & Casey, 2002). Broadly, the first is an interpretation of the organisation as an abstract idea, the second emphasises the material reality through which the organisation is produced and reproduced, at the museum.

Creating compelling and perhaps simplistic stories about how transport has developed in London is a natural response to the function of the museum as a visitor destination which must cater to a variety of publics. Claims made of authenticity and significance can be critiqued by historians and heritage researchers, but there is a logic to them from a marketing and consumer perspective and in the construction of a brand. Through the visit, a connection is established with the street beyond, and

what it means to be a passenger as a service user. As such, the LTM might be understood as corporate museum which strengthens a 'brand bond' between visitors and TfL (Mitchell & Orwig, 2002; Castellani & Rossato, 2014). TfL is itself defined as a benevolent organisation with public service as its core value.

The LTM may not have a responsibility to critically evaluate the societal costs of transport development (why should museums be 'critical?'), but as the site through which organisational history is recorded and communicated, as a physical manifestation of TfL as a 'mnemonic community', it has potential to inform contemporary service decisions and help its people learn from past errors (Rowlinson, Booth, Clark, Delahaye, & Procter, 2010). A critical heritage practice would insist on recording the bad with the good; this is consistent with ensuring the museum can have a positive and fulfilling function for the broader organisation; it extends their remit from a marketing tool into something more significant for itself.

7.2.2.3 Enthusiast-sustaining collections

Bus enthusiasm is practiced in the nexus between professional, volunteer, expert and amateur; it is maintained as a hobby through its interaction with official processes, including direct and sustained engagement with industry figures, companies and so on. The activities of the OS in, for example, assisting in the formation of the Bus Archive problematises the binary of official and unofficial in heritage designation. Rather, these categories are relationally defined, 'located in space, articulated in discourse, related to materialities, expressed as temporalities, and situated as practices' (Meyer, 2008, p.48). Other group activities, such as research and publication, also confer collectively held status and authority.

Enthusiasts behave like routine passengers, except when they don't. Participants during the 15(H) encounters mostly sought to maintain minimal visibility – only one made a note of the fleet number and journey times. 'Active' enthusiast practices

such as taking photographs mark them out as other. The creation and sustaining of communities (the OS and other groups) ensure that members continue to enact their enthusiast identities and can potentially feel more comfortable to do so during official society outings, when collectively, their behaviours would no longer seem odd (within the group anyway). As Craggs, Geoghegan & Neate (2016) put it 'the conviviality of a passion shared' (p.4) allows for networks of enthusiasm to be created and sustained. At the same time, as Geoghegan (2013) suggests, within communities, there are accepted behaviours and a requirement to act collaboratively; in observing their own behaviours, participants generally distanced themselves from the 'anorak' side of enthusiast activities. If I had recruited from an alternative forum (maybe the PSV Circle, or a specialist interest group on Facebook), I would have learnt more about alternative sub-communities.

Gathering collections and making records relate closely to the creation and sustaining of heritage significance. Processes of collection are undertaken by participants during their everyday lives and in purposeful ways for both private and institutional purposes. Collecting is a process of accumulation and (more or less) controlled consumption through which we find order and coherence, assisting in the process of narrating our experiences into sensible stories. Stewart (1993) suggests that collecting is a transformation of temporality into a spatial and material configuration, a 'total aestheticization of use value' (p.151). Belk (1991) articulates this as the past itself as an overall possession, which is 'knowingly, judiciously edited' (no page ref.) through the process of materialisation. The practice of collecting also creates an agenda for future action, as we seek for (self-)completion (Danet & Kariel, 1994). Collections have an order, form, style, and logic which indicates something about how the possessor forms and sustains relationships with others and things (Miller, 2008) as well as themselves.

Practices of collection and conservation are a constant reflexive process of self-evaluation at both the individual and institutional level. We think of heritage as a

'having' but it is always also a 'doing' because possession is active and needs sustaining.

As well as making representations of the world, the collection requires attention, it requires maintenance - it provides a focus for conservation practice. Morgan & Macdonald (2020) have written about curatorial strategies in relation to disposal, understood as 'part of a broader reflexive assessment of the purpose and function of collections' (p.59); this is undertaken with an understanding that objects have interpretative and temporal lifespans, that loss and obsolescence are inevitable.

Objects require constant repurposing to meet existent and anticipated needs of both the institution and its visitors. For participants, the process of disposal (re-evaluation) can take place within their lifetimes; as possessions are edited so as better to reflect notions of the self (Belk, 1988); but ultimately, the collection's survival is linked to the presence of the originator-collector. Participants plan for the post-death evaluation of their collections by creating bequests (immortalising one's 'self-extension' into the institutional, after Belk (1991)), making legacies (in forms of publications and other contributions) and in hopes that their descendants will recognise what is significant. Several plan for the future in other ways, for example, in the retention of bus model boxes to sustain speculative economic value.

There are commercial as well as political and cultural interests in the production and consumption of heritage. Organisations such as TfL have their own collective identity whilst also acting as a referent for individual sense making. Meanwhile, individuals engage in their own practices of collection (including riding the routes) and display which further define them as enthusiast, passenger, and citizen. In the museum and through the actions of enthusiasts-as-passengers, an understanding of place also emerges.

7.2.3 Bus times

This section considers how the embodied, sensory, contemporary experience of bus travel is made stable through representational practices, and the relationship between historical significance and everyday events. It suggests that re-enacting, remembering, and feeling nostalgic have both retrospective and prospective qualities in recording and making sense of change. The importance of ‘what happened’ is subjectively felt.

7.2.3.1 *Everyday events*

Mobilities researchers are interested in how meaning relates to movement; bus researchers have also linked journeys not just to spatial displacement but also experiences of the temporal. For example, in Clayton, Jain, & Parkhurst’s (2017) interpretation of the ideal journey, time on the bus is most valued for the opportunity to conduct ‘meaningful inactivity’: daydreaming, window gazing and people watching. Jain & Lyons (2008) describe bus travel as a sort of gift to oneself, with the opportunity to linger in the process of movement as a ‘time-out’ from other obligations.

For enthusiasts, the bus and the journey become sites of active engagement and observation. They show an interest in now: the contemporary, but also remembering the now of past experiences.

Their interest is today, what is happening now.

Meilton (2019, p.14)

Research participants described the foundation of their bus enthusiasm as an interest in what was going on around them. Bus journeys and the passenger performance demand contemporary attention; enthusiasts record dates and times of departure

and arrival and vehicles ridden on, they take photos, all as proof that they 'were there'. I am interested in this because it suggests a greater awareness of their temporal presence within everyday life.

Stage 3 participants illustrated how this feeling of 'now' is reactivated in later life through the ongoing engagement with collections and records. P13 and P16 both share photos widely online, attracting comment from others, the images also act as a cultural index and 'of their time'. P14's two-part history of his former company was inspired by a desire to record everyday working practices, how things were done, based on his own very vivid remembrances and the recollections afforded by his extensive accumulation of bus stuff.

There is also the incursion of memories within everyday journey experiences: for example, P13's creative imaginings at his bus stop of the different colours and forms which would have been decades earlier. In more representational ways, P16 is involvement in OS excursions on routes which used to run, re-enacting myriad past journeys in the present.

The intimate engagement with bus things brings forth other times. P15's bus modelling practices are a prop in his grief, a time and space where the occupation of hand and eye in the now allow for both remembering and forgetting. When I wind up my dad's clock, I feel again his thumb on mine which connects vividly to my memory of his hand reaching to the sunlight, in the moment of discovering his body – as painful now as it was then.

In contrast, for official heritage authors, the events of the everyday are neglected in attempts to construct significant historical narratives.

One thing hasn't changed for the past 185 years: as each day dawns, the buses venture out to carry Londoners about their business. As always, success is judged by the day being uneventful.

Daniels (2014, p.5)

An uneventful day is not useful in claim-making around significance and value for the LTM and by extension TfL. The corporate narrative of 'service' demands continuity and reliability, but this is told in reference to major historical moments such as the World Wars.

7.2.3.2 Remembering the embodied, affective journey

Authenticity is a feeling, it's an inhabitation, a familiarity: the bus itself is a record of the body, in marks on the windows and indentations on seats, footprints on the stairs. Through repeated journeys, participants are formed in several ways: as identities (passengers, enthusiasts, Londoners) but also as sensing bodies.

