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MOBILITY, MIGRATION AND TRANSPORT

Historical Perspectives

Colin G. Pooley

Palgrave Pivots on Migration History

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"It seems as though we have never been more on the move. Mobility theorists sketch how our lives are constantly remade by the intertwined movements of bodies, things and information circulating at geographical scales from the local to the global. In this incisive book Colin Pooley questions whether this is really anything new. By forging connections between the scholarly fields of migration, mobility and transport history he brilliantly demonstrates that more links us to than separates us from human movement in the past. Pooley thus challenges historians and mobility scholars alike to re-think their research. The social and ecological dilemmas of contemporary mobility can only be understood in a historical context; writing that history requires closer attention to how everyday and residential travel were entangled with each other and the transport systems that made them possible. This book is essential reading for anyone concerned about the future, present and past of human motion."

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—Catharine Coleborne, *Professor and Head of School of Humanities and Social Science, University of Newcastle, Australia.*

"Pooley has written a revelatory and accessible book that makes the case that students of migration, mobility, and transportation would do well to look to each other in order to deepen their understanding of the human experience – and to do so in historical perspective. Using a combination of international data, a wide set of references, and individual example, Pooley persuasively argues that these three fields together open the way for rich interdisciplinary research and teaching."

—Leslie Page Moch, *Professor Emerita of History, Department of History, Michigan State University, East Lansing, USA.*

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Preface

This book draws on research undertaken over a long academic career and has benefited from contacts with colleagues and researchers in many different countries. My academic interest in migration and mobility as historical processes began as a student, and my doctoral thesis (completed some forty years ago) focused on the movement of people into Liverpool during the nineteenth century, and on the residential moves that this population undertook within the city. Since then I have returned periodically to research on different aspects of population movement, with an increased focus on all aspects of migration, mobility, travel and transport in the past few years. Key projects that have cumulatively informed my thinking on human population movement include research on Welsh migration to English towns in the nineteenth century (undertaken with John Doherty); the construction of longitudinal migration histories in Britain from c1750 to the 1980s (with Jean Turnbull), and a study of everyday mobility in twentieth-century Britain (with Jean Turnbull and Mags Adams). All three of these projects were funded by the British Economic and Social Research Council (formerly Social Science Research Council). I also undertook research on the changing journey to work (with Jean Turnbull), funded by the Leverhulme Trust, and on walking and cycling as sustainable modes of urban transport in twenty-first century English cities (with Dave Horton and Griet Scheldeman in Lancaster and colleagues including Miles Tight, Ann Jopson, Caroline Mullen and Tim Jones from the Universities of Leeds and Oxford Brookes), funded by the British Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council. Most recently (with Marilyn Pooley) I have been

using diary evidence to reconstruct patterns of everyday mobility in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. All this research has contributed to this short book.

The volume also draws heavily on the knowledge and experience I have gained through interaction with a wide range of other scholars researching different aspects of migration, mobility and transport. Key influences include the stimulating research environment generated by the Centre for Mobilities Research (CeMoRe) at Lancaster University where I have benefited from the insights and wisdom of many colleagues, not least the late John Urry who founded the Centre and led it for many years. Participation in the migration strands of both the American Social Science History Association conference and the European Social Science History Conference over many years has exposed me to new ideas and many wise colleagues, and has helped me to refine my thoughts on both global and local migration in parts of the world of which I have little direct experience. Like many migration researchers I largely avoided a focus on transport until relatively recently when I was invited to join Colin Divall and Julian Hine in convening a series of research workshops (funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council) on 'mobility cultures: making a usable past for transport policy'. Discussions in these events greatly helped me to refine my ideas about the connections between migration, mobility and transport. One short book cannot do justice to all the themes that have emerged from such research collaborations but, hopefully, the volume does begin to distil some of the material I have gathered together over many years, and to connect some of the initially disparate themes that have emerged from many conference sessions and academic discussions.

It is obvious from the above that I owe many debts of gratitude to numerous academic colleagues I have worked with and listened to at conferences and seminars over a forty year period. They are too numerous to mention individually but I gratefully acknowledge their influences and insights which have unknowingly helped to shape this book. In addition to the colleagues I have worked with directly (and mentioned by name above), there a number of other people who have contributed more directly to this volume and who I must acknowledge specifically. Cathy Coleborne, Colin Divall, Donna Gabaccia, Leslie Page Moch, Lynne Pearce and Siân Pooley have all read and commented on a draft manu-script and in doing so have helped to greatly improve the book. I am most grateful to you all for your willingness to commit time to this and I regret

that constraints of space have not allowed me to include all your wise suggestions. The inevitable imperfections that the book contains are entirely my own responsibility. Thanks are also due to the staff at Palgrave who have been unfailingly helpful and efficient in seeing the book through the production process. No academic book can ever be the last word on any topic, and this short volume certainly does not claim to be all-encompassing in its scope. However, my hope is that it does at least help to stimulate further debate and academic discussion, that it will be useful as a research and teaching tool, and that it may lead to new collaborations between those researching and teaching aspects of migration, mobility and transport in the past.

Lancaster
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Colin G. Pooley

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CHAPTER 1

Mobility and History: Framing the Argument

Abstract Human mobility, and the infrastructures and technologies that facilitate it, are central to all societies, places and time periods. They have been a constant feature within a changing global economic, societal, cultural and environmental landscape. This book highlights the connections between migration (a change of residence over any distance), mobility (daily or short-term moves that facilitate everyday life) and transport technologies and infrastructures. It is argued that the historical analysis and understanding of these themes has too often been compartmentalised with little or no recognition of the ways in which the three dimensions of human movement interact. This introductory chapter examines the significance of human mobility, the ways in which mobility has been researched, and some of the sources commonly used.

Keywords Migration · Mobility · Transport

Introduction

Human mobility, and the infrastructures and technologies that facilitate it, are central to all societies, places and time periods. They have been a constant feature within a changing global economic, societal, cultural and environmental landscape. Furthermore, despite technological innovations that produce new modes of travel and communication, old and well-established

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means of moving from place to place persist and, in some instances, remain dominant. Likewise, reasons for movement – usually a subtle combination of pressures at home and attractions elsewhere – continue. At the time of writing (Spring/Summer 2016) our media are dominated by pictures and reports of large numbers of men, women and children fleeing zones of conflict and seeking safety within Europe. These images, and the human misery that they represent, demonstrate the complexity and contradictions of human population movement in the twenty-first century. Those attempting to move between continents and across borders have been forced to leave behind the comforts and conveniences of their previous lives, and to travel precariously with few possessions, first on a dangerous sea crossing and then on foot: the oldest and most traditional means of travel. Moreover, frequently those on the move are shown walking long distances along railway lines: following the routes of a technology that should facilitate easy movement but which they cannot access. This mobile population mostly has a clear view of why they are leaving and where they wish to go. Many have access to smart phones through which they can gain access to real-time information about routes and destinations, but such modern mobile communications sit uneasily with the reliance on human power for movement itself. During their journey to safety and security their travel is repeatedly interrupted and impeded: by those who demand substantial sums of money to provide a precarious sea crossing to Europe, by European governments that unilaterally close borders and fail to provide any significant support even for the most vulnerable, and by European populations that are fearful of those perceived as different or possibly dangerous. In a world where rapid communication and travel is all too often taken for granted, hundreds of thousands of desperate people are finding potentially life-saving travel extremely difficult.[1]

Such large-scale human movement is not of course new, but has occurred repeatedly at different times and in different places. In twentieth-century Europe the most obvious parallels are the large-scale movement of refugees during and after World War II (Proudfoot 1956; Castles et al. 2005) or following the break-up of Yugoslavia and war in the Balkans (Woodward 1995; Hockenos 2003), but similar movements have occurred in most parts of the world including Russia, South Asia and China in all periods of history (Mallee and Pieke 1999; Amrith 2013; Siegelbaum and Moch 2014; Topik and Pomeranz 2014). Moreover, smaller scale population movements affecting individuals, families and small groups that do not attract media attention are occurring constantly

but go almost unnoticed except by those most directly affected. Some such movements may be difficult or traumatic, but most are simply a normal part of everyday life. While mass population movements understandably attract much attention, the small journeys that are undertaken everyday are also essential to the construction and facilitation of daily social, economic and cultural life. What all movement, be it long-distance migration or short-distance daily mobility such as travel to work, to school or to shop, have in common is the need for transport, be it on foot, bicycle, bus, train or automobile. The aim of this book is to highlight the connections between migration (a change of residence over any distance), mobility (daily or short-term moves that facilitate everyday life) and the transport technologies and infrastructures that facilitate movement. It is argued that the historical analysis and understanding of migration, mobility and transport has too often been compartmentalised with little or no recognition of the ways in which the three dimensions of human movement interact. Using examples from a range of time periods and places I demonstrate the connections between migration history, mobility studies and transport history, show how each can be enriched through a fuller recognition of the others, and suggest that such an approach can in turn deepen our understanding of historical change within communities and societies.

Why Mobility Matters

First, it is important to establish why the historical study of population movement is important. Human beings are naturally restless creatures. While a sense of rootedness and the security of home are important for most people, at the same time they often have a natural curiosity to discover new places, resources and experiences, to progress and improve, and to make new friends and connections. This all necessitates travel: every day to facilitate work, education, leisure and sustenance; periodically for leisure or work-related longer-distance journeys; and more rarely but most disruptively to move to a new location, usually voluntarily but sometimes forced. This has been true since the earliest human populations inhabited the earth: arguably all that has changed significantly is the means of transport used, our knowledge of other places and opportunities, and to some degree the balance of motivating factors as necessity has increasingly been replaced by desire and preference, at least for those accustomed to more comfortable modern lifestyles (Rouse 1986; Hoerder 2002). While the ability and need

to move has been a constant requirement to enable individuals and families to construct their everyday lives, such movements have also had deep and enduring impacts on the societies in which they take place. Daily movements of population from place to place (for instance to centres of employment from suburban locations), internal residential migration from one part of a country to another, and international migration across borders all have the potential to place strains on infrastructure, affect economic development, create social tensions and shape political policies. Where barriers to movement exist or are imposed, for instance in the twentieth century through restrictions on internal movement in Russia or through the tightening of immigration legislation in the USA and Europe, the societal implications can be great. People often desperate to move are prevented from doing so, and prejudice against migrants, including those already present, may be increased (Bigo and Guild 2005; Hollifield et al. 2014; Siegelbaum and Moch 2014). For many, especially those with the most precarious lives, the principal barriers to moving – or at least to moving to a preferred location – are their poverty and inability to negotiate the complex paths of either internal or international movement. These are the people remaining in conflict zones and abject poverty despite a desire to move, the internally displaced persons living in temporary accommodation within their own country, or the millions of refugees who have moved from zones of conflict to camps in neighbouring states that can ill afford to accommodate a large influx of migrants (UNHCR 2015).

In the context of historical mobilities it is important to try to establish what has changed and what has remained the same, and how these changes have affected people's abilities to move either in relation to their everyday lives or for a change of residence. I argue that while change has certainly occurred, there has also been a remarkable degree of stability over time with the factors that structure human movement remaining largely constant. The most obvious changes have been in transport technologies that have affected the ease of movement. Prior to the nineteenth century everyone travelled either on foot, on horse-back, in horse-drawn transport, or by barge or boat on inland waterways or across the oceans. Power was generated by humans, animals or wind, and although the rich could travel in more comfort and privacy than the poor, in other respects the experience of travel was much the same for all social classes. Global inequalities were also much smaller with travel on foot in (for instance) rural England and rural India taking place at much the same speed and level of comfort and convenience. The development of steam power and

industrial development, first in Europe and then elsewhere, provided new faster, more convenient and often more comfortable forms of transport. The railway linked urban centres, steam ships speeded international travel across oceans, and by the late-nineteenth century steam and then electric trams replaced horse-drawn omnibuses in urban areas. Such developments created a more differentiated travel landscape with those able to access faster forms of transport reaping the most benefits. Arguably, as transport choices increased so both local and global social differentiation in transport increased with higher levels of transport-related social exclusion for those unable to afford or otherwise access new forms of transport. In the twentieth century the internal combustion engine and the development of passenger flights again revolutionised transport, but as the car became increasingly dominant so other forms of transport tended to decline and global transport inequalities were further increased. While most people in the richest countries of the world gained access to fast, personal transport, many in the poorest countries of the world continued to rely on more traditional forms of travel. New transport technologies have certainly changed the experience of travel, but access to these technologies remains uneven (Dyos and Aldcroft 1969; Porter 2002; Whitelegg and Haq 2003; Votolato 2007).

Consequences of such change can be seen at both local and global scales. For instance, the widespread availability of the car in Britain and most other rich nations has enabled people to extend their journey to work and, if they wish, to exchange commuting for residential migration. Whereas in the past it was essential for most to live close to a place of work, from the mid-twentieth century this became much less necessary (Pooley 2003). At an international scale the free movement of labour within the EU, and easy access to long-distance transport, has facilitated substantial labour migration from the poorer regions of Europe to those countries such as Germany, France and Britain which offer higher wages and greater employment prospects. Modern communications, both virtual and physical, allow such trans-national migrants to remain in touch with family and friends at home while working in a distant land (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Favell 2008). However, many more factors affecting human movement have remained relatively unchanged over long periods of time. Population movement at all times and in all places is stimulated by a combination of desires (to improve employment opportunities, the home environment or contact with kin among other factors), and propelling forces such as unemployment, eviction or perceived and real threats to

welfare and safety. Migration theories have repeatedly highlighted such forces: their constancy is a reflection of the fact that the needs and wants of human beings change little over time and between locations (Boyle et al. 1998; Brettell and Hollifield 2014). Furthermore, despite the technological changes outlined above there has been little alteration in the speed or experience of travel for many common forms of transport when viewed from a global perspective. The speed at which one can walk or cycle is much the same in any location or time period, and the impact of congestion on traffic in towns means that average travel speeds have not necessarily increased significantly despite the use of potentially faster forms of transport and the provision of additional road space (Mogridge 1997). Finally, global inequalities in access to and ease of travel persist: if you live in a rich country you are much more likely to be able to move both internally and internationally than if you live in a poor country where mobility may be constrained not only by relative poverty and limited transport infrastructure, but also (for international travel) by the complexities of gaining visas for travel from a country whose passport does not provide ready access to most parts of the world (Adamson 2006).

New Perspectives on Mobilities

The study of migration and mobility has a long history.[2] Statisticians and demographers in nineteenth and early-twentieth century Britain monitored and measured internal migration, concerned particularly about the levels of rural to urban movement that were occurring (Ravenstein 1885, 1889; Redford 1926; Cairncross 1949), and a substantial number of academic studies of both internal and overseas migration followed from the mid-twentieth century (Darby 1943; Smith 1951; Thomas 1954; Friedlander and Roshier 1966a, 1966b; Lawton 1973).[3] Everyday mobility such as travel to work or school received less attention until relatively recently, but was studied in London where the large daily inflow of population was putting pressure on resources, and to a limited extent was examined nationally through the collection of travel to work data for the first time in the 1921 British census (Liepmann 1944; Westergaard 1957; Lawton 1963, 1968; Warnes 1972). This, and much later work, was largely empirical in nature: concerned with analysing patterns and processes but making little use of theory. In general much research on migration and mobility has until recently been relatively poorly theorised

(Woods 1985). Chapter 2 provides a more detailed discussion of the ways in which migration and mobility have been approached by historians.

This changed in the twenty-first century as new theoretical perspectives on all forms of human movement (including residential migration, daily mobility and leisure travel) were developed by researchers, mainly from Sociology and Cultural Geography, working in what was then the new field of mobilities studies. Pioneered by John Urry and Mimi Sheller, but developed from previous sociological theories, the concept of a 'new mobilities paradigm' was conceived and has been applied to a wide range of mobile situations (Urry 2000, 2007; Sheller and Urry 2006; Cresswell 2006; Cresswell and Merriman 2011; Merriman 2012; Adey et al. 2014; Sheller and Urry 2016). A brief critique of mobilities concepts in the context of historical studies is included in Chapter 3; here I provide an introduction to some of the key ideas while recognising that mobilities research has developed into a diverse field with many different strands and interpretations. Central to the concept of a 'new mobilities paradigm' is the argument that mobility is not only concerned with the practical movement of people, goods and services from place to place, but also that it is a process that is firmly embedded within society and culture and is thus fundamental to the construction and reproduction of key societal structures. A second, and closely related point, is the suggestion that all forms of mobility have meanings that extend beyond the physical movements of people or things from one place to another. Thus, not only does (for instance) human migration have implications for the areas of origin and destination, but also the experience of migration itself can be transformative and may hold meanings and remembered experiences that influence later life. Mobilities researchers have also focused attention on the development of new sites of movement: those locations that are developed specifically to facilitate movement, transfer and exchange. One obvious example is the development of international airports which offer similar, familiar, and potentially dislocating experiences wherever in the world they are located, but there are many other examples including rail and bus termini, motorway service stations and (for freight) port container terminals. As well as exploring new and reconfigured sites of mobility, mobility researchers have also focused much attention on new forms of virtual mobility including the internet, social media and mobile communications. It is argued that the ability to interact almost instantaneously over long distances has reconfigured some of the ways in which people meet and carry out transactions. For instance, some functions that used to require

face to face meetings, and hence physical movement, can now be carried out virtually, and mobile communications produce more spontaneity in social interaction as meetings need not be precisely planned in advance. Finally, implicit in many of the arguments associated with mobilities research, is the assumption that the above trends and experiences are either completely new to the late-twentieth and twenty-first centuries, or that they have been substantially reconfigured. Thus even if modes of travel remain much the same our expectations of mobility – its speed, convenience and connectivity – have been substantially reconstructed.

The Argument

The key argument advanced in this book is that insufficient attention has been paid to the connections between migration, everyday mobility, transport infrastructures and modes, and mobilities theories. For the most part each of these fields of research has operated within rather narrow boundaries, defined less by academic discipline than by the focus of study and approach adopted. This is true of contemporary mobility and transport studies where, for instance, transport planners and policy makers are often only vaguely aware of mobilities research, but in this volume I focus specifically on historical studies, arguing that our understanding of past mobilities would be greatly enhanced through better integration between these traditionally separate fields of study. Arguments for both a stronger focus on historical mobilities, and greater links between research on migration, mobility and transport have certainly been made before, though with much more emphasis on transport and mobilities theories than on the links to migration history. This book brings together these arguments in an accessible form, makes a strong case for the benefits of cross-fertilisation, and illustrates them with a series of case studies drawn from a range of time periods and locations. It focuses mainly on the movement of people rather than the flows of goods and ideas that also make demands on transport and communications networks, although similar arguments could also be advanced in this context.

Recognition of the potential importance of making stronger links between established research in transport studies and the new field of mobilities studies emerged soon after mobilities concepts became highly visible (the first issue of the journal *Mobilities* was in 2006 although the concepts had by then been discussed for at least half a decade). For instance, the inaugural international conference on the History of Transport, Traffic and

Mobility (T2M) was held in Eindhoven in 2003, and in 2005 Divall and Revill argued strongly that transport history needed to engage more fully with the 'cultural turn', including mobilities studies, if it was to retain strong academic credibility (Divall and Revill 2005). These themes have subsequently been advanced in a series of publications by Tim Cresswell and colleagues (Cresswell 2006, 2010, 2011; Cresswell and Merriman 2011) who also seek to identify the connections between mobility studies and transport studies, and to highlight the benefits that might come from such an approach. Similar arguments have been developed by some of the essays in Grieco and Urry (2011) and through the panel discussion reproduced in *Transfers* (Merriman et al. 2013). The journal *Transfers* published its first issue in 2011 and focuses explicitly on historical perspectives on mobility, migration and transport of all kinds. One of the most detailed explorations of the problems and potentialities of developing stronger links between transport studies and mobilities researchers came from Shaw and Hesse (2010) who argued for a 'better understanding' between transport geographers and mobilities researchers. Though concluding relatively optimistically, Shaw and Hesse were not always confident that such co-operation would occur suggesting that 'we would be naïve to assume that such an enterprise would be acceptable to, or seen as necessary by, even a majority of those geographers with an academic interest in movement. At the least there are likely to be on-going tensions between the two communities' (Shaw and Hesse 2010: 310). The same theme was also discussed by Shaw and Sidaway (2011) and most recently by Schwanen (2016). In a review of transport geography he cites the on-going interaction between transport geographers and mobilities researchers as positive evidence of the development of the discipline, but he also concludes by stating that though such connections should be encouraged transport geographers could benefit just as much from links with other sub-disciplines.

Several of the authors cited above also argue for the importance of an historical perspective in research on mobility and transport. The T2M yearbooks explicitly adopt this perspective, as exemplified in the paper by Mom et al. (2009) that reviews a decade of transport and mobility history. Tim Cresswell has repeatedly highlighted the significance of history for mobility studies (Cresswell 2006, 2010, 2012) both in his own research and through his reviews of the field, while Colin Divall and colleagues have particularly emphasised the ways in which current transport policy may be enhanced through a greater appreciation of the past (Divall 2011; Divall et al. 2016). However, although the field of transport history in particular is well

developed,[4] I argue that an historical perspective remains relatively muted in much mobilities research; that transport history would benefit substantially from greater engagement with mobilities studies; and that mobilities research would be enhanced by having a stronger historical perspective. If links between transport history and mobilities research are weak, those between migration history and either transport studies or mobilities research are even slighter. For the most part migration historians have adopted a relatively narrow focus on predominantly international population movements with only limited attention paid either to the transport modes adopted or to the theorisation of these processes,[5] while transport historians have tended to concentrate more on the technologies themselves than on their role in moving people in the process of residential migration.[6]

These themes are explored in detail in subsequent chapters but some of the main reasons why I suggest that stronger connections between migration history, transport history and mobilities studies would be beneficial can be briefly summarised. First, I argue that despite some recent attempts by world historians to create typologies of migration and to develop relevant theory, migration history remains an under-theorised sub-discipline and would thus benefit from the well-developed theorisation of all forms of movement that has been undertaken within mobilities studies (Harzig and Hoerder 2013; Manning and Trimmer 2013; Brettell and Hollifield 2014). Second, all movement requires transport and thus it is important that transport historians take account of the human consequences of transport technologies and the ways in which they are used, and that migration historians consider the ways in which transport availability has influenced the decision to migrate and the process of movement itself. Third, mobilities research can lack empirical evidence to substantiate its theorisation and, in particular, a well-evidenced historical perspective is often lacking. Greater historical understanding could significantly enhance mobilities studies. Finally, greater integration of the approaches discussed in this short book may also help to break down barriers between different disciplinary traditions. Historical studies, including much migration history and transport history, tend to be quite firmly located within the humanities with a strong emphasis on empirical research and engagement with theory from cultural and literary studies. In contrast, mobilities research springs from a social science tradition with a strong emphasis on social (rather than literary) theory and, in at least some instances, weaker empirical research. I argue that these divisions are to a large extent artificial and anything that helps to develop stronger cross-disciplinary research is to be welcomed.

