



The Courier, the Student, the Tourist: Three Perspectives on Cycling Landscapes

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Abstract

As cycling is increasingly promoted as a sustainable and fashionable means of transportation, practices and representations are also increasingly diverse. In this paper, we focus on the urban context, offering three perspectives based on our research experience: the food courier at the mercy of digital platforms; the commuting student, negotiating their independence during the home-school journey; and, finally, the tourist/traveler exploring the city by bicycle. We aim to investigate and highlight their peculiarities, paying particular attention to the fertile encounter of our different research methodologies and to the routing and visibility issues that emerge. We explore these three perspectives on cycling landscapes and their potential educational applications. Methodologically, we used auto-ethnography, surveys and literary sources to unpack the mobility scripts embedded within various cycling landscapes, as well as their continuous negotiation and contestation.

Keywords: Cycling, Urban Landscape, Mobilities, Routing, Visibility, Enskilment

1. Cycling and the city landscapes

As we write this article, bicycles are at the center of two relevant, albeit opposite, mediascapes. On Italian TV, we see numerous Italian townscapes impacted by the passage of *Giro d'Italia*, the popular multiple-stage bicycle race. At the same time, newspapers, websites and social networks continually report terrifying images of heavily shelled Ukrainian cities,

where bicycles are one of the few remaining means of transport. These two examples show the diversity of cycling landscapes and suggest the often unexpected relationship between cycles and urban landscapes.

Scholars in the social sciences and humanities have begun to explore these manifold perspectives on cycling from a historical (Larsen, 2020), emotional and

embodied (Spinney, 2009; Pánek and Benediktsson, 2017) or critical stance (Nello-Deakin, 2020; Zuev et al., 2021), as well as pay more attention to under-researched issues such as gender and disabilities (Aldred et al., 2016; Clayton et al., 2017).

Meanwhile, landscape is no longer seen as antithetic to urban environments; rather it helps us understand cities and ordinary urban landscapes in their social, cultural and subjective dynamics (Cosgrove, 1998; Minca, 2013).

The landscape-mobility nexus is the entanglements of infrastructures, practices, representations and politics that characterise the complex relationship between people and places (Merriman et al., 2008). Moreover, the notion of landscape is increasingly challenged by more-than-representational (Waterton, 2018), as well as critical and political approaches (Egoz, 2018). Those altogether undermine its traditionally predominant symbolic and static interpretation by including mobility issues, from the walking body to refugees' landscapes.

Adding to this debate, our paper focuses on cycling urban landscapes and discusses the perspectives of three apparently distant subjects: the courier, the student and the tourist. While for the courier, cycling is synonymous with work, the student uses cycles to commute, and the tourist sees them as leisure. Together, these separate accounts define what it means to cycle in the city and, specifically, how diverse but somehow similar the conditions, affective capacities (Jones, 2012), technologies and reciprocal relationships with the landscape are.

The following sections will therefore present three vignettes drawn from our different research experiences, which include mobile ethnographies, action research, surveys and literary explorations. These sections can easily be converted into didactic tools, such as short papers students can use to learn about cycling landscapes. They can also serve as a point of departure for further action-research activities. These activities can potentially prompt basic insights on routes, materialities and sensations on-the-move, as well as trigger reflections on more complex socio-economic and political landscapes (Castiglioni and Cisani, 2020).

2. The courier

It's Wednesday afternoon, late October 2020, and I (Cosmin) am doing my first shift for Deliveroo. Working as a courier for one of the biggest food delivery platforms in the UK is part of the ethnographic research for my project "Doing gig work: Social implications of platform-based food deliveries", which studies the platform-based gig economy and its reconfiguration of urban spaces in three European cities.

Having arrived in Manchester two years before, the city is still new to me. I nervously pedal my cycle towards Deansgate, where I've seen other food couriers congregating and where the app is prompting me to head and wait for orders. Like other central areas in Manchester, Deansgate stands in stark contrast with the rest of the city. Partially closed to car traffic and well-lighted, with modern glass buildings and plenty of restaurants and fast-food establishments, Deansgate is where most food couriers on cycles choose to kill their time and socialise between orders.

