

CHANGING PATTERNS OF EVERYDAY MOBILITY

FULL REPORT OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AND RESULTS

Background

In 1971 Wilbur Zelinsky put forward his 'hypothesis of the mobility transition'. This argued that the level and nature of population mobility in modern societies changed in parallel with the demographic transition (Zelinsky, 1971). Although these ideas have received quite extensive attention, and considerable criticism and modification, most discussion has focused on changes in the level and nature of residential migration over time (Anderson, 1980; Skeldon, 1992; Woods, 1993; Cadwallader, 1993; Zelinsky, 1979, 1983, 1993; Hoerder and Moch, 1996). However, Zelinsky's original proposition also suggested that there were equally important changes in what he termed 'population circulation', which included movements of a 'short-term, repetitive or cyclical nature' (Zelinsky, 1971, p. 226). He proposed that such circulation increased markedly in 'advanced societies' in the twentieth century; but in contrast to the extensive study of changing patterns and processes of residential migration (Clark and Souden, 1987; Lucassen, 1987; Pooley and Whyte, 1991; Hoerder and Moch, 1996; Pooley and Turnbull, 1998), short-term circulation has received little attention. The 1970s and '80s generated a considerable quantity of research on action spaces (Andrews, 1973; Higgs, 1975; Everitt, 1976; Dangschat et al. 1982; Matthews, 1987), and more recent work has focused especially on the mobility of particular groups such as children, the elderly and those with restricted mobility (Smith, 1991; Matthews and Vujakovic, 1995; Wyllie and Smith, 1996; Valentine, 1997). However, no research has examined long-term changes in mobility over the twentieth century.

A common-sense interpretation of the impact of new transport technology, the globalization of media and information, increasing affluence and education and greater leisure time would suggest that Zelinsky's assertions about increased levels of daily mobility must be correct, and such assumptions underpin much contemporary cultural theory that focuses on the cultural, social and environmental implications of new mobilities (Amin and Thrift, 1994; Thrift, 1996; Kofman and Youngs, 1996; Baumann, 1998; Sassen, 1998; Cairncross, 1997; Adams, 1999; Miller, 2001). Indeed, Urry (2000) has argued that increased mobility is a defining characteristic of 21st century society, and the meaning of such mobility for cultural and social life is central to much contemporary cultural theory (de Certeau, 1984; Eyles 1989; Lefebvre, 1991; Bull, 2000; Urry, 2000; Holloway and Hubbard, 2001). However, such claims have never been empirically tested over any significant historical time period. Moreover, recent research on changes in the journey to work in Britain in the twentieth century suggests that there has been only limited change over time (Pooley and Turnbull, 1999, 2000; Pooley 2003).

Evidence from local studies of the daily mobility of children also suggests that, in some respects, children's lives are more circumscribed today than they were in the past. Fear of traffic and the lack of safe areas in which to play means that children

spend more time in and around the home, and are more likely to be transported to school or other activities by parents, rather than taking themselves (Hillman, Adams and Whitelegg, 1990; Tolley, 1990; Valentine and Mckendrick, 1997; Skelton and Valentine, 1998; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Thomas and Thompson, 2004). Other groups living in urban areas may also experience restricted mobility, especially the elderly and some women who may limit their daily action spaces through fear of crime (Smith, 1987; Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1991; 2000; 2001); and in remoter rural areas those without access to a vehicle may have their movements restricted by the lack of public transport (Cloke, 1985; Whatmore et. al. 1994; Cloke and Little, 1997). Thus, whilst common sense and some evidence suggests that daily mobility has increased during the twentieth century, other studies imply that - for certain groups in specific localities - the extent and nature of mobility may have become more restricted. This project built on previous research by the principal investigators on residential migration and changes in the journey to work (Pooley and Turnbull, 1998, 1999, 2000), to focus on the ways in which the pattern and process of everyday mobility in Britain changed from the 1940s to the 1990s. Everyday mobility is defined as all routine travel including travel to work and to school, journeys to shop, visits to friends and relatives and trips for leisure, pleasure and children's play.

2. Objectives.

The research had five principal objectives that did not change significantly during the course of the research.

1. To examine the ways in which everyday mobility in Britain has changed over three generations from the 1930s to the present. This was achieved through the construction of a large data base of both quantitative and qualitative evidence from respondents who undertook everyday mobility in two case study locations at different life course stages from the 1940s (rather than the '30s) to the present (see below for details of methodology).

2. To assess the factors that have structured everyday mobility decisions during the twentieth century, and to relate these to changes in society, economy, culture and transport technology. This was achieved through analysis of the rich qualitative evidence on mobility decisions in relation to background data on broader social, economic, cultural and technological change.

3. To explain changes in mobility patterns during the twentieth century in relation to individual decision-making processes and broader structural constraints. Quantitative analysis of everyday mobility was related to qualitative data on the factors that structured and constrained mobility for respondents.

4. To understand the implications of changes in mobility - both for individuals and for wider society - within the context of social and cultural changes during the process of modernity which has in turn affected individual expectations and values. Again the qualitative data allowed assessment of how respondents viewed mobility change within the context of the two case study cities.

5. To relate the historical study of change in everyday mobility to the development of contemporary transport policy and debates about the construction of sustainable

communities. Analysis of historical change in mobility, and especially of the factors that structured these changes, enabled us to draw out implications for contemporary transport policy. These have been incorporated in relevant publications and conference papers.