Sources: Problems and Potentialities

One possible reason why the three fields of study outlined above have not engaged more fully with each other is the extent to which they have concentrated on the use of different source materials, together with the difficulty of gaining good historical evidence on the sorts of issues that mostly engage mobilities researchers. In this section I briefly outline the types of sources commonly used to research migration, mobility and transport and discuss some of the source-related problems inherent in the integration of these three fields of study. Further information about sources is given in later chapters in the context of specific case studies. In summary, data on transport infrastructure, modal splits and passenger or freight loadings can most easily be gained from reports produced by either local, national or international organisations. Such data are mostly at an aggregate level and rarely provide information on the travel experiences of individual people. Likewise, data on migration may come from a range of official sources, institutional records and surveys that monitor international moves or measure internal flows. Again, most data are at an aggregate scale. While some individual-level data are available their collection and analysis requires much more time and effort. In contrast, most mobility studies focus mainly on the individual or small group scale. They are concerned principally with the experiences of travelling and collect data mainly through in-depth interviews, observations and ethnographies. Such information is far harder to reconstruct for migration and transport, particularly in a historical context where individual-level data is necessarily sparse and feelings or emotions about travelling were rarely recorded. This is broadly the case for almost all parts of the world, but with the obvious caveat that in those societies that were late to develop a strong central state and associated bureaucracy, and which remain poor, historical written records may be especially limited, although oral testimonies for the recent past can of course be used in all societies.

To illustrate the above points in more detail I now examine source issues in the context of the study of everyday mobility in Britain, although many of the same themes are replicated in other parts of the world, and also with regard to both internal and international residential migration. Official government statistics and policy documents produced by or for the Department for Transport, and further statistics published by the Office of National Statistics, provide aggregate level data on many aspects of travel, transport and mobility.[7] These include, for instance, long-run

data on vehicle registrations and on road traffic accidents; successive policy statements on topics such as rail and road infrastructure, bus services, sustainable transport and active travel; census data on travel to work, change of normal residence and country of origin, and National Travel Survey information on everyday travel. Useful as such sources are they are limited by the high-level aggregate perspective that they provide and by their often limited historical perspective. Thus, census data on travel to work was first collected in 1921, but then not again until 1951, while the first National Travel Survey data was not collected until 1965/66. Although it has been repeated with increased frequency up to the present, changes in categories and detailed methodology mean that direct historical comparisons are often difficult (ONS Website, Census 1911–2011; DfT website, National Travel Survey). Although the National Travel Survey collects individual-level diary information on everyday travel, including transport mode, trip length and journey purpose, results are published only at an aggregate level with very limited spatial differentiation. It is not possible to use these statistics to examine travel in particular locations, it is recognised that short trips on foot have on occasion been under-recorded, and they tell us nothing about individual experiences of travel.

At the local or regional level data on transport infrastructure, policies and loadings may be produced by local government departments and by individual transport authorities both public and private. For instance, the records of corporation tram and bus companies provide detailed information on passenger loadings during their periods of operation in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries,[8] but again reveal only aggregate level data with no information on who travelled, why they travelled or their experience of a journey. Occasional social surveys do begin to reveal some more individual level data but these exist only for selected places and time periods. Examples include the Social Survey of Merseyside (Jones 1934) and studies of travel to and from work especially in twentieth-century London (Abercrombie 1945; Abernethy 2015; Barlow 1940; Liepmann 1944). For the very recent past individual traces of everyday travel may be reconstructed through the use of locational data collected via smart phones apps. Obviously such data do not provide a time series (though may do in the future), are anonymised, and depend on what level of detail companies are prepared (or allowed) to release, but they are increasingly being used to study some aspects of every day movement, especially by cyclists and pedestrians (Walker 2016). In summary, while there are a

number of sources from which aggregate information about past everyday movements may be deduced, and extensive information on policy proposals at national and local levels, only rarely do such sources provide the types of individual experiential data that most mobilities research requires.

There are three main ways in which more detailed information about the purpose and experience of everyday travel may be collected: through oral testimonies for periods within living memory, from surviving diaries and other life writing, and through the analysis of creative writing. All these sources have problems of use, but they can provide insights not otherwise available for the historical study of mobility. Oral evidence has been widely used in historical research and the strengths and weaknesses of this approach are well known. In particular, evidence from oral history depends on the skill of the interviewer, the relevance of the questions asked to the project under study (particularly significant when oral history archives are being used for a purpose different from that of the original study from which the data came), and the memory of the respondent. Recollections may be coloured by information gained later in life (particularly for topics that have had extensive later media exposure), and it is impossible to assess the representativeness of those interviewed (Fields 1989; Perks 1992; Ritchie 2014; Thompson 2000; Thomson et al. 1994). Creative writing can also provide telling accounts of aspects of mobility that may otherwise be concealed from view, while recognising that this is filtered through the author's imagination (Pearce 2012, 2016).

Life writing is equally problematic in that sources such as diaries and letters survive only sporadically. Autobiographies and life histories destined for publication (or at least the family archive) are most likely to survive (and have been more commonly used in research), but are limited in that they are more likely to have been written with a clear purpose in mind, often justifying a past life, and are much less likely than a diary to record mundane events such as everyday travel or the detailed experience of migration. There may also be a gender bias in that men are more likely to write an autobiography and women (especially young women) to keep a diary. All life writing is likely to come from those with the literacy and leisure time to keep a diary or write a life history, and those that survive are likely to be further biased towards an elite group who possibly wrote with an eye to future publication. However, where the diaries of people without a public profile or desire to publish do survive they can provide a valuable source for the study of everyday mobility. Many diaries record most daily journeys in some detail, though inevitably the most mundane and

repetitive events may be omitted, and in at least some instances diaries can also record feelings and emotions during a journey, the reasons for choosing a particular mode, and the ways in which such travel was connected to other aspects of the diarist's life. There is a substantial literature that assesses the strengths and weaknesses of all forms of life writing and which utilises it for a variety of historical purposes (see for example Fothergill 1974; Humphries 2010: 12–48; Delap 2011; Griffin 2013; Lejeune 2009; Smith and Watson 2010; Vickery 1998; Pooley and Pooley 2015; Pooley 2017). In summary, no one source can ever meet all requirements, and a comprehensive and fully integrated approach to migration or mobility requires the combination of a range of aggregate and individual level source materials. However, the difficulty of accessing at least some of these materials for past periods, together with the time taken to read and analyse them (especially in the case of life writing), means that most studies necessarily adopt a particular perspective based on a relatively narrow range of sources. I argue that this is one important reason why studies of transport history, migration and mobility too rarely talk directly to each other.

Structure of the Book

In this chapter I have outlined the main argument that will be advanced and substantiated in the remainder of this book, and have given some reasons why I believe that this is important. In the remainder of the volume I draw on a range of case studies from different locations and time periods to demonstrate both the limitations and potential of greater cross-fertilisation of ideas between the fields of migration history, transport history and mobilities studies. The central chapters adopt three different lenses through which to examine the themes of this book. First, I pose the question of how the historical study of migration, mobility and transport might look different if it adopted a mobilities perspective. For instance, what aspects of human movement do historians mostly study, what lessons might be learned from the theories and approaches of mobilities studies, and how might such approaches be operationalised within an historical context? Second, I ask how the sub-discipline of mobilities studies might be different if it embraced a stronger and more empirically sound historical perspective. In other words, what can migration historians and transport historians contribute to mobility studies? Third, I consider how the historical study of

migration and mobility might change if it borrowed more from the field of transport studies. Transport modes and infrastructures are rarely discussed by historians of mobility and migration despite the obvious importance of transport to all forms of movement.

In two final chapters I, first, examine the role of space, place and scale in historical studies of migration, mobility and transport. While generalisation is obviously necessary, and a key feature of much social science, I argue that there is also need to recognise explicitly the differences that occur between people and places at the micro-scale. Generalisation can too often obscure important variations that may reflect deeper structures of disadvantage and discrimination within society. Unless such differentiation is measured and fully recognised patterns of both individual and spatial disadvantage may be obscured. Finally, I draw to together the main themes of the book and propose an agenda for future research and teaching that may go some way towards rectifying the problems identified in previous chapters, and which will in turn develop and strengthen historical research on migration, mobility and transport. This book does not purport to be a comprehensive analysis of past migration and mobility (a much larger volume would be necessary to do this), and the arguments presented are certainly not the only ways in which these areas of study may be advanced. I am not suggesting that other approaches should be abandoned; rather, what I propose is simply one way in which the barriers that appear to exist between researchers in the fields of migration history, transport history and mobility studies may be reduced to the benefit of all three disciplines.

Notes

1. Relevant media coverage includes: Culik, J. (2015). Anti-immigrant walls and racist tweets: The refugee crisis in central Europe. The Conversation, June 24 2015; Graham-Harrison, E. (2015). Still the refugees are coming, but in Europe the barriers are rising. The Observer, 31 October 2015; Mason, P. (2016) Europe's refugee story has hardly begun. The Guardian, 1 February 2016.
2. At least in the English language literature with which I am familiar.
3. There is no attempt to provide a full review of the British migration literature in this section. References cited are illustrative of research that was being undertaken at the time.
4. See especially contributions to the *Journal of Transport History*: http://t2m.org/publications/journal-of-transport-history/

5. One of the few arenas where the links between mobilities studies and migration history have been discussed was a session at the 2014 American Social Science History conference in Toronto (session O11, Saturday November 8th), especially in the papers from Donna Gabaccia and Colin Pooley: http://ssha.org/pdfs/Final_program_11.7.14.pdf
6. For instance a word search in the *Journal of Transport History* found no articles with the word migration in the title.
7. For full information see: https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-transport and https://www.ons.gov.uk/
8. See for instance annual reports of the Manchester Corporation Transport Department, 1873–1969 (Manchester City Council Archives, GB127. M29), and similar records for many other British cities.

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CHAPTER 2

Migration and Mobility Through the Lens of History

Abstract This chapter examines how the study of population movement in the past has been approached by scholars from a range of disciplines, and how greater engagement with concepts currently used in much mobilities research might alter and possibly enhance the historical study of migration, mobility and transport. I focus on three aspects of movement: international migration, internal migration, and everyday mobility; and in conclusion consider the role of transport in all forms of population movement. Examples are drawn from a variety of locations and time periods. In the chapter I demonstrate the ways in which different approaches to population movement may be unified and enhanced through the use of concepts drawn from mobilities studies.

Keywords International migration · Internal migration · Mobility · Transport

Introduction

In this chapter I examine how the study of population movement in the past has been approached by scholars from a range of disciplines, and how greater engagement with the concepts currently used in much mobilities research might alter and possibly enhance the historical study of migration, mobility and transport. I focus on three aspects of movement: international

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migration, internal migration, and everyday mobility; and in conclusion consider the role of transport in all forms of population movement. Examples are drawn from a variety of locations and time periods but, in a short book, it is clearly not feasible (or desirable) to try to cover all relevant research. My selection inevitably reflects my own academic background and scholarship, but I do argue that the ideas advanced have wider relevance for the historical study of population movement.

International Migration

International migration, especially those moves that take place over long distances and which are dominated by a population that is distinctive either in terms of its characteristics (ethnicity, language, culture, age, gender, occupations, etc.), or due to the reasons for moving (especially those forced through war, famine, persecution or other hardships) has for the most part dominated the study of migration history. Partly due to the sources available, as outlined briefly in Chapter 1, but also because of an understandable focus on numbers of migrants and their impact on receiving societies and cultures, much scholarship has focused on the most visible and best-documented large-scale flows of people. For the distant past sources are especially limited and what can be deduced about such migrations has to be pieced together from fragmentary evidence. What is clear, is that all over the globe human populations have always had a tendency towards high levels of migration and mobility: past societies were rarely static, many people moved over long distances, and cultures were constantly being shaped and changed by such movements. Before the availability of written records details of such movements must be pieced together from archaeological remains, and such research has been greatly enhanced by recent advances in our understanding of genetics and the use of DNA to trace the relationships between different sets of human remains (Rouse 1986; Stone and Stoneking 1998; Price et al. 2001; Lucassen et al. 2010). Although there remain many gaps in our knowledge it is clear that there is a very long history of both movement and mixing of human populations in most parts of the world.

The scale and impact of large-scale human migration over space and time is especially well captured by Hoerder (2002) who has produced a masterly survey of global migration over ten centuries from the eleventh to the twentieth century, emphasising not only the scale and extent of such movement but also the cultural consequences as peoples with different

traditions and belief systems came into contact with each other. An even longer timespan is covered in a (briefer) later volume (Harzig and Hoerder 2009), which traces human migration from prehistoric times to the twenty-first century, while at the same time examining critically the theoretical and empirical nature of migration history. Few researchers tackle such large spans of time and space, but there are plentiful studies of migration flows within particular regions and over substantial time periods that confirm the ubiquity of population movement as a persistent and culturally important human condition. In particular, recent scholarship has demonstrated the extent of large-scale and long-run population movements across both South and East Asia which match, and in some cases dwarf, the much better documented history of transatlantic migration in the nineteenth century (McKeown 2004, 2013; Amrith 2013; Manning and Trimmer 2013; Lucassen and Lucassen 2014; Mallee and Pieke 2014). As yet, the study of the history of international migration (as opposed to internal migration within particular countries) in much of Africa is relatively poorly developed, though there is no doubting the scale and impacts of such movements over long periods of time (Prothero 1965; Adepoju 2000).

The literature on the history of international migration both within Europe and from Europe to the Americas and Australasia is substantial and of long standing (see for example Ward 1971; Lucassen 1987; Nugent 1992; Baines 1995; Hoerder and Moch 1996; Strikwerda 1999; Moch 2003; Bade 2003; Richards 2004; Kenny 2014 among many others). It examines not only the massive extent of such movement, with by some estimates 55 million people emigrating from Europe mainly to the Americas and Australasia between about 1870 and 1914 (Nugent 1996: 71), but also its social and demographic characteristics and the impacts on both the areas migrants left and the places to which they went. For many emigration was not the once in a lifetime experience that is sometimes portrayed, and perhaps as many as 40 per cent of those who emigrated from Europe returned at some point, with some making the transatlantic crossing on multiple occasions (Nugent 1996: 71). In such movements it can be suggested that we see the development of transnationalism – the retention of ties to more than one country following migration – long before it became fully recognised as a common twenty-first century characteristic of global migration (Vertovec 2009; Van Hear 2014). Sometimes migration historians attempt to differentiate between voluntary and involuntary migration, but for most migrants this distinction is blurred. Truly involuntary

movements were those undertaken under conditions of custody or slavery, as was the case for those transported as convicts from Britain to the Americas and Australia and, most significantly, those Africans shipped from West Africa under the harshest conditions to be sold as slaves in America and the Caribbean (Thomas 1997; Kercher 2003; Klein 2010). All other migration decisions occur as a result of a combination of pull and push factors; though in many cases – for instance refugees fleeing war or persecution – the migrants may reasonably feel that they have no option but to move (Black and Robinson 1993). It can also be argued that where a migration decision is taken by the (usually male) household head family dependents (especially young children) are forced to move.

Migration history is diverse and covers a wide range of topics, but for the most part research has been concerned with five major areas of interest. First, some research focuses on the demographic impacts of migration, concentrating on the ways in which population movement alters the size and, especially, composition of regions and nations. Second, and related to this, research also examines the social and economic impacts of out-migration on areas of origin, especially with regard to rural population loss and the economic effects of out-migration by those with particular skills. Third, and accounting for a large proportion of scholarship, is research that focuses on the processes of assimilation as migrants arrive in a new country and the creation of migrant diasporas. Fourth, much scholarship is focused on particular groups of migrants, often those that have particular experiences of hardship or persecution such as the Jews who fled persecution in Europe in the twentieth century. Fifth, historical scholarship has focused on migration policies drawn up by nation states, usually designed to prevent the entry of groups seen as undesirable and to attract those that have economic or related skills that are needed.

A substantial amount of research has focused on the ways in which particular migrant groups come to occupy specific economic niches in their host society, and the extent to which these processes help or hinder economic and social integration and development (Schrover 2001; Bastia 2007; Stanek and Veira 2012). Inherent in much of this research is a concern with issues of gender and migration, focusing not only on how women and men experience the labour market differently after migration, but also exploring the ways in which movement itself can either constrain or liberate female international migrants, for instance by moving from a culture in which women have restricted freedom to one in which women

participate more fully and openly in social and economic life (Harzig 1997; Sinke 2006; Schrover et al. 2007; Gratton 2007; Moya 2007; Donato and Gabaccia 2015). Probably less often studied, but potentially highly significant for those countries losing population, is the loss of skilled labour creating a so-called brain-drain effect. This could affect parts of Europe during periods of mass out-migration in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and, more recently, many of the poorest countries of the world as migrants such as skilled medical workers move to economies where they can substantially increase their earning power (Thomas 1973; Hagopian et al. 2004). However, such migration is not necessarily all negative as migrant remittances now form a very significant role in the economies of many poorer nations (Glytsos 2002; Straubhaar and Vâdean 2005).

Concern with migration policy both historically and in the present is often bound up with the ways in which migrants are represented and portrayed in the media, thus shaping both public opinion and policy agendas. From at least the nineteenth century onwards the media in, for instance, Europe and America have sought to variously portray migration as either beneficial or problematic, often focusing negative views on particular groups of low-skilled migrants: when volumes of migration were high and economic growth slow such immigration was often viewed as a factor that could reduce wage levels and increase unemployment. In twentieth and twenty-first century Europe these concerns have become increasingly obvious with the particular targeting of migrants (often refugees and asylum seekers fleeing extreme hardship) whose religion of Islam is perceived to be a threat to a predominantly Christian Europe; and in Britain there has been particular concern about the influx of migrants from Eastern Europe who have had free movement within the European Union, and who have been blamed for supressing wage levels and increasing unemployment (Schrover and Schinkel 2013; King and Wood 2013).

Despite the richness and scholarship of the very substantial literature on international migration, I argue that what is often missing from such studies (although not usually from material presented in museums of migration and immigration) is a full exploration of the experience of the journey, of the role of mobility itself in forming values and judgements, and of the ways in which that may shape future life trajectories: in other words some of the issues that can be explored through the lens of mobilities research. One strand of research that does go some way towards meeting these concerns is that which utilises emigrants' letters. Migrants

from Europe to North America, Australia and New Zealand frequently wrote letters home about both their journey and their experiences of arrival and building a new life. Some of these have survived either in their original form or because they were published in local newspapers as relatives in the origin country sought to inform others in the community about the lives of their kin in the New World. However, rich as these sources are, their content must be read with care. There is considerable evidence that, unsurprisingly, many migrants distorted and exaggerated their experiences, usually with a positive spin, to impress relatives at home and reassure them that all was well. While the letters certainly provide much more intimate accounts of migration than those gained from official statistics, as with much written evidence they may not reveal the whole picture (Erickson 1972; Jones 2005; McCarthy 2005; Hammerton and Thomson 2005; Elliott and Gerber 2006; Richards 2010). More rarely, the experience of migration can be examined from the journals or diaries of those who travelled. When these have been compiled on an almost daily basis they can provide an immediacy that other sources lack, though as with all such written records we have no knowledge of what was excluded or distorted. Diaries that are most likely to survive and be studied tend to be for long and unusual journeys such as emigration to Australia, a transatlantic passage or the trek west across the USA (Sluga 1987; Hassam 1994; Prentice 2004; Schlissel 2011). Only rarely do we have diary or journal accounts of more mundane moves.

In their excellent book on migration history, Harzig and Hoerder (2009) conclude by identifying their key perspectives for the early twenty-first century. These include a focus on gendered and racialised migrations, on inclusion strategies and citizenship, and on migrant identifications. Interestingly, in discussing these they have nothing to say about the ways in which these themes might interact with approaches from the perspective of mobilities studies. What then might such an approach look like and how might it differ from most existing scholarship in migration history? I focus on just three of the many different aspects of mobility concepts. First, I suggest that better appreciation of mobilities theories might lead to more appreciation of the ways in which the migration process is embedded in and helps to construct many other aspects of everyday life. Second, such an approach would also enable the critical examination of the experience of the journey itself and the meanings that migrants take from this experience, and how they may influence later life including future migration decisions. Third, a mobilities approach

might focus more attention on the sites of migration – of departure, transit and arrival: while some of the main foci of migrant arrivals such as Ellis Island, New York, have received considerable attention (Yew 1980; Cannato 2009), this has not necessarily been replicated to the same degree elsewhere. I now suggest one possible way in which such an approach might be operationalised.

Too often migration, which is by definition a process of motion and fluidity, is studied as a relatively static event with the focus on a particular stage or dimension of the process (for instance the decision to leave, the experience of arrival or the process of assimilation). I suggest that a more longitudinal approach, tracking the experience of movement over the life course, would help to bind these elements together and would allow the experiences of the journey and their impacts on the migrants' lives to be revealed and contextualised. Thus a study of transatlantic migration might start by considering the interactions between such factors as the experiences of internal migration, the operation of the labour market, housing opportunities and family obligations and the ways in which these fed into the decision to move from one country to another. The study might then follow a migrant, or group of migrants, on their journey appraising the experience of all stages of the transatlantic crossing from travel to the port of embarkation and departure itself, through the experiences of the journey and how this shaped perceptions of both the place that was left and the country of destination, to the conditions of arrival and settlement, and the ways in which all these experiences cumulatively influenced decisions about whether to remain or return to a country of origin. Most of these aspects have been studied individually, but rarely have they been linked together to provide a longitudinal perspective that places the process and experience of movement itself centre stage. Urry (2000) argued for the centrality of mobility within twenty-first century society, here I suggest that explicit recognition of its comparable centrality for past societies could deepen and enhance the study of migration history. The sort of longitudinal approach outlined above is not straightforward. It demands the linking of a complex range of sources that are unlikely to be available for all locations and time periods. It also lends itself more to an approach through individuals and small groups of migrants and, as such, may not allow wider generalisations. Nonetheless, I argue that an approach to the study of international migration through mobilities concepts could provide an important additional perspective to the rich range of scholarship that already exists.

Internal Migration

I define internal migration as any move within a single country that entails a change of normal residence. It excludes short stays away from home for vacations or other purposes, but includes all residential moves from those that took place from one house to another within the same street or neighbourhood, to long-distance moves across a large country such as relocation from New York to San Francisco in the USA or from Perth to Sydney in Australia. The distinction between international and internal movement is thus not one of distance, as many internal moves can take place over much greater distances than international moves across a national border within, for instance, Europe. Rather, it assumes that by remaining in a single country the process of migration may be much simpler and less traumatic than a move to a new country, possibly with a distinctly different society and culture. Partly for this reason international migration has attracted rather more research attention than internal migration, even though internal migration is much the commoner event and usually precedes international movement through processes of step migration. Most people will move home within their country of residence many times during a life time, but many will never relocate internationally and if they do it may be a once in a lifetime event. In this section I briefly outline some of the main research foci within the study of internal migration, and argue that in some cases at least an internal move may be just as difficult and disruptive as an international move. I also seek to demonstrate that an approach to the study of internal migration through mobilities theories is both feasible (arguably easier than for much international migration) and desirable.