Soon, I discover that they also do not fancy straying from Deansgate and the center, despite the app keeps on assigning them far-away orders. Couriers show me the many dozens of rejections to such orders that have been piling up since this morning. When I get the first order notification, I am no longer baffled: I am sent all the way to Sportcity, to easternmost Manchester, well outside the center, in an area with large empty roads, bad car traffic and not much light. I am supposed to cycle over 5 kilometers for £4.50. This is annoying and disheartening. I reject it immediately and instinctively because the area is not only far but also quite unknown to me.

In the following evenings, I keep rejecting more and more orders from far-away, unfamiliar or dangerous areas. I avoid the north and west of Greater Manchester: the hilly Cheetham Hill, the rough Salford and the not-so-intimate Old Trafford. Instead, I say yes to most of south Manchester, where I used to live and where the main thoroughfare, Oxford Road, which continues as Wilmslow Road, has a cycle lane. It feels safer, even when it's replete with students and customers moving around the many

restaurants, takeaways and kebab houses. With its distinctive and enticing smells of fried meat, this loud and colourful corridor, also known as Curry Mile, is always a tempting stop.

As a newly arrived worker and also a novice cycle courier, like most of my migrant colleagues completing food deliveries, learning the city landscape is intimately linked with grasping the intricacies of the app. During the first days at work, I accepted most orders heading south. I was not questioning the algorithm's decision-making process, which is skewed to disadvantage workers through information asymmetries inherent to the gig economy (Rosenblat and Stark, 2016). I realise that I enjoy cycling on what I perceive to be safe roads and through safe areas, even if it takes me 40 minutes to cycle down to Fallowfield and back. Often, I completed the journey back to the city with an empty bag, just to get a new job. Surely, Deliveroo's smart algorithm could have allocated this order to a faster car and not exhaust me with a ride all the way to Fallowfield! However, I do not rely on the food courier earnings for a living and, because I only work a few hours a day, I can generously burn calories and run out of breath on long journeys, even for a few pounds. The full-time couriers, in contrast, are much more strategic in their approach.

The navigation of the urban landscape by the platform cycle courier is hardwired to the prevalent logic of platform capitalism (Srnicek, 2016), with the other workers' and my experience of Manchester being formed by the demands and rhythms of its circuits. An algorithm effectively dictates my journey, the pick-up point at the restaurant and the drop point at the customer's address. These routes are the product of trade rather than leisure, despite the intensely gamified experience that these platforms foster among workers through bonuses, challenges and ratings (Popan and Anaya-Boig, 2022; Woodcock and Johnson, 2018). However, regarding this algorithmic management of work and landscape navigation, couriers respond affectively through "qualculations" (Bissell, 2022; Shapiro, 2018), as previously indicated, while they devise their own reading and learning of the cityscape (Figure 1).

The long-distance orders, to which the algorithm seems oblivious and which would exhaust most cyclists, are complemented by other types of orders and, consequently, cityscapes that I eventually learn to either avoid or say "yes" to while taking extra precautions. These are, for example, the rough areas on the edges of the city center, where media reports about couriers being attacked and robbed of their bikes, phones and even food have occurred in recent years. The perception and experience of safety are even more complicated for the few women completing cycle deliveries. Their experience of the city is further limited, both spatially and temporally, as they often choose, for safety reasons, to work closer to where they live and finish their shifts earlier in the evening than their male counterparts.

The routes to both restaurants and customers, also assigned by the algorithm, become with time and continuous learning, subject to contestation. A main road may be more straightforward but not necessarily safer, especially during rush hour, when it is clogged with traffic. The evening, which is the most lucrative time of the day, is also the most dangerous time to be out cycling. Choosing cycle lanes instead of main roads is no better: not only are they sparse and often not segregated but they also run through remote areas, are not lit in the evening and can easily turn into attack sites. Importantly, being paid per drop and not per hour while cycling in hostile road environments means that many couriers experience the city at a faster pace than most cyclists: they are under continuous stress, ride at speed and ignore traffic rules. In doing so, they further jeopardise their overall safety.

The pandemic has increased people's reliance on food delivery platforms, but their use is not equally distributed across the city. An analysis of my GPS datapoints gathered during 20 days of work in early 2021 shows that most of my orders were delivered in the city center and south Manchester, which are two of the most affluent areas in the city. While this can be attributed, to an extent, to my preference for these two areas, as previously mentioned above, it also highlights the fact that ordering food via platforms roughly follows class and ethnic lines.