Methods

Synopsis and major changes

The original proposal stated that we would use a life history, or biographical, approach to collect both quantitative and qualitative data about everyday mobility in the two case study cities of Lancaster/Morecambe and Manchester/Salford. Data collection was to focus on four age cohorts: those aged 10/11, 17/18, mid-30s and mid-60s at the time of interview, and to collect data (as appropriate) on everyday mobility at up to four life course stages that corresponded to the interview ages. The detailed process by which this was achieved is outlined below. We made only one major change to our research methodology. The original proposal had suggested a very ambitious sample size of 50 respondents in each location and time period giving a total of 1000 interview segments with 400 individuals. Very early in the project we realised that it was not possible to collect this volume of data and retain the level of detail required. We thus had to balance data quality with data quantity. We decided that it was most important to collect a smaller amount of very detailed information through in-depth interviews rather than a large amount of less informative factual data. We reduced the target sample size by more than half and aimed to interview 20 respondents in each interview segment giving a total of 400 interviews with 160 respondents. In practice we fell slightly short of our target numbers collecting data on 156 individuals (Appendix 1). The reason for the shortfall was the fact that we experienced great difficulty in recruiting appropriate respondents in their 30s, largely because they were too busy to be interviewed. Nonetheless, this process produced some 160 hours of taped interview and over 3,200 pages of typed transcript, together with detailed quantitative data on mobility. To maximise the value of this we refined slightly our original strategy by first collecting factual data from adults using a questionnaire prior to undertaking an interview. In the case of children all data was collected at interview as originally intended. The interview procedure was basically as outlined in the proposal, though we made much less use than expected of maps as visual aids during the interviews because we found that although respondents remembered addresses they did not have sufficient spatial knowledge to locate them. We did that separately after the interview. Otherwise the research process proceeded as stated in the original proposal.

Detailed methodology

Data collection focused on the urban areas of Manchester/Salford and Lancaster/Morecambe, both in North-west England. These represent two distinctly different types of urban area. Manchester/Salford was (and is) a major conurbation in South Lancashire (now in the separate county of Greater Manchester), whereas the Lancaster/Morecambe urban area is much smaller and combines a market town and a seaside resort in north Lancashire. Further information about transport provision and urban structure in the two towns was collected from archival sources. To standardise for the impact of different urban structures on mobility, it was a requirement that all

individuals included in the survey should have lived in the same urban area at the dates for which data were collected.

Respondents were identified by a variety of means. Those born 1990-91 were contacted through primary schools, chosen to reflect a cross-section of communities and catchment areas. Respondents born 1983-84 were mainly recruited through schools and FE Colleges together with a small number not currently in education identified through personal contacts. This provided a good cross-section of respondents. Most children were interviewed at school, though in some cases interviews took place in the respondent's home. For those aged 10/11 parental permission was gained before an interview took place and parents could be present at the interview if they wished. A wide range of strategies was used to identify older respondents (born 1962-71 and 1932-41). Articles were placed in local newspapers and other media (including the web), information was posted in libraries and other public places, leaflets were distributed via a selection of large employers, and flyers were posted through letter boxes in a selection of residential areas. In addition personal contacts were used to identify suitable respondents and a snowballing technique was employed where one respondent could suggest others who would fit our strict criteria with respect to age and residential history. All methods yielded some respondents. All adults who expressed an interest in the project were sent further information and a survey form. Not all completed this, but those who did were then asked to fix a date for a follow-up interview. There was a small dropout rate at this stage, but most respondents who completed a questionnaire also agreed to be interviewed. The final data set contains approximately equal numbers of males and females and covers a wide range of social and occupational groups. Indeed, the requirement that respondents had lived in the same urban area at each time slice helped to remove any bias towards better-educated and more professional respondents that often occurs in surveys of this sort.

Most interviews with adults took place in the respondent's home, though some were carried out in a work place or at Lancaster University. In Lancaster/Morecambe all interviews were carried out face-to-face, and all interviews with children aged 10/11 and 17/18 were also face-to-face, but in Manchester/Salford it was decided to use telephone interviews for most adults. This was because we found it increasingly difficult to schedule interviews, and contact by 'phone was the only viable means of collecting the data within the time available. Having used telephone interviews in a previous study we had extensive experience of carrying out and recording such interviews. Although telephone interviews inevitably lose some of the immediacy of face-to-face encounters, they lasted approximately the same length of time as face-to-face interviews with adults in Lancaster. We have carefully compared evidence from the telephone interviews in Manchester and the face-to-face interviews in Lancaster, and can find no systematic or significant differences in the quality of information provided.

Two main methods of data collection were used. For children all data were collected through a single interview that both recorded factual data about everyday mobility and explored the reasons and motivations behind these trips. On average, interviews lasted 45 minutes with those aged 10/11 and 90 minutes for those age 17/18. All interviews were taped and transcribed and from these transcripts both quantitative and qualitative

data were extracted for further analysis. In the case of adult respondents a two-stage approach was adopted. This was because pilot interviews showed that with three or four time slices of data to collect, the collation of all data in a single interview was too time consuming. All respondents were first sent a detailed questionnaire on which they recorded factual information about their mobility aged 10, 17, 35 and 65 (as appropriate). From this information an interview schedule was designed that probed an individual's mobility experience and collected qualitative explanatory data as efficiently as possible. For those in their 30s these focused interviews lasted around 45 minutes, whilst those in their 60s were interviewed for approximately one hour. All interviews were again taped and fully transcribed. This combined approach provided good quality quantitative and qualitative data relatively quickly. In all cases respondents were asked to recall journeys over a 12 month period and to state the frequency with which such trips occurred over a year at each age.¹

All interviews were carried out by either Jean Turnbull or Mags Adams, and at the start of the project several joint interviews were conducted to ensure that all interviews were comparable. Throughout the research regular team meetings ensured that this comparability continued. At the start of the research we undertook an ethical review of the research methodology and gained clearance from the Criminal Records Bureau to work with children. The research was conducted within the research ethics framework produced by the Faculty of Social Sciences at Lancaster University (see: <http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/resources/ethics/>). All interviews with children were carried out with permission from both the school through which the child was recruited and the child's parent or guardian. A full risk assessment was also carried out for the two members of the research team undertaking interviews.