In almost all parts of the world research on internal migration has focused on its links to economic and urban development and, especially, on the process and impacts of rural to urban migration during periods of industrialisation and urbanisation (Mabogunje 1970; Lawton 1973; Moch 1983; Hoschstadt 1999; Bras 2003; Zhang and Shunfeng 2003). Although experienced at very different times in various parts of the world this is a process that almost all societies have undergone at some point in their history. It is also a process that many of the most rapidly growing economies of the world are still undergoing. The extent to which a complete picture of internal migration can be gained depends very much on the sources that are available. Where population registers provide a longitudinal picture (as in much of continental Europe) it is possible to

place rural to urban moves within the broader context of migration over the whole life course (Adams et al. 2002; Kok 2004), however where the main source of data comes from census birthplace information (as in Britain) this is not possible unless longitudinal records are created through the linkage of a range of sources (Pooley and Turnbull 1998; Long 2005). This distinction is important because a concentration on migration from place of birth to residence on census night provides only a snapshot of movement, and is likely to over-state rural to urban migration of the young and understate other types of family migration undertaken at different stages of the life course.

Recent studies of internal migration have emphasised the diversity and complexity of migration systems. For instance, in nineteenth-century Britain migration within rural areas, between cities and from urban areas to rural areas all formed important components of population movement. In the period 1750 to 1919 more than 60 per cent of all moves were either within the same settlement (and this was the largest single component in most time periods) or to an adjacent settlement of a similar size, and fewer than 20 per cent of moves were to a settlement in a larger size category, a figure almost matched by moves from large places to smaller settlements (Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 97). It can be argued that the emphasis that both contemporaries and later researchers placed on rural to urban migration has distorted our view of the nature and complexity of internal migration in nineteenth-century Britain. Much the same is true elsewhere in the world where although the impacts of rural to urban migration in much of Africa and Asia are obvious, alongside such moves – and often an integral part of them – are high levels of population circulation both within and between countries (Prothero and Chapman 1985; Davin 1996). While some rural to urban migrants remain for long periods, others move regularly between rural and urban locations or return home permanently after a few years of urban life. When viewed longitudinally over the life course internal population migration is both varied and complex.

Internal population movement is a key demographic process which along with mortality and fertility influences the size and composition of local and regional populations. Large-scale quantitative demographic studies of population change inevitably seek to include migration variables in their analyses, but this is not always straightforward. Whereas mortality and fertility are finite events that, in many countries, have been recorded reasonably accurately over long periods through vital registration, migration is a much more slippery concept (see for instance Steidl et al. 2007). Most

aggregate sources only measure migratory moves that cross an administrative boundary and thus short-distance moves within a community are lost. Moreover, the size of such administrative units can vary greatly from place to place meaning that the definition of migration also alters. In Europe the use of population registers and related sources that record migration alongside mortality and fertility do allow quite sophisticated statistical analysis of past population change, and this has been facilitated by the development of large demographic databases in countries such as The Netherlands, Norway and Sweden (Stenflo 1994; Thorvaldsen 1998; Mandemakers 2000). Such analysis can also demonstrate the ways in which migration may itself influence both fertility and mortality by, for instance, a process of selective out-migration which may relocate a young population in the family-forming stage of the life cycle from countryside to town (Kulu 2005).

Whatever sources have been used, large-scale historical studies of internal migration have focused not only on the impacts of migration on population distribution and the growth or decline of regions and settlements, but also on the impacts of such moves in shaping the characteristics of settlements and regions in the context of race, ethnicity, gender, age, life course stage and poverty among other factors. Thus, in the USA attention has been focused on the process and impacts of dust bowl migrations and on the movement of African Americans northwards in the twentieth century (Johnson and Campell 1982; Lemann 1991; Gregory 1991; Wilkerson 2010); in The Netherlands on residence change as a coping strategy for the urban poor of Amsterdam (Kok et al. 2005) and in Sweden on gendered migration flows in the nineteenth century (Vikström 2003). Studies that compare internal migration in different countries are rarer, partly because of the complexity of sources and the difficulty of gaining precise comparative data, but where such studies have been undertaken they often reveal striking, and sometimes surprising similarities as well as differences (Adams et al. 2002; Coleborne 2009; Pooley 2013a). Collectively these and many other studies provide a rich tapestry of information on internal migration.

However, as with international migration, the aggregate study of internal migration cannot fully reveal the impacts of movement on individuals and families. It is at this level that an approach through mobilities studies can become important. By beginning to think through a mobilities lens (Urry 2007) the focus is shifted from the impacts of migration on demography and localities towards a focus on the impacts on the people who moved. In short, how did both the process and

consequences of internal migration matter to the people involved? How, if at all, did it change their lives? One way in which such questions may be answered is through the use of diaries and life histories that record migratory movements, or for the more recent past through oral history. Such approaches give at least some inkling of the ways in which moves were embedded in people's lives and of the consequential impacts that were felt. As outlined in Chapter 1 diary sources and oral evidence can be problematic, and they will never provide answers to all the questions we might ask, but they do provide one way in which historically we may get a little closer to the experience of internal migration. Here I give selected examples drawn from research using life histories and oral evidence to examine movement in Britain in the past.

For some, even short moves from one settlement to another could prove disruptive and unwelcome. For instance in 1773 the Shaw family moved some 25 km from the village of Dent to the small market town of Kendal (Westmorland now Cumbria), but this did not suit Isabella Shaw at all. In his life history her son Benjamin recorded 'It seems that my mother was very Partial to the Place of her nativity' and the family lived only a year in Kendal before returning to Dent. Some 18 years later the family moved some 50 km to Dolphinholme in Lancashire, ostensibly to improve employment prospects for the children. Again, Ben's mother was very unhappy to be leaving her home community of Dent and Ben wrote: '... this leaving our own Countery was a great cross to my mother, for she was greatly attached to her Native town, & had she known what would follow, I am sure that she never would have left her relations & countery on any account' (Crosby 1991; Pooley and D'Cruze 1994; Pooley 2007). In such cases the experience of internal migration over a relatively short distance could be as unsettling and disruptive for some as much longer distance international migration was for others. Isabella Shaw clearly moved reluctantly, but this was a family decision. During periods of urban slum clearance and forced relocation of the displaced residents even greater trauma could arise for some (Willmott and Young 1960; Jones 2010; Wildman 2012). This is demonstrated by McKenna in her oral history study of slum clearance and rehousing in Liverpool in the 1930s. Although some residents appreciated the improved housing and environment that suburban housing offered, they could also be severely disadvantaged by the lack of services, increased costs and poor transport links back to the city where most employment remained. One respondent stated: 'You see there wasn't any doctors, clinics or anything at first so it

meant that you had to travel for everything, but the problem was there wasn't any trams to take you. It got a lot of people down and they didn't stick it' (McKenna 1991: 187). Only rarely do personal accounts give insights into the experience of the move itself but, as today, this could also prove difficult. A negative experience of moving might reduce the propensity to move again in the future or create a negative impression of the place to which the move took place. The life history of Henry Jaques provides one vivid example of the mishaps that could befall removal in the mid-nineteenth century. He wrote a lengthy account of removal of his aunt's household goods by cart some 45 km from London to Shorne in Kent, detailing the way in which 'We had not proceeded 200 yards when one of the springs gave way, and most of the goods were toppled over into the road' and the 'frequent stoppages at the road-side Inns and the condition of the driver in consequence'. He eventually arrived at the destination in the early hours of the morning only to fail to locate the house (Pooley and Turnbull 1997; Pooley 2009). Such examples, which were most probably fairly commonplace experiences, serve to demonstrate the potential impact of internal migration on individual wellbeing, the significance of the move itself as an event that was likely to be remembered, and add detail to more conventional larger scale aggregate studies of migration.

Everyday Mobility

Everyday mobility such as travel to school, to work, to visit friends or relatives, to shop or for leisure is the most common form of population movement. Most people make several such journeys almost every day, yet compared to studies of past migration (both international and internal) the historical study of daily mobility is neglected. In contrast, the study of such mundane movements forms an important part of mobilities research. For instance during 2015 the international journal *Mobilities* published 81 separate articles either in print or on-line, of which 32 included the word mobility or mobilities in the title but only five referred directly to migration. There is awareness of the links between mobilities and migration research, with some notable attempts to make connections (Hui 2016; Pickles and Coleborne 2016), but in practice the fields mostly remain quite separate. In this section I briefly outline the small body of research that has examined everyday mobility from an historical perspective, highlight its social, economic, cultural, environmental and demographic

significance, stress its links to other forms of movement, and suggest ways in which through utilising concepts developed in mobilities studies the historical study of everyday movement could be enhanced.

Travel to and from work has attracted some attention from historical social scientists concerned with mobility, possibly because it is one of the most ubiquitous forms of movement, but also probably because it is more predictable and therefore more easily recorded than spontaneous moves that form a large part of daily life. The volume of diurnal movement in and out of large urban centres has, since at least the mid-twentieth century, also attracted the attention of urban planners who have studied the phenomenon in an attempt to minimise its impact on urban traffic congestion and air pollution. In Britain, at least, much of this research has necessarily used aggregate census or similar data to examine travel to work flows (Lawton 1963, 1968; Warnes 1972, 1975), or has drawn on mid-twentieth century surveys and planning reports that focused on the increasing problems of traffic in towns (Barlow Report 1940; Liepmann 1944; Westergaard 1957). Other research in Britain and elsewhere has focused on the changing relationship between home and workplace, and its impact on the structure of urban areas, as people were able to increasingly separate where they lived from where they worked, thus establishing complex cross-city commuting flows (Bloomfield and Harris 1997; Harris and Bloomfield 1997). For the nineteenth century researchers in Europe and America have since the 1960s used a wide range of sources including census enumerators' returns, directories and company records to demonstrate the ways in which different segments of the population were able to separate home and workplace, although few studies have been completed recently (Vance 1966; Carter 1975; Pritchard 1976; Dennis 1984; Green 1988; Olson 1989; Barke 1991). In part, this is because the focus of much historical research has moved from the empirical analysis of processes (such as travel to work), towards more cultural and subjective understandings as represented through the literature on mobilities. However, the motivations behind modal choice for travel to work, and the experience of the journey, are hard to discover for the past although some traction can be gained through the use of targeted surveys, oral history and life writing (Pooley and Turnbull 1997, 1999, 2000).

Children's travel to and from school has attracted considerable contemporary attention with concerns about a lack of active travel and childhood obesity (McMillan et al. 2006; McMillan 2007; Davison et al. 2008; Walker et al. 2009; Pooley et al. 2010). Other studies have looked at

change over the relatively recent past and have highlighted the degree to which children's independent mobility, including travel to school, has declined since about the 1970s (Hillman et al. 1990; Morris et al. 2001; Witten et al. 2013). Research I have undertaken with colleagues has attempted to provide a stronger historical perspective and has examined changes in children's mobility over much of the twentieth century (Pooley et al. 2005a, 2005b, 2005c). While confirming a shift from walking and, to a lesser extent, cycling towards travel by car with a parent or other adult, the longer time series also suggests that rather less has changed than might sometimes be assumed. Travel on foot and on public transport remains important for many children, in all time periods over the twentieth century some children were constrained in their mobility while others were (and still are) given considerable freedom and, perhaps most significantly, the sorts of factors that determined how much freedom children were given and how they travelled independently have changed little over time, despite significant changes in transport and society. A longer historical perspective provides as much evidence of continuity as of change.

One possible reason, apart from the difficulty of accessing good source material, why historians of population movement have neglected the study of everyday movement may be an assumption that such mobility while very common was not that important. In comparison to long-distance international migration, or even shorter-distance relocation, the mundane moves that are undertaken every day have little significance beyond their function in taking an individual from one location to another. This is an assumption that I would challenge, and it is certainly also countered by a large volume of research in mobilities studies that emphasises the significance of both the mundane and the everyday (for instance Binnie et al. 2007; Edensor 2003, 2007, 2008; Jain 2009). The significance of all forms of travel for the personal well-being, sense of place and cultural development of an individual is also demonstrated by the growing literature on psychogeography, which focuses on the ways in which moving through a townscape or landscape – often though not always on foot – allows the development of psychological bonds between people, place and nature, and through such connections contributes to human wellbeing (Self and Steadman 2007; Hunt 2009; Coverely 2012; Macfarlane 2012). From an historical perspective the significance of everyday mobility can be demonstrated on several levels. Most simply, it is the flux that binds together most everyday activities and which enables the completion of a whole range of everyday tasks and responsibilities that comprise everyday life. Any constraint on

mobility also massively restricts one's ability to carry out many of the most basic aspects of human existence. However, I suggest that mobility has other functions of particular relevance to population history, and here I focus particularly on the demographic implications of mobility.

Although demographers rarely concern themselves with daily mobility, assuming that it has little impact on the size and composition of populations, I argue that connections to the key variables of fertility, mortality and migration do exist and can be important. The ability to travel freely can influence population mixing and the ability to meet new people leading possibly to marriage and child-rearing. Lack of mobility can restrict marriage partners, lower marriage rates and lessen rates of natural increase. There is thus an indirect connection between mobility and fertility while, in turn, child-care responsibilities can themselves restrict mobility for at least one parent, most probably a mother. All activities entail risk, but travelling is among the more risky that we undertake without much thought on a daily basis. Even in the past most journeys were trouble free, but accidents while travelling or exposure to infectious disease through contact with other travellers was a real risk when travelling far in the past. Mobility can thus also be an indirect cause of morbidity and mortality, and can more directly affect disease incidence if migrants differ from a host population in their prior exposure to infectious disease (Davenport et al. 2011). In turn, periods of illness or family tragedy, such as the death of a spouse, can at least for a period reduce the ability and willingness to travel, thus leading to increased social isolation and mobility-related social exclusion.

Though there are some links to both mortality and fertility I argue that everyday mobility has the greatest influence on residential migration. This is a connection that is only rarely recognised by migration historians, but the concept of motility helps to explain this connection. Motility is a term most usually used in medicine to describe the power of active movement of a body part, cell or organism (Oxford English Dictionary), but in mobility studies it has been used to refer to the capacity of an individual to move both in geographic space and in social space. Motility can thus be viewed as a form of capital, with a high potential to move conferring social advantages. Thus it focuses less on movement events themselves and more on the factors and processes that produce or inhibit the ability of people to move, and on possible consequent experiences of social differentiation and exclusion (Kaufmann et al. 2004; Flamm and Kaufmann 2006). I suggest that the experience of everyday mobility can itself build capacity for

residential migration through, for example, familiarising an individual with alternative locations, gaining knowledge of transport systems and increasing confidence through travel and social interaction. For short-distance residential moves in particular, which in all time periods have formed the majority of all residential migration, the collection of information and a search for a new home could readily be integrated into routine everyday movements in a seamless way. To quote just one example from the diary of a young woman who lived in south Manchester in the first decade of the twentieth century: 'We all went on the bus to "Cheadle" and then walked to "Cheadle Hulme" and went through two houses. Then we walked back to "Cheadle" and had a lovely tea at the cosy Corner Café for 1/11 (all of us), it is a charming room and they set a "Pianola" off while we were there. Then we went to "Gatley" and went through a lovely £30 house, double fronted, called "Edina". We got home 9.45.'[1] In this instance, at least, searching for a new home was combined with an outing for pleasure, and it can be surmised that many previous such excursions had provided information about different neighbourhoods that could be used when considering a residential move.

Transport

All movement needs transport, yet all too often the study of transport modes and systems is divorced from the needs and experiences of the people who travel. In this section I examine briefly some of the ways in which migration, mobility and transport interact, the attempts by historians to study these interactions, and the potential for further developing the integration of these fields of study. By transport I mean everything that facilitates movement from walking (all too often ignored both by transport planners and transport historians, but for most people in the past the most important means of travel for a majority of trips), through cycling, and all forms of public and private powered transport on land, water and in the air (be it powered by humans, animals, steam, petroleum or electricity). Not all these can be considered in detail (or at all), but it is important to remember the vast array of modes of transport that are potentially available for many trips even if in reality most focus on a narrow range of options. Migration, mobility and transport are most likely to intersect in contributions to such journals as The *Journal of Transport History, Transfers* and in the T2M yearbook *Mobility in History*. However, although some studies do indeed relate the development of a technology to the implications and

experiences of its use, all too often transport is examined from the perspective of the history of technology, and its implementation and planning, with scant regard for those who travelled.

From the mid-twentieth century the automobile has become the dominant form of everyday transport for people in many parts of the world and, not surprisingly, this has attracted more attention than most other forms of transport. Gijs Mom (2014), in particular, has provided an extraordinarily wide-ranging and thorough account of the global history of the automobile; but several other studies focus more narrowly on specific locations or time periods to explore not only the development of automotive technologies and the systems that supported them, but also their impacts on the places through which they passed and the people who travelled by car and, just as importantly, those who did not have access to a car but could be fundamentally affected by their increasingly dominant presence on both urban and rural roads (O'Connell 1998; Merriman 2007; Seiler 2009; Mom 2011; Norton 2011; Law 2012; Gunn 2013; Pearce 2016). Although the narrative of automobility (Sheller and Urry 2000; Urry 2004) rightly emphasises car dominance in the second half of the twentieth century, in many parts of the world the motorbike is also a significant aspect of motorised private transport. It is also important to remember that even today by no means all households even in the richest countries of the world have access to a car, and in many of the poorest countries car ownership remains low. Even in car-owning households some household members (most notably children and adolescents but also many women) will not have daily access to an automobile. Transport-related social exclusion can easily persist even in those countries with the most sophisticated and car-dominated societies (Pooley 2016).

In the nineteenth century the railway revolutionised travel just as much as the private car or the development of low-cost air travel (Lyth 2016) has done in the twentieth century. There are many good accounts of the development of rail networks around the world (Simmons 1968; Faith 1991; Burton 1994; O'Brien 1983; Wolmar 2010, 2012; Aguiar 2011), but few focus fully on the experience of travel and the impact of the technology on people and places. Notable exceptions include the pioneering book by Walter Schivelbusch (1986), and the much more recent works by George Revill (2013) and Simon Bradley (2016) which demonstrate the ways in which train travel broadened horizons and generated cultural change in the communities through which the railroad passed, although, as Casson (2009) shows, convenience for the traveller of connections between lines was often

sub-optimal. The history of other forms of public transport has received less attention, especially with regard to their social and cultural significance, but Law (2015) has provided a nuanced account of the impact of charabancs on leisure travel in 1930s Britain, and Singh (2014) has examined the passenger experience of travel on the Buenos Aires underground system in the early years of the twentieth century. Such studies show the value of combining approaches through transport history and mobilities studies to enrich our understanding of the history of everyday travel.

In the twenty-first century considerable emphasis is placed on sustainable travel, especially cycling and walking and their benefits for both personal health and for the environment. In the past both walking and cycling were the normal modes of travel for many, and this continues to be the case in the poorer countries of the world. The technological and social history of cycling has received some attention, focusing on the shift from cycling as an elite leisure activity in the late-nineteenth century to mass transport in much of Europe in the mid-twentieth century, followed by a period of rapid decline and then renaissance in some but not all such countries (Dauncey 2012; Horton et al. 2012; Carstensen and Ebert 2012; Emanuel 2012; Cox 2012, 2015). In contrast, walking has been largely ignored by social historians, and those studies that do exist have tended to focus on either walking as a performance (for instance the *flâneur*), on the risks of and restrictions to walking, especially for women, or on those who were unusually mobile (Solnit 2000; Amato 2004; Norton 2009; French 2010; Errázuriz 2011; Guldi 2012; Schmucki 2012a, 2012b). The continued importance of walking in many sub-Saharan countries has been vividly documented by Gina Porter and colleagues (Porter 2002; Porter et al. 2011), while also emphasising the impact that new communication technologies have had on African society, including the reconfiguration of some mobility patterns (Porter 2015). However, in both contemporary and historical studies the persistent role of travelling on foot remains relatively neglected. Most travel, be it on foot, by bicycle, public transport or automobile can be interrupted by disruptions of many kinds: transport delays, inhospitable weather, technological failures or simply missed connections. Today, in the richer countries of the world at least, we have come to expect travel to be quick, convenient and trouble free, and thus any disruption can lead to high levels of frustration when travelling to a tight time schedule (Cass et al. 2015). It can be argued that in the past disruptions were even more likely, but that with lower expectations they were mostly encountered with equanimity and for the most part caused little real inconvenience (Pooley 2013b). Vozyanov (2014)

adopts a novel approach to this aspect of mobility (or immobility) by focusing directly on the historical experience of waiting while travelling, and the role that this plays in everyday movement. While most delays are the consequence of accidents or specific local circumstances, in some instances travel can be disrupted by attempts to regulate society. Coleborne (2015) illustrates this clearly in the context of the harsh management of vagrants and indigenous populations by the colonial authorities in late-nineteenth century Australia and New Zealand.

If transport technologies are paid only limited attention in most studies of everyday mobility, they are even less visible in the context of residential migration. When the journey was especially long and arduous, or the means of transport unusual, this may feature as part of a historical narrative, often because it was recorded in a journal (Hassam 1994; Schlissel 2011); but for the most part the means of travelling from one home to another is taken for granted with little direct comment even though it can prove significant. For instance, if travelling was difficult due to inadequate or inconvenient transport this may have reduced the likelihood of moving again, particularly for moves that were seen as arduous such as a trans-Atlantic crossing. However, even for short-distance moves the form of transport used may be seen as significant if there is a risk of valuable possessions being lost or broken (Pooley 2009). Some insights into how a move was carried out, and the experience of the event, can be gained from the testimonies of diaries and oral histories. For instance, before the widespread availability of professional removal services most local moves were carried out using informal transport arrangements, in England often a local coal merchant who had a cart strong enough to carry a large load. One extract from an oral testimony relating to early-twentieth century Cumbria illustrates this: 'Our furniture – our sticks as you might call it in them days, they were transported by a chap called Billy Lowther who was the coal merchant at Broughton-in-Furness, with a flat lorry and two horses. We loaded up as today, and all the furniture was to carry up on to the main road from the house, and Billy Lowther set off from Stonestar down to Broughton-in-Furness.'[2]

Conclusions

This chapter has covered a lot of ground but has still only scratched the surface of the material that is available. The aim was to highlight the ways in which different types of residential migration, everyday mobility and

transport have been studied historically, and to argue that each of these area would gain from greater interaction one with the other. I have tried to give some examples of how this might be achieved but many other possibilities are available, and I have ignored the economic impacts of mobility and transport changes on national and international trade. Research in migration history has been dominated by the study of international migration with internal migration given less attention. In particular the very common movements within settlements and between adjacent settlements are often disregarded. Everyday mobility has received even less attention historically, and though there has been extensive research on transport systems and technologies they are more rarely related directly to either migration or mobility. I argue that if a clearer picture of the role of mobility, and of its impact on individuals, families and society at large is to be gained, there is need to integrate more fully the different elements of migration and mobility research, and to recognise the connections between them rather than treating migration, mobility and transport as separate entities.