The morning ride on the normal 15 was the closest I got to routine passengering; time flowing and punctuated by both official and other bus stops (traffic, to regulate the service). Time moves differently when you've got somewhere to be – for most of the journey I could relax and be open to observing those around me, but once I needed the toilet, I felt a sudden discomfort and urgency, frustrated by the slow rhythm of travel and changing lights.

Heritage processes focus on definable historical events or periods, rather than capturing the quotidian every day. The changing traffic lights at the museum, besides which the Regent Three and Routemaster buses are displayed, is one moment where the more mundane temporalities of the everyday are evoked; but a sustained engagement with the qualities and significance of travelling experiences is missing and perhaps impossible to interpret.

Time-consciousness is an accounting strategy, through which we structure our lives as meaningful, where time and time passing is sensed and known. There were times on the 15(H) when the heritage significance of everyday life was revealed: in the memories shared of Little Linda's bus stop (P7), of London smog travelling through the East End (P2). Repeated journeys provide opportunities to overlay places with recalled memories, to re-enact our own lives. They allow us to enter a state of mind which returns us to the past and reacquaint ourselves with people we once knew and the people we once were. This resonates because we all have familiar journeys and familiar stories from childhood, of first loves, of respected colleagues and more.

Memory, according to de Certeau (1988), is itself mobile and always awaiting an appropriate occasion to be revealed, as he describes it 'a loss of place but a fragment of time' (p.82) through which things that are now absent are temporarily revealed. To remember is an act through which a sense of the past is evoked and biographical order is constructed (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007); autobiography is a 'quest for secure meaning, stable identity, unity and coherence' (Sheringham, 2015, p.4).

Of course, the past itself is irretrievable. Participants and the museum tell stories, they make narrative accounts to interpret and construct meaning. As Stewart (1993) describes, participant life histories can be understood as 'the refinement of notions of character, incident, action, and scene in relation to changing cultural values' (p.21). The critical potential for remembering, and feelings such as nostalgia is in the gap which they reveal between lived and mediated experience. When we relive experience by repeated riding of a bus route, the involuntary memories that it elicits give us 'a real sense of the lived past' (Moran, 2003, p.173) and incite us to think about the significance of our everyday practices.

Nostalgia is theorised as a distinctive type of modern emotion related to the temporal, and subsequently associated with the memorialisation of loss in both

official and unofficial ways, in contrast with historical recovery of 'truth' (see e.g., Campbell, Smith & Wetherell, 2017; Boym, 2004). Nostalgia is also reflective and therefore has critical capacity to 'other' contemporary experience, allowing for creative reimagining. Feeling nostalgic allows us to articulate the difference between contemporary experience and our expectations of what could be. 'The imperative of a contemporary nostalgic is to be homesick and sick of home - occasionally at the same time' (Boym, 2004, no page ref.). I observed this in how participants spoke about their enthusiasm, it has both a retrospective quality (looking back at significant periods of their own lives) and prospective qualities (their interest in the now, and new developments). As Holtorf (2015) discusses, 'processes of change and creative transformation actually help maintain the values of cultural heritage in society': heritage both records change, and its values are shaped by that change. DeSilvey (2012, 2017) writes persuasively about the potential of loss and how heritage organisations are beginning to realise the potential of 'letting go' for their own purposes in maintaining relevance and the recognition of finite resources. Schofield (2009) articulates this as realising 'the relevance of continuity of change' (p.100).

Enthusiasts riding buses make records of change which allow them both to remember the past and to let it go, in favour of being present.

7.3 Research Practice

In this section, I explore the methodological utility of the moment of encounter and strategies I have adopted to keep a focus on the immediacy of experience throughout my research process. Firstly, I consider how my approach relates to ethnographic methods and particularly affective ethnography as outlined by Gherardi (2019). I then discuss the use of visual materials and the production of critical design artefacts as novel forms of research analysis and interpretation.

I offer a reflection of the overall thesis experience, particularly about my relationship with research participants. I do this in relation to personal loss, and the sense of increased dislocation I have felt towards the research events.

Finally, I propose three potential research projects which build from this investigation related to: the specific materiality of London transport things and how these can be used to interpret new heritage meanings using the example of a ticket collection; the interactions between transport people at the LTM and other bus-interest communities which might reveal something about decision-making and knowledge exchange at TfL; and a more reflective project about grief as a specific type of 'heritage emotion' or affective practice (Wetherell, Smith, & Campbell, 2018).

7.3.1 Research encounters

The study used the concept of encounter for both theoretical and methodological purposes. I find it a particularly useful way of articulating research experiences in the field as moments to which analytical value can adhere. In other ways, my research adopts standard ethnographic and observational approaches. Within the context of heritage research, what might be framed as a contribution, is the emphasis on exploring multiple sites of enquiry as being equally involved in heritage-defining processes and interpreting these sites in relation to each other.

As well as what was said and done by research participants, I sought to also attend to the context of their experiences. This is why I still think of my investigation as broadly ethnographic: I was concerned with the fields of the museum, the 15(H) and the home, as much as by what participants told me. The contrast of approaches is apparent within my own study as implemented. The first two Stage 3 interviews were conducted in the homes of participants surrounded by their things, the other three by phone. Through co-presence, I could observe participant movements, and engage in convivial tea drinking, pointing, and showing, as well as understanding

how their bus interest is expressed in kitchens and on bookshelves. Our conversations lasted hours, and ended, in the case of P14 with a gift-exchange to me of one of his bus timetables. The telephone interviews are tied up with embodied remembrances of being by my dad's hospital bed, and the movement of the dining table from its original placement to make way for his failing body to return home. Those interviews were considerably shorter and more transactional, although the format had its own affordances (e.g., in acquiring participant generated images, see below).

Affective ethnography has been developed by Gherardi (2019) from an organisation studies perspective. I found the description they provide has a direct relevance to critical interpretations of museums and communities such as the OS which is complementary with Macdonald, Gerbich & Von Oswald's (2018) description of authority within the museum being materially and discursively distributed across objects, sites, actors and so on.

Affective ethnography is described as a 'style of research practice' rather than a reproducible method which is about 'being with and becoming-with others' (Gherardi, 2019, p.742) and built on the three pillars of embodied knowing, placeness and capacity for affect. I feel I have attended to each of these pillars through my investigation by:

- Adopting approaches of visiting-with and riding-with which allow for interpretation of my own direct sensory and embodied experiences within the research.
- Exploring the emergent qualities of spaces and places in relation to time-consciousness and experiences of the temporal on the bus and in encounters with heritage representations.
- Observing the interactions between participants-as-subjects and objects-as-things through which identities and significance are not only articulated but

also felt and sensed: in the curation of collections in the home, as visitors to the museum and as passengers on the bus.

7.3.2 Interpretative forms

I am not a practice-based researcher; however, I firmly believe that all research should be conducted in dialogue with the practices of and practitioners in its field of enquiry. Prior to conducting this research, I worked as a heritage professional, developing specific skills and interests particularly around forms of public communication. In this study, I have attempted to hold onto an experimental approach to the creation of research interpretations: for example, attending to and using visual materials throughout observation, analysis, and interpretation phases, and finding novel approaches to the communication of my research experiences in the form of museum leaflet trails and participant travelcards.

Across the course of the investigation, I generated images and designed artefacts for various purposes: as evidence of observations made, as tools to analyse collected materials, as techniques for eliciting participant responses, to communicate about my research at conferences and online, and as interpretations presented in the thesis itself. Not only were these vital thinking tools, but they were also relationship builders: between me and participants and research sites, and between datasets. This approach purposefully adopts a visual language like that employed by TfL and the museum, adding an affective dimension to the project, but also reflecting my specific position as a researcher.

During Stage 2 of the enquiry, I developed worksheets in the format of leaflets which were intended to be used by participants to record their experiences (Appendix C and Appendix F). Although participants chose not to use them, these worksheets did serve a function for me in terms of orientating my own record keeping towards

embodied, affective, spatial and 'more-than-discursive' observations (see Section 3.2.5 for more discussion).

Regarding the visual materials I collected, there are several observations to make, the most significant of which is I think that there is greater scope for the analysis of them as images with specific qualities and to tell us more about both the phenomenon of bus travel and processes of heritagisation. The gif format is also a novel approach to recording gesture; I'd be interested in adopting this as a systematic approach to data collection in future embodiment-orientated research.