Transcribing the interviews, and extracting the quantitative data from the children's interviews and adults' questionnaires was a time-consuming task. There were several stages to the data manipulation phase of the project. For adults the survey form was checked and used as a framework from which the in-depth interview was constructed. Data on the form were then coded and entered into an access data base. Following the interview the tapes were transcribed and read carefully. A system of hierarchical coding of key themes arising from the interviews was identified and the transcripts were entered into the text analysis programme Atlas ti, and coded appropriately. For children all data were gained from the structured interview and thus quantitative data were extracted and coded from a careful reading of the transcript before being entered into the Access database. Once again the full transcript was entered into Atlas ti and coded appropriately. Further analysis required the use of SPSS and Excel for manipulation of quantitative data and the use of ArcView for spatial analysis and representation. For the textual data the coding system worked well and allowed relevant segments of interviews to be recalled. However, we deliberately coded large segments of text to ensure that quotes were set within a context, and also used quite high-level codes to retrieve data. For all queries in Atlas there was thus a further manual stage of carefully reading and reviewing the relevant segments of text to establish meaning and context prior to interpretation.

¹. There were four different questionnaires, each over 20 pages long, and four interview schedules each approximately 13 pages long. To save space they have not been appended to this report but can be provided on request.

Problems

All research based on interviews and oral histories encounters problems relating to the process of recall by the respondent and the interviewer-interviewee interface. Most people view everyday mobility as a mundane and unmemorable set of events, and thus it is reasonable to suppose that recall of past mobility may be partial. This is inevitable, but creates real problems for the comparison of mobility over time. Thus, whereas a 10 year old should have good recall of (for instance) their current journey to school, a 65 year old may have a very sketchy memory of the journey to school they undertook when they were ten. In examining change over time we are thus trying to compare two (or more) sets of data that have different (and unknown) memory biases. This problem is unavoidable, and there are no other ways of generating similar data, but this issue needs to be borne in mind when interpreting the results. In general, we believe that by adopting a life history approach and getting older respondents to talk about their everyday mobility in the context of other aspects of their life at the time, the quality of data collected is good for those journeys on which we have information. It seems likely that data on trips that were made regularly (such as the journey to school) were relatively easily remembered by 65 year olds; however other journeys that were undertaken irregularly may have been omitted or distorted by older respondents, whereas when talking about current mobility respondents would recall these trips. We thus believe that the problem of partial recall relates principally to the extent to which some trips were omitted by older respondents rather than to the quality of data on those trips that were recalled.

In most cases interviews themselves did not present problems and the nature of the subject matter was not sufficiently sensitive or personal to create tensions between the interviewer and the interviewee. However, interviews with children aged 10/11 did present especial problems. There are two key issues. First, where such interviews were carried out with the child alone (with the permission of the parent and school) then we found the ability of the child to explain why a particular journey was undertaken highly variable. Clearly it was often a parental decision about which the child had limited knowledge. Thus some (though by no means all) interviews were rather short and lacking detail. Second, where the interview was carried out in the presence of a parent, although the parent was able to provide prompts to the child and give more explanatory information, the quality of data on what the child actually did and where they went was often less good. It was clear that the child was inhibited by their parent's presence and, not surprisingly, when they were alone 10 year olds were prepared to say things that they would not reveal to their parents. There is also the possibility that, when alone, some children would brag or exaggerate certain aspects of their mobility. We tried to check this by triangulating information throughout the interview and identifying any inconsistencies in the information revealed. One solution would have been to interview both parents and children separately, but this would have proved too time consuming.

Results

The data collected yielded two sorts of data: quantitative information on the characteristics of everyday mobility and qualitative data explaining mobility behaviour and experiences. We consider that the latter is more important than the

former. Quantitative data are used as context to provide a framework for analysing mobility change, but it must be remembered that although we have information on a very large number of individual trips (over 895,000 individual trips aggregated over the 12 month period that we asked respondents to recall) these relate to only 156 individuals. With a sample of this size it is possible that one or two respondents with unusual patterns of mobility could skew results. Where possible our quantitative data have been compared to information collected in the much larger National Travel Surveys. This is difficult as the categories used do not match (the NTS has a rather narrow definition of travel), but when these differences are taken into account our data are broadly consistent with NTS information. The qualitative data are very rich and provide an extremely large set of focused transcripts through which mobility behaviour can be explored. In this report only the headline findings can be reported. The various publications (listed below) explore all these issues in more details.

First, quantitative analysis of the characteristics of everyday mobility since the 1940s suggests that there has been much less change than some contemporary mobility theory assumes. Obviously data on the mobility of children covers a larger time span than data on adults so this part of the analysis focuses especially on mobility change amongst children aged 10/11. It is also important to remember that the analysis focuses on all everyday mobility, including play in the street or park (a category excluded from NTS data), and that it focuses on just two urban areas. As NTS data show, travel patterns in rural areas are somewhat different. In summary, the data show that for children aged 10/11 both the total distance travelled and the average trip length (which remained short) increased slightly (especially from the 1940s to the 1960s and most strongly in Lancaster) but that the mean time spent travelling per trip declined a little. There has been a predictable decline in walking and bus travel, and increase in car use, but what is most striking is that when all everyday mobility is examined walking still accounts for over 60% of all trips by children aged 10/11 at the time of interview (when measured in terms of distance travelled walking is of course much less important). This challenges some general statements about a decline in the amount of exercise young children get through walking. There has been a decline in the proportion of children aged 10/11 allowed to travel around the study towns unaccompanied, but even today over 50% of all trips are taken without an adult. There is relatively little variation in these data by gender, although girls are a little more likely than boys to be accompanied, and girls are more likely to walk or use public transport. Data since the 1950s for adolescents aged 17/18 show even less change in distance travelled (and some decline in Manchester), and although car use has increased, walking (in Lancaster) and buses (in Manchester) remain important and together account for over 75% of all trips in each town. Some of these trends are summarised in Appendix 1

Second, there is an underlying stability in accounts of the experience of play with certain key themes emerging at each time period. These relate particularly to the importance of boundaries, the significance of traffic, the need for children to tell parents where they were going, the extent to which rules varied depending on the time of day and number of companions, and the impact of territorial rivalry between different groups of children. Many respondents from all cohorts mentioned that they had reasonably clearly defined areas in which they played regularly when they were 10/11, and that within these areas they were relatively unconstrained. Accounts differ

(for all cohorts) in the extent to which these boundaries were clearly imposed by parents, or were constructed by children as areas in which they felt comfortable playing and which also conformed to adult expectations. The only noticeable trend is that the area defined in this way seems to have shrunk over time, with at least some children in the 1940s being able to roam freely over a wide area, whilst more recently more children have been confined to specific streets or parks, though this is by no means universal.