Completing food deliveries by bike seems fun and playful, especially if it is an extra job or when one is a researcher. In contrast, it is hard work for those working full-time. Because it relies on gamified experiences to recruit, exploit and keep users and workers captive, the gig economy explicitly denies couriers the serendipity and game-like experience of cycling. It does so through algorithmic management, which dictates mobility patterns that maximise capitalist production.

However, despite these algorithmic calculations, food couriers still retain some of their agency as they navigate urban landscapes. They oppose such automatic calculations with their own affective interpretation of what the task at hand is and how it should be accomplished. Because they prefer central areas to maximise earnings, avoid dangerous zone and roads, couriers show that “gaming” the smartness of the algorithm remains a distinct possibility.



Figure 1. A Manchester food courier. Illustration: Ionuț Dulămiță.

3. The student

While Cosmin was doing his first shift for Deliveroo in Manchester, the pandemic was still severely hitting the city of Bergamo, Italy. Here, a small group of activists, teachers, students and their families decided that it was time to address the school run issue. Given the limited capacity of public transportation (only 50% of bus seating

capacity could be filled) and the risk of increased traffic congestion, the group’s goal was to promote cycling amongst students and teachers. As a member of the local pro-cycling association, I (Margherita) had the chance to follow the development of the project from a researcher’s perspective. I seized the opportunity to observe the students’ role in it and collect timely data on their perceptions of the urban landscape and its relationship to bicycle use.

Cycling students are a minority, at least in the Italian context, only accounting for 11.1% of the active traveler population, which includes those walking or using kick-scooters (ISFORT, 2021, p. 52). Some initiatives encourage sustainable mobility for the home-school commute, but they often target only primary school students. Moreover, the scholarship exploring cycling determinants and obstacles has only recently considered qualitative approaches, alongside traditional quantitative approaches, to investigate the effective conditions involved in using cycles for everyday mobility (Spinney, 2009; Nixon, 2012; Larsen, 2017; Simpson, 2018; van Cauwenberg et al., 2018).

The project, called GreenLaneProject¹, is inspired by the “Metrominuto” idea, developed in several cities in Spain and Italy (Mardones-Fernández-de-Valderrama et al., 2020). It consists of maps realised on the model of subway maps but featuring, instead, walking and cycling distances between significant places in the city, which often are shorter than perceived. The implementation of the Metrominuto model in Bergamo directly involved its intended users in the creative process, thereby crafting a map based on students’ perceptions on and uses of the urban landscape.

The first step of the GreenLaneProject involved a survey created with Google Forms and completed by 408 students with the aim of understanding their willingness to cycle before and after the pandemic. The results show that, although the use of cars and motorcycles increased during this period from 10.5% to 19.1%, 45% of the respondents said that they could, theoretically, cycle to school instead of using other means of transportation.

¹ www.greenlaneproject.it.

Encouraged by such results, the group began the mapping phase of the project to identify the “stations” and “routes” on the map. The students then recruited a group of “trackers” to pedal along the identified routes, assess their feasibility and estimate actual travel times from station to station. A Google Map resulting from this database was created and made available on the project’s website, and a graphic map was also generated (Figure 2).

The second phase of the project began at the end of 2021, when we distributed an additional questionnaire and relaunched the project. This second survey gathered a total of 100 responses. The answers to the open-ended questions, in particular, offered valuable insights into the complexity and variety of motivations, experiences and sensations associated with the school run and added depth and meaning to the cycle routes drawn on the map.

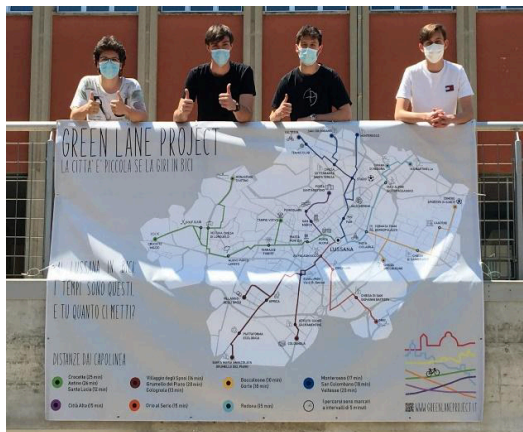


Figure 2. The students with the GreenLaneProject cycling map. Source: greenlaneproject.it.