I didn't plan to complete telephone interviews, and the images supplied by those participants (P15, P16 and P17) have a distinctive quality to those I took myself. They contain additional information: a significant example is the image of P15's bus modelling tray (Figure 6.2) which has an intimate quality that I wouldn't have been able to capture.

With the museum leaflet trails (Appendix H), I sought to explore the authoring processes which take place at the museum and the visit as an act of communication, ordered by the presentation of spaces, objects, and experiences. This was an instinctive decision on my part, working with the skills I have as a heritage professional and my own interest and experience in design. These trails adopt the communicative medium of the curator or museum educator, whilst reflecting my visitor experiences; as physical artefacts, they are also meant to carry information about my embodied experiences at the museum.

I found it very challenging to present the leaflets within the format of an empirical findings chapter or to articulate in words what they do; they are meant to be held, moved with, and potentially used to structure an actual visit. At the same time, the leaflets' indeterminacy is part of their function as critical design artefacts, designed to make reality 'estranged' (after Gonzatto, van Amstel, Merkle & Hartmann, 2013).

It would have been interesting to reframe existent museum trails as critical artefacts, using them to elicit participant responses rather than for their designed educational or entertainment functions. These trails provide a different kind of 'authorised' way of seeing the museum and undermine further the notion of the visit as an undifferentiated phenomenon.

The participant biographical travelcards were also produced instinctively, as a means of recording my relationships with the participants (my impression of them based on limited observation) and as a novel approach to their representation within a thesis. The device of the travelcard was adopted to play on the idea that they were 'riding-with' me during my interpretations. Often, I would refer to them, both the front images and the 'conditions' on the reverse when drafting text but decided not to integrate them fully within the presentation of findings. I like to imagine a reader holding the cards and maybe doing the same when I quote a participant at length; or sorting and playing with the cards as a way of familiarising themselves with the people who made my research possible.

7.3.3 Researcher-participant relationships

I reflect below on the importance of this research for me as an individual. The themes within this section are related to the problem of heritage if we understand it as a practice of recovery from loss, and the 'so what' of heritage, as about human sense-making. In writing about the death of her father, Ridgway (2022) makes the point that doctoral work is focused on the knowledge gained, rather than its process of acquisition; the below gives an insight into how I felt my way through this process, and the importance of writing in coming to make sense of 'what happened' during the course of my doctorate, which is itself analogous with the attempts by my participants to produce their own bus histories.

In writing a thesis, materials are by necessity instrumentalised, used as 'evidence' or as an example or illustration. But there is also a more ephemeral engagement, moments in daily life when material suddenly re-emerges as memory. For example, when making a LEGO model Routemaster bus, I was adding the back seats of the lower deck and felt again how it was to sit there with P11 chatting away to the conductor. Another example was the unforeseen connections between the bus clock in the dining room (where I conducted my phone interviews and where my father later died) and the ticking and chiming of the clock which accompanied P14's interview. Growing temporal distance between myself and the moments of collection made the analysis process more crystalline, in that I had to establish rules to reengage with the material. Earlier, I remember feeling completely immersed within it. Now, I feel guilt at forgetting the real names and faces of my participants, the desire to see them has prompted unsuccessful internet image searches; I just hope I will know them if we meet again.

I don't even know what to hope for which is a reflection of my situation. I don't know where I am going.

Participant 11

In coming to make sense of what happened during the doing of research, my role as a researcher was inextricable from the doing, the making. I adopted a style of thinking and writing about my research which is perhaps uncomfortably familiar. This is inspired by writers like Ashmore (1989), whose reflexivity is expressed through specific and experimental textual forms – persuasive texts – which he insists are not exempt from critical scrutiny. Varga-Dobai (2012) also suggests that research should make visible the messy, uncomfortable and multivocal process of making interpretations as a way of unsettling the binary of self-other in qualitative enquiry. She characterises this as a post-structural feminist perspective. For me, being reflexive is an explicit recognition of sense-making as a process of self-knowledge and mutual creation through communication, which is always partial and contingent.

I want to emphasise how important relationships with my participants have been in generating my research materials but also when reflecting on what some of the unintentional or unpredictable outcomes of doing the research were. I was forced to reflect on this early in the process of analysis on learning of the death of P11 within about a month of meeting him. I was asked to draft his obituary for inclusion in his society magazine and felt compelled to do so. It brought new meanings to the encounters we had shared and made me question the efficacy of the ethical review process. This sustaining of a research relationship even after death raised ethical concerns around consent and disclosure, balanced again the desire to adequately record a person's life. The obituary's publication provided opportunities for the sustaining of other relationships across my participant group, and more broadly in the segment of society in which my research takes place – a sort of wave of impact, varying in degree of power.

Burles (2017) talks about the sustaining of researcher-participant relationships after research encounters in the context of 'sensitive' qualitative research topics, not just as an ethical concern for participants but also the potential of emotional harm for researchers. This can come to the fore during transcription and analysis processes, when there is time to attend to one's own feelings, rather than focusing on participants. Reflecting on their own research into the construction of bereavement narratives, Valentine (2007) suggests that emotional impact can be a methodological tool both in conducting ethical research and in the process of finding meanings. Yassour-Borochowitz (2004) is more explicit about the ethical challenges of creating and using sensitive materials: what is truly 'informed' consent? How do we attend to the power dynamic of research relationships? What is the cost-benefit of research? And do we really have methodological justification for the enquiry? Mitchell & Irvine (2008) suggest mechanisms for the sharing of control for the research across participants, experts, and researchers; they also propose considering your 'research footprint' to ensure appropriate follow-up information and support. Together, these authors make a compelling argument that ethical research is an ongoing process of

negotiation, adjustment, and sensitivity to harm well beyond the collection, analysis or even dissemination phases, rather than something which can be 'signed off' during a review.

P11's death created a rupture in my analysis process and re-orientated the entire focus of my interpretations. Within a few months, P17's mother has also died (she had been a silent, apparently bemused presence during our phone interview) and my own father passed away too. Suddenly, my research took on an urgency and a significance which I could not have anticipated, it literally felt like a matter of life and death. Later, in December 2021, P13 (a long-term friend) died after several years of cancer treatment; his death renewed these sentiments whilst also providing a deep incentive to keep going and finish the project.

Their deaths provided a crucial opportunity for me to reflect on my research definition of 'heritage': the valuing of objects from the past and sustaining this value into the present, and the 'so what?' of my research endeavours. How can one record the value of a human life? How can someone's presence be sustained even after death? In my grief, I stumble painfully for some resolution knowing there is none, and my commitment to contingency is reaffirmed.

There is also of course some redemption, in that my first child was born two months after dad died. Maternity leave and motherhood forced a further realignment of priorities; and the spatial, material, and temporal distance between what was then and what is now keeps widening.

7.3.4 Future research directions

There are several ways in which this study could have been conducted or could now be extended. I am aware, for example, that there is more work to be done in observing how enthusiasts ascribe value to their routine passenger journeys, the

sorts of activities they involve themselves with on the bus and how (or if) this differs from other passengers.

However, I take this opportunity to indulge in some creative imagining, describing which studies I would do if time and resources allowed; and how these relate to the research principles and interests which this investigation has developed, arising from key findings. In suggesting the first two projects, I am trying to imagine a space for myself as heritage-research-practitioner, traversing the boundaries between amateur and professional, enthusiast community member and outsider; to forge a relationship between research activity and the communicative practices of official and unofficial heritage sites. The final suggestion is more personal, attending to the feelings associated with heritage, and more theoretical, in seeking to connect critical heritage with existent social research exploring mortality and the temporariness of human embodiment.

7.3.4.1 Reinterpreting bus tickets

In professional practice, part of my role was to manage an ephemera collection, and I have always held a fascination with the sorts of items held therein: theatre programmes, takeaway menus, 21st birthday cards. An immediate project which I would love to undertake is exploring P14's London bus ticket collection.

Bus tickets are evocative heritage objects to me because of their relation to the human hand; they are performative records of routes ridden and journey times; one can imagine who the passenger was and what the purpose of their journey was. P14 also argued for the historical significance of his collection: in evidencing social consumption trends, design, and brand histories. As a now redundant form (in London, at least), replaced by electronic payment systems, it seems like an apt time to reaffirm their value as physical evidence of everyday encounters.