Notes

1. Diary of Ida Berry 1902–1907, July 26, 1905: Bishopsgate Institute Archive, London: GDP/8.
2. Ambleside oral history archive: Respondent DX1; DoB 1910.

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CHAPTER 3

History Through the Lens of Mobilities Studies

Abstract This chapter adopts a mobilities perspective and examines the extent to which some of the key concepts encapsulated within mobilities studies, and most normally seen as characteristic of the present, operated in similar ways in the past. Although mobilities researchers quite often make reference to the past, historical mobilities are rarely explored in detail. This chapter uses empirical evidence from a variety of times and places to argue that although some aspects of human mobility have certainly changed there is also much continuity. I suggest that most of the processes and concepts developed through mobilities studies can also be applied to past migration and mobility, and that travellers in the past would recognise most of the opportunities, constraints, frustrations and implications of travel today.

Keywords New mobilities paradigm · Ease of movement · Mobility and society · Mobility and meaning · Virtual mobilities

Introduction

In this chapter I adopt a mobilities perspective and examine the extent to which some of the key concepts encapsulated within the mobilities paradigm, and which are most normally seen as characteristic of late twentieth-century society and later, also operated in similar ways in the past. As

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suggested in Chapter 1, although mobilities researchers quite often make reference to the past, historical mobilities are rarely explored in detail. There is an implicit assumption in much such work that mobility was different in the past. In this chapter I scrutinise such assumptions using empirical evidence from a variety of times and places, and argue that although some things have certainly changed there are also many continuities. In particular, I suggest that most of the processes and concepts developed through mobilities studies can also be applied to past migration and mobility, and that travellers in the past would recognise most of the opportunities, constraints, frustrations and implications of travel today. I first briefly outline some of the main themes that form the core of mobility studies, developing further the introductory remarks made in Chapter 1. I then focus on four main concepts that I consider form the foundation of much mobility research. First, I consider the degree to which relatively rapid, easy and taken-for-granted movement was available in the past; second, I explore the extent to which the processes of migration and mobility were embedded in society, helping to reshape communities and lives; third, I examine the ways in which travel took on meanings that extended far beyond the process of moving from one location to another; and, fourth, I assess the role of virtual communications in the past and the ways in which they were connected to the physical movement of people. Finally, I emphasise the aspects of mobility that have changed and assess whether or not these invalidate an argument for continuity over change.

Mobilities

The concept of a 'new mobilities paradigm' was outlined most clearly initially by Sheller and Urry (2006), in the editorial of the first issue of the journal *Mobilities* (Hannam et al. 2006) and restated in more detail by Urry (2007), but these works developed from a substantial body of previous work by Urry and others, drew heavily on the writings of a number of sociologists, especially those of Georg Simmel (Levine 2011), and the concept has been subsequently further refined and critiqued by a wide range of scholars. It is not appropriate in this short book to provide a full assessment and critique of mobility studies: I refer the reader to two excellent recent reviews of the field (Faulconbridge and Hui 2016; Sheller 2016). Here I focus selectively on some of the key aspects that have been identified. Urry (2007: 47) defines five 'interdependent "mobilities" that produce social life organised across distance and which form

(and re-form) its contours.' These are described as the physical travel of people for any purpose; the movement of objects of any kind through trade or gifts; travel in the mind using print or visual images; virtual travel via (for instance) the internet which through webcams can offer real-time images; and travel through person to person communication via any means. Urry argues that rather than being viewed separately, it is the interconnections between the different types of mobilities that are important, and on which an approach through mobilities studies should focus. To take a simple example, a person might have a contact in another country with whom they communicate and which stirs interest in that location. They may build an image of that place in their mind and reinforce it through the use of the internet to get relevant images. They may also purchase books about the region, eventually buy an airline ticket and travel to the location. Thus there is one physical movement – a holiday or visit to a friend – but this has entailed the movement of ideas, images and objects before the physical move could be effected. One implication of a mobilities approach to the historical study of migration and movement is that rather than focusing mainly on the physical movement of people, attention should also be paid to all the other flows and movements that make such travel possible and, in particular, to their connections and complexities.

An approach through the mobilities paradigm also requires recognition of the ways in which the human body interacts with and reacts to the process of movement. All physical movement requires engagement with spaces, objects and (usually) other people. During movement our senses respond to these stimuli in a variety of different ways. Moreover, the process of moving itself requires not only physical effort but also can sensitise the traveller both physically and mentally, so that the kinaesthetic sense of movement becomes intimately interconnected with corporeal movement itself. Again, I take a simple example. Sensations associated with movement are likely to be most obvious and intense when the movement requires physical activity, especially out of doors. Thus walking, running, cycling or horse-riding all require both physical effort and mental alertness. The body responds to the experience of travel and the (usually pleasurable but on occasion uncomfortable) senses generated become part of the movement itself. In contrast, travel by public transport on a bus, coach, train or plane is a relatively passive activity, but even this is not without sensation. A traveller (unless asleep) will interact mentally with the landscape or townscape through which they pass, they will be aware of

other travellers and may interact with them (both positively and negatively), and will gain some sensations of speed and movement. Such feelings, it is argued, are an integral part of any journey, and need to be incorporated into the study of migration or mobility if the full experience of the process is to be appreciated. The feelings generated through movement can also have knock-on effects as negative experiences may deter future movement, while a positive experience might encourage further travel, thus constructing individual mobility potentials or motilities (Kaufmann et al. 2004).

One further implication of a mobilities approach is to recognise the diverse ways in which the demands of all types of mobility can help to reconfigure space. Not only does physical movement require dedicated spaces to facilitate travel (bus stations, railway stations, roads, motorway service stations, airports etc.) but also virtual travel and communication require their own infrastructure which can intrude on the urban or rural environment. Thus telegraph cables, telephone wires, postal sorting offices, carriers' distribution warehouses, mobile phone masts, satellite dishes, buildings housing the multiple servers of IT companies and associated hardware are needed to allow a mobile world to operate. Clearly, not all the examples cited above are equally relevant in all historical contexts, although it is worth remembering that the internet has existed since 1969 and the world wide web has now been available for a quarter of a century (Leiner et al. 2009). However, in all time periods there existed spaces and structures that facilitated movement, and the kinaesthetic experiences of movement and the interactions between different forms of movement (people, objects, ideas, knowledge) have existed in some form in all times and places.

The Ubiquity of Movement in the Past

An approach to the historical study of human movement through mobilities concepts, which foreground the interconnected significance of mobility for both individuals and society, requires the existence of relatively high levels of easy movement between places. Most mobilities research focuses on contemporary (or very recent past) mobility[1] with an implication at least that high levels of mobility and expectations of easy movement are something that is relatively new. If this were the case then then it can be argued that the significance of mobility in the past was much less than it is in the present. An assumed newness can also be inferred from the use of the term

the 'new mobilities paradigm', although strictly speaking here the newness refers to the paradigm – the way that mobility is conceptualised within social science research – rather than to movement itself. Assumptions that mobility is much greater today than in the past are also found in many publications on contemporary transport and travel. To give just one recent example: in the introduction to an edited volume on automobility the authors state that 'during the last half century, personal mobility has rapidly expanded' (Geels et al. 2012: 6). What they are in fact (correctly) referring to is an increase in the ownership and use of private motor vehicles; but the statement implies that all mobility has increased. In fact, in Britain at least, the number of individual trips undertaken in 2015 was lower (914 trips per year) than in 1965 (945 trips). Trip rates did increase slightly from 1965 to 1978/9, but then remained relatively stable at just over 1000 trips per year until around 2006, from which point trip rates have declined (Department for Transport 2016). The same statistics also show that the time spent travelling each year has also scarcely changed since the 1960s at around 350 hours (or just less than one hour a day), although the distance travelled has almost doubled over a 50 year period. Other research on longer-run mobility trends in Britain has shown that the average time spent travelling to and from work has changed little since the 1930s, although the distance travelled has again approximately doubled; and that for children and adolescents mean trip distances have changed little since the 1940s (Pooley et al. 2005). The point I am making is not to criticise particular authors for an understandable generalisation, but to demonstrate that evidence of change does depend on what criteria are applied, and that it cannot be assumed that all aspects of mobility have increased over the last half century or longer. In this section I argue that not only were levels of mobility (both residential migration and everyday travel) high in the past in most periods and many places, but also that for most journeys travel was relatively unproblematic and taken for granted, much as it is today. This is particularly the case if set within the context of communication and transport networks of the time (Gabaccia 2014).

Reliable long-run data on mobility are hard to come by in most countries so the reconstruction of past mobilities must rely heavily on sporadic information and individual accounts. Generalisations from such data must be made with care, but, although there will always be variability in individual experiences, I argue that most evidence that does exist suggests that the ability to move freely from place to place was a taken-for-granted aspect of life for many people in most countries in the past.

The main exceptions occurred in those states such as the Soviet Union and China that at various times have imposed legal restrictions on internal or external population movement (Gang and Stuart 1999; Lui 2005; Siegelbaum and Moch 2014). In some ways the need to move from place to place to facilitate daily life was greater in the past than in the present. Although the increased separation of homes from workplaces and many services has increased some travel distances, and long-distance travel (especially international travel) is much more common and speedy than in the past, many functions that used to require physical movement and face-to-face contact have been replaced by the use of virtual (and often mobile) communications systems. Unless one wishes to, today there is no need to move from a computer to shop, to interact with friends or relatives anywhere in the world, or to watch a sporting event. In the past all these things, and many more, would have required physical movement. However, it has been argued that one effect of mobile communications in particular has been to increase the complexity of travel patterns as they become more spontaneous and less planned than in the past (Ling and Haddon 2003; Srinivasan and Raghavender 2006; Kwan 2007).

As outlined in Chapter 2 for most of human history, and in all parts of the world, travel on foot has been the main means of moving from place to place for most people and purposes (Norton 2009). Walking is best suited to short-distance travel – which forms the vast majority of all trips – but when necessary long distances can be covered on foot. Walking is probably unique as a travel mode in that it is accessible to all but the very young or infirm – although these too can travel with mobility aids – and the speed at which one travels has never changed. In this sense the physical experience of walking in eighteenth-century Europe or in sub-Saharan Africa today could be much the same, although the characteristics of the environment traversed would differ considerably. One example of such movement comes from letters written in early-nineteenth century England. In 1808 Ellen (Nelly) Weeton left her home in south Lancashire to move to Liverpool. Carrying a few possessions she walked alone some 18 km on the first day, and a further five the next, before catching a canal packet boat to Liverpool.[2] Travel on foot was clearly simple, convenient and normal. Access to all other forms of everyday travel was more restricted, although some became very widely used. The very significant role of the horse in almost all countries, especially in rural areas, is a somewhat neglected topic (Thompson 1976; McShane and Tarr 2007; Kelekna 2009). Despite the greater difficulties of stabling, horse power was also crucial to the

movement of people and goods around nineteenth-century cities. For instance, It has been estimated that in large North American cities there was on average one horse for every 20 people in the nineteenth century, with some 130,000 horses working in Manhattan in 1900 (McShane and Tarr 2007: 16). Even the development of rail travel did not lead immediately to a decline in horse transport as carriers were needed to transport goods to and from rail heads, although with the advent of trams and motor buses in cities horse-drawn omnibuses rapidly disappeared (Thompson 1976).

Gradually, from the mid-nineteenth century, travel by motor powered vehicles (as opposed to human or animal powered) spread to some degree to all parts of the world, enabling faster and probably more comfortable travel for many. However, in those countries subjected to colonisation by European powers the railway could also be seen as a symbol of capitalist expansion and exploitation (Pirie 1982, 1986), leading to the rapid decline of what previously had been effective animal powered transport, such as the use of the ox-wagon for longer distance journeys in southern Africa (Pirie 1993). It can be argued that as faster, and usually more expensive and thus exclusive, forms of transport (such as high speed rail) have replaced older forms of transport this has made some aspects of everyday travel more difficult for those with the least resources, and has increased transport-related social exclusion (Pooley 2016). The increasing dominance of the motor car in most cities of the world is well documented, but even in the richer nations not everyone has access to a car. In Britain approximately 25 per cent of households do not own a car and in poorer countries of the world many rely on older forms of transport. In Indian cities, for instance, in addition to walking the cycle rickshaw remains an essential and highly visible part of the urban street (Rao 2013; Tiwari 2014), and in China the bicycle has for a long time been a mainstay of urban transport, although it is increasingly challenged by motorised forms of transport (Haixiao 2012; Zhang 2014). The key points I wish to stress are that many non-mechanised means of moving (such as walking and cycling) persist, that in at least some places they remain important to the present day, and that many motor powered forms of transport have been available for over a century. Even if detailed data on individual travel in the past are not available, all the evidence suggests that high levels of mobility were both at least as necessary and possible as today, and in some ways were both more necessary and more equitably distributed.

For long-distance migrants the ability to travel by sea was crucial. Most such moves were accomplished over a period of time through movement on foot, by cart, carriage or train to a port of embarkation, prior to what could be a long and arduous sea journey. It is obvious that such movement was much more difficult than passenger air travel which has become increasingly widely available from the 1930s (Lyth and Dierikx 1994; Pirie 2004), although only for a mass market since the deregulation of passenger air transport in Europe in the 1980s and the development of budget airlines in the 1990s (Lyth 2016). For the first 50 years of passenger air travel the experience remained highly exclusive and did little to increase the mobility of most people. In contrast, the ready availability of both coastal shipping and inter-continental routes in the nineteenth century allowed the mass movement of people from all social backgrounds. For instance, between 1881 and 1913 there were in excess of 27 million in-bound steerage passengers to the USA with some 50 per cent of these passengers carried by the four largest British and German shipping companies (Keeling 2012; Feys 2013). Although such journeys could be arduous, and not all migrants were admitted, there is no doubting the volume of movement that occurred which encompassed almost all classes of the population. With increased regulation of immigration by almost all countries in the world, such long-distance migration is today arguably rather more difficult for some than it was in the past (Andreas and Snyder 2000; Tichenor 2009; Hollifield et al. 2014).

Interconnected Mobilities

In this section I examine the nature and extent to which different types of movement – of people, objects and ideas – were not only connected with each other but also shaped, reinforced and helped to reproduce one another. Through such interconnected webs of mobility and movement these processes also become key features of the societies in which they are located, in turn moulding and shaping both the lives of individuals and society itself (Urry 2000). This is one of the key assumptions of the 'new mobilities paradigm': to what extent did such features exist in the past as well as in the present? Only selected examples can be used here, and I focus especially on four themes: the role of information flows in producing and reproducing migration; the influence of social movements of various kinds in generating the physical movement of people; the ways in which movement and ownership of physical objects may stimulate further

relocation, especially return migration; and the ways in which different types of human movement are interconnected and the implications of such processes. Although many global histories do also focus on the movement of people, goods and ideas in all time periods, such studies rarely connect directly with mobilities research (Mckeown 2004: Manning and Trimmer 2013).

Migrant letters can provide evidence of the ways in which the transfer of information through correspondence can later lead to the physical relocation of people. For much long-distance movement such interconnected flows of knowledge and people were crucial to the creation of migration chains and the perpetuation of migration flows. As stated previously, migrant letters must be read with caution. Letters that survive may not be representative of all those written, and migrants may have exaggerated or distorted information (Helbich et al. 2006; Richards 2006). The ubiquity of letter writing by migrants to those family and friends left behind is amply demonstrated in the collection of essays edited by Bruce Elliott and colleagues (Elliott et al. 2006), and the ways in which such correspondence can help to shape future migration, family structures and migrant communities is skilfully shown in Suzanne Sinke's study of the migration of Dutch women to the USA (Sinke 2002, 2006). For instance, she demonstrates the existence of an international marriage market as men who had moved from The Netherlands to America corresponded with women back home with a view to finding a spouse. A further example is given by DeHaan (2010) who demonstrates (also in the context of Dutch migration) how immigrant letters could be used to negotiate with family who had remained in Europe, and the changing identities of migrants as they became absorbed into a host society. Thus not only were letters moving between continents and conveying information that could stimulate new migration flows, but also identities were shifting and these in turn were being relayed back to Europe, thus potentially altering the nature of relationships within families. Chain migration, where one group of migrants follows another to a specific location, was (and still is) a common feature of population movement in many parts of the world (Liu et al. 1991; Wegge 1998; Shah and Menon 1999; Skeldon 2014). Letters could also play a key role in such migration, together with the influence of agents who acted as mobile facilitators of migratory movements.

Societal change can also be a significant stimulus for migration both forced and voluntary. In such cases we see the movement of ideas and opinions within society creating the physical movement of people who in

some instances may simply have felt that they did not fit in and would rather be elsewhere, and in other cases were persecuted and felt that they had no option but to move. At one end of the scale, and widely studied, is the massive and tragic impact of the spread of Fascism in Europe and the rise of the Nazi regime in Germany in the twentieth century. This led to large-scale population movements as many Jewish families fled Germany prior to the implementation of the policy of mass extermination of Jews in the death camps of the Holocaust (Hochstadt 1997; Hochstadt et al. 2008). It has been estimated that over 400,000 Jews fled Germany, Austria and Bohemia in the period 1933–39, with the largest numbers travelling to the USA, various countries in Latin America, Palestine and Britain (Bauer 1981). However such migrants were not universally welcome with migration policies towards refugees in some instances restricting access and residency rights (London 2003). Much more benign and much less specific social and economic movements could also stimulate societal change which led to human migration. In the nineteenth century the railway transformed society in many ways and can be viewed as part of a large-scale social and economic movement that was powered by processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. Initially new railway lines could meet opposition from rural landowners, but as rail companies penetrated urban areas this could lead to a significant displacement of (mainly poor) populations who were forced to relocate due to the development of railway lines and termini (Kellett 1969). More generally, the coming of the railway could generate profound social change, allowing easier out-migration in some places but stimulating economic development in others (Schwartz et al. 2011; Da Silveira et al. 2011).

When people move they will always take some possessions with them. For a planned family removal this can entail the removal of a life-time's accumulated furniture and other goods, but for a move that is forced or for a young person leaving home for the first time the possessions carried may be few. However, among such belongings, together with mundane necessities of life, there are likely to be some objects that hold special meaning. These may be photographs of home and family, specific mementos, or ornaments that had been a long-standing feature of a room at home. It has been shown that such material objects can play an important role in the life of a migrant as they begin to settle into a new society but also seek to retain some links to the family and society they left behind (Tolia-Kelly 2004; Ho and Anderson 2011; Svasek 2012). The possession of such objects, and their daily encounters in the home, may in turn

generate feelings of homesickness and return migration. It is known that many migrants, both from rural to urban areas within a nation and those who moved from one country to another, did return either temporarily or permanently to the places from which they left (Gmelch 1980; Darroch 1981; King 1986; Dustman et al. 1996; Gabaccia 2013). Reliable estimates of the numbers of past migrants who returned at some point in their lives are hard to come by. Using longitudinal family histories Pooley and Turnbull (1998) calculated that some 20–25 per cent of emigrants from Britain to the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand returned later in life, but for those who left Britain for Ireland, Latin America, Africa or Asia over 60 per cent returned. This was almost certainly because movement to this latter group of countries was mainly work-related and could be time-limited, whereas migration to North America and Australasia was more permanent settlement migration (Hammerton and Thomson 2005).

A longitudinal approach to migration also emphasises the ways in which different types of movement may be connected. At the local level moves that were undertaken on a daily basis can build up information about other places and knowledge of travel. Short-distance migration can construct confidence for future moves and may be instrumental in taking someone to a new location where they are exposed to fresh knowledge about more opportunities. A further internal move may take a migrant to a port city before embarking from (for instance) Europe to North America. Once in the USA or Canada further internal moves would almost certainly be made before settling in a community. This is best illustrated through a single residential life history. Henry A. was born in Blackburn, Lancashire, England in 1836, as a child he moved with his parents, but married and set up a new home in Blackburn age 23 when he was managing a cotton mill with his father. Over a period of 21 years he moved seven times around the same area of East Lancashire, during which period he changed his job due to bankruptcy and was also widowed and remarried. In 1880 (age 52) he was again without a job and he left his wife and family in Lancashire to move to Manitoba, Canada, to take up farming. However, this lasted only two years before he returned to Lancashire moving twice more before he died in 1919 (Pooley and Turnbull 1998). This example shows not only the frequency and apparent ease of movement over both short and long distances, and the ways in which such moves were embedded in and often stimulated by the circumstances of everyday life (job loss, marriage etc.), but we may infer that many of his local moves were accomplished with the knowledge he had gained through daily

mobility. We do not know how he chose his destination in Canada, but it was most likely through contacts he had established at home during his previous movements around the Blackburn area, and his moves in Canada would have been accomplished with the use of knowledge he had acquired during his residency there. In these ways it can be argued that daily mobility, internal migration and international migration are all intimately connected and over the life course may feed into each other, influencing future mobility decisions.

Migration, Mobility and Meaning

In addition to emphasising the significance and connectedness of different types of movement, placing mobility centre stage also requires recognition of the significance of the journey itself. Not only is travel not dead time – it can often be used productively for resting, reading and socialising among other activities – but also as implied above the experience of travel can have longer-term influences on later life and future mobility. In this section I further explore the ways in which different types of journeys could take on meanings beyond those of travelling from one place to another. Such information can never be extracted from aggregate statistics of the numbers of people who moved, and thus we have to reach beyond standard sources on migration and mobility such as the census, travel surveys, immigration registers and the like, and instead again make use of diaries and personal accounts of journeys undertaken.[3] In this section I focus on three possible experiences of travel, though there are many more and all might occur on a single journey: experiences of fear or danger that might inhibit future travel; knowledge about new places and people that could be used to inform future travel and social interactions; and encounters and experiences that could lead to a reappraisal of the travellers situation. Given that in the past many journeys were longer than they are today, and the experience of travelling probably more diverse and unpredictable, it can be argued that the impact of the journey itself on a traveller's life may be have been particularly significant.

Although, as today, most journeys in the past were relatively unproblematic and trouble-free, there were inevitably occasions when those who travelled encountered potential danger or at least perceived that was the case. Sometimes such fears, though clearly real at the time, were probably due to a lack of familiarity with a particular form of transport and the experience of travelling in it. For instance, when in 1809 Ellen Weeton

travelled by carriage to take up the post of governess/companion in a large house on the shores of Windermere in the English Lake District she was frightened by a steep ascent to the property. It is unclear if there was any real danger, but she had almost certainly rarely travelled in a chaise (private carriage) before with, as mentioned above, much of her usual travel being on foot: 'On ascending in the chaise I felt some degree of alarm. Mr B had got out, I preferred riding up because of the wetness of the ground, but so steep was the road that if the horses had slipped ever so little they would have been drawn back by the chaise, and we should have been precipitated all together into the lake, there being not so much as a wall or bank to have prevented us.'[4] In London some 50 years later John Leeson appeared to encounter greater potential danger when travelling in a fly (a single-horse light carriage), a form of transport with which he was reasonably familiar: '. . . the horse ran away with me alone in it . . . he providentially stopped at his old stables near Addison Road – I have much cause to be thankful to God for preserving me as I might have been thrown out and killed or much hurt.'[5] Long sea crossings undertaken for emigration or to work for a period overseas could be even more perilous. In 1854 John James sailed from Liverpool to New York on the Cunard Line. He wrote in his journal: 'Had a very rough voyage, gale, head wind a great portion of the time – 17 days. The first Monday we had such a gale and heavy sea that we could scarcely stand. Cabin doors were broken in & we got such a washing as was far from desirable, even to the lovers of salt water. We also had to encounter icebergs & was in peril for some time from this cause. . . . I was most fortunate in escaping being on board the "City of Glasgow" SS; that was not heard of again & no doubt perished among icebergs. We were to sail on her but circumstances prevented; it was not for us.'[6] There is, of course, no way of knowing exactly what impact such encounters might have had on travellers, and the diarists concerned did all continue travelling by a variety of means, but at the very least the experience of the journey must have stuck in their memory and potentially could influence attitudes to later trips.