Unsurprisingly, most cycling students declare that they enjoy their commutes more than those travelling by bus, car or train/tramway. Apart from sleepiness, a sensation associated with all travel modes, students who commute by bicycle perceive temperature variations and sweat more intensely, but they also feel less nervous, slow and fatigued than others, associating the journey with more positive feelings than those using other means of transportation (Figure 3).

The comfort and convenience of the cycle

ride were the most salient experiences mentioned by students in their answers. These factors, however, are not only related to the cycle-rider hybrid, because they depend on the surrounding landscape as well. The unpleasant sections of the route, for example, are almost entirely associated with car traffic, with dangerous road segments for both pedestrians and cyclists and perceived insecurity when navigating certain areas.

“I enjoy riding alongside this field, as I believe it’s one of the few left without buildings”, one student writes, associating the pleasure of the commute with green and open spaces.

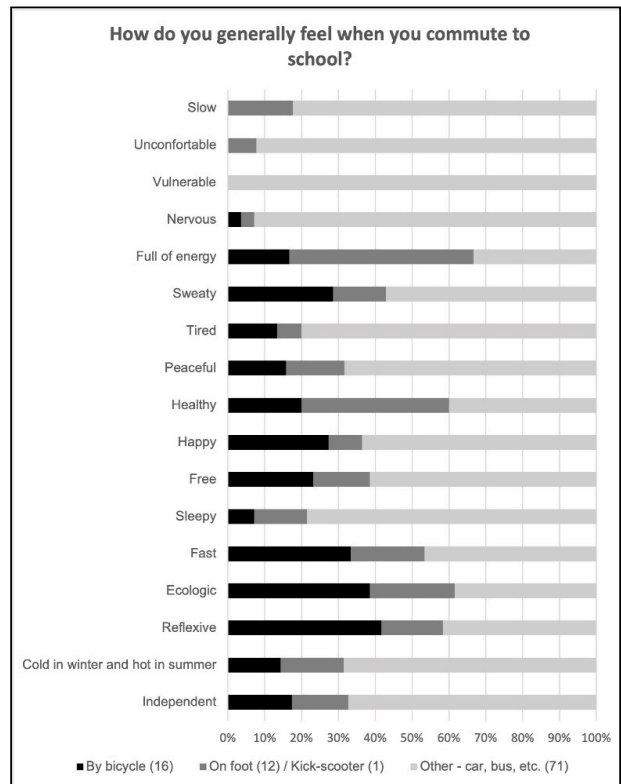


Figure 3. Feelings perceived during the commute to school. Source: M. Cisani survey for GreenLaneProject.

Another student, describing one significant point in the ride, writes, “Here, I like to cast a glance toward the upper city and the clock on the tower before continuing my journey”. Another expressed a special enjoyment at a

particular spot where they had “time to think and reflect”, showing the importance of familiar and ordinary landscapes in promoting moments of reflection and wellbeing. However, the cycle commute is not always quiet and pleasant, because some stretches of the route require attention and cycling skill. “Here, the bike lane is ruined and overcrowded with students waiting for the bus”, signals one student, denoting that sometimes not only cars complicate the ride. “At that point, I have to be careful because I have to change lanes and enter the cycle path”, writes another student, revealing the kinetic skills needed to navigate the patchy bike lanes, which are not always easily accessible.

The above quotes, together with the survey responses, are representative of the multiple feelings, sensations and skills that are co-produced when experiencing the landscape on a cycle. Cycle commuting is also associated with acquiring a better knowledge of the city’s positive and negative characteristics. Organisational, navigation and kinetic skills are, in fact, needed to avoid risks and balance the fatigue and discomfort resulting from the greater exposure to the surrounding landscape. Furthermore, time is not the main deterrent to cycle use, because many students appreciate the perceived quality of the trip rather than complaining about its duration. Therefore, we must understand cycling as a corporeal and sensuous mode of movement that can be shaped by the city contours and weather-worlds (Larsen 2020, p. 132). In spite of it or perhaps because of it, the majority of the feelings elicited in the survey are positive and involve sensations such as freedom, speed, independence and happiness, which stand in striking contrast with those experienced by the other bicycle users we presented in the previous section.