Most respondents, for all time periods, show an awareness of traffic dangers and suggest that to some extent traffic volumes affected where they played. Although road traffic was obviously much lighter in the 1940s than today, some respondents felt that their play was restricted by motor vehicles. Almost all respondents in every time period also stressed the importance of telling parents (approximately) where they were going. This was part of the contract of being allowed a degree of freedom within a designated space. However, it can be suggested that the nature of this contract has subtly changed, with the expectation that parents know exactly where children are now much more firmly embedded than it was in the 1940s. Very few respondents in any time period said that they experienced any real dangers whilst playing, however in each time period there are examples of specific events that led to some modification of behaviour, with subtle changes in how parents responded to these dangers. In the 1940s children negotiated dangers themselves with only minimal involvement of parents, and to some extent this continued through the 1970s and into the 1990s. However, today few children are allowed to experience and negotiate everyday risks: parents curtail their play space in a way that seemed not to occur even a decade ago. Selected examples from the interviews are included in Appendix 2

Thus whilst there is a strong underlying stability in the experience of mobility for everyday play, and in the constraints affecting children age 10/11; the main change that has occurred appears to be the development of much greater parental control for the 2000/01 cohort. Compared even to the 1990s, children aged 10/11 are today given a smaller and more clearly specified area in which they can play freely, are monitored much more closely by their parents, and have their play curtailed at the first hint of danger. In contrast to children in the 1940s they never seem to actually experience danger, and thus do not have the opportunity to learn to negotiate and deal with such issues. We suggest that this reflects the much greater publicity given by both national and local media to a small number of specific events such as child abductions and related dangers. We have analysed reported crime and related dangers in local newspapers in Lancaster/Morecambe and Manchester/Salford in the 1940s and the present and can demonstrate the extent to which this increase has occurred. It is well established that fear of crime has more impact on behaviour than experience of crime, and it can be suggested that parental fears are increasingly restricting the everyday play of children in the twenty-first century (Valentine, 1997; Pain, 2000).

Third, the data allow us to explore the ways in which everyday mobility has changed over the life course. By focusing on the mobility histories of respondents in their 60s we can examine the interaction of different sets of constraints on everyday mobility for men and women. These data demonstrate both the ways in which life course constraints differentially affect men and women, with women having more restricted mobility in their 30s, the extent to which people in their 60s today are enjoying greater

mobility than at any time in the past. Qualitative data also indicate that concerns about crime or other dangers do not only influence children's mobility, as many older respondents also admitted to adjusting their travel because of perceptions of risk. One example of this is given in Appendix 2.

Finally, the results from the study emphasise the individuality of everyday mobility experiences with, in each time period, some people having high degrees of mobility and others experiencing severe constraints. Thus although there are some general long-term trends, at each time period there are exceptions. It is suggested that these data have implications for contemporary transport policy. First, policies need to recognise individual needs and responses with respect to urban transport and everyday mobility. A single solution is unlikely to be equally applicable to all travellers. Second, modern transport policy tends to undervalue the pedestrian, but our research shows that many everyday trips are undertaken on foot. It is suggested that the needs of the pedestrian should be given much higher priority in transport planning.

Activities

We did not organise any conferences or networks associated with the project. However, during the course of the project we have presented papers on the research at a wide range of conferences and seminars. These have provided a forum in which both our methodology and results could be discussed. Most significantly, we have discussed our research with geographers, historians, transport specialists and local/family historians and have presented papers in both continental Europe and the USA. A full list of conference papers presented is given in Appendix 3.

Outputs

Throughout the project we have aimed to disseminate results as widely as possible to academic, professional and lay audiences. As outlined above conference presentations and seminars were used to discuss methods and present early results. However, the nature of the research methodology meant that we could not complete analysis until relatively late in the project when all the interviews were complete. It was thus difficult to publish papers at an early stage of the project. However, from October 2003 we have been in a position to write and currently have one journal article and one book chapter in press, four journal articles under review, one further journal article almost complete, and the first draft of a book manuscript (contracted to be submitted by November). In addition we are committed to feeding back results of the research to our interviewees and communicating with a wider audience. We are thus producing two pamphlets summarising research results for a lay audience. These will be distributed (free) to all respondents and made available to others through local libraries. The Lancaster pamphlet is almost complete and the Manchester pamphlet is in draft form. A full listing of all publications is given in Appendix 4. Journal articles are deliberately targeted at a range of journals to reach different academic and professional audiences. Both our quantitative and qualitative data sets have been offered to and conditionally accepted by the ESRC Data Archive.

Impacts

We anticipate that the research will be of most interest to academics in a wide range of social science disciplines working on mobility, transport and social change. In

addition the research has interest for lay audiences interested in local history. Through conferences and journal articles we have brought the research to the attention of some groups of transport planners and will seek to publicise our results more widely, possibly with an article in a professional transport planning journal. In 2002 we discussed the project with Andy Westwood, then Head of Policy Research at The Work Foundation, and provided preliminary data on Manchester in connection with their research on social exclusion. He expressed an interest in seeing our final results and we will continue contact with the Work Foundation.

Future research priorities

We have a number of ideas for further research arising from the project and Professor Pooley is actively pursuing new research proposals. Three ideas are particularly relevant:

1. Further research on the interaction between residential migration and everyday mobility. This is a theme that links three recent research projects but has yet to be fully explored.
2. Development of a research proposal on mobility and identity, focusing on the ways in which long-distance commuting impacts upon local and regional identities.
3. Development of a book proposal provisionally entitled: *Global Mobilities: A history of everyday travel*. This proposal is currently under consideration by the University of Illinois Press for their series of Studies of World Migrations edited by Donna Gabaccia and Leslie Page Moch.