This in-depth engagement with a specific enthusiast's collection would provide an opportunity for ongoing engagement with my participant group and greater understanding of their processes of appraisal through which objects are assigned significance.

I would be able to extend my interest in the communicative forms adopted by the LTM and how this relates directly to the experience of travel as brand-interaction. Research activity could also contribute to collections information held by the LTM and form a focus of potential reinterpretation, connected also to narratives of class and gender.

The ticket form could also be reimagined as a critical design artefact and used as a prompt within the space of the bus and ordinary journeys as a means of getting at the experience of time-consciousness which bus travel affords.

7.3.4.2 TfL-LTM interactions

I would like to find a mechanism by which I could observe the relationship between TfL and the LTM, perhaps in participating in governance meetings or observing relationships between staff in these two organisations (e.g., during staff tours which the museum librarian told me about), or in analysing policy documents and other materials in the public domain. I am interested in the role of the museum in influencing contemporary policy or service decisions (if it does) as well as how these are then communicated by the museum to audiences.

This work could include an extended analysis of the museum as 'critical' by comparing how problematic or difficult aspects of service are represented versus how these were experienced and are now remembered by existent or new participants as passengers and (retired) staff.

This project further develops an understanding of organisations as sites of heritage constitution, the role of museums in organisational 'knowledge transfer' and in forging collectively held identities. This could potentially reveal the political influences between TfL and the museum, as a two-way communication of value.

Extending further, greater engagement with those museum volunteers who previously worked for TfL would reveal the role of the museum in preserving employees' knowledge, skills, and experience. What activities are they involved in and how do these relate to the work of professional staff? My research already shows how enthusiasts are interacting with official sites of heritage authorisation as well as forming their own archives individually and collectively. The interrelationships and potentials of these relationships across actors, embodied in the volunteer-enthusiasts, is a potential resource for the museum but also hints at the distribution of power and influence through which heritage significance is claimed.

7.3.4.3 Heritage emotions

On a more personal note, I would be interested in exploring the interrelationship between heritage and the affective process of grieving. Previously, I described nostalgia as a sort of heritage emotion which has attracted academic interest. Grief is another emotion which might inform our understanding of heritage and needs more substantial engagement within the field of critical heritage studies.

Grief could be adopted as a lens on the affective attributes of heritage, a particular way of seeing to understand the embodied processes of loss and decay, what of experience might be recoverable in the objects which individuals collect and the records that they leave behind. Both P11 and P13 expressed their hopes and fears for the future - what has happened to their bus collections, what is their legacy now that they have died?

Initially, I would envisage this as a literature review, extending my reflection (in Section 7.3.3). Grief is a universal feeling, expressed in culturally specific and subjective ways. I can see that this would link in with 'dark' or 'dissonant' heritage themes, such as studies based in memorialisation or at historical places such as sites of atrocity. However, as Stih and Schnock's Bus Stop! proposal reminds us, the worst of human actions and their affects, such as the Holocaust, take place in everyday life, not away from it. Expressions of grief seem to relate heritage practices with everyday life, in a very different way from what I experienced as a 213 bus passenger. At the core of this, and any further research activity is my own commitment to understanding and honouring the value of 'ordinary' people's lives.

7.4 Summary and Conclusion

This study has investigated the relationship between heritage and everyday life experience by considering how London bus travel is defined and sustained as heritage by different actors. It was undertaken at three distinct sites of enquiry: the London Transport Museum, on heritage route 15(H) and in the homes of participants. Stage 1 of the enquiry explored the 'core representations' made about bus-travel-as-heritage at the museum. Bus enthusiast participants were recruited to 'visit-with' and 'ride-with' during Stage 2 of the enquiry, interacting with the museum and the bus route as a type of heritage re-enactment. Their insights encouraged a further exploration of collection practices with Stage 3 participants, intended to be carried out in the presence of their possessions at home. Siting the research in these different contexts and working with bus enthusiasts, revealed the interactions between personal and public values; individual, commercial, and organisational interests in heritage production; and how heritage is used to signify other things, related to authority and authenticity.

London bus travel is sustained as heritage through the representational practices of recording, collecting, and displaying which are conducted by the museum (in service

to Londoners and the general public) and by enthusiasts (for their individual purposes and to contribute to the industry archive). Through these practices, identities emerge which are held individually and collectively in the formation of a community of practice. At the same time, the interests which sparks these practices and gives them vitality arise from the everyday encounters on the bus: in direct journey experiences (whether as passengers or in professional life), and in sensory and affective encounters with heritage objects at the museum and beyond.

Bus travel as heritage has historical significance, in evidencing aspects of social, particularly working, history. It has personal value, in the remembrance of journeys as part of autobiographical practices, particularly in later life. It contributes to the museum as a site of organisational memory as collected and collective, with potential uses and consequences for Transport for London. Symbolic or ideological functions express political power and construct London as city and its citizens.

Chapters 1 and 2 outlined the theoretical and research context for the investigation, exploring definitions of heritage in and beyond critical heritage studies. This included: a review of existent affect orientated heritage research; considering the concept of time-consciousness in relation to the event of the everyday; and how research has explored the social, cultural and heritage significance of transport objects, the passenger (sometimes as enthusiast), their journey experiences, and critical practices at transport museums.

Chapter 4 explored the visitor experience at the London Transport Museum and how this might be conceptualised as a series of thematic trails. Processes of authoring at the museum are complicated by its status as both a heritage agent balancing the multifaceted requirements of a museum, and its representative functions for Transport for London and the Greater London Authority, as corporate museum and organisational mnemonic. At the same time, it is in the presence of the visitor that sense is made; the museum addresses the visitor as a universal figure but is

experienced from the visitor's perspective as a subjective individual. The coherence of the visit is a product of the accumulation of fragmentary encounters even as overt representations are made.

Chapter 5 considered the bus as a thing in two ways: firstly, how it is presented as a heritage object at the museum and experienced through heritage encounters by research participants as visitors, passengers, enthusiasts, and transport workers; secondly, in how it felt to ride on the Routemaster bus as a heritage experience and in the delivery of a routine bus service. These examples highlight the symbolic uses of the bus form in relation to our understanding of London as a place and ourselves as Londoners (or not); implicated in political processes and identity work.

Chapter 6 addressed the title of my thesis by considering bus enthusiasts as heritage practitioners, but also potentially as heritage objects: holders of skills, knowledge and experience which might in different senses be subject to conservation. Exploring the origins of their bus enthusiast interest, the primary theme of the chapter was how records and objects are used for sense-making activities and how, through their organisation and strategies of communication, subjective experience (the event of the everyday) may translate into cultural significance.

My methodological approach was outlined in Chapter 3. Adopting the moment of encounter as an observable and analytical unit has shaped the whole investigation. Affect orientated and ethnographic approaches sought to keep a focus on the material and sensory contexts of participant responses and actions; recorded in different media and presented through the adoption of visual as well as textual forms. Reflexivity (as personal, functional, and disciplinary) has been employed as an ongoing critical tool.

Heritage is often constructed as a narrative of the great and the good, related to the best, the oldest, the finest example of X, Y or Z, or the most significant of historical

events. However, most of our lives are made up of insignificant moments, the living that goes on in the everyday. What would a heritage practice look like if it resisted claims of extraordinariness and significance? What if we understood heritage as time-consciousness and were concerned with how our embodied, thinking, sensing, feeling, and remembering selves already disrupt and interject within any stable narrative produced (consciously or otherwise) by heritage designation? Heritage is made by the activities of heritage institutions and by visiting individuals. It is tied to historical value but isn't equivalent to it because of the experiential qualities it possesses (the way it makes us feel) and the uses it is put to (both practical and political) in the contemporary moment. Heritages are also made at home, on the street and in the workplace. What are initially personal and familial relations can and do become communally held values.