4. The tourist

Friday, April 15, 2022. After a few hours of cycling from Peschiera, in the province of Verona, I (Davide) arrive with a group of friends in Mantua. At the entrance of the hotel where we will spend the night, a large sticker featuring a bicycle profile reads “Bikes welcome!” We follow the receptionist’s directions and take the

bikes to the inner courtyard, parking them in the nearly full cycle racks. Most other cycle tourists come from Germany and Austria. In the evening, we go out for dinner by bike because we also plan to take a tour of the city center and explore its surroundings. We cycle without paying attention to traffic-restricted areas or worrying about parking spaces. There are not many cycle paths in the city center, which has plenty of narrow streets, but we easily find our way around the main squares and monuments.

Entering the town following a countryside cycle path was straightforward, except for a few stretches where we struggled to navigate some car-choked boulevards. Once one arrives in the traffic-free area, cycling is an ideal way to access the historical urban environment, both physically and metaphorically. We must be aware of pedestrians (sometimes we use our bicycle bells to announce our presence and the reactions are not always welcoming), but we can nevertheless cycle at a low speed, admiring the beauty of the city and the fluidity of the urban structure. The center is quite small, and being able to cross it in a few minutes gives the impression of understanding the city, grasping its structure and tasting its identity. It is like a slow-motion movie, in which the various images possess an enchanting rhythm.

The perception of contemporary urban landscapes is characterised by motion. Mobility is the quintessential aspect of modern urban identity. As Arjun Appadurai reminds us, one of the key components of the landscapes of globalisation is the flows of people: “By ethnoscape, I mean the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). Tourists are the first category mentioned by Appadurai as contemporary “icons” of mobility in globalised landscapes. The perception of urban contexts as tourist attractions is deeply influenced by their mere presence in the streets. In many analyses, the very concept of “overtourism” is based on the visual aspect of overcrowding. Indeed, the massive presence of tourists in the urban

landscape represents a highly visible symptom of overtourism². When we were cycling through the centre of Mantua, whose streets were filled with tourists, this concept became apparent to us, paradoxically, of course, because we were tourists as well.

Similarly to Appadurai's iconic tourists, cycle tourists are even more visible: the physical presence of their bicycles, their very colorful sportswear, the peculiar bicycle speed, an "intermediate" one, so to speak: too slow if seen from the perspective of a car driver³, too fast from a walker's perspective.

Cycle tourists perceive the surrounding environment differently. The rhythm of the movement, the slightly more panoramic position of observation and the multisensorial immersion in the surrounding environment are all elements that create the basis for a specific perception of the landscapes⁴. As Didier Tronchet puts it, starting to cycle means a "change in the point of view" (Tronchet, 2011, p. 16).

The cycling tourist is an element of the landscape (the cyclist is perceived by others), and at the same time, they are active performers of a specific vision of the landscape (Figure 4). There is a mutual exchange in this visual encounter; the gaze proceeds in both directions, from the cycling tourist and towards the cycle tourist. A growing cycling literature, both as everyday transportation and a tourist choice, is filling the bookstore shelves. Dedicated book series and even specialised publishing houses provide "cycling literature", a sub-genre of travel literature, with its literary tropes and traditions. This literature provides a vast array of examples of how cycle tourists perceive their environment.

As Didier Tronchet states, the cyclists' very physical posture affords the adoption of a

² The term "overtourism" has a wide variety of meanings (cfr. Mihalic, 2020). Within the perspective adopted here, we refer to "tourist congestion in visited places" (Szromek et al., 2019, p. 1).

³ The first pages of Didier Tronchet (2011) treaty on the philosophy of cycling are a virtuoso description of the many differences between the world seen from an automobile and the world as seen from a bicycle.

⁴ About the idea of a "cycling landscape" see Pesses, 2010; Spinney, 2006; Papotti, 2021.

specific existential attitude: "*La postura è simile a quella delle statue antiche. E porta con sé una visione dinamica, una tensione in avanti che testimonia una grande fiducia in ciò che la vita riserva*" (2011, p. 7)⁵. This "faith" in the future relates to the above-mentioned discourse of "permeability" that the bicycle grants the tourist. There are no physical filters between the cycling tourist and the surrounding environment and thus they can enjoy the landscape not only from a visual point of view but also as a "smellscape", a "soundscape" and a "touchscape". Different road surfaces influence the comfort of the ride and movement⁶.