Most journeys that are undertaken on a day-to-day basis tend to be routine and repeated: travel to work, to local shops or to visit frequently-seen friends. Only rarely would such travel bring real surprises or new experiences. However, infrequently used routes even for mundane journeys could widen horizons and expose the traveller to fresh perspectives. For instance, when in 1859 John Lee travelled from his home in East Lancashire across the Pennines to Bradford (Yorkshire) he was far from impressed by

the impact of industrial and urban development on the landscape: '. . . I had expected to see the valley of the Aire sprinkled with the villa residencies of the merchants of Leeds; but the busy traders prefer to live in the town, and in all the nine miles on the way to Bradford, you have only a succession of factories, dye-works, and excavations, encroaching on and deforming, the beauty of the valley, while the vegetation betrays signs of the harmful effects of smoke.'[7] Companions encountered on a journey could also make an impact and maybe helped to shape opinions of others. For instance in the 1880s John Lee's daughter Elizabeth travelled alone by train from Liverpool to visit relatives in Yorkshire. She recorded in her diary: 'Had a very nice journey. The carriage I was in was full of Americans and they were so comical.'[8] Some 50 years later Rhona Little was travelling by train from London to her parents' home in Northern Ireland and commented on her travelling companions: 'I found [a seat] in a compartment in which there were two lots of Irish people and I think two English or refined Irish men. The Irish people seemed very Irish to me. They seemed very low class to me.'[9] In the first instance it might be suggested that the encounter with Americans influenced Elizabeth Lee's image of American citizens more generally, but in the second extract it seems more likely that Rhona Little was using the encounter to reinforce existing prejudices. Either way, encounters during the journey clearly had meaning that could carry over to later life.

Some journeys, and the consequences that they led to, could help to quite fundamentally reshape opinions and attitudes towards home. For instance, Annie Rudolph, who lived in London in the 1920s, seemed only to fully appreciate the qualities of her family home when, following her mother's death, they felt forced to move nearer to her father's work because the stress of constantly travelling between the two locations compounded the family's loss: 'We're going to move to the East End – we can't put up with this – I can't rush backwards and forwards, I'll go mad – I am sure of it. . . . I don't think I quite appreciated this house before but I'll miss it if we move. The beautiful garden with the scent of flowers – and the creeper hanging over the windows. The big airy lofty rooms – how we'll miss them, but we cannot keep that – we've lost a lot already.'[10] In 1841 George Osborne made a very much longer journey from Portsmouth to Sydney (Australia) with the intention of settling there. However, after only four months he became seriously disillusioned with what he found to be a harsh life in the fledgling town and wrote in his journal: '. . . my mind was soon made up to leave this horrid hole at once

and once more see the only bit of earth in my estimation worth living for and I sincerely hoped there to spend the rest of my days.'[11] Feelings of homesickness are quite normal, but in this case the combination of distance and disappointment at what he found after a long journey led him to work his passage back to Britain. The journey, and the consequences that it led to, could have a profound effect on life which extended well beyond the experience of travel itself, a point also made by Coleborne (2009).

Virtual Mobilities – keeping in Touch in the Past

Communication and interaction that did not entail physical movement of the parties involved has been important for many centuries, be it by messenger, post, telegraph or over the internet. Of course all these forms of interaction do require the movement of either people (messengers, and postal staff), objects (letters and parcels) or information sent electronically. Although such non-face-to-face interactions are much quicker today (and facilities such as web-cams and Skype allow virtual real-time face-to-face interaction), the principle of needing and valuing the ability to interact without physical movement oneself has been important for much of human history. In this section I briefly examine the ways in which such virtual mobility (interaction without physical movement of the parties involved) has evolved over time and the significance of such mobility for people's lives.

I have already highlighted the role of migrant letters in conveying information, shaping knowledge of a destination and encouraging chain migration, but for anyone wishing to communicate without travel in the pre-telephone era some form of transferring messages from place to place was the main form of communication. Messages would have been carried from person to person ever since the invention of writing, and Herodotus, writing in the fifth century BC, described what was effectively a mail service operating in ancient Persia (Herodotus 1921–25). In eighteenth-century Paris there was a well-developed network of messengers and unofficial publications that spread court and political gossip and intrigue in the period before the revolution, a system that Darnton (2000) dubs the 'early internet'. By the nineteenth century both Europe and America had well-developed postal services that provided a sophisticated technology of mobility, and which enabled people to communicate quickly and easily both within a country and internationally (Daunton 1985; Harcourt 1988; Henkin 2006). In British urban areas the existence of multiple deliveries and speedy

transmission meant that it was quite easy to send a message to someone in the morning to arrange a meeting, get a reply a few hours later confirming a time, and to meet later in the afternoon or evening. That such communications worked and were used in this way is illustrated in contemporary literature and can be confirmed from diary evidence. Elizabeth Lee, living near Birkenhead, England, in the late-nineteenth century recorded many such transactions in her diary (Pooley et al. 2010). Letters also continued to be the main method of everyday communication for most people well into the twentieth century, as instanced by the diary of Rhona Little. In her first 17 days in London after arriving from Northern Ireland in 1938 Rhona either wrote or received letters or parcels almost daily.[12] Although not as rapid as communications today, postal services (both public and private) have made, and continue to make, a key contribution to human interaction in most parts of the world.

Early telegraph systems were developed from the beginning of the nineteenth century and Standage (1998) has dubbed this technology the 'Victorian internet'. For most people the higher cost and restrictions on length meant that telegraph communications were reserved for particularly important or urgent news (often bad news), but the technology did for the first time allow the almost instantaneous transmission of information over long distances, though still relied on the hand delivery of a telegram to the recipient. By mid-century there was an extensive network of telegraph wires across the USA and parts of Europe, with the first transatlantic telegraph message sent in 1858, although a reliable connection was not achieved until the mid-1860s (Standage 1998; Winston 1998; Cookson 2000). One example of the limited everyday use of the telegraph system can be given from mid-nineteenth century Britain. Based on his diary entries John Leeson, a middle-class resident of London, took a keen interest in the development of the telegraph. He noted the laying of a cable from the Crimea to London in 1855 so that messages could be transmitted during war in the Crimea, and also recorded the progress of the transatlantic cable. However, over a 19 year period from 1846 to 1865 he noted only two occasions when the telegraph was used for personal messages within his family (though, of course, there may have been other unrecorded instances), once in 1857 when he received a telegram about his brother's illness and once when he recorded the travel arrangements of his newly-married sister-in-law (of which he was informed by post): 'Charlotte had a letter from Binnie at Mundesley – the morning they left here – at the station they telegraphed to Norwich for Cooper's Coach to

wait for them there, they went by it and a Fly home'.[13] This suggests that although providing quick and convenient communication when needed, in the mid-nineteenth century the telegraph was used sparingly even by someone who was relatively affluent.

Direct person-to-person communication by telephone was a development from the electric telegraph and was established as a viable communication system, first in the USA and then Europe, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Although the phone was initially viewed with suspicion by some it spread rapidly to more affluent households and to businesses, but initially it was too expensive (and the network too restricted) for universal use (Marvin 1988; Fischer 1994; Calvo 2006; Milne 2007). In Britain, even in the 1930s, only the relatively wealthy had a private phone line, but by 1928 there were almost 24,000 public telephone kiosks, a network that had expanded to over 48,000 by 1938. Most communities, including all villages with a post office, had a phone kiosk thus allowing almost anyone to use this technology. It is estimated that in excess of one billion phone calls were made within and from the UK in 1938[14]: for the first time there was a truly accessible system of direct person-to person communication over long distances which allowed families to keep in touch with each other, business to be transacted, and social engagements arranged. However, diary evidence again suggests that in practice everyday usage in the 1930s remained limited. In her (very detailed) diary Rhona Little recorded using the telephone only for especially urgent or problematic communications, such as trying to trace a missing pay packet in 1939. She never phoned home to Northern Ireland (it is quite likely her parents did not have a phone), and she mostly used the post to arrange meetings with friends within London, giving only a day or two's notice.

In this section I have argued that some form of virtual (not face-to-face) communication system has been available and important for much of human history (Burke 2000, 2012). By the late-nineteenth century in Europe and America there was an increasing range of options, including real-time interaction, but for the most part these were available only to the rich, and were used sparingly. In many of the poorer parts of the world such communications were much more limited. Clearly the internet in the twenty-first century has a much more global reach, and is now accessible to many even in the most remote and poorest parts of the world (De Bruijn et al. 2009; Porter et al. 2012). This is new, but the desire for such communication and its importance

in everyday life has been an important element of mobility for much longer. The internet has also been seen as an important factor in breaking down boundaries and in stimulating and maintaining the processes of globalisation. However, it has been argued that the processes of globalisation are not themselves new (Hopkins 2002; Nayyar 2006), and that these processes – including the role of the internet – create new boundaries as frequently as they break down old ones (Carey 2005). This can be seen in the ways in which in the twenty-first century movements for localism have sprung up in response to globalised trade and commerce, through the emergence of strong nationalistic and anti-immigrant political movements within many European countries, and in the use of social media for bullying and abuse to the extent that some victims find it impossible to use these forms of communication. Such processes are not new to the internet as telephones or postal systems can also be used to create barriers or for bullying and abuse (although the internet is more immediate and arguably harder to avoid): both the benefits and dangers of virtual communications, like the systems themselves, have been present for a long time.

Conclusions: What has Changed?

In this chapter I have argued that in the past all forms of mobility were common and widespread, that different forms of movement were closely interconnected, that the processes of migration and mobility were deeply embedded within society and had meaning for those who moved, and that some form of virtual mobility has operated in most times and places. Furthermore, I argue that kinaesthetic bodily experiences of movement are universal and timeless, and that sites and networks of mobility have been created and used in all societies. In other words, I argue that almost all the features of twenty-first century mobility that have been identified and studied through the lens of mobility studies were equally present in the past, and that the 'new mobilities paradigm' is as applicable to past mobilities as to those in the present. However, this is not to suggest that nothing has changed – there have clearly been massive changes in technology and the global reach of mobility processes. In this section I briefly attempt an historical assessment of the balance of continuity and change in the context of migration and mobility.

One of the greatest shifts that has occurred in the late-twentieth and twenty-first centuries is the combination of an increased global reach of

rapid mobility and, most crucially, of the expectation of easy and frequent mobility. There has been a narrowing of some mobility experiences in different parts of the world, together with a much greater reduction in the differences in expectations between those in the richest and poorest parts of the globe. Of course, there remain substantial inequalities in access to mobility in all countries which, as I have argued elsewhere, are arguably greater today than in the past (Pooley 2016), but almost anywhere in the world there will be a proportion of the population that have access to fast and easy physical and virtual mobility, and a much larger proportion of the population that expect that they should be able to access such communications. Failure to do so can, of course, lead to frustration. A second, and related, major difference between the past and the present is in the ability to utilise mobile communications devices to access both virtual and physical mobility systems. Assuming access to a wireless network, ownership of a smartphone or tablet and a valid credit card, today it is possible to use a mobile device while travelling to almost instantly book a train or airline ticket to another destination, with departure only a short time later. Just 20 years ago such instant and mobile transactions would not have been possible (Agar 2013). In this sense the expectation and facilitation of all kinds of mobility has been transformed by twenty-first century technology.

However, despite such changes, I suggest that there are also forces that have gradually increased constraints on mobility over time, and that for many the expectation and existence of unlimited mobility is an illusion which in practice is rarely fulfilled. In the previous section I alluded to the ways in which fear of unrestrained migration, or of globalised trade, has led to reactions through more localised economic systems, particularly in moves towards more sustainable living (O'Riordan 2001; Curtis 2003), and to the rise of strong nationalistic political movements (Davies 2012; Wellings 2010). In addition, many of the changes that have occurred in most societies over the past century or so have in practice acted to make quick, easy and spontaneous mobility more difficult. Although most states have always sought to impose some controls on either internal or external movement or both, in the nineteenth century (for instance) requirements for international travel documentation were often much less onerous and controlled than today (Caplan and Torpey 2001; Higgs 2008; Robertson 2010). Furthermore, twenty-first century reactions by states and organisations to a perceived increased threat from terrorism have led to levels of security and personal documentation and surveillance that can be slow and inconvenient for many, and very restrictive for some embarking on international travel (Hall 2002).

At the national level there have also been both economic and societal trends that have made residential mobility more problematic than it was a century ago, although the chronology differs from place to place. Increases in homeownership (rather than renting) have perhaps occurred most markedly in Britain in the twentieth century, but can also be seen in many other European nations (Pooley 1992). This, together with an increase in the ownership of material possessions and consumer goods has made moving home rather more difficult and expensive than it was when most people rented and personal possessions were few. A number of studies have demonstrated that homeownership, especially the existence of a mortgage, can act as a brake on residential mobility (Böheim and Taylor 2002; Ioannides 1987). More complicated modern lifestyles can also limit mobility choices. A family may be deterred from moving home because of the schooling requirements of their children, because of the demands of dual-career households, or due to caring commitments towards relatives. Such constraints on residential mobility have, in turn, led to an increase in commuting distances as some people exchange residential migration for daily commuting (Green et al. 1999; Pooley 2003). However, long-distance commuting also has its costs, not only financial but also in terms of stress, tiredness and lack of time for family commitments and community interactions. In any assessment of changes in all forms of mobility over time there is a constant tension between those processes that increase movement and those that restrict it. What, however, is undeniable is that the approaches to mobility studies that have been developed in the context of twenty-first century mobilities, and which tend to be constructed as a product of the late-twentieth century, can equally profitably be applied to population movements in the past.

Notes

1. For example no articles in 11 volumes of the journal *Mobilities* contain the word history in their title or sub-title, though this does not mean that some papers do not refer to past events.
2. Ellen Weeton letter books, 1807–25. Wigan Archives (Leigh): EHC165a/165b/165c.
3. I use data extracted from diaries and accounts I have read that relate to travel within and from Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but similar accounts could be used for any location and time period for which sources survive.

4. Ellen Weeton letter books, 1807–25. Wigan Archives (Leigh): EHC165a/165b/165c. Letter 132 to Miss Winkley, Dale St, Liverpool, December 28th, 1809.
5. Diary of John Leeson, April 26, 1861. Bishopsgate Institute Archives, London: GDP/8.
6. Unpublished life history of John James: March/April 1854 (private collection).
7. Unpublished diary of John Lee, August 26, 1859 (private collection).
8. Diary of Elizabeth Lee, August 20, 1885 (Pooley et al. 2010).
9. Unpublished diary of Rhona Little, July 8, 1938 (private collection).
10. Diary of Annie Rudolph, Bishopsgate Institute Archives, London: GDP/31.
11. Unpublished journal of George Osborne, January, 1842 (private collection).
12. Unpublished diary of Rhona Little, July 8, 1938 (private collection).
13. Diary of John Leeson, November 19, 1859. Bishopsgate Archives, London: GDP/8.
14. UK telephone history website: http://www.britishtelephones.com/histuk.htm (accessed June 2016).

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CHAPTER 4

Mobility in History Through the Lens of Transport

Abstract All mobility requires some form of transport, whether that be human powered (walking, cycling), animal powered, or driven by steam, oil or electricity. All forms of transportation also make demands upon the environment through which they pass: competing for road space, requiring management and in the case of most non-human powered transport polluting the environment. There is much research on transport history but for the most part it remains separate from studies of migration and mobility. This chapter explores the benefits of greater interaction between these fields of enquiry, examines some of the ways in which planners and policy makers have sought to manage transport and travel over time, and considers the implications that this has both for the environment and for social equity.

Keywords Transport infrastructure · Transport technologies · Travelling to school · Travelling to work · Travelling for leisure · Transport planning

Introduction

All mobility requires some form of transport, whether that be human powered (walking, cycling), animal powered, or driven by steam, oil or electricity. All forms of transportation also make demands upon the environments through which they pass: competing for road space, requiring

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management and in the case of most non-human powered transport polluting the environment. There is a substantial research literature on the history of transport and the infrastructure that is needed to support the movement of both people and goods.[1] However, with some notable recent exceptions, such research has frequently been carried out from a technical, engineering or planning history perspective, has largely neglected traditional forms of mobility (such as walking), and has rarely interacted directly either with migration history or mobility studies.[2] This chapter argues that there is much to be gained from greater interchange between transport history and other migration and mobility scholars, and examines some of the areas where such interchange might be most profitable.

The development of new transport technologies and the infrastructure needed to run them must go hand in hand. Thus the easiest technological developments are those that can utilise existing infrastructures. Some form of track or road network has existed since humans existed and started moving from place to place. Likewise, rivers have always provided a network of routes along which people could pass. It is thus not surprising that the first significant technological advances in the transport of people and goods were based upon transport that utilised an existing infrastructure (roads and waterways). New forms of power, especially steam, mostly required new infrastructure to operate on land – most notably the railways – but whereas roads and waterways were more-or-less ubiquitous the railway network spread more slowly and differentially across and between countries. This chapter uses a range of examples to examine the ways in which such changes in infrastructure and technology (from horses and canals to cars and planes) interacted with the actual experience of travel for a range of different purposes, and demonstrates how research in transport history can inform mobilities research and vice versa. As the volume of traffic (both people and goods) increased, and transport systems became more complex, so the management and control of movement became more important. If cities were to function smoothly then transport and traffic had to be regulated and controlled. The final section of the chapter focuses on the ways in which the history of planning and managing transport infrastructures has impacted upon the experiences of travel itself. It is argued that as transport systems became more complex the more powerful transport modes were privileged, creating increased inequalities in everyday mobility experiences. Thus, the history of transport planning is crucial to an understanding of the history of population movement itself.

Approaches to Transport History

Most traditional transport histories are linear in structure: they focus on each new transport technology as it was developed (building canals, the spread of railways and invention of the automobile) and then largely ignore those technologies that had gone before. However, as David Edgerton (2006) has argued so persuasively, new technologies of any kind do not necessarily have real impact when they are first developed and, furthermore, old technologies often continue to be as, or more, important than the new. Thus although the first automobiles appeared on the roads in the late-nineteenth century, in Britain they did not become the usual form of everyday transport for most people until the 1960s (Gunn 2013; Mom 2014), and today much travel is still undertaken on foot, by bike, on buses and on trains. A focus on technological change does not necessarily tell us much about the ways in which people travelled or their experiences of a journey. Although certainly not absent from transport history, the meanings and experiences of travel are not always given prominence in the ways that they are in most mobility studies.

Comparative histories of transport usually start with a focus on modal splits: what proportion of travel was undertaken by different forms of transport and how has this changed over time? This approach provides a good starting point and basis for comparison over time and between places, but it does not tell the whole story. First, good comparative data between countries and over long periods of time is very hard to come by. Travel surveys and similar sources that provide information on how people travelled rarely go back before the 1960s, and for the poorer countries of the world only very recent data are likely to be available. Much historical data will at best rely on very small samples or individual testimonies. Second, even when statistics are available the categories used to measure travel and define modes, and the design of the survey, can change over time and vary between countries, thus making comparisons hard. Even where apparently reliable travel survey statistics are available for the past 40 years or so (as in much of Europe and in North America) direct comparisons must be made with care (Kunert et al. 2002). Third, as will be explored in more detail below, overall figures on modal split necessarily obscure variations in travel patterns that are affected by a wide range of factors including journey purpose, time of day, travel companions, weather conditions, luggage, location, age and gender. Ideally we need information on travel mode according to such factors, but this is rarely the

case. Finally, modal splits have little relevance for the more distant past when most travellers had little or no choice in how they moved from place to place.

Reliable information on modal splits is almost non-existent prior to the twentieth century, but it can be confidently assumed that a large amount of everyday travel was undertaken on foot in both urban and rural areas. Most other travel was by horse or horse-drawn transport, with some longer-distance travel by rail in those countries that had a reasonably well-developed rail network. According to figures quoted in Mom (2014: 65), in France in the early 1860s travel by private horse-drawn transport was approximately three times greater than on public horse-drawn transport, and in the early twentieth century private horse-drawn transport still accounted for some three quarters of all travel distance, excluding travel on foot and by rail. At the same time bicycles accounted for some 13 per cent of passenger kilometres. Statistics from Pooley et al. (2005: 116) suggest that for travel to and from work in Britain at the start of the twentieth century, approximately half of all trips were on foot, 35 per cent were on various forms of public transport, and 10 per cent were by bicycle. Mom (2014: 38) has characterised three periods of automobile use in Europe and North America. Prior to 1914 car use was confined to the aristocracy and upper middle classes, cars were open topped and motoring was largely confined to trips for leisure and pleasure. Between the two world wars of the twentieth century car travel extended to a broader middle class and white collar population, cars were enclosed (and thus more comfortable), but travel was still mostly for pleasure with some business travel. Travel for work and many everyday activities was mostly on foot, by public transport or by bike. From 1945 to the mid-1970s cars became increasingly dominant as countries on both sides of the Atlantic entered a period of 'mass motorisation'. A family car could be afforded by many people and cars were used routinely for commuting, pleasure and most everyday journeys. However, within this broad framework there were significant national differences in the rate of uptake of motoring. Car ownership and use increased most rapidly in the early twentieth century in the USA, Britain and France with car ownership initially growing more slowly in Germany, Italy and much of Scandinavia. However, in the first decade of the twentieth century car ownership remained very low in all countries with approximately 1 per cent of US households having access to a car in 1908 compared to 0.5 per cent in France and the UK (Pooley et al. 2005; Mom 2014: 69). By the

mid-1970s cars became increasingly dominant, especially in the USA where some 84 per cent of person trips per year were made by private vehicle in 1977. In Britain although travel by motor vehicle was the largest single travel mode recorded in the 1975/76 National Travel Survey, this accounted for only 45.8 per cent of all trips, with 34.8 per cent of journeys on foot and 13.2 per cent on public transport. By comparison in the USA only 9 per cent of recorded trips were on foot (though walking may have been under-recorded in the US survey) and just 2.6 per cent by public transit. Both walking and travel by public transport were most common in large urban areas in both Europe and North America (Santos et al. 2011; Department of Transport 1979).