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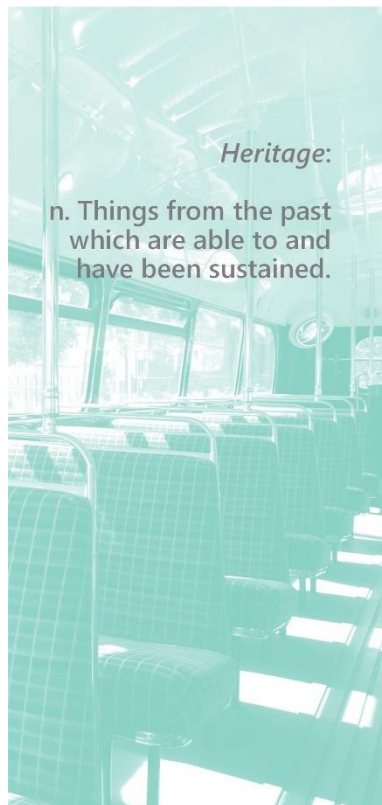
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Appendix A: Abstract (Leaflet Format)



Heritage:

n. Things from the past which are able to and have been sustained.

On London's Buses Further Information

This research is funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC) through the Heritage Consortium co-ordinated by the University of Hull. My supervisors are Dr Kathy Doherty and Dr Becky Shaw, Sheffield Hallam University.

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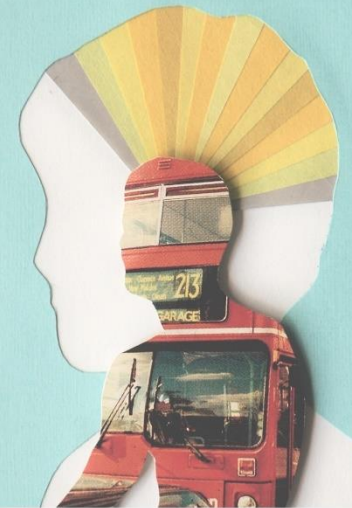
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ON LONDON'S BUSES

Bus Enthusiasm as Heritage Practice

Investigating Critical Approaches to Heritage Research



A. BUS
PASSENGER



Context & Scope

Heritage seems ubiquitous in our everyday lives, as we make sense of and preserve some aspects of the past into our present and a projected future. It is both personal and political, where we assign value to things (artefacts, performances, ideas) and communicate these values to others. In other words, heritage is itself a cultural practice, a set of meaningful activities which are done and have effects.

This project is undertaken within the field of critical heritage studies. Many contributors to the field adopt a theorisation of heritage as a discourse, how 'authorised' cultural ideas are communicated and used to control or suppress alternative approaches (Smith, 2006). This has rightly exposed inequalities and injustices within museum and heritage practice, and in the research field itself. Heritage is done, but it is also felt. This project is inspired by the affective turn in social studies and aims to understand something of the complex interactions between individuals, communities, institutions and more through which heritage is experienced and known. In this, it contributes theoretically to the reading of affect espoused in the heritage field by Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2016) and adopts methods inspired by, for example, Waterton & Watson (2015a) and Waterton & Dittmer (2014).

Using the example of London bus travel, and working with bus enthusiasts, the project explores heritage defined as: things from the past which are able to and have been sustained. This implies that heritage has

something to do with thingness, the material and its symbolic uses, but is also related to practices, ways in which we might sustain specific meanings and values (authoring, recording, and collecting). The research is particularly interested in how heritage is contingent on a specific moment of encounter, experienced as time-consciousness.

Project Design

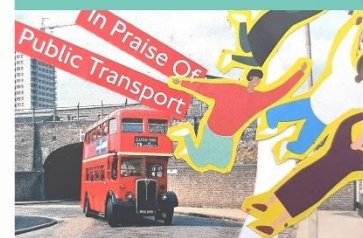
The programme of research explores several moments of encounter with London bus heritage: at the London Transport Museum, on London's now cancelled heritage bus route (the 15H) and in participants' homes. The methodology is inspired by ethnographic approaches to participant observation within fields of enquiry, as critical and imaginative practices of being and doing with (Elliott & Culhane, 2017) which are mobile, sensory, and affecting (Pink, 2015; Gherardi, 2019).

Through the adoption of methods such as reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022) and forms of ethnographic description (e.g., Stewart, 2007; Taussig, 2011) research materials such as audio recordings, verbatim speech, photographs, interview transcripts, physical artefacts such as tickets, and memories are used to produce research interpretations. Collage is employed as a critical reflective process, providing visualisation and analytical strategy. Participants are represented by imagined travelcards with personalised 'Conditions of Carriage'; written ethnographies recreate bus journeys and museum visits from the fragments and accounts of everyday experiences; leaflet 'trails' disrupt museum-to-visitor communications.

Contribution

Findings consider the proximity between enthusiasm (as emotional and potentially irrational) and (rational) expertise in the construction of heritage. The museum is understood as both its own organisation and in reference to Transport for London as the provider of London's transport infrastructure. The 15(H) bus ride is both a heritage object and a form of re-enactment which highlights the precarity of the heritage project itself, shaped by political requirements. Enthusiast-participants find their lives as meaningful in curating collections from their past and in bus journeys now; their values and experiences interact with official sites of heritage-making in several ways.

The overall contribution is firstly, an account of bus enthusiasm, its origins, practices, and communities; secondly, insights into the nature of heritage as interaction between affect (as both sensation and the sensate) and practice, emergent through moments of encounter with heritage things.



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Appendix B: Research Aims and Objectives

The below maps out my research aims and objectives from those included in the final thesis, backwards to the original funding proposal.

Final Thesis (2022)
Aim: Investigate how London bus travel is defined and sustained as a heritage object (with associated values and significance) by representations at the London Transport Museum, on and through heritage route 15(H), and by the everyday practices of bus enthusiasts. Objective 1: Examine and interrogate the utility of critical heritage and other approaches to empirical research about bus travel and other transport themes. Objective 2: Explore the discursive, sensory, and affective qualities of moments of encounter with London bus heritage. Objective 3: Consider how identities are felt and known in relation to everyday memories and experiences AND institutional and political legacies through encounters with London bus heritage. Objective 4: Identify how bus enthusiasm is practiced and sustained (by individuals and groups) in relation to heritage themes such as historical value, collecting and display. Objective 5: Describe how routine bus journeys are assigned meaning by the practices of bus enthusiasts AND how these meanings are (potentially) translated as culturally significant. Objective 6: Outline how the designation (in holistic terms) of London bus travel as heritage might enrich our understanding of what heritage is and how it functions (processes of heritagisation).
Writing up phase (March 2021-May 2022)
Aim 1: Examine and Interrogate the utility of critical heritage approaches in relation to empirical research about transport themes. Objective 1.1: Review critical heritage literature in relation to theories of everyday life and affect. Objective 1.2: Examine how transport themes have been researched within and beyond heritage studies, identifying theoretical and methodological implications for this study.

Objective 1.3: Consider the (theoretical) consequences of considering everyday life as a form of heritage practice; reflecting the experiences of myself and others on the bus.

Aim 2 Utilise critical and affect orientated approaches to investigate registers of experience related to London bus travel as heritage practice.

Objective 2.1 Identify practices of heritage activated in the encounters between people and things at London Transport Museum, on heritage route 15(H), and through private collecting; and investigate the 'affective intensities' of these encounters.

Objective 2.2: Understand the origins and practices of bus enthusiasm as enacted by individuals, groups, and institutions.

Objective 2.3: Investigate the representational consequences of heritage practices in relation to everyday London bus travel (perceived cultural significance).

[The messy bit in the middle where aims and objectives change all the time]

Confirmation (RF2, February 2019)

This study is primarily interested in identifying the ways by which contemporary bus passengers find meaning (value and significance) in their routine journeys related to heritage practices such as collecting artefacts, sharing memories and constructing narratives related to the passing of time. An understanding of London Bus travel as a heritage object, worthy of sustaining because of its social, utilitarian, and political value, is both a personal driver for the researcher and a potential outcome of the research, where it is conserved through use rather than designation.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research is to investigate aspects of everyday life practice as 'doing' heritage. The empirical focus is contemporary London Bus passenger experience. The objectives are:

- Define a 'theory of practice' for heritage through a review of heritage research literature in relation to theories of everyday life.
- Undertake a 'critical' and 'affect'-focused ethnographic enquiry which explores the experiences of London bus passengers in relation to notions of heritage.

- Identify practices of heritage such as 'valuing', 'passing', 'time-consciousness' and others related to everyday bus travel in London and explore how they are enacted by individuals, groups and institutions.