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APPENDIX 1: SAMPLE FRAMEWORK AND ILLUSTRATIVE RESULTS FROM QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Table 1: Sample framework (Manchester and Lancaster)

Birth year	Age at Interview	Sample size		Lifecycle stage	Interview periods
		Manchester	Lancaster		
1932-41	60-69	25	21	Retiring/retired/family left home	Age 10/11
					Age 17/18
					Age 30s
1962-71	30-39	16	14	Young/teenage family	Age 60s
					Age 10/11
					Age 17/18
1983-84	17/18	20	20	End of secondary education/first job	Age 30s
					Age 10/11
					Age 17/18
1990-91	10/11	20	20	Last year of primary education	Age 10/11
					Age 10/11

Table 2: Distance and time travelled for everyday mobility by children age 10/11 (averages for all trips over 12 month period)

Cohort born:	Mean distance per person per year (km)		Mean trip distance (km)		Mean trip time (min)	
	Manchester	Lancaster	Manchester	Lancaster	Manchester	Lancaster
<i>Age 10/11</i>						
1990-91	4,494	6,054	1.5	1.8	8.6	10.7
1983-84	3,606	6,109	1.5	2.4	9.8	14.6
1962-71	4,545	5,217	1.7	2.1	10.8	12.6
1932-41	3,526	3,477	1.3	1.2	12.8	13.2
All	3,986	5,176	1.5	1.8	10.8	12.6
N	222,530	212,948	222,530	212,948	247,546	212,366
<i>Age 17/18</i>						
1983-84	5,563	6,658	2.8	2.6	16.0	13.8
1962-71	7,316	13,837	3.8	6.0*	20.7	21.6
1932-41	8,602	6,054	4.2	2.6	25.1	21.1
All	7,279	8,255	3.7	3.4	21.1	18.5
N	121,232	133,202	121,232	133,202	145,770	139,342
<i>Age 30s</i>						
1962-71	11,532	12,224	6.4	5.6	22.3	18.8
1932-41	7,375	6,215	4.5	3.5	27.3	16.1
All	8,997	8,619	5.3	4.5	25.1	17.3
N	70,138	67,744	70,138	67,744	90,850	71,198
<i>Age 60s</i>						
1932-41	10,025	7,318	6.1	5.8	22.7	21.7
N	40,812	26,428	40,812	28,428	46,750	28,202

Source: Everyday mobility sample, Manchester/Salford and Lancaster/Morecambe, 2001-2

Data relate to all journeys recorded aggregated over a 12-month period.

Totals for distance and time vary because it was not possible to calculate distances for all recorded journeys

*Distances for this group are affected by a small number of respondents undertaking some very long journeys.

Table 3: Mode of transport used for all journeys by children age 10/11 (percentage of all trips)

Cohort born:	Car		Walk		Bus		Cycle		Other		
	M	L	M	L	M	L	M	L	M	L	
<i>Age 10/11</i>											
1990-91	28.5	26.4	64.7	61.4	1.5	1.6	3.7	7.1	1.6	3.5	
1983-84	26.5	27.3	64.7	61.3	1.5	2.7	5.2	4.2	2.2	4.5	
1962-71	8.3	13.3	84.7	76.8	3.7	3.9	3.2	5.0	0.2	1.0	
1932-41	0.3	0.3	88.0	89.1	9.6	8.2	1.4	1.7	0.7	0.6	
All	14.0	17.4	77.1	71.5	4.8	4.1	3.0	4.6	1.0	2.6	
N (000s)	34.8	36.9	190.8	151.7	12.0	8.6	7.6	9.7	2.5	5.4	
<i>Age 17/18</i>											
1983-84	15.7	18.9	48.2	67.8	33.6	8.4	0.0	2.1	2.5	2.8	
1962-71	7.4	43.7	48.8	39.8	30.6	7.2	3.9	4.5	9.3	4.8	
1932-41	4.7	0.5	48.7	56.7	35.3	28.4	10.8	13.2	0.6	1.2	
All	8.4	18.4	48.6	56.7	33.6	15.5	6.0	6.8	3.5	2.7	
N (000s)	12.2	25.5	70.8	78.9	48.9	21.5	8.8	9.5	5.1	3.7	
<i>Age 30s</i>											
1962-71	44.3	67.4	28.0	25.7	12.9	3.9	7.8	2.2	7.0	0.8	
1932-41	31.8	46.5	33.8	40.5	20.1	9.1	1.2	0.0	13.1	3.9	
All	37.4	56.0	31.2	33.8	16.9	6.7	4.1	1.0	10.4	2.5	
N (000s)	33.9	39.9	28.3	24.1	15.4	4.8	3.7	0.7	9.5	1.8	
<i>Age 60s</i>											
1932-41	58.3	74.6	29.4	21.1	10.0	1.5	1.8	1.1	0.5	1.8	
N (000s)	27.2	21.0	13.7	6.0	4.7	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.5	

Data relate to all journeys recorded aggregated over a 12-month period.