When we look beyond the richest countries of the world the picture is different. Schafer (1998: 477) calculated the modal shares of the four major forms of motorised transport (cars, buses, trains and planes) in 11 world regions between 1960 and 1990. In the industrialised OECD countries covered by the study in 1960 car travel accounted for 73.1 per cent of motorised journeys (passenger kilometres (pkm)), rising slightly to 74.8 per cent by 1990. In contrast in what Schafer classified as 'Less Developed Countries' (LDCs) car travel accounted for only 18.3 per cent of trips in 1960 rising to just 26.9 per cent in 1990. Bus travel accounted for only 10.3 per cent pkm in OECD countries in 1960, falling to 7.1 per cent in 1990, while in LDCs 61.1 per cent of travel was by bus in 1960 with little change by 1990 (59.3 per cent). At the end of the twentieth century, although car use was increasing globally, car dominance remained confined to the richest nations of the world. Analysis of a selection of global cities in circa 2010 shows that in comparison to national figures public transport, walking and cycling are all much more significant in these large urban areas, with lower levels of car use. By far the highest levels of urban car use (circa two thirds of modal share) are found in North American and Australian cities (New York is the exception with travel split fairly evenly between cars, public transport and walking), whereas in Europe and Asia cars generally account for one third or less of urban travel. Public transport use is highest in parts of Asia and South America, and walking and cycling is most dominant in many European and Asian cities, but very low in Australia and many North American cities (Land Transport Authority 2014). When large urban areas are compared the differences between rich and poor countries become much less obvious, with car dominance most marked in those parts of the world where there is a particularly strong culture of car use, where there have

been few initiatives to promote sustainable travel, where public transport, pedestrian and cycle infrastructure is poorly developed, and where fuel is relatively cheap.

This section has demonstrated the difficulty of generating long-run data on modal change for a range of countries, and has highlighted some major shifts over time and differences between regions of the world. This is the sort of approach that has been taken by much research in transport history. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the ways in which transport history and mobility studies can interact, by examining how modal choice can vary with journey purpose and circumstances, and by assessing the ways in which changes in transport technologies and infrastructures have influenced the experience of travelling in the past. There are no large-scale data sets that can reveal such information, so data are drawn from selected examples taken from a range of detailed studies undertaken by myself and other researchers who have addressed this theme. While conventional transport histories usually arrange their narrative by mode, in this instance I structure the account around different types of journey, examining how these have changed over time in relation to changing transport technologies.

Travelling for Education

Today it is mostly taken for granted that children will travel to and from school, and countries with National Travel Surveys usually record some information on travel for education. For instance, in the USA the 2009 survey shows that approximately three quarters of travel for school is by private car whereas in England in 2014 only 32 per cent of school travel was by car with 45 per cent on foot (US Department of Transportation 2015: 12; DfT 2016: table NTS0615). However, such figures obscure much variation even today, and when considered in an historical context travel for education becomes even more complex. All education, whether it happens at the age of five, 15 or 25 can be both exhilarating and traumatic. It provides new opportunities and experiences, but also can separate children from their secure home environment and require them to develop independence and strength of character. Not all education necessitates movement from the parental home, for instance in Victorian England the female children of rich parents most often were educated by a governess at home (Dyhouse 2012), and in the USA in the early twenty-first century some 3 per cent of children are schooled at home

(Kunzman and Gaither 2013), but much education does also require some form of mobility. The experience of the school journey – positive or negative – can greatly influence a child's attitude to school and their engagement with education. In this section I examine the ways in which transport used in connection with travel for education has changed over time and space, and the impacts this has had on the experience of the school journey.

It can be argued that all travel is to some extent educational in that it can lead to new experiences and environments and to interaction with people from different cultures. It has been suggested that for those with the leisure and resources to undertake long periods of travel, the 'grand tour' of Europe was an important feature of the education of some young men (and to a lesser extent women) in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Dent 1975; Brodsky-Porges 1981). In these instances leisure, pleasure and education were combined through the medium of travel, which also served to reinforce notions of status through the display of knowledge of foreign places and peoples when at home. Travel was mostly by carriage, sometimes on foot or horseback, and later by rail as the European railway network developed in the second half of the nineteenth century (O'Brien 1983). However such experiences were restricted to a small elite group, and for most such education as was undertaken took place much closer to home. In Britain, prior to the 1870 Education Act, which for the first time established a national structure for schooling, education was provided by private institutions for the rich, by local grammar schools, through church Sunday schools and the increasing number of day schools that were provided by religious organisations and charities, and by 'dame' schools where a small number of young children received a basic education usually in the home of a local woman (Lawson and Silver 1973; Stephens 1998). For most children receiving education the journey to school would be short: a walk to a neighbouring house or school room through familiar streets. Young children might be accompanied by an older sibling, but many children would travel alone or with school friends. Such journeys were rarely recorded, although glimpses of such travel may be gained through the work of Victorian novelists.[3]

For those educated at boarding school travel usually occurred only termly, but was arguably much more significant as it meant a real break from home life and adjustment to what was usually a strict regime. Although often associated with more elite education, living away from home for education was also commonplace in many remote rural areas in

Europe and America where distances were too great for daily travel. Diaries can provide some information about such travel. Raleigh Trevelyan's parents had a home in London, but also spent time at the family estate in Kent. Raleigh (age 13 when he wrote his diary) attended a boarding school for gentlemen in Brentford (Middlesex). In December 1813 he recorded the 68 km journey he and his younger brother took first by public coach from school to London, where they met their father before travelling in his chaise to their grandmother's house in Kent for Christmas: 'I & Arthur came about ½ past 10 in the stage to the White Horse cellar & then to the Hotel in Vere street & then met papa & went to Mrs Strides at two o'clock in a chaise to Charlton & dined there'[4] Much of his travel to and from school was undertaken by public stage coach, either with his brother or alone, and this was travel that rarely caused him any difficulty. For many young men and women of lesser means their education took place not only in a school room but also as an apprentice or servant girl. Children could leave home to move into service or an apprenticeship at a very young age, for instance Amos Kniveton recorded in his life history that he worked part-time in a local cotton mill in South Lancashire from the age of seven (while living at home and probably also receiving some schooling), but in 1844 at the age of nine he left home to work as a plough boy and to live in as a farm servant in a nearby farm.[5] Although children could leave home at a young age they often remained nearby and could travel easily from their place of work to home on days off, there was not necessarily a clear division between work and education, and contact with home could easily be maintained by travel on foot. However, this was not the case for all. In 1828 the 12 year old Joseph Yates travelled for two days by coach (accompanied by an Aunt) from his home in London to take up an apprenticeship in Leominster (Herefordshire) some 250 km distant. He did not see his family again for several years.[6]

These detailed examples from nineteenth century England can be replicated in many parts of the world. They demonstrate both the extent to which lack of transport can affect the lives of young children when they are separated from family by being educated or apprenticed away from home, in some cases in a different country, and the ways in which children took such travel in their stride, confidently travelling both accompanied and alone. Similar experiences can also be found in many poorer countries of the world today. For instance, in much of rural Africa access to education remains limited, children have to travel quite long distances, often on

foot, and schooling may frequently be combined with work and/or caring responsibilities. Limited access to transport can curtail education and shape the lives of young people (Porter 2002; Ansell 2004; Porter et al. 2010). Even in Britain today the form of transport used and the freedom that a child is given can greatly influence their experience and enjoyment of the school journey, and their personal health. Although for many parents it is convenient to deliver a child at school by car, research shows that children often prefer the freedom and independence of the healthier option of travelling on foot, especially on the return journey from school when time pressures are less and travel and play can coalesce (Pooley et al. 2010; Carver et al. 2014).

Travelling for Work

Most adults have to work and much (though by no means all) paid employment requires some movement beyond the home. The daily journey from home to a workplace – be that factory, office or field – is geographically an almost ubiquitous experience and can place enormous strains on transport infrastructure and individual lives. Commuting to urban areas in particular is a major cause of congestion, environmental pollution and personal stress (Hislop 2008). For some, travel is an integral part of the work that they do: travelling to provide services, sell goods or see clients; and for the economically precarious travel may be an almost constant experience as they travel to seek whatever work is available. Such experiences of work-related travel can to some extent be identified in almost all time periods and cultures. In this section I briefly examine the ways in which travel to and for work has changed over the past 200 years or so in selected parts of the world.

As with travel for education, national travel surveys provide a partial picture of recent change in the richer countries of the world. For instance, in the USA there has been little change in the modes of transport used for commuting to and from work over the past 40 years. Almost 90 per cent of such travel is by motor vehicle with about 5 per cent by public transit. Only walking has declined from about 4 per cent of commuting trips in 1977 to less than 3 per cent in 2009 (Santos et al. 2011: table 25). Commuting by motor vehicle is less dominant in England than in the USA (67 per cent of all trips in 2014), with higher rates of both walking and public transport use (Department for Transport 2016: table NTS0409). Longer-run sample data on commuting in Britain shows that over the twentieth century rates

of walking to work fell from around 50 per cent of all trips to less than 10 per cent, and travel by car rose from almost zero to over 50 per cent. Travel by public transport also fell from around 40 per cent of all commuting travel to around 25 per cent of trips. Commuting by bicycle in Britain has seen the most dramatic change rising from around 10 per cent in the first decade of the twentieth century to 20 per cent in the 1940s, before falling to around 6 per cent at the end of the century (Pooley and Turnbull 2000). However, as with other forms of travel, national figures hide considerable variations. In most parts of the world commuting by public transport is much higher in large urban areas than in small towns and rural areas where public transit systems are less well developed; and public transport is more likely to be used by women than by men. Although the car is increasingly dominant in most parts of the world, many commuting trips continue to be undertaken on foot, by bike and by public transport.[7]

In the nineteenth century, in most parts of the world, almost all travel for work was on foot. In the countryside and in towns in Europe, Africa or Asia people walked from their homes to work in the fields, factories or offices and returned in the evening. Those whose work required greater mobility would also often tramp on foot from place to place, with only those with more resources being able to travel by cart, public coach, rail, or on horseback. For instance, in nineteenth century Britain skilled workers could travel over much of the country seeking work, with most of this movement undertaken on foot (Southall 1991). Lack of access to transport meant that in the nineteenth century the distance between home and workplace was usually short – the average time spent on commuting travel has changed little over periods that have been surveyed with about 30 minutes travel time being the norm be that on foot, by public transport or by motor vehicle, though commuting times are usually longer in large metropolitan areas and shorter in smaller settlements (Pooley and Turnbull 2000). One consequence of the speeding up of transport has been the ability of many people to increase the distance between their home and workplace. One implication of such change is that travel to and from work has become less reliable. A 30-minute walk to work is likely to vary little from day to day. It may be less comfortable in poor weather but it will take much the same time whatever the circumstances. In contrast a journey that should take 30 minutes by car or train can easily be disrupted by road works, traffic accidents or industrial action by public transport staff among other factors, greatly extending journey time and adding to stress and inconvenience. Thus it can be argued that the experience of travelling to and from work has become less

predictable and potentially more stressful as commuting distances, travel speeds and expectations of reliability have increased.

Long-distance travel for work is not in itself new, though such journeys were not necessarily undertaken on a daily basis. In much of sub-Saharan Africa there is a long tradition of population circulation between rural and urban areas as (mostly) young men travelled from their villages to seek work in towns, returning only sporadically to the family home (Standing, 1985; Prothero and Chapman 1985; Timaeus and Graham 1986). In nineteenth century Britain there were also substantial seasonal flows of migrants, especially from Ireland to England to work in agriculture and on transport infrastructure (canal and rail construction), together with more localised movements such as the temporary removal of labour from parts of London to harvest hops in the Kent countryside, or of women from rural Wales to work in the parks and gardens of London (Johnson 1967; Collins 1976; Williams-Davies 1977). It can be argued that such long-distance travel, often undertaken mainly on foot in the past, was especially significant in shaping people's lives. Seasonal labour migrants were separated from their home and family for long periods of time, they could forge new relationships and experience places barely known to those left behind. This could make readjustment to domestic life difficult when they returned. International labour migration also has a long history,[8] and the difficulties of such long-distance travel in search of work are highlighted in the journal of John James. A Cornish tin miner by trade he was forced to travel widely in search of work as local job opportunities declined. After a period in Newfoundland he returned to Cornwall before leaving for work in Ireland. During this period he wrote in his journal 'I have no desire to leave home & home comforts again',[9] but circumstances did eventually force him to move. Such examples emphasise the blurred lines that exist between mobility (such as travel to work) and migration, and parallel some of the dilemmas faced by families in the twenty-first century as conflicts between home, schooling and work for both partners can often lead to long commutes and extended periods away from home for work and business travel (Anderson and Spruill 1993; Green 1997; Beaverstock et al. 2010).

Travelling for Leisure

Leisure travel is not new, but in most parts of the world it has increased substantially over the twentieth century. In general, societies that are relatively affluent and where most work is sedentary tend to have the

most leisure time and associated travel. Even in the twenty-first century those living in the poorest parts of the world, and especially those who earn a living by long hours of manual labour, have the least time, money and energy to engage in physically active leisure and travel for pleasure (Gershuny 2003; Haase et al. 2004). It can be suggested that how you travel matters much more when mobility is for leisure or pleasure than it does for routine journeys such as commuting or the journey to school. Although recent research has emphasised that business travel and commuting is rarely dead time, and that it can be productive in a wide variety of ways (Lyons and Urry 2005; Lyons et al. 2007), when travelling for leisure the journey is often part of the experience itself and thus should be enjoyable. Thus walking and cycling (especially off-road or on quiet lanes) are much more frequently used modes for short-distance leisure travel than they are for routine everyday journeys. For instance in the 2014 National Travel Survey for England some 27 per cent of all leisure-related trips were on foot compared with 15 per cent for commuting and 2 per cent for business travel (Department for Transport 2016: table NTS0409). Travel for leisure is thus more likely to be slow (leisurely), and to use a mode that is itself enjoyable (even luxurious), and which is seen to contribute to both mental and physical well-being (Dickinson and Lumsdon 2010; Fullagar et al. 2012). In contrast longer journeys for leisure activities are more likely to be undertaken as rapidly as possible, for instance today by high speed train or plane, to enable the traveller to reach a desirable leisure destination as quickly as possible and thus to maximise time at a resort. Only those with particularly strong views about the environmental impacts of transport may choose to travel slowly (for instance by train rather than plane) on such journeys.

In the past leisure time was limited for most people, or when taken meant loss of income. Few had paid leave or surplus income for leisure travel, and only the rich could afford to travel far from home on a regular basis. As travel modes were much slower than today, especially in the pre-railway age, travel for leisure necessarily required the ability not to work for a substantial period of time. In the industrial cities of Europe and North America in the mid-nineteenth century leisure activities were mostly periods of time snatched in evenings and on Sundays between paid work and domestic duties, and for most people were undertaken in streets, parks, taverns and places of entertainment close to home, although with some longer leisure excursions (Major 2015). Travel would be on foot or, less often, by public transport (tram, train or omnibus). By the late-nineteenth century and into

the twentieth century changes in working hours, holiday rights and reliability of income meant that more people had small amounts of surplus income and, most crucially, time available for leisure activities which allowed more to travel further afield to resorts, sports stadia and places of entertainment accessible on a day trip by train (Walton 1983; Cross and Walton 2005). Increased marketing of leisure excursions further fuelled this trend (Ward 1998). At the same time cycling also emerged as a significant leisure activity for the relatively wealthy, with the establishment of many cycling clubs for both touring and racing, although cycling as an important form of everyday transport did not become significant until the cost of bikes fell and a second hand market emerged in the mid-twentieth century (Horton et al. 2007). In the early days of motoring cars were also used mainly for leisure and pleasure rather than for routine everyday journeys. Driving was associated with freedom and excitement and 'going for a drive' rapidly became a popular leisure-time activity for those who could afford a car, first in the USA and later in Europe (Sachs 1992; O'Connell 1998; Mom 2014). In Britain, even into the 1950s, many car-owning families rarely used their vehicle for anything other than family outings and leisure travel, as stated by one survey respondent who lived in Manchester in the 1950s 'If you had access to a car at that stage . . . you would have used that for leisure only. It would not have occurred to you to use it for work'[10] However, the car did allow people to undertake much longer leisure journeys than were previously possible, and facilitated access to countryside and coastline that was not easily reached by public transport. The significance of the automobile for leisure travel has, of course, continued to the present day but as part of the much more all-encompassing automobile dominance of everyday travel.

The nature of long-distance leisure travel, involving several nights away from home on vacation, has changed markedly over the past two centuries. In nineteenth century Europe only the relatively affluent took extended holidays, most often to coastal or country resorts and spas. Travel was first by coach, by coastal steamer or, from mid-century, increasingly by train as railway connections opened up new coastal resorts. For example, in London in the 1850s it was not unusual for those who could afford time away from home to spend several weeks at a coastal resort such as Margate, with regular steamers travelling from the Thames to such coastal destinations (Armstrong and Williams 2005). This can be illustrated by an entry from the diary of John Leeson in August 1852: 'I left London with Mrs Leeson, Lotty and nurse and went from London Bridge by steamer to Margate, took lodgings on the front – stayed there six weeks . . . a pleasant

rural country town with nice walks out of it . . . '.[11] For some, the ability to travel with companions other than one's immediate family can be part of the attraction of leisure excursions and vacations, and from the 1930s the motor coach (or charabanc) excursion played an important role. Not only did these provide day trips within Britain but also took tourists across Europe to new holiday destinations. In many ways they were the precursor of the modern package tour and the experience of travelling with like-minded tourists was part of the attraction (Walton 2011). The outdoor walking and holiday clubs that developed in Britain and elsewhere in Europe, played a similar role in combining leisure with sociability, as travelling together formed an important part of the experience (Pryn 1976; Walker 1985). In other contexts the sociability of leisure travel has also been combined with religious observations such as the continued importance of the Hajj for Muslims all over the world (Aziz 2001; Porter and Haleem 2012). Although the development of budget airlines from the 1990s extended long-distance travel to many more people globally, and travel by air is now the main mode of long-distance leisure travel, the concepts and experiences of such travel have a much longer history (Lyth and Dierikx 1994; Lyth 2016).

Transport, Planning and the Environment

All travel and associated transport has some impact on the environments and communities through which travellers pass, and most societies have sought to regulate travel and transport in some way. Although in one sense it seems obvious that the environmental and societal impacts of travel and transport have increased over time as the volume of traffic has increased and more motorised transport is used, the impacts of earlier forms of transport should not be understated. Crowds of pedestrians could be extremely socially intrusive to the communities through which they passed, and both railways and motor vehicles were by many considered highly damaging and potentially dangerous when they were first introduced. Moreover, noxious emissions from steam trains and early petrol engines were far higher than from modern electric trains or from many twenty-first century vehicles, at least in countries that have enforced stringent pollution and emissions controls on manufacturers (Hoffman and Ventresca 2002). The impact of one form of transport is not only on the places through which it passes, but also on other forms of transport and travel. Conflicts over urban space between pedestrians, horse-powered

vehicles, bicycles, trams and motor vehicles have taken place in the streets of most cities of the world, and continue to do so, with the most powerful forms of transport usually dominating (Mullen et al. 2014; Mullen and Marsden 2016). In this section I examine some of the ways in which transport has impacted on the places through which it passes, how this has changed over time, and the measures that some countries have taken to mitigate and regulate such effects.

In most rural areas almost anywhere in the world planning and provision for pedestrians has barely changed since routes existed. Provision of a hard surface, when it has occurred, certainly can make walking easier and avoids the mud and ruts of unsurfaced roads, but this provision was for the benefit of vehicles not pedestrians. Those who walk in most rural areas have had always to share road space with whatever vehicles were on the road. The eighteenth-century pedestrian had to move to one side when a carriage or stage coach came along, often having to take refuge on an even muddier verge and if the road was wet getting splashed by the passing vehicle, and much the same is true when a motor vehicle passes by walkers in many rural lanes today. It is assumed that those who walk make few demands on the rural environment and thus their needs and convenience has been largely ignored. All that has changed is that in the richer countries of the world at least there are fewer rural pedestrians than in the past (Qin and Ivan 2001; Lebo and Schelling 2001). Due to greater population densities, both in the past and the present, the number of people who walk in urban areas is greater than in the countryside, though proportionately the amount of travel that is undertaken on foot may be less as urban populations have always tended to have access to better public transport. In contrast to rural roads the density of wheeled vehicle traffic in urban areas rapidly led to the provision of some pavement (sidewalk) space for those who travelled on foot. In North American cities this occurred in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries: in 1880 fewer than 50 per cent of urban streets in the USA were paved but by the 1920s most urban streets had sidewalks (McShane 1979; Moore 1983). However, provision was often insufficient for the number of pedestrians, and as motorised vehicles replaced horse-drawn carts and carriages on city streets, a combination of the perception that they posed a greater threat to pedestrians together with a desire to free up road space for vehicles, meant that pedestrian became increasingly regulated and controlled.

In British cities pedestrian crossings and guard rails at junctions were increasingly used to prevent those travelling on foot invading road space

reserved for vehicles, with perhaps the most extreme example being the construction of some three miles of guard rails along a major highway in East London (Rooney 2015). The allocation of increased road space to vehicles and the confinement of pedestrians has been a feature of transport planning in most cities during the twentieth century, with only limited recent attempts to redress the balance, as in the remodelling of some Paris streets to give more space to both walkers and cyclists (Apur 2003; Hass-Klau 2014).

Provision of separate space for cyclists in urban areas varies enormously from place to place. In much of Europe cycling became well-established as a means of everyday transport by the 1920s, but whereas in countries such as Denmark and The Netherlands it was viewed as an important part of the transport mix, with good provision of cycle infrastructure, in other countries such as Germany and Britain by mid-century the bicycle was seen as an outdated mode of transport with little provision of separate space, cyclists were forced to compete with motorised vehicles for road space, and rates of cycling rapidly declined. Only recently have such trends been partially reversed (Ebert 2004; Pucher and Buehler 2008). Chinese cities have had some of the highest levels of cycling in the twentieth century, with good provision of dedicated infrastructure, but increasingly this is being challenged as more urban residents have access to a car and pedal cycles are being replaced by electric bikes that also compete for road space (Hook and Ernst 1999; Weinert et al. 2007; Zhang et al. 2014).