It builds on existing research by:

- adopting a participatory approach to bus research to explore temporal experience and associated meanings and practices rather than spatial practices or 'uses' made of travel-time.
- utilising affective and sensory ethnographic approaches to investigate wider registers of experience on the bus.
- siting the study of everyday life within the context of critical heritage studies to investigate the role of the past (and the future) in expressions of agency in the present moment.

It does this by mirroring the research design of Waterton & Watson (2015a) in their affect-focused enquiry at a heritage battlefield, by:

- Establishing an understanding of 'core representations' of bus travel and how these are constructed by established heritage practices at London Transport Museum, London Bus Museum and other sites such as enthusiast forums.
- Exploring passenger experiences on London's buses (both the expressive reality of the experience as lived, and the analytical representations garnered when experience is reflected upon (Highmore, 2001)) by riding with passengers, participating and making observations, and asking them to account for their experiences in creative ways.

University Proposal (RF1, December 2017)

This research aims to investigate the everyday experience of contemporary London bus travel as a critical heritage practice. It will do so by:

- Investigating how bus passengers experience and perceive temporality, and how this might relate to their understanding of citizenship and urban life.
- Utilising creative methods to critically examine the relationship between bus passenger experiences and representations of travel at museums and archives, exploring the value of the material/intangible dichotomy in heritage practice.
- Evaluating the potential contribution of everyday life and mobility theories to emerging critical heritage approaches.

Funding Proposal (March 2017)
- To collect, evaluate and interpret accounts of historic bus travel experience in London (1938 to 1988) in relation to theories of mobility, everyday life and heritage. - To explore the relationship between historic lived experience and contemporary everyday life in museums and archives.

Appendix C: Stage 2 LTM Participant Worksheet

Further Information

A. Have you visited the Museum before? If yes, how many times and why? If no, what do you expect?

B. Would you describe yourself as a bus enthusiast? Please explain your interest in London Transport and buses.

C. Would you describe yourself as a Londoner? Please share your thoughts.

Contact
 participant no.:
 consent form signed: Y / N
 date of visit:
 start time: end time:



Information correct at time of publication, August 2019

ON LONDON'S BUSES

Visit to the London Transport Museum

Participant-Researcher record form

[Use this space for images/text/drawings/collages]

A. BUS PASSENGER



Introduction

Thank you for participating in the 'On London's Buses' research project. Today, we will take a visit around London Transport Museum. This leaflet is intended to be used as a way of recording your visit. Please use words, quotes, drawings or any other methods to fill it in. You are also welcome to take photos and videos with the camera provided.

My collection

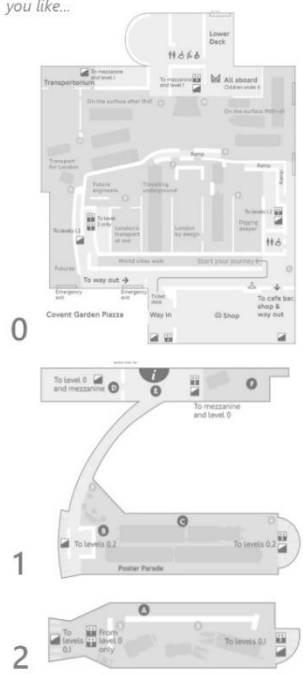
Make a record here of the things you see in the museum which mean something to you

My Experience

	1 Omnibus 1830s	2 He's Really Keen	3 Uniform Delivery	4 On the RT/RM
A Smells & Tastes				
B Textures				
C Sounds				
D Emotions				
E Memories				
F Notes				

Map of the visit

Annotate the map of the Museum in any way you like...



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Appendix D: Stage 2 Museum Exhibits Description

Exhibit A. Omnibus 1829 and Passenger Laws 1836	100-year-old replica of an early London Horse Bus which is one of the first exhibits in the Museum and can be boarded by visitors. A mannequin inside recites the Passenger Laws from behind a newspaper. Selected as an 'immersive' experience of riding an original horse bus. I used the text of the Passenger laws as the basis for a 'passenger survey', to facilitate the first discussion with participants whilst seated in the vehicle; the purpose is to focus the participants on how what they are experiencing here relates to their wider bus travelling experiences.
Exhibit B. He's Really Keen	Drawer containing small ephemeral artefacts related to bus enthusiasm of the 1950s and 60s; selected to relate to the participants' biography, origin of enthusiasm and potentially collection practices. I was interested in how participants gestured to the artefacts in telling their own stories.
Exhibit C. Uniform Delivery	Speaking to the experiences of Transport for London/London Transport as an institution with a specific identity and approach. To facilitate a discussion of historical, contemporary, and future service for London.
Exhibit D. Routemaster and Regent Three bus	The joint presentation of a Routemaster bus (the iconic post-WW2 design) and a Regent Three (Pre-War, a favourite of enthusiasts). An opportunity to board and climb the stairs of both vehicles but no entry to aisles of seats. To facilitate a comparison of the vehicles, the iconic status of the RM; to consider the experience of boarding and alighting from the rear platform and the role of conductors.

Appendix E: Stage 2 Bus Passenger Laws Exercise

On London's Buses

Bus Passenger Law Survey

This survey is being carried out as part of PhD research to understand more about the everyday experience of bus travel.

Completion is voluntary. Please use all of your experiences on buses to complete this survey. By completing the survey you are giving your consent for your responses to be used for research purposes only.

Instructions:

The following 'Omnibus Laws' were published in *The Times* in 1836.

Put a cross (x) in box 'A' if you think the Law is still relevant today.

Using box 'B', order the Laws by which is most relevant, marking the most relevant '1', the next '2' and so on.

Please hand this card in after completion

Please turn over



Office use only

		A	B
1	Keep your feet off the seats.	[]	[]
2	Do not get into a snug corner yourself, and then open the windows to admit a North-wester on the neck of your neighbour.	[]	[]
3	Have your money ready when you desire to alight. If your time is not valuable, that of others may be.	[]	[]
4	Do not impose on the conductor the necessity of finding you change: he is not a banker.	[]	[]
5	Sit with your limbs straight, and do not with your legs describe an angle of 45, thereby occupying the room of two persons.	[]	[]
6	Do not spit upon the straw. You are not in a hogsty, but in an omnibus, travelling in a country which boasts of its refinement.	[]	[]
7	Behave respectfully to females, and put not an unprotected lass to the blush, because she cannot escape from your brutality.	[]	[]
8	If you bring a dog, let it be small and confined by a string.	[]	[]
9	Do not introduce large parcels - an omnibus is not a van	[]	[]
10	Reserve bickerings and disputes for the open field. The sound of your own voice may be music for your own ears - not so, perhaps, to those of your companions.	[]	[]
11	If you will broach politics or religion, speak with moderation: all have an equal right to their opinions, and all have an equal right not to have them wantonly shocked.	[]	[]
12	Refrain from affectation and conceited airs. Remember that you are riding a distance for six pence which, if made in a hackney-coach, would cost you as many shillings; and that, should your pride elevate you above plebeian accommodations, your purse should enable you to command aristocratic indulgencies.	[]	[]

Thank you for your help

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Appendix F: Stage 2 15(H) Participant Worksheet

My Journey		15(H) Route
Record the journey here, makes notes, sketches, annotations etc. along the route as you choose. Pay attention to the following aspects of your experience: A) Senses: sounds, smells, tastes, textures; B) Movement: jolts and sways etc; C) Feelings and memories		Annotate the route in any way you like...
1 Waiting for the bus	3 On the bus	
2 Hailing & Boarding	4 Reaching the stop	Departure Times: * Tower Hill Station 1015 then 35 55 15 past the hour until 1755; * Trafalgar Square (Charing Cross Stn) 1000 then 20 40 00 past the hour until 1740 1810.
Further Information A. Have you ridden on this route before? Do you have any memories associated with the route, the buses or anything else you'd like to share? B. Would you describe yourself as a bus enthusiast? Please explain your interest in London Transport and buses. C. Would you describe yourself as a Londoner? Please share your thoughts.		ON LONDON'S BUSES Ride on the 15(H) Routemaster Bus Participant-Researcher record form [Use this space for images/text/drawings/collages] A. BUS PASSENGER
Contact participant no.: consent form signed: Y / N date of journey: start time: end time: Information correct at time of publication, August 2019		Introduction Thank you for participating in the 'On London's Buses' research project. Today, we will take a ride on the 15(H) original Routemaster bus. This leaflet is intended to be used as a way of recording the journey. Please use words, quotes, drawings or any other methods to fill it in. You are also welcome to take photos and videos with the camera provided. My collection Make a record of the things you experience on the journey which mean something to you