The increased mobility of the bicycle (in terms of speed as compared to the pedestrian and of accessibility as compared to car travelling) shifts the focus of perception toward a more fluid dimension; while cycling, the tourist lives the experience of the itinerary, which is more than a succession of individual tourist destinations. The overall perception of the urban environment seems to be more synthetic than analytic, and it is more deeply tied to movement, even if a slow one.

Is the cycling tourist really free of constraints? Are they really free "birds" allowed to fly (and to sing, according to Tronchet, 2011, pp. 14-15) freely from one place to another? This is only partially true. Itinerary constraints are dictated by bicycle paths, car traffic conditions and the presence of pedestrians. Moreover, when identifying destinations, the cycle tourist is confronted with the same limitations faced by other travelers, be they tourist guides or road signals suggesting itineraries to follow and locations to visit. This rigid reduction of the complexity of the territory is not completely unknown to the cycle tourist, despite the more numerous sensorial stimuli. The cycle tourists orient themselves thanks to the same technologies as other tourists (GPS and digital cartography), with all the advantages but also unpredictable consequences and unexpected outcomes of a blind faith in these instruments.

⁵ "The posture is similar to that of ancient statues. And it carries with it a dynamic vision, a forward tension that testifies to a great trust in what life holds in store".

⁶ For a definition of these different sensorial "layers" of a landscape, see Porteous, 1990.

The tourist is most of the time (i.e., when reaching new destinations) exploring an “unknown to them” environment and cannot rely on previous knowledge and experience. Thus they must follow the directions provided by technological tools to find their way.

5. Reflections on methods, routes and visibility

From a methodological point of view, we began with an initial discussion; then, each of us drafted their own section independently, which was subsequently shared with the rest of the group. In practice, the account dedicated to couriers was the first to be completed and shared, and the autobiographical writing adopted in this case spontaneously inspired the next two accounts. Sustained by a growing literature on the embodied nature of cycling, which is often informed by (auto-)ethnographies (Spinney, 2006; Larsen, 2014; Popan, 2020), we adopted this narrative device, which hopefully facilitates the reader’s engagement and fosters an active connection between the three parts.

Comparing different cycling experiences informed our methodological choices besides cycling landscapes being our common interest. This made it possible to identify unexpected connections and initiate enriching comparisons between unrelated disciplinary outlooks and approaches.

Routing and visibility are the two factors we identified as having a significant bearing on the co-production of the urban landscape. Routing performances can be conceived of as “the product and the producer of diverse velocities, paces, and rhythms, concerning both goal-oriented and accidental movement and navigation across surfaces” (Rabbiosi, 2021, p. 375). As our different perspectives show, cycling velocity is all but homogeneous, even with regard to its perception. While the couriers’ speed is highly valued because the more orders they deliver, the more they earn, the velocity of the student appears to often be underestimated, while the tourist’s speed is *par excellence* considered slow, although not as slow as that of the pedestrian.



Figure 4. Cycling tourists in Rome.
Source: <http://viaggi.corriere.it/>.

Movement through urban landscapes is marked by different rhythms: multiple and radial comings and goings for couriers; a single, linear route travelled in both directions for students and an immersive, fluid exploration punctuated by major sightseeing sites for tourists (Figure 5).

For all three types of cyclists, these routing patterns can be imposed, contested and altered to different extents through the use of maps, apps or guided itineraries (such as in the student’s project). These routing patterns can also be more or less constrained: the courier is more forcefully bound to the algorithmically dictated routes, while the tourist can maintain some independence in their exploration of the urban landscape.

Itinerary choice is also strongly influenced by different factors, of which visibility is the most prominent. Darkness, empty roads and gaze reciprocity can affect the cycling experience, as Cosmin’s case exemplifies. Cyclists’ appreciation of the urban landscape is more of a “sensescape”: it results from the relationship and interaction between the sensing body and the surrounding landscape (van Duppen and Spierings, 2013, p. 235). Furthermore, the cyclist’s visual perspective determines positive or negative sensations and can trigger further reactions in the moving body. Cyclists, however, are also an object of others’ gazes: their very presence can provide additional information about a certain the landscape by, for example, helping to identify the most suitable city areas where couriers can collect orders or

characterising touristic sites. Visibility is also strictly related to safety because it is seen as a condition for survival in traffic, especially for women. Dedicated cycle lanes are thus less crucial than generally considered. They provide safety options, but also constrain route choice. Thus, cycle lanes are often abandoned for more direct routes, or they “abandon” the cyclist because they are fragmented or disappear in central and pedestrian areas.