Source: Everyday mobility sample, Manchester/Salford and Lancaster/Morecambe, 2001-2

Table 4: Companions on all journeys for children age 10/11 (percentage of all trips)

Cohort born:	Alone		Other children		Adults /mixed	
	M	L	M	L	M	L
Age 10/11						
1990-91	19.6	18.3	35.4	37.8	45.0	44.0
1983-84	14.4	11.6	34.0	39.0	51.6	49.4
1962-71	19.0	12.5	41.2	39.0	39.7	48.6
1932-41	23.7	25.3	40.8	48.3	35.5	26.4
All	19.9	17.5	38.2	41.1	41.9	41.4
N	49,312	37,164	94,596	87,302	103,638	87,920
Age 17/18						
	Alone		Other adolescents		Adults/mixed	
1983-84	34.0	31.3	47.3	49.3	18.7	19.4
1962-71	39.4	38.5	37.6	32.2	23.0	29.3
1932-41	46.2	47.7	39.0	39.0	14.8	13.3
All	41.1	39.2	40.9	41.2	18.1	19.7
N	59,856	54,566	59,576	57,392	26,338	27,384
Age 30s						
	Alone		With children		Other adults/mixed	
1962-71	37.3	44.2	20.5	17.6	42.2	38.2
1932-41	37.4	35.7	13.3	23.0	49.3	41.3
All	37.4	39.6	16.5	20.6	46.1	39.9
N	33,956	28,166	15,000	14,639	41,894	28,396
Age 60s						
1932-41	50.2	36.2	1.5	4.7	48.3	59.0
N	23,490	10,212	690	1,338	22,570	16,652

Source: Everyday mobility sample, Manchester/Salford (M) and Lancaster/Morecambe (L), 2001-2
Data relate to all journeys recorded aggregated over a 12-month period.

APPENDIX 2: ILLUSTRATIVE RESULTS FROM QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Box 1: Experiences of playing by water, children born 1932-41

We would like, like if I was only walking on the canal you know there'd be the logs and stuff like that we'd be jumping on. I know it was dangerous at the time, but you don't think that kind of thing. (R325, Derek, aged 10/11, born 1937, Salford)

And one interesting thing, there's a place, it's still there now, P Dam it's called, and it was a mine, a coal mine, and they had pit props in there but they were full of black grease and oil inside, and we used to swim in there and on them, and go home with a big black line right through your body. This was off the tar and the grease and it/but you couldn't let your parents see it 'cause you'd, you'd get told not to swim in there then. (R351, Les, aged 10/11, born 1937, Salford)

I don't/well it [the canal] was always too dirty and you never knew, there was dead dogs and all sorts in it. But some of them did go in the canal. You know these, the, the lads and that. (R328, Hilda, aged 10/11, born Manchester, 1940)

But the dangerous things we did it was horrendous. I mean I wonder how I lived through my childhood. ... Well there was a huge pipe and it had to be fifty feet up, um. ... A big huge pipe, like a huge water pipe, I'm talking really wide. And I had to walk across that to be in the boys gang. Now if I'd fallen I'd be dead or I'd have broke my back. And then I had to walk across the old ramshackled bridge on the canal and if that had broken I'd have drowned 'cause I couldn't swim. I just, I didn't have any/it was stupid actually, I didn't know it was dangerous. But I wanted to be in the boy's gang. (R356, Pamela, age 10/11, born 1937, Salford)

They weren't keen on us going to the canal really. The canal wasn't very far off and my mother wasn't very keen on us going near there. ... One of my mates from school had been drowned there actually so. (R110, Charles, aged 10/11, born 1934, Lancaster)

*You could always go down there and meet dozens of kids from all around the S area. You'd congregate there and you'd swim around in the, the deep water before it went over the weir. And it was bloody dangerous looking back on it, but you didn't look at it that way then. ... We did go on ice. But we sort of frowned on that because we lost a lad, we lost one of our mates in the big freeze of forty eight. He went on the ice ...
And
in fear we kept off it after that, it worked. (R52, Tony, aged 10/11, born 1939, Lancaster)*

Source: Everyday mobility interviews, 2001-3

Box 2: Non-specific reasons for avoiding certain places, children born 1989-92

Because she, she'll think it's/she doesn't, she doesn't like it there [The town centre] because people, people, people fighting and all that stuff. (R211, Rory, aged 10/11, born 1992, Manchester)

Cause someone could take me if I was with no-one. And it's only down the road, near the park. ... I can go in E. But I can't go near the T Centre cause they don't know what could happen to me. (R214, Nathan, aged 10/11, born 1992, Salford)

She's afraid like because I don't even know our road very well, that I'll get lost somewhere and I won't know my way back. And she's scared that I might go onto somewhere like the main road, and someone can snatch me. (R216, Georgia aged 10/11, born 1991, Salford)

And there's a massive big field to play football, but there's no-one to play football with. And on-one takes me, cause I can't go on my own, too dangerous. ... Because someone could nab me. ... Um, we're both [respondent and mother] worried about that. (R217, Chris, aged 10/11, born 1992, Salford)

Because my mum says there's people hang around who we're not supposed to like. ... You don't know what they're doing sometimes. ... It's the same reason as I'm not allowed to go down to the field on my own, there's people around that are a bit loopy. (R34, Dean, aged 10/11, born 1990, Morecambe)

No we keep out of there [the woods] in case like there's anyone there. No, we keep near the stream and the park. (R26, Sophie, aged 10/11, born 1990, Lancaster)

And my dad said I wasn't allowed to go (to a youth club) because there's loads of druggies there. I said that there wasn't and all my friends go. (R28, Loren, aged 10/11, born 1989, Lancaster)

And then/because the guide leader/I am allowed on my own but because my guide leader said that a couple of bad things have been happening late at night then she normally takes me home in her car. (R42, Gemma, aged 10/11, born 1989, Lancaster)

Source: Everyday mobility interviews, 2001-3

Box 3: The changing impact of traffic on mobility, children aged 10/11 in Manchester and Salford

I don't play on the road. I play on the pavement. ... Cause it's dangerous to play on the road, cause you might get run over. (R217, Chris, aged 10/11, born 1992, Salford)

No, cause like it's just like in our street and there's like, it's just a busy street and there's all cars and then there's the road and then there's the pavement and the houses and houses. There's not really no place for you can play, but unless you're on the pavements. ... So we're not allowed to play on the road most of the time cause it's dead busy. (R213, Laura, aged 10/11, born 1991, Salford)