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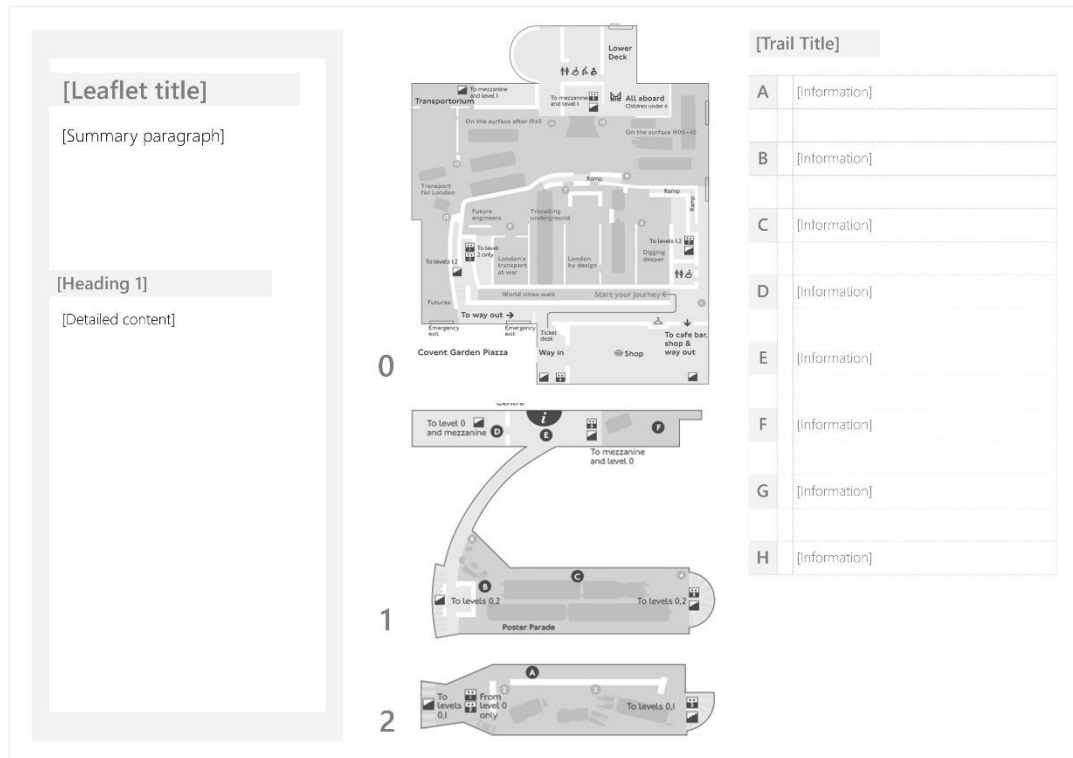
Appendix G: Museum Leaflets Design Description

[Side A]



- Block Quote: From museum text or my observations.
- Image (left): Photograph from Stage 1 observations recoloured to match leaflet scheme.
- Central panel: Formatted in the same way as a Transport for London information leaflet to include the relevant project information, contact details and data.
- 'On London's Buses' was the working title of the project. The speech bubble replaces the TfL roundel as a project logo.
- Image (right): Finished collage, photographed and inserted into publishing software.
- Leaflet title: 'Sensitising' or core topic.
- Content description: additional qualification/description of the core topic.
- A. Bus Passenger: Related to authorship, anonymising myself as a bus passenger, whilst also suggesting Amy. Bus Passenger.

[Side B]



- Leaflet title: 'Sensitising' or core topic.
- Summary Paragraph: Top level information.
- Detailed content: Further information provided as prose and quotations.
- Museum map: Annotated with specific moments of encounter or location of objects/points of interest.
- Trail Title: Related sub-topic to the core theme.
- A-... list: Identification and description of moments of encounter, specific objects and artefacts related to my experiences in the field.

Appendix H: Museum Leaflet Trails



DRIVERS WATCH YOUR PERSONAL APPEARANCE

CAP BRUSHED
BADGE CLEAN
FACE SHAVED

COAT BRUSHED AND
BUTTONS CLEAN

BOOTS CLEAN

On London's Buses Further Information

This research is funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC) through the Heritage Consortium co-ordinated by the University of Hull. My supervisors are Dr Kathy Doherty and Dr Becky Shaw, Sheffield Hallam University.

Contact

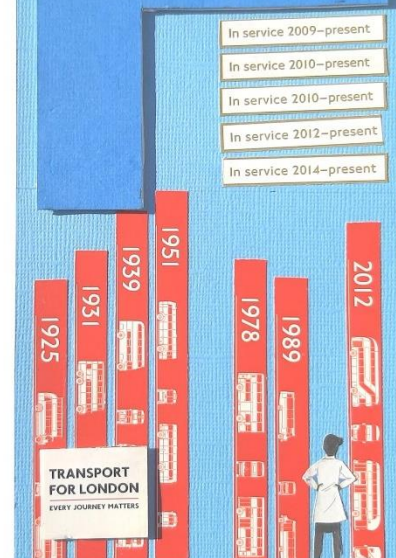
email: amy.g.graham@student.shu.ac.uk
twitter: @ABusPassenger
web: www.onlondonsbuses.home.blog/

Information correct at time of experience, 2018/2019



ON LONDON'S BUSES

Service Regulation For London for Public Policy



A. BUS
PASSENGER



Service Regulation

Transport for London is 'at London's service'. The provision of transport in the capital has a militaristic air during the golden years of the 1930s to 1960s with a narrative created around 'service'.

Check Yourself

Service can be good: reliable, fair, it can have an aesthetic appeal. Service is also about regulation: of the workforce, of passengers, of time and of the movement of things. Service has affects: it shapes the development of the city, the ability of money to flow through real space, the ability of people to connect or be kept apart.

The museum tells a story which culminates in the representation of Transport for London as an agent for good. Visitors are directed through the galleries which are ordered historically; defined as passenger when invited to board the vehicles on display or as other when kept apart by glass, locked doors and no entry signs. The final displays outline the foundation of TfL and its plans for the future, inviting visitors to take their place in history by going off 'to do something wonderful'.



In Service Trail

- A** Front Desk: Visitors are encouraged to buy a guide or consider becoming Friends of the Museum. Entry tickets are pricey but allow entry for a year.
- B** Cloakroom and Buggy-park: A useful service for those travelling with kids or additional belongings which is free to use.
- C** Information Desk: an attendant is on hand to answer questions and connect you to staff 'behind the scenes' who can be viewed through a porthole in a nearby door marked 'staff only'.
- D** Poster Parade: Building a more diverse workforce to include women has been the work of a century or more (since WWI). 'I like my job...you would like it too'.
- E** Uniform Delivery case: A conductor's uniform is displayed alongside the mirror from London Transport's Training School.
- F** New Johnston Font: The official TfL font and other iconography is used throughout the museum and described as the 'language of London'.
- G** Transport for London: founded to provide a connected network, this body is progressive, innovative and creative.
- H** Shop and Café: Corporate unity continues as marketing decisions are made to sell goods in support of the museum.

Reproduced at 50% original size.



Passengers gain quicker and easier journeys and can beat the queues by buying online.

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Contact

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Information correct at time of experience, 2018/2019

DING!
DING!



ON LONDON'S BUSES

Revenue Protection

Experience and economic exchange



A. BUS
PASSENGER

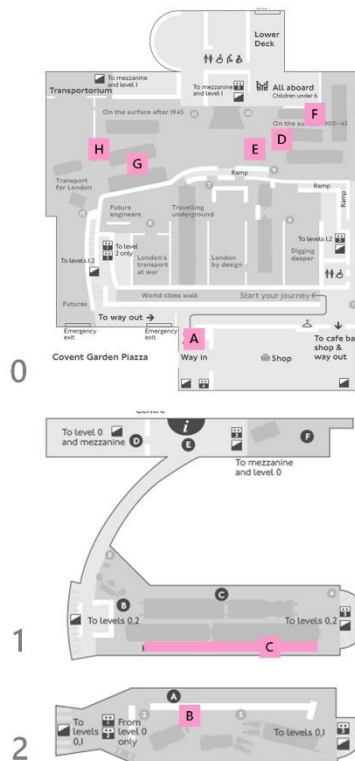
Revenue Protection

The bus journey is an exchange: of time and money for experience, of interaction with machine and fellow (wo)man, the transfer of capital - the desire for social contact.