The sketches represented in Figure 5, therefore, should be intended as a baseline, one potentially useful in educational activities, to be expanded and contested by the students (see also Cisani, 2017) recognising the presence of multiple sensescapes and relational gazes, restrictions and affordances, as well as tactics of adaptation and contrast, which, together, create a multifaceted urban cycling landscape.

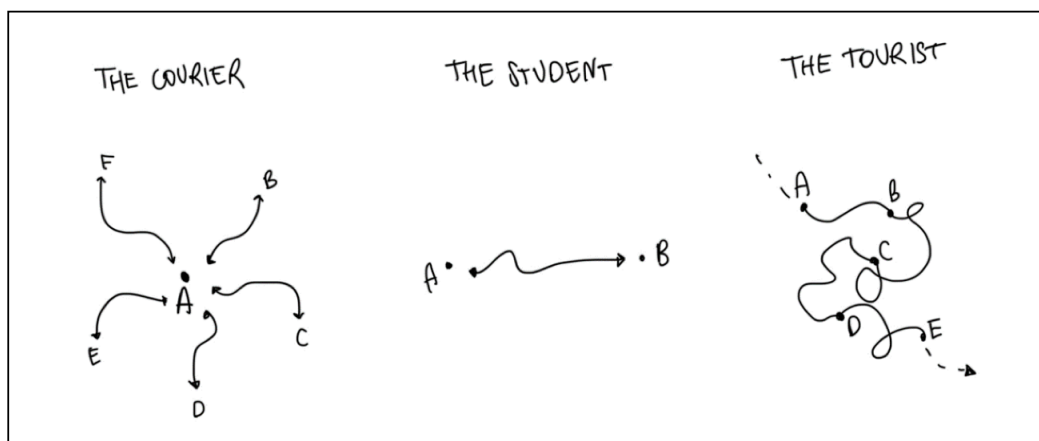


Figure 5. Sketches symbolising the various routing performances. Source: authors' elaboration.

6. Cycling and learning the city landscapes

Borrowing Ingold's concept of enskilment (2000), we consider cycling in urban landscapes to be a process of learning the landscape, one that is inseparable from practical engagement with the world, a necessary step in the “continuous process of learning about the land, environment and society that is manifested in the landscape” (Antrop and Van Eetvelde, 2019, p. 31). Place, movement, and skills play a crucial role in all the three accounts presented in this paper (see also Wattchow and Prins, 2018; Woods et al., 2021; Mertena et al., 2022).

What our comparison highlighted, however, is that learning the city's landscape is also highly informed and guided by the rider's immersion in the socio-economic and technological spheres. The courier's experience revealed how powerful the algorithm guiding them is but also how effective – and

constraining in relation to the learned landscape – their survival tactics are. Less explicitly, students are also somehow routed in urban space, yet representations and constraints often either deter them from cycling or push them to use dedicated routes. The GreenLaneProject showed that they can, however, challenge established perceptions, such as time perception and body sensations on the move, by enabling a more conscious exploration and knowledge of the urban landscape. The tourist is most explicitly open to gathering knowledge on the urban landscape, and they appear to be the most permeable to the urban fabric. Nevertheless, tourist itineraries and, increasingly, a certain cycling literature constrain tourists to more or less pre-established scripts. Those are often linked to the consumption practices of the (over)touristed city, yet not completely disconnected from the broader local cycling culture.

We hope that these insights will contribute to

a richer understanding of how the urban landscape is learned through three cycling practices. These three perspectives may also inform landscape teaching pathways, which are characterised by field activities, narratives, imagination and observation, interdisciplinarity and iterativity (Antrop and Van Eetvelde, 2019).

While this article offers a comparative glance at three urban cycling landscapes, further research is needed to tap into their complexities and the role of en-skilment processes in landscape perception, education and awareness.

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