Yea. But we sit on the pavement and throw, like play kerby and we play dodge ball and stuff. ... when we throw the ball and then we all get off the road and then one, the person whoever gets the ball they just keep hold of the ball and then they're on. We/and then when the car's gone past/but we/what is we do is whoever gets the ball they're on, so when someone gets it we say/oh someone get the ball, wait till they grab hold of it, ah you're on now, cause you've chased the ball. And we play tiggysball, and if you tig, give someone, some/one person has to throw the ball at someone and if they catch it they're on wi' you. And you throw, wait till a car comes and then let the car, wait til a car's coming down then we let them grab the ball before the car gets to/near you. And when they touch the ball they're on, so. (R202, Gabriel. Aged 10/11, born 1992, Manchester)

Well we go to, on the street, her street and, and my street, and S Road, just round there and places like that. ... it's quiet.. ... I've got an area. I'm only allowed/yea I've got one area that I'm allowed to play. That's like S Road and her street and everything. (R215, Lorna, aged 10/11, born 1991, Salford)

Mum was frightened of us being on the road on a bike. My brother didn't/was about fifteen when he got his. (R367, Beatrice, aged 10/11, born 1937, Manchester)

Well there wasn't a lot came down our streets really. There's not as much as there is today. ... I think there was only one person, and he had a television shop, Mr E, he was the only one in the street that had a car. (R328, Hilda aged 10/11, born 1940, Manchester)

We'd hear of kids getting run over, coming off bikes and things, but there was nothing/it was not/it was sort of an event of very minor significance. I mean we knew we had to watch cause we knew cars, well we saw cars quite frequently running along and we/but we knew about vaguely careless drivers who perhaps should have taken more care. But I don't remember any accidents particularly no. No, no accidents to the people I knew. (R323, Harry, aged 10/11, born 1942, Manchester)

Well the main Liverpool road runs past ... There's one or two lads got killed on there crossing ... we were just told to watch what we were doing you know. (R370, Victor, aged 10/11, born 1938, Manchester)

Source: Everyday mobility interviews, 2001-3

Box 4: Threats from strangers in the 1940s, children aged 10/11.

The only fears we used to have was in the park. There would be men, and probably from the Moor Hospital [Asylum], and we would be wary of them, so if any men approached us/ we were often flashed at, even in those days. ... Well, you knew it was wrong and you kept well away from them, but we would be half-frightened and half laugh[ing]. We knew to keep away from them ... An RAF chap stopped me and offered me money to go down on't/ this was when I was going down into town shopping for me mother/ offered me money to go down onto the canal with him. I didn't know what for, but I knew it was wrong. But I still got the shopping, and took it back home. So I wasn't so frightened, but I just knew it was wrong. ... And I don't think that I ever told my parents, because sex wasn't ever talked about. (R55, Teresa, age 10/11, born 1937, Lancaster).

An odd time we had a funny man in a car asking us to get in the car with him, which of course we knew we hadn't to do, but I mean we were only young then. And there used to be a swing on the bottom of the hill and we used to play on this swing, but you know that was just a/and we came back, told my mother and/well they didn't do anything about it, you know I mean the police weren't informed or anything in those days you know. (R111, Rosemary, aged 10/11, born 1936, Lancaster)

Only once did I come into contact with anything like that, and that was a flasher. ... it was round my granny's area. ... And he was on this sort of railway bridge looking down on, on us kids. And I think I was one of the eldest there, and I remember feeling, funnily enough, that he was admiring me cause he was staring at me. And I was kind of quite you know flattered this was happening. And I mean I've often thought about this since. And he then exposed himself, and of course it scared me to death and I went home. ... I don't think I ever told them [parents], someone/no I didn't no. ... I think because subjects like that were taboo. (R339, Elizabeth, aged 10/11, born 1940, Manchester)

I think the only time it every happened to me ... a man exposed himself, and we just followed him. .. We wanted to find out where he was so we could tell someone, but we lost him. [I: And did you tell anybody?] I can't remember whether I did. No I don't think I did. ... But no I don't remember anything nasty in my childhood. Or being nervous of anyone. (R356, Pamela, aged 10/11, born 1937, Salford)

And the thing that we were warned most against was flashers, you know being woodland areas. And one of the great pursuits was to go out and find courting couples, we'd spy on them. But the, the queer characters used to be out as well looking for the same thing. And, and we were warned not to speak to strange men, because we were actually, three of us were actually accosted like one/at one point. ... Exposing himself. But nothing much other than that happened luckily. But the police were called. (R370, Victor, aged 10/11, born 1938, Manchester)

Source: Everyday mobility interviews, 2001-3

Box 5: Threats from other children, children aged 10/11, Lancaster and Manchester

And the other, of course the other/there was a kind of gangland culture. We weren't in a gang, but there was a gang in another part of the locality which had its own territory. We tended not to go there cause we'd get thrown/stones thrown at us. (R323, Harry, aged 10/11, born 1942, Manchester)

But I remember a bit later on it was very territorial at N. You didn't come over S, you didn't come over S Bridge and turn right onto M 'cause like there'd be fights and all this that and the other like you know. (R59, Maurice, aged 10/11, born 1934, Lancaster)

'Cause that's where all the big lads, black lads, are, and they start battering you and take your money off you and all that, so. (R202, Gabriel, aged 10/11, born 1992, Manchester)

Yea there's a park, but I don't go there a lot cause a lot of the lads that don't like me hang around there in their gangs and that so. I mean sometimes I go with friends and the next thing you know I'm being chased. (R207, Alex, aged 10/11, born 1991, Manchester)

We've got a playground next to us ... But there's loads of stupid people hanging around in there. ... They like start fights and they're always/it's a bit boring there as well cause the swings, the swings have been broken (R45, Marty, aged 10/11, born 1990, Lancaster)

Because my mum says there's people hang around who we're not supposed to like. ... You don't know what they're doing sometimes. ... And there's a boy running around with a pellet gun and shooting people with it. (R34, Dean, aged 10/11, born 1990, Morecambe)

Source: Everyday mobility interviews, 2001-3

Box 6: Changing mobility constraints over the life course, Lancaster and Morecambe

Age 10/11 in 1948 (Lancaster):

Well usual, we used to play/actually we were, we were told we had to play on the back street rather than the front street because traffic, although I mean traffic then was/but the buses used to come up and down Dale Street then, so we were always told to play on the back street. And of course we went onto the Bowerham waste ground because that was you know somewhere that/I think it used to be allotments at one time. ...Well, well we, we were allowed/yea we used to go up onto/the next street up from Dale Street is Prospect Street, we used to go up and play on there at one time I can remember, cause there used to be, there used to be air raid shelters on there before they were, before they were demolished. We were told to keep out of them, but I mean you used to play in these, you used to play in them.