For those who live in close proximity to transport routes and termini the impact on the immediate environment and quality of life can be substantial and mostly negative, though some historic forms of transport architecture have become part of our collective cultural heritage (Morrison and Minnis 2012). This is true for all types of transport infrastructure – be it road, rail, seaports or airports – at all time periods in the past and present. The main difference is that roads are ubiquitous and the pollution from noise and emissions, and the general inconvenience of living near traffic, may be experienced to some degree in many parts of most countries. In contrast, while living adjacent to a main railway line or under the flight path of an international airport is intrusive and stressful, with high levels of environmental damage, such installations occur much less frequently than roads and thus the number of people affected is smaller (though this in no way diminishes the impacts on those concerned). Often the greatest impact on people and the environment could occur when new infrastructure was being developed. Thus in nineteenth-century Britain railway construction generated substantial opposition both from country landowners whose land was

bisected by new rail routes and in urban areas as rail companies sought central termini. In many cities railway development was responsible for substantial demolition of low-quality housing and the displacement of some of the poorest members of society who were powerless to resist such developments (Kellett 1969). Although non-motorised road traffic could cause congestion, disruption and noise, particularly in urban areas, the main change that has occurred is the increase in pollution from the emissions of internal combustion engines. Such problems were already being commented on by Medical Officers of Health in the 1930s, and have increased as traffic densities have grown in almost all parts of the world, with serious consequences for public health (Künzli 2000; Samet 2007). Likewise, although in the past horse-drawn vehicles were often involved in accidents, some fatal, the much higher speeds of motorised traffic has meant that road traffic accidents have become more severe during the twentieth century, despite the increased regulation of cars and drivers in most countries (Luckin and Sheen 2009; Borowy 2013). In summary, although all forms of transport have some social and environmental consequences, the global domination of the automobile has fundamentally changed the extent and nature of such impacts and has increased both social and environmental inequalities (Sheller and Urry 2000; Urry 2004).

Conclusions

The history of transport is a vast topic and this chapter has dealt only briefly and selectively with the associated array of technologies, interventions and implications for economy, society and environment. It has stressed the diversity of transport systems and related travel experiences, varying over time, between countries, by mode and journey purpose among other factors. Most crucially for the argument put forward in the book, it has sought to demonstrate that the nature and development of transport technologies and infrastructures are fundamentally connected to the experience of both residential migration and everyday mobility. All movement requires transport and infrastructure of some kind, be that of the simplest sort such as a path along which to walk, or highly intrusive such as a motorway, high-speed rail line or air terminal. The nature and organisation of such transport infrastructures fundamentally influences the experience of travelling, can help to determine whether a move is viewed positively or negatively, and may affect the likelihood of an individual

using that transport mode again. Mobility, migration and transport are all fundamentally connected and it is hard to study one without some consideration of the others.

One of the most difficult aspects to disentangle is the nature and extent of causal relationships between transport provision and mobility or migration. For instance, to what extent were new transport developments demand led – people needed to move and transport infrastructure followed this demand – or to what degree was the process supply led with new transport systems being developed ahead of demand but then shaping the ways in which people travelled? In truth, in most societies and time periods, the development of transport and mobility systems (as with other urban services) was likely to have been a combination of the two processes (Guy and Marvin 1996). In the early days of rail or tram development most companies were cautious and built infrastructure where there was an existing demand for movement, but as transport provision became more profitable such companies also sought to open out new markets and to stimulate the demand to travel (Schwartz et al. 2011). Governments, both national and local, could also play a significant role in the development of transport infrastructures, in the shaping of demand and the consequent experience of travel. Too often decisions about large-scale infrastructure investments in transport can be seen as vanity projects designed to boost the perceived status of a country rather than serve the most pressing mobility needs of the population. Such examples have occurred in most time periods and in many countries ranging from misplaced infrastructure developments in sub-Saharan Africa to high-speed rail in Europe (Guigueno 2008; Pirie 2009; Preston 2012). At the local level governments can fundamentally shape travel experiences by the decisions they take to prioritise different forms of transport and to re-model the streets: while some cities have increasingly recognised the need to rebalance urban space and regulate the car (often in response to public demand), in many others, especially in some of the poorer countries of the world, the dominance of the car continues and increases. Causal relationships between transport and mobility supply and demand are complex and ever changing.

Notes

1. To get a flavour of the range of research see the Journal of Transport History: https://uk.sagepub.com/en-gb/eur/journal-of-transport-history/journal202520

2. Exceptions are most likely to be found in the more recent issues of the T2M yearbook: http://t2m.org/publications/yearbook/, and in some papers in *Transfers*: http://t2m.org/publications/transfers/
3. See for instance the work of Charles Dickens, George Eliot, and George Gissing among many others who described aspects of nineteenth-century urban and rural life.
4. Diary of Raleigh Trevelyan, Wigan Archives Service, Leigh (ECH/191). Entry for December 22nd, 1813.
5. Manuscript autobiography of Amos Kniveton (author's private collection).
6. Diary of Joseph Yates, 1826–1896 (author's private collection).
7. A good source of statistics on travel in many countries is the Victoria Transport Policy Institute Encyclopaedia of Transportation Statistics: http://www.vtpi.org/tdm/tdm80.htm
8. International travel with armed forces is also significant, though not discussed here.
9. Journal of John James, 1847–1880. (author's personal collection). A transcript of this journal is also in the Cornish Studies Library, Redruth.
10. Respondent RJ04, Manchester, 1950s. See Pooley et al. (2005) for more details.
11. Diary of John Leeson, August 5th, 1852. Bishopsgate Institute Archive, London: GDP/8.

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CHAPTER 5

History and Mobility Through a Microscope

Abstract Studies of human movement and transport are often approached at a macro scale, concerned with broad trends of migration flows, modal shifts or the development of new regional or national transport infrastructures. However, from the perspective of the everyday, travel and transport are experienced at the individual and community level. What matters for most people when they undertake a journey is not how many people travel by car or public transit, but their personal experience of the journey: was it on time, reasonably comfortable, affordable and safe?. In this chapter I argue that there are benefits to be gained from not only studying all aspects of population movement at the macro-scale, but also that much can be shown by focusing more fully on individual experiences.

Keywords Micro-scale studies · Gender · Age · Rural travel · Urban travel · International travel

Introduction

Studies of human movement and transport are often approached on a macro scale, concerned with broad trends of migration flows, modal shifts in travel to work or the development of new regional or national transport infrastructures. However, from the perspective of the everyday, travel and transport are experienced at the individual and community level. What

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matters for most people when they undertake a journey is not how many people travel by car or public transit, but their personal experience of the journey: was it on time, reasonably comfortable, affordable and safe? Many mobility studies that focus on the mundane, routine and everyday aspects of life do reveal this diversity of travel experience, and explore some of its implications,[1] but this is much less often the case for the analysis of migration or transport history. As outlined previously, one reason for this relates to the sources and methods most usually adopted. Whereas contemporary mobility studies are mostly undertaken using individual-level data from a qualitative or ethnographic perspective, and the much rarer historical studies of mobility mostly use personal accounts that have survived, both contemporary and historical studies of migration and transport rely more heavily on large-scale data sets collected by public bodies, or substantial sample surveys designed to provide aggregate statistics of migration flows or transport modal shifts. Even where individual data are used – for instance individual names from emigration registers – most often a large sample of such information is collected and the data are analysed mainly at an aggregate scale, thus losing any sense of an individual's experience of the journey.

In this chapter I argue that there are benefits to be gained from not only studying all aspects of population movement on the macro-scale, but also that much can be shown by focusing more fully on individual experiences. In this way the diversity of experiences of travel can be more completely revealed. In all travel, be it for migration or everyday activities and by any transport mode, the experience of travel will vary according to a wide range of factors including location, time of day, companions, gender, race or ethnicity, age, personality and previous experience. It is not always helpful or meaningful to try to aggregate such response into categories: for instance not all young women have the same experience of travel by bus, and for any individual not all bus journeys are the same. In this chapter I seek to explore some of these differences, to examine why they occur, and to suggest their implications. From an historical perspective it can be demonstrated that over time the range of transport options available to any individual has increased with apparently ever increasing choice as to how to move. However, in this chapter I develop further the argument that this choice is to some extent illusory. Not everyone has access to all transport options, and I suggest that failure to access the fastest and most convenient forms of transport has become more detrimental to individual welfare over time. Rather than increased choice reducing

transport-related social exclusion, I argue that those who cannot access the dominant transport modes have become even more excluded from some aspects of society over the twentieth century, leading to multiple disadvantages in terms of access to work and society. Place and space are crucial components of any transport-related disadvantage, and rather than focusing on transport mode or type of journey this chapter is structured around travel and mobility in a range of different locations.

Travelling in the Countryside

For most of human history more people have lived in the countryside than in towns, and rural travel be it for residential migration or everyday mobility has been a common global experience. Even in 1960 only 34 per cent of the global population lived in urban areas, with parity between urban and rural populations not attained until 2008 (World Bank website: urban population). Although rural to urban migration, and the problems of travel in densely built urban areas, are most often the foci of attention, moving between homes or travel to work or for social activities in and around rural areas is what most people have done for most of human history. In this section I examine the diversity of experience of rural travel and consider the implications for transport-related inequalities and social exclusion. Although travel in towns may be more affected by congestion due to the sheer numbers of people and vehicles moving, travel in rural areas usually offers fewer choices and poorer infrastructure.

In the poorest countries of the world travel in rural areas has changed only slowly over time with many people denied access to the fastest and most convenient forms of transport. Rural transport infrastructure is particularly poorly developed in much of sub-Saharan Africa (rather more so than in rural Asia for instance), with poor quality roads and little reliable public transport. Although main market centres are mostly reasonably well connected by roads with a solid surface, routes elsewhere deteriorate very quickly and today, as in the past, travel on foot, by ox cart or for some by bicycle or motorbike are the main practicable options for moving around. Women and children can be particularly disadvantaged: they are even less likely to have access to motorised transport than adult men, and at the local level many goods are still transported by women as head loads. In such areas lack of transport restricts access to health care and economic activity, makes moving home difficult and limits social horizons. Although some – mainly more affluent males – have access to modern

motorised transport (though usually of very poor quality), and in some areas there has been an increase in the use of motorbikes, taxis and other forms of intermediate transport, for many the mode of travelling from place to place has changed little over the past 200 years. The extension of mobile phone networks to many rural areas has to some extent improved connectivity, but it can never remove the need to travel to trade, access health care and engage in social activities (Bryceson and Howe 1993; Grieco et al. 1996; Hine 2015; Porter 2002, 2014, 2016).

Problems of travel and access to essential services may be more severe in many of the poorest countries of the world, but they exist to some degree in all locations. Moreover, it can be argued that as transport has improved for some, those excluded have become increasingly disadvantaged. For instance, before the mid-nineteenth century all rural travel was either on foot, by water, or used an animal (horse, ox, mule or donkey) as transport. The rich had more access to a horse or carriage than the poor, but many rural roads were so poor – especially in mountainous or marshy areas – that walking was the only option. This is borne out by the testimonies of relatively affluent travellers with the leisure time to undertake a long tour of Europe. For instance, in 1814 Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley embarked on a six-week tour of the continent with her future husband (Percy Bysshe Shelley) and step sister. According to her journal they travelled variously by carriage, on foot (with an ass to carry luggage) or on a mule, and although their walk through France was perhaps eccentric for travellers of their social position (a carriage would have been more normal), it would have been the means by which most rural dwellers travelled and conducted their everyday lives (Shelley et al. 1817).

In almost all countries the railway network connected larger urban settlements before reaching smaller towns and villages. Rural locations that happened to be on a rail line (and which developed a station) increased their connectivity, but during the early years of railway development much of the countryside was some distance from a railway station. In Britain, with one of the densest railway networks, a reasonable degree of rural rail connectivity was not achieved until the late-nineteenth century, and many of the more remote rural locations in Scotland, the north Pennines and Wales remained far from a train line (Simmons 1986). Thus, although the coming of the railway certainly transformed both accessibility and the experience of travel for some (Schivelbusch 1986), rural communities that were distant from the railway were relatively disadvantaged. For many rural dwellers who could afford to travel by train in

the nineteenth century, rail travel was preceded by a walk or cart ride of several kilometres. As elsewhere in the world women and children were more likely to experience the effects of such disadvantages than their male counterparts. In the twentieth century many countries have seen a reduction in rural rail services with the closure of lines and stations. This was especially marked in Britain in the 1960s following the publication of Richard Beeching's report on the reshaping of British railways (Beeching 1963), with serious implications for rural travel and accessibility (Hillman and Whalley 1980; Whitelegg 1987). Much the same has been true for rural bus services as uneconomic routes have been removed, leaving many rural communities in Britain with no access to public transport and with the worst impact falling on those individuals who had no alternative means of travel (Oxley 1982). Only countries such as Switzerland that have both retained a dense rural rail network (despite an adverse physical landscape), and invested in an integrated system of public transport by rail, road and water can provide access to non-car travel in most rural communities. Although often held up as a model of good transport provision, the levels of integration and provision found in Switzerland have not been easily replicated elsewhere (Kaufmann 2011).

The dominance of the motor car in the twentieth century has had a major impact on rural travel and accessibility. While a perceived preference for car travel has been one factor in the decline of both rural rail and bus services in many countries (Thompson 2011; Weber 2011), this in turn has created a vicious circle of forced car ownership where rural dwellers have felt compelled to buy a car even though they can ill afford to do so. Once again, the young, the elderly and women are the groups least likely to have access to a car, and in contrast to urban areas which have retained much higher levels of public transport provision, such groups are doubly disadvantaged (Ahern and Hine 2012; Shergold and Parkhurst 2012). In many rural areas with poor provision of public transport there has thus been an increased division between those who have ready access to a car, and who can access all the services they require relatively quickly and easily; and those who are too young to drive, have never learned to drive, are prevented from driving by ill health or age-related infirmity, or who can drive but don't have access to a vehicle. While some – fit teenagers and young adults for instance – may be able to construct their daily mobility through cycling and walking, this is not an option for many. Such people rely on lifts, scarce community mobility schemes or sparse public transport, and often have to schedule their travel to suit the plans of others.

Whether living in a remote rural community in sub-Saharan Africa or a village in rural England, similar issues of inequality and diversity in transport and mobility arise. In all locations there is not one experience of living in a rural area but many. Access to transport is structured by age, gender, income and social position: for some living in a rural environment places almost no barriers on movement while for others a combination of their location and position in society places considerable constraints on how and when they travel, and makes them dependent on others for access to many goods and services. Moreover, for any one individual such differentiation is not fixed but will vary over the life course. In rural areas young people feel the need to learn to drive and to have access to a car more acutely than in urban areas with good public transport, and this can transform their lives and reduce transport-related social exclusion (Shucksmith 2004). In old age someone who previously had few mobility constraints may feel especially disadvantaged when forced to give up driving due to infirmity (Whitehead et al. 2006). The structures of mobility-related diversity and inequality as experienced by individuals in rural areas are constantly changing, but they are ever present.

Travelling in Towns

Travelling in urban areas can be both easier and more difficult than in rural areas. Towns are likely to have better public transport provision, they usually offer a wider range of transport options, and urban residents are more likely to live close to the services and amenities that they need; but towns and cities also present more difficulties in terms of crowding, congestion and concerns about safety which together may restrict mobility. Moreover, in large low-density cities there may develop transport deserts: most often suburban locations where public transport is poor and forced car ownership is as severe as in many rural areas (Currie and Senbergs 2007). The diversity of experience of travel – be it for everyday tasks such as travelling to work or shopping, or for the short-distance residential moves within an urban area that most people make at some time in their lives – is at least as great in urban locations as it is in rural. Urban size is a crucial factor, and in most countries this has changed markedly over time. For instance, prior to the nineteenth century most urban areas in Europe were relatively small and it would have been possible to walk easily from one neighbourhood to another. Although in a pre-census era firm figures are elusive, in around 1500 London was a city of only about 50,000 people and Paris was

probably the largest city in Europe with around 185,000 inhabitants. At this time the largest world cities were in China, India and the Middle East with the largest (Beijing) consisting of some 670,000 people (Chandler 1987; Hohenberg and Lees 1995). Urban residents were a minority of the global population and most people who lived in towns could accomplish most everyday tasks on foot. By 1800 although Beijing was the largest urban area (and the first million city), both Paris and London had more than half a million inhabitants each, and by 1900 London contained some 6.4 million people. At this time Europe (including European Russia) and the USA provided nine of the 10 largest world cities (the exception being Tokyo), all with more than 1.4 million inhabitants (Chandler 1987). Urban growth on this scale necessitated the development of new systems of urban transport and fundamentally transformed the experience of travelling in towns. In doing so, urban mobility arguably became more differentiated. Those without the means to access new mechanised forms of transport became increasingly disadvantaged compared to their experiences in earlier walking cities.

The twentieth-century city became an increasingly complex space to negotiate, with multiple forms of transport competing for road space and increasing differentiation of travel experiences by a range of factors including location, time of day, age, gender, ethnicity and social class. This is equally true for cities in both rich and poor countries, but arguably with even greater differentiation in those parts of the world (such as the Indian sub-continent) where the gap between rich and poor is widest, where motorised and non-motorised transport modes compete for road space, or where cultural and religious norms continue to place constraints on women and restrict mobility (Ramazani 1985; Pucher et al. 2005). In Saudi Arabia women are forbidden from driving and can normally only travel when accompanied by a man: the female experience of travelling, and the opportunities for mobility, are very different from those of the male population. However, this is just one extreme example of differential mobility experiences that are of long standing and which persist to some degree in most parts of the world.

Most people probably find travelling at night more difficult and stressful than in the day time, quite irrespective of the transport modes used. Today, many women in particular consider themselves more vulnerable at night, and vary their routes to avoid environments that they fear, choose to travel with companions, and vary their times of travel to minimise perceived risks (Pain 1997; Koskela and Pain 2000). It is hard to know

how such perceptions have changed over time, or if the real risk of traveling at night has altered, but it can be suggested that in the past when more people walked – and thus streets were more populated – travelling at night seemed safer than today. There is safety (real or perceived) in numbers, and the most difficult environments to negotiate today tend to be those that are most neglected and empty of people. More restrained social norms may also have protected women travellers to some extent from the low-level sexual harassment that female travellers can encounter today on crowded public transport (Schmucki 2002; Bates 2016). Certainly, limited diary evidence from nineteenth and early-twentieth century England suggests that most young women travelled frequently, either with friends or alone, both during the day and at night.[2] Class and location seemed to be important factors in the degree of freedom that young women had to travel. While most had few restrictions, those with the highest social aspirations, especially in London, were usually required to be chaperoned on most journeys. Outside of the capital this was less common, as evidenced by entries in the diaries of Freda Smith.[3] Freda moved in the highest social circles in London, including being presented at Court, and was accompanied on all but the most local journeys when in the capital. However, when staying with her aunt (who was of equal or higher social status than Freda's parents) in rural Northumberland, Freda was allowed much more freedom to travel independently, somewhat to the dismay of her mother. It is not possible to generalise from a few examples – and only fragmentary evidence exists at this personal level – but it can be suggested that the degree of restriction that young women experienced in the past varied with location and social position, and that in most cases was negotiated in a way that allowed some freedom to travel despite social norms that constructed male and female lives differently (Davidoff and Hall 2002; Gordon and Nair 2003; Shoemaker 2014).

Discounting those imprisoned or in slavery, arguably the greatest restrictions on mobility at most time periods and in most places come with age. Children have restrictions imposed on them by parents or guardians, while the elderly may be restricted by infirmity. Some of the least independently mobile people in society are the very young and the very old. It is generally argued that, with increased levels of traffic and heightened perceptions of risk within society, children's independent mobility has reduced over time (Hillman et al. 1990; Pain 2006; Fyhri et al. 2011). However, other studies have shown that the extent of

children's mobility today varies considerably depending on the environment in which children live, and that both today and in the past while some children were heavily supervised and had their independent mobility constrained, others were afforded considerable freedom to roam (Kyttä 1997; O'Brien et al. 2000; Prezza et al. 2001; Pooley et al. 2005). While the elderly may experience restricted mobility due to declining health, impairments of all kinds may be experienced by people of any age. In the past disability could severely restrict mobility and lead to a life of seclusion, and it is only relatively recently that in Europe and North America legislation has required those who provide transport services to cater for travellers with a range of impairments. Even so, negotiating complex transport systems or gaining access to services is often not straightforward, especially for those with multiple impairments including difficulty in communication or cognition (Borsay 2005; Butler and Parr 2005; Van Horn 2007).

Travel of any kind necessitates visibility: more so on public transport than in private, but to some extent all travellers may be observed by others. It is all too easy to make judgements about people by their appearance or behaviour, and those who control access to transport systems, or manage those who travel, may regulate access based in part on their judgement of someone's appearance or behaviour. Some such regulation is obviously sensible – for instance preventing a person who is obviously intoxicated from boarding a plane or driving a car – but in other instances they are far from benign. One of the most visible aspects of personal appearance is skin colour, and there is ample evidence that in both Britain and the USA police are more likely to stop and search young Black men than they are other travellers (Harris 1997; Waddington et al. 2004). Heightened concern about terrorism from Islamic extremists has also imposed increased travel restrictions on some based solely on appearance, dress or perceived behaviour (Cainkar 2002). Interference with travel based on the judgement of others is not new. Vagrancy laws in Europe and America have long targeted those whose presence on the street was deemed a threat, and in the USA restrictions on where African Americans were welcome could severely curtail their travel (Adler 1989; Slack 1974; Seiler 2009; Hobbs 2016). Simply being female, or having a visible disability, may also lead to harassment on the street and, for women, unwelcome attention from men which can rapidly erode confidence and lead to self-imposed restrictions on female mobility (Wilson and Little 2008; Kearl 2010). How easily one travels, and the experience of the journey, can vary considerably for different individuals travelling in the same physical space: such experiences

are not new, though a combination of higher levels of mobility among all groups, and the ease with which modern social media allow these experiences to be widely communicated, may have led to increased visibility and awareness of such issues. As in rural areas there is no single experience of travel and it is important that the diversity of personal experiences both in the past and the present is recognised.

International Travel

What it means to travel internationally, and the nature of the journey, varies considerably from one part of the world to another depending on geography, economics and politics. For those living in island nations such as New Zealand or Indonesia travel abroad has always required either a sea journey or, from the mid-twentieth century, a flight. In contrast, the residents of land-locked continental nations such as Hungary (which currently shares borders with seven countries) or Switzerland (bordering four other countries), may reach another nation by undertaking only a short overland journey. Indeed, some who live close to a border may cross almost daily for work or leisure purposes (Gottholmseder and Theurl 2007). Other factors permitting, international travel in such circumstances – be it for everyday tasks or residential migration – is no more difficult than short-distance migration or daily travel from one settlement to another within a single country. Cost affects all travel and, in general, longer distances and more difficult terrain increase cost. Thus international travel from Australia, necessitating long flights or sea journeys, is less easily accessed by all than short border crossings in continental Europe. In the past leaving the Antipodes was difficult for all but the rich and most adventurous, and even today international travel requires more expense and planning than in many other countries (Nyaupane and Andereck 2007). Arguably the greatest constraints on all forms of international travel relate to politics. The ease of travel from one country to another depends on the extent of border controls in place at the time in both the country of origin and destination, and on the passport or visa status of the traveller.