Bell-Punch to Oyster Card

There used to be conductors on the bus. They carried a tray of different coloured tickets and a machine, called a Bell Punch, which would only 'ding' with a ticket in. A hole was cut with that ding and money stowed in the conductor's cash bag. At the end of shift, bag and machine would be handed over; cash counted and reconciled against the tiny different coloured dots sorted by 'confetti girls'

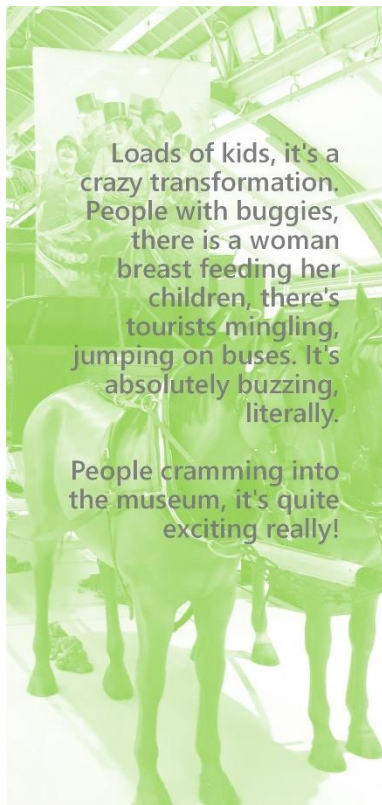
Contrast with today: a machine bleeps green when reading your bank or Oyster card; signals are sent, bank balance depleted. No need to talk.



Ticketing Trail

- A** Front Desk: Buy your entry here! Price includes unlimited visits for a year. Pick up a 'Stamper trail' and punch your own holes throughout the visit.
- B** Ticket: Early example of a bus ticket for the London General Omnibus Company, costing 6d. Pre-paid ticket booklets were first available in 1850s, with the Bell Punch machine introduced in 1893.
- C** Poster Parade: advertising London Transport jobs. "I like my job as a bus conductor... You would like it too" (Unknown Artist, 1957).
- D** Ticket Display: Hanging display of giant tickets which looked like letters all falling down from the sky.
- E** Volunteer-led demonstration: different ticket machines and ticket designs which have been used on London's buses.
- F** Uniform Delivery case: Conductor's uniform and equipment including ticket tray, cash bag, Bell Punch and ID badge.
- G** RT and RM buses: with rear entrance platform, guarded by the conductor.
- H** Integrated ticketing: Oyster cards were first introduced in 2003 with the hope of achieving a single, cashless ticketing system across the whole network.

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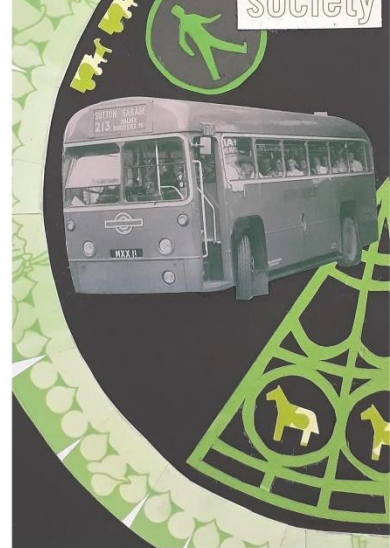


ON LONDON'S BUSES

Positive Growth

Transport promotes the growth of the city

future.
society



A. BUS
PASSENGER



Positive Growth

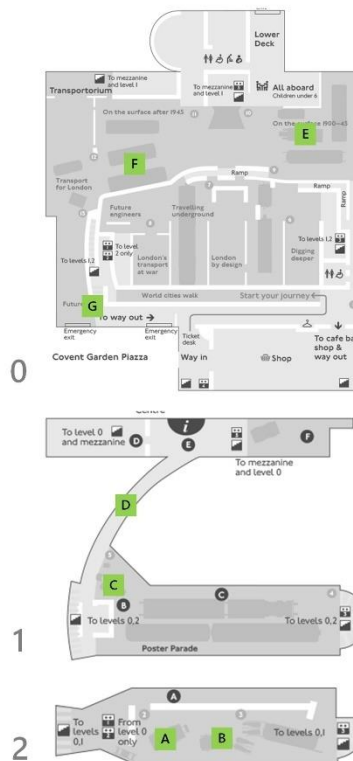
Transport helped London to grow. The green glow of the 'Go' sign makes bus travel fun; familiar faces might make friends. There's a rhythm to the journey': start-stop-GO! And time moves us onwards.

Past and Future travel

And yet, nobody seemed to enjoy travelling by Omnibus in the early days. A passenger on the New Road during the evening rush hour in 1833 found himself in a bus filled with 'decent clerks, fagged and harmless, going home for their tea'.

'Here we are,' he wrote, 'in all six and twenty sweating citizens, jammed, crammed and squeezed into each other like so many peas in a pod.'

Transport continues to be at the centre of London's growth and environment. It continues to shape the future of the city; will this future be green?



Passenger Trail

- A** Shillbeer Omnibus: London's first bus, introduced in 1829, it carried 22 passengers using 3 horses.
- B** Tilling Horse Bus: introduced in the 1840s and able to carry 26 passengers using two-horses. By 1859, Omnibuses were carrying 40 million passengers a year.
- C** Metroland: The bus's role in the expansion of the suburbs was to pick people up from their rail station and carry them closer to home.
- D** Bus Destination Blinds: as the network got more intricate, colours, numbers and signs were used to inform (potential) passengers of where they were going.
- E** B-Type Motorbus: introduced in 1911 this was one of the first buses to be motor-powered. The hard tyres and lack of suspension made the journey quite uncomfortable. By the 1930s, there were about 2 billion bus journeys annually.
- F** RT and RM buses: moving into the 20th and 21st centuries, buses remain an almost archaic mode of travel, their function and form not much changed in almost two hundred years, though perhaps passenger comfort has improved.
- G** Future Journey Gallery: the future is a product of vision, design and chance of which we all play our part.

Reproduced at 50% original size.





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Omnibus for All



Omnibus is Latin for 'for everyone'. The museum tells the story of the development of London's public transport as for the city and for Londoners.

Many modes take their place in the transport network. Today, bus travel might be perceived as a poor man's mode (particularly in the privatised provinces, anywhere in the UK but London). However, in its nascence during the 19th century, the omnibus was for middle class travellers who could afford the fares.

Today, there is a flat rate fare for bus travel. Night buses connect much of the capital 24 hours per day, making early hours travel to work possible for many.



- A** World Cities Walk: Transit networks help shape urban identity and are the backdrop to our lives.
- B** 19th Century gallery: learn about the rapid development of the city and its transport infrastructure during the 1800s.
- C** Horse-Tram: first mass transit for the working person; the rails meant horsepower could pull more weight.
- D** Metroland: the development of suburban London relied on integration of bus, tube and train lines to provide reliable journey times for London's commuters.
- E** B-Type Motorbus: the first motor buses were developed in the 1900s-1910s. Pneumatic tyres made them more comfortable in the 1920s.
- F** Design: London Transport developed a distinctive brand, from the design of seat moquette through to buildings and large infrastructure projects.
- G** On The Surface after 1945: as passenger demographics change, so does transport governance, funding and design.
- H** Transport for London: a new transport authority for the capital was introduced in the early 2000s to further develop an integrated transport network.

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Appendix I: Travelcard Design Description

[Front]



- 'Travelcard': replaces the word 'Oyster' in the design.
- 'On London's Buses': was the working title of the PhD project.
- P##: amended to reflect each individual participant.
- Greyed area: photograph of original collage.

[Reverse]

- 000RS## P##: amended to identify research stage and each individual participant.
- Pseudonym: analytical description of the participant based on my overall impression of them or a specific/key point within our interactions.
- Identity categories: as described.
- Observations: as described.