Personal identification through passports or similar documentation that allowed travel developed in Europe as part of the bureaucracy of the nation state. In the early-modern period, when long-distance international travel was mostly restricted to the wealthy (though in Europe

short-distance seasonal movement across borders for agricultural work was also common), travellers might require personal letters of recommendation from the court or government, but by the nineteenth century in most countries systems of border control and personal passports were increasingly regularised (Torpey 2000; Caplan and Torpey 2001). Over time, international travel has arguably become easier for some but harder for others. In most countries of the world gaining a passport is relatively straightforward, and countries with long-established ties or within economic and political unions have sought to make travel easy, as in visa waiver schemes for some nationalities entering the USA and the free movement of people within the Schengen area of the European Union. However, some countries with restrictive political regimes (North Korea being perhaps the most extreme), restrict the international travel of their citizens, and the increased threat of international terrorism in the twenty first century has made travelling between countries more difficult for those who happen to live in a nation that is associated with terror attacks, or for individuals who simply share a name with someone who is under suspicion of violent crime. Fear of terror attacks may also influence individual decisions to travel and the destinations they choose (Korstanje and Clayton 2012; Baker 2014). We may live in an increasingly globalised world, but the ease with which people can travel internationally still varies substantially from place to place and from individual to individual.

Most international travel takes place for the purpose of tourism, business or residential migration, but there has always been enormous diversity within and between each of these broad categories. Today the experience of the business traveller, journeying in comfort on an expense account, is clearly very different from that of a family on a package holiday, the young lone backpacker or a refugee forced to relocate due to violence in their homeland. Not only are the experiences of travelling very different, but the degree of interaction with the society and culture to which they travel also varies. Some are welcomed for the economic benefits they bring through tourism and business, while others such as refugees and economic migrants are met with hostility because they are perceived, mostly incorrectly, as a drain on the local economy and a threat to traditional values (Swarbrooke and Horner 2001; Van Tubergen et al. 2004; Taylor et al. 2016). Even within each broad category of international travel there are, and always have been, substantial variations in the ways in which mobility was experienced.

By the nineteenth century international tourism in Europe at least was beginning to develop from grand tours by wealthy elites towards a much broader spectrum of the population. Although leisure travel for the poor remained highly restricted, European resorts (especially in the Alps) increasingly began to cater for a wider range of travellers (both male and female) from continental Europe, Britain and (to a lesser extent) America. For many Americans travel and exploration within their vast country was sufficient (Barker 1982; Towner 1985; Foster 1990; Anderson 2016). The availability of cheap flights together with the homogenisation of travel procedures (the process is familiar almost anywhere in the world), has led to a massive expansion in international tourism and a concomitant increase in the diversity of destinations and individual experiences. It now encompasses almost every conceivable form of tourist experience including eco-tourism, family beach holidays, stag and hen parties and sex tourism (Lanfant et al. 1995; Clift and Carter 2000; Weaver 2008). Arguably, the greatest change in international travel has occurred among the elderly, at least in the richer countries of the world. Until at least the mid-twentieth century international travel was perceived as too costly and demanding for many older people, but as health in old age has improved, state and occupational pensions have provided more financial security and leisure time, and travel has become both cheaper and easier, the active elderly have travelled internationally in a way that has never before been experienced (Pooley et al. 2005). It can be suggested that over time international travel has become both more diverse (in terms of the people who travel and the destinations sought), but also more similar in the ways in which people travel and their experiences of international travel hubs such as in airports, ferry terminals and major railway stations (Cwerner et al. 2009).

The Role of Communities

We all live in communities of one kind or another and all communities may bring both benefits and difficulties for those who reside there. They provide networks of friendship and support, they help to build social capital and they deliver services and amenities. But communities may also be restrictive and exclusionary for those who feel that they do not fit comfortably with social norms, or who are perceived to transgress in some way (Putnam 1995; Jewkes and Murcott 1996; Pahl 2005). The community in which someone lives can have some influence over most aspects of

their life, including how they travel. Communities can shape travel behaviour and experiences in a number of ways, including their location, the social norms of the community, the dissemination of information (both positive and negative) about travel, and the provision of community-based transport services and support. Here I examine a number of these factors, the ways in which they interact with each other and how they may have changed over time. Remote rural communities can encounter particularly acute transport difficulties (Farrington and Farrington 2005; Gray and Farrington 2006). Not only does a lack of public transport lead to car dependence, but also in island communities (as in western Scotland) people may depend on access by boat to utilise all but the most basic services. For instance the islands of Muck (with a resident population of just 27 in 2011) and Eigg (population 83) have few services apart from tourist facilities (Eigg has one shop and post office but Muck does not even have a post box), and residents rely on ferry services to access the Scottish mainland and all normal amenities. Although the remoteness of such locations has not changed over time the nature of the community has: for instance in the early nineteenth century Eigg supported a population of some 500 people prior to the devastating impact of the potato famine in 1847 and subsequent clearances and emigration (Devine 1989; Richards 2000). In both the past and the present people living in such locations depended heavily on shared community values and initiatives for many aspects of their lives, including travel.

The influence of community-based social norms about travel modes has become more significant as the range of transport options has increased. In the early nineteenth century when everyone travelled in much the same way using only animal or human power, there would have been little pressure to choose one form of transport over another. As the range of transport modes has increased so community influences on what forms of transport are acceptable or normal have grown. Although all communities have become increasingly car dominated, and travel by car has become the default norm for much everyday travel in at least the richer countries where automobility has the strongest hold (Urry 2004), these trends can be challenged in communities where alternative forms of travel are viewed as convenient and normal. For instance, although rates of cycling in Britain overall are low (only around 2 per cent of all trips), in cities such as Cambridge and Oxford cycling is much more common. In such places, among at least a portion of the population, cycling is perceived as the easiest and most convenient means of everyday travel and has become in

effect a community norm (Aldred 2010; Aldred and Jungnickel 2014). This is reminiscent of the extent to which cycling (especially among men) became the usual means of travelling to and from work in most British cities in the mid-twentieth century, and is much more akin to the levels of cycling found today in cities such as Amsterdam and Copenhagen that have much better developed cycle infrastructures and well-established cultural norms that support cycling (Pooley and Turnbull 2000; Pucher and Buehler 2008).

Travel behaviour can also be influenced by perceptions of propriety and risk that are construed within a community. As mentioned earlier, in the past some women in elite society were restricted in where they could travel alone, and many women continue to select their travel mode to minimise perceived risks. It is likely that such trends must have increased over time as the opportunity to vary travel modes increased: in the past although women (and some men) undoubtedly varied routes and times of travel to minimise perceived risks, they mostly had little option other than to walk for short everyday trips. As transport options increased, decisions about which modes of travel were safest became more possible and could become embedded in community norms. An ethnographic analysis of attitudes towards walking and cycling in four English communities clearly demonstrated the way in which such community norms can influence travel behaviour today (Pooley et al. 2013, 2014). For instance, in one community with a strong South Asian heritage walking was perceived as an activity that was associated with poverty and risk, especially for women who often wore valuable jewellery. The people interviewed were not averse to walking for health reasons, but mostly preferred to do so in a park where others walked, and most frequently drove a short distance to the park to undertake their exercise. Walking was an activity carried out for health reasons in a dedicated environment and was not an acceptable means of everyday travel. In another community consisting of residents of varied origins living in inner city social housing, people interviewed almost never cycled even though this could have offered a cheap and convenient means of travelling around the city. One key reason advanced for this was that in the community under study cyclists were mostly young men who were perceived to be a social nuisance, often engaged in drug dealing. Cyclists were thus viewed with suspicion and it was not deemed to be an appropriate activity for most residents. In both cases strong community behavioural norms acted to shape mobility identities and hence travel patterns, and in these instances to limit engagement with walking

and cycling. From an historical perspective it is difficult to reconstruct such mobility identities for the past, and in an age of more limited travel choice such identities may have varied less. However, it is reasonable to assume that at all times individuals formed views about the most appropriate way that they should travel based on a combination of personal circumstances, perceptions of status and community norms.

Conclusions

This chapter has revisited some of the themes outlined previously in the book and has sought to probe in more detail the diversity and variety of travel experiences within society, and how they have changed over time. It uses selected examples in part because detailed historical evidence is often lacking. Yet the general principles outlined here are likely to apply to some degree to most societies and time periods, and new researchers might use these productively as a springboard for future studies. The chapter has also asserted the need to recognise that this diversity of experience is equally applicable to the study of all forms of spatial mobility, residential migration and transport history. For instance, historical and contemporary studies of migration often refer to 'flows' or 'streams' of migrants (the association with water and the movement of fluids is a common theme), but not only does such imagery lead to the suggestion of being 'drowned' or 'submerged' by these migrant flows, it is also an aggregating process that obscures the individual nature of migration (Schrover and Schinkel 2013). No matter whether those moving are highly skilled migrants, economic migrants or refugees, every individual and family will have had their own experience of the journey and of the migration process. I argue that it is important to recognise such diversity and to build this into historical studies of transport and movement.

I also suggest that although in the twenty-first century all forms of movement are easier than they have ever been, with a wide range of transport choices and systems in place to facilitate easy travel both nationally and internationally, other forces operate to restrict travel in ways that were less prevalent in the past. In pre-history mobility was a necessity for survival through foraging and hunting, and at all times when travel choices were less differentiated both socially and spatially, transport-related social exclusion was less severe than it can be today. This is especially the case for those who live in the most remote rural areas or do not have access to the fastest and most convenient forms of

transport. Moreover, although international travel is easier than it has ever been, heightened perceptions of risk increasingly restrict such travel for some. Not only has the experience of travel always been diverse and personal, but also changes in the relative ease of travel and the extent of transport-related social exclusion have not been linear. While mobility has increased for some, it has been restricted for others, and these personal stories are important.

Notes

1. For a range of examples see contributions to journals such as *Mobilities* and *Transfers*.
2. See for example material in the Diary of Elizabeth Lee who lived on Merseyside, England in the late-nineteenth century (Pooley et al. 2010).
3. Diaries of Freda Smith 1904–1914, Bishopsgate Institute Archives, London: GDP/99.

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CHAPTER 6

Mobility and History – Towards an Integrated Research and Teaching Agenda

Abstract In this brief concluding chapter I do three things. First, I provide a concise summary of the main arguments advanced in the book, drawing together the threads of the previous chapters. Second, I consider some of the ways in which the limitations outlined previously may be overcome in teaching and research. Third, I examine more closely the theme of change over time, arguing that rather than this being a linear process there are many areas where changes move in different directions, sometimes contradictory or circular in nature.

Keywords Teaching · Research · Continuity and change

This book has covered a great deal of ground in a relatively few pages. Inevitably, the examples given and the themes examined have been selective, and I have not sought to provide a comprehensive history of human mobility. The main aim of the book has been to advance a series of arguments about the relationships between different processes and experiences of human mobility (residential migration, everyday movement, and the transport used to facilitate such moves) in an historical context. In this brief concluding chapter I do three things. First, I provide a concise summary of the main arguments advanced in the book, drawing together the threads of the previous chapters. Second, I consider some of the ways

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in which the limitations outlined previously may be overcome, I suggest a research and teaching agenda and propose some ways in which such an agenda might be operationalised. In doing this I draw heavily on personal experience. Third, I examine more closely the theme of change over time, arguing that rather than this being a linear process there are many areas where changes move in different directions, sometimes contradictory or circular in nature. While history does not repeat itself, I assert that there are strong links between the past and the present, and that when researching human mobility much can be learned from study of the past that is relevant to the present.

The three central chapters of this book have outlined some of the main themes and approaches frequently adopted in the historical study of residential migration, everyday mobility and transport systems and infrastructures. In doing this I have sought to emphasise the similarities between each of these fields – areas of study that most often barely overlap – and, in particular, to stress their interconnectedness. The movements that people make every day as they travel to work, socialise and fulfil essential commitments necessarily build knowledge and information that can influence decisions about residential migration. Greater awareness of alternative housing opportunities and locations – gained through everyday travel – may stimulate a decision to migrate, and first-hand knowledge of alternative locations may influence the choice of a new home. The majority of residential moves that are undertaken in a person's lifetime are over short distances within one locality: this is precisely the area over which everyday mobility takes place. While first-hand daily experience has less direct influence on longer-distance international moves, the contacts made and knowledge gained through daily activities may certainly influence future decisions about migration and the locations to which people eventually travel. All movement whether for routine daily tasks or for rarer long-distance residential migration requires transport. The transport networks that exist and the modes that may be accessed by most travellers are necessarily a key factor influencing the nature, extent and experience of all such human movement. A desire to move may not be fulfilled if suitable transport cannot be accessed, and a negative experience of the transport used in one move may influence future decisions about mobility. Thus in a very practical sense mobility, migration and transport are closely interlinked in both the past and the present.

In addition, I argue that while the academic sub-disciplines of transport history, migration history and mobility studies have for the most part

developed separately with rather different approaches, sources and use of theory, there is much to be gained in each of these areas by looking beyond the immediate field of study and by borrowing approaches and theoretical perspectives from each other. In particular, I argue that migration history and transport history have traditionally been rather undertheorised disciplines with an emphasis on the analysis of empirical data collection and analysis. In contrast, mobility studies has been heavily theorised and has developed a quite sophisticated relationship between theory, empirical research, practice and policy. However, though recognising the importance of the past for the present, most mobility studies deal only superficially with historical analysis and tend to overgeneralise about past processes and trends. In previous chapters of this book I have attempted to give some examples of how theory, practice and empirical historical research might interact and inform each other in the study of all aspects of human mobility and transport. In addition, in Chapter 5, I have sought to demonstrate the ways in which diverse and sometimes oppositional travel experiences developed, and the importance of recognising these rather than dealing mainly with large-scale aggregations of transport or migration statistics.

Designed as a short introduction to the themes discussed, with necessarily selective examples, there are many things that this book does not do but which could have been covered in a volume of this sort. The references provided should allow the reader to explore specific topics in more detail, but I acknowledge the vast range of published material beyond that listed. As an English-speaking academic based in Britain my knowledge is skewed towards English language literature and towards those parts of the world for which a range of English language publications exist. I am well aware that there are many gaps and that someone with another background and perspective would most likely present material rather differently. The theories that mobility scholars routinely engage with are complex and have been derived from a long history of theoretical and philosophical formulation. It is not possible (or probably desirable) to try to explain these in full in this book, and I am aware that my use of theory is mostly oversimplified and summarised in a way that may frustrate some. Again, the references provided will allow those interested to develop their ideas beyond what is written here. I have also largely ignored some other disciplines that have engaged recently with mobility studies, most obviously the ways in which mobility has been researched by scholars of literature. The use of creative writing to inform our understanding of the ways in which mobility has been

viewed and represented is an important research avenue, but one that as yet has received attention from only a small number of scholars (Merriman 2012; Pearce 2012, 2016; Murray and Upstone 2014).

In the first chapter of this book I made some reference to the ways in which the different sources available, and routinely used in different areas of research, have shaped the approach taken. In the rest of the book I have made only scant mention of the nature of sources used and their strengths or limitations, but source constraints will always be a major constraining factor in historical research. However, even if lack of evidence means that not all the themes identified in this volume can be easily researched, I maintain that by thinking across the disciplines of migration history, transport history and mobilities studies new questions and approaches can be generated, even if not all the questions can be adequately answered in an historical context. The task of moving across disciplines and linking themes and approaches that are most usually tackled separately may appear daunting. Most academic training focuses attention within one discipline or sub-disciplinary field, and academic publishing, promotion and teaching rarely encourages or makes easy the linking of different approaches. However, my argument is that migration history, transport history and mobility studies are not really that different; and that in the context of the real lives that people lived they are mutually interdependent. It is thus incumbent on those who study and teach in these areas to seek to make the links explicit and to operationalise the added value that comes from recognising this interdependency. In the following sections I offer some brief suggestions, based largely on personal experience, as to how this might be achieved within the constraints of contemporary academic research and teaching.

In some ways it is easier than it has ever been to move beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries and to absorb concepts, ideas and methods from related disciplinary areas. Although trained as a human geographer (and I suggest that geography can provide a broader academic perspective than some other disciplines), I have had the good fortune to work in an interdisciplinary Environment Centre where combining approaches from social and natural sciences is normal, and to be in a university where interdisciplinary research centres are of long standing and barriers to moving between disciplines are small. In Britain, at least, research councils have also increasingly recognised the value of interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary research and have actively promoted it.[1]

Disciplinary boundaries within academia have certainly become looser over time. Even so, the range of material, the diversity of methods, and the

sheer volume of publications makes it daunting for any one individual researcher to feel confident about working across disciplinary boundaries. It usually feels much safer to stay within one's academic comfort zone, though some of the problems of unmanageability may be solved by focusing attention more narrowly on a specific location or time period. Another, and possibly better, solution is to build interdisciplinary research teams that consist of members who bring their own specialist knowledge but who are also open to engaging with fresh concepts and approaches. This is the model that I adopted in research on walking and cycling in English cities, and was fortunate in having colleagues (in three different institutions) who were willing to engage positively with concepts that were new to them. Arguably the most difficult aspect of research with a large interdisciplinary team is the process of fully integrating all the different elements and approaches in the final outputs. There is a tendency at this stage for each approach to separate out with, for instance, a chapter contributed by each team member. We have tried hard to avoid this in our own recent research but, on reflection, have done so with only limited success (Pooley et al. 2013).

The publication culture of academia can also restrict interdisciplinary research, both through the outlets in which scholars choose to place their papers and through the selection of journals that researchers routinely browse. As a historian, geographer, sociologist or transport researcher it is natural that the first choice is likely to be a journal that is central to that discipline. This culture can be further reinforced by the research assessment cultures that exist in Britain and many other countries, where research outputs are assessed by panels defined primarily by discipline.[2] Similarly, it is natural that researchers from a particular disciplinary background focus their limited reading time on those journals that are deemed to be highly rated within a particular discipline. Although accessing a wide range of journals has never been easier, a combination of time constraints and disciplinary culture means that the range of publications consulted is often restricted. In a session on migration and mobility at a recent conference on social history I began my presentation by asking the audience of academics which of the main journals dealing with migration history, transport history and mobility they regularly looked at.[3] Many read none of these, presumably reading mainly social history journals despite sufficient interest in migration and mobility to attend the session, and few looked regularly at more than one of the named journals. This is not in itself surprising, but begins to explain the separation of these areas of study that has developed over time. I suggest that researchers of migration, mobility and transport

history should consider publishing in some journals outside their main disciplinary field to deliberately try to reach out to other scholars, and that they should attempt to broaden the range of titles that they habitually read.

On a more positive note, the academic community is constantly being renewed by new scholars coming through the education system, and if future researchers are to have a broader view of the disciplines relevant to migration, mobility and transport then this should be embedded in the teaching that they encounter and in the postgraduate theses that they write. All undergraduate and postgraduate courses are circumscribed by time constraints, and none can cover everything that might be relevant, but I consider that it is important that students should be introduced at an early stage of their careers to a broad range of ideas and concepts so that they do not become too focused on one approach or set of theories. If tutors find such an approach daunting then team teaching by a group of academics with differing skills and approaches can be useful, and a focus can be provided by highlighting a small number of themes but tackling them from a range of perspectives. One strategy that is used quite extensively by migration historians, especially in the USA where most of a class are likely to have ancestors who were international migrants, is to explore migration through personal narratives. Students can potentially research all aspects of the migration experience of their forebears, including the stimulus for the move, the experience of the move, the forms of transport used and their entry into the USA. This is just one way in which such a course may be given a manageable focus: there are of course many other approaches that could be taken (Gabaccia et al. 1993).

An historical perspective on any topic inevitably invites some assessment of continuity and change through time. To what extent has the process and experience of population movement changed fundamentally and to what degree have some aspects remained much the same? Clearly the answer to this question depends on both the time period studied and the location examined. There have been periods of time when, and particular places where, transport technologies have changed rapidly, potentially revolutionising travel for those who could access new forms of mobility. However, there have also been places and periods when little has changed, or situations when although new technologies have become available their impact has been minimal either because they were not relevant to most everyday travel or they were too expensive to be used by most people. For instance, although planes have existed since the early twentieth century with, in Britain,

regular commercial passenger flights from the 1930s, this had little impact on most people's travel behaviour. Britain is too small an island, and the distances most frequently travelled too short, for internal flights to be useful for all but the longest journeys. For most British people flying only became a common experience from the 1980s as rising real incomes, increased leisure time and, especially, the availability of low-cost flights meant that travel abroad for holidays and short breaks became common. In the USA the greater distance between places meant that internal passenger flights became relatively common much more quickly (Morrison and Winston 2010).

I draw two main conclusions about continuity and change in human mobility from the broad survey presented in this book. First, it is obvious that technological, social and economic change has fundamentally altered the ways in which people travel and the accessibility of travel modes for a majority of the population. In this sense there have been massive changes. However, at the same time, the main modes available to travellers have changed little over the past century (though both at national and global scales their accessibility and use has altered markedly) and, most crucially, I argue that the factors that produce movement (from everyday mobility to international migration), and the decision-making processes that people go through, have altered little over time. Moreover, although the containers in which people mostly travel have changed, and the speed and comfort of travel has mostly increased (though not for walking and only marginally for cycling), the factors that shape a traveller's experience of the journey and their willingness to undertake that travel again have changed little. Although norms of what is expected in terms of comfort, speed, convenience and interaction with fellow travellers have altered, these factors have been fairly constant in determining how someone viewed a journey. At any period if expectations were not met then dissatisfaction with the journey and the form of transport used would ensue. This was as true for someone travelling by cart in the eighteenth century as it is for a journey by plane in the twenty-first century: arguably higher modern expectations mean that travellers are also more often disappointed. What this emphasises is that to make any assessment of what has changed over time it is necessary to combine examination of the transport mode used and the purpose, nature and experience of the journey: in other words to link migration history, transport history and mobility studies.

The second main conclusion that I draw, which flows from the observation above, is that our understanding of travel and transport systems today

can benefit from knowledge of the past. The history of how people moved is not only of interest and importance for its own sake, though this is certainly the case, but also it can inform present day transport policy and planning. In this book I have tried to demonstrate not only what has changed and what has remained relatively constant over time, but also have sought to emphasise the links that exist between the past and the present. To take just one example, as outlined in Chapter 2 there have been many periods of mass migration in different parts of the world. These have mostly caused some degree of concern and hardship both for those moving and for residents of the countries to which migrants went. Some periods of large-scale migration and resettlement have worked better than others: arguably the policies adopted for distributing refugees from Vietnam to different parts of the world in the 1970s, though far from perfect, worked reasonably well and have benefited both migrants and the countries to which they moved (Hale 1993; Castles and Miller 2009). Given the current and likely future global movements of population due to a combination of political instability and environmental change, there must be lessons that can be learned from past experiences. Hopefully this prompt for a more integrated study of the history of migration, mobility and transport will stimulate research that can provide fresh lessons from the past that may be of benefit today.

Notes

1. See for instance the websites of the Economic and Social Research Council (http://www.esrc.ac.uk/), the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (https://www.epsrc.ac.uk/) and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/).
2. See for instance the criteria used in the 2014 Research Excellence Framework used for assessing research in British universities (http://www.ref.ac.uk/).
3. The journals I used were *Mobilities, Transfers, Journal of Migration History* and *Journal of Transport History*.

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