Age 17/18 1955 (Lancaster):

No I think, I think when you're seventeen, eighteen you don't, you don't see the same as you would now perhaps. No I mean there, there were odd fights, you used to get odd fights in the dancehalls and, and outside afterwards you know, simple because people had had too much to drink or they'd be falling out over a girl or something like that. You never got any/I mean you never got anybody with knives and things like that you know. But yea there used to be fights, there used to be them.

Age mid-30s in 1970s (Lancaster):

Yea I, I don't think we felt unsafe walking the streets then, no. I mean we probably didn't go to the, to the places where the younger ones went then. I mean as you get, when you're in your thirties I mean you're ...I mean we were, we used to be a member of Lansil Sports Club then, you know the, the Social Club there ...So we'd perhaps go down there more than visit a pub in the town or something like that you know, so you probably weren't getting where the younger ones were getting. But you didn't/I don't think you feel/felt threatened.

Age mid-60s in 2001 (Lancaster):

I wouldn't like to be, and my wife is, is the same opinion, now we wouldn't like to be walking round Lancaster now on a Friday and Saturday night. I mean we've driven through a few times when we've, when we've been out, and you see all these young ones around here now you know. Em I mean it's full of students isn't it. Well I mean, I mean the students don't cause problems and it's very rare we get any trouble with the students, but the young locals ... I don't know. You, you/I think you feel more/I think you would feel threatened now you know. I mean you read all/I mean it's probably unfounded, I mean they tell you it's unfounded statistically. ... I think when you get a bit older you tend to, to see more danger than perhaps that at you know eighteen you wouldn't bother about it would you. I mean we'd been out the other night, it's a fortnight ago, we went out with some friends and ... it was about well ten thirty, quarter to eleven when we came out, and we walked back up into the Square and it was absolutely heaving with, with youngsters. ... and you know my wife was glad we got in the car and away you know, yea

R50, Roger, born 1938, Lancaster

Source: Everyday mobility interviews, 2001-3

APPENDIX 3: MAJOR CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Papers on different aspects of the Everyday Mobility project were presented at the following conferences:

January 2002: RGS-IBG Annual Conference, Belfast. '*Gender differences in everyday mobility: an historical perspective*', presented by Mags Adams.

February 2002: European Social Science History Conference, The Hague, The Netherlands. '*Daily mobility in twentieth-century England*', presented by Jean Turnbull.

April 2002: Local Population Studies Annual Conference, St Albans. '*Migration, mobility and meaning*', presented by Colin Pooley.

September 2002: European Urban History Conference, Edinburgh. '*Kids in town: The changing action space and visibility of young people in urban areas*', presented by Colin Pooley.

September 2002: Emotional Geographies Conference, Institute for Health Research, Lancaster University. '*Children's fear of place*', presented by Mags Adams.

September 2003: RGS-IBG Annual Conference, London: '*Changes in everyday mobility in England since the 1940s*', presented by Colin Pooley.

September 2003: Family History Conference, Dorset: '*Migration and mobility in Britain: continuity or change?*', presented by Colin Pooley

November 2003: Social Science History Association Annual Conference, Baltimore, USA. '*Youth, mobility, family and community in England since the 1940s*', presented by Colin Pooley.

January 2004: Alternative Mobility Futures Conference, Centre for Mobilities Research, Lancaster University. '*The impact of new transport technologies on intra-urban mobility: a view from the past*', presented by Colin Pooley.

February 2004: Family History Conference, Preston. '*Making sense of migration and mobility*', presented by Colin Pooley.

March 2004: European Social Science History Conference, Berlin, Germany. "*It was safe to walk then. Nobody bothered you*". *Urban space and mobility strategies amongst children and their families in Britain since the 1940s*', presented by Colin Pooley.

Additionally we have talked about our project to both academics and transport specialists at a number of smaller seminar presentations in a variety of locations.

APPENDIX 4: PUBLICATIONS ARISING FROM THE EVERYDAY MOBILITY PROJECT

Accepted and in press:

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J. and Adams, M. 'Changes in everyday mobility in England since the 1940s: A case study' *Belgeo* (The Belgian Journal of Geography). Special issue on *Globility*, forthcoming 2004.

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J. Adams, M. 'Kids in town: the changing action space and visibility of young people in urban areas'. In Schildt, A. and Siegfried, D. (eds) *European cities, public sphere and youth in the 20th century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, forthcoming 2004).

Journal articles submitted and under review:

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J. and Adams, M. 'The journey to school in Britain since the 1940s: continuity or change?' *Area*, (submitted 2004).

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J. and Adams, M. "'...everywhere she went I had to tag along beside her": Family, life course and everyday mobility in England since the 1940s' *The History of the Family: An International Quarterly*, (submitted 2004)

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J. and Adams, M. "'I don't think we felt unsafe walking the streets then": Changing perspectives on negotiating public urban space in England since the 1940s' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, submitted 2004.

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J. and Adams, M. 'The impact of new transport technologies on intra-urban mobility; A view from the past' *Environment and Planning A* (Special issue on *Mobilities and Materialities* edited by J. Urry and M. Sheller) [Invited submission 2004 – may be rerouted to related book project].

Journal article in draft form and about to be submitted:

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J. and Adams, M. 'Children's everyday mobility in England since the 1940s: How much has it really changed?' To be submitted to *Population, Space and Society* or *Environment and Planning A* [depending on outcome of negotiations about the paper for the Urry and Sheller volume].

Book manuscript:

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J. and Adams, M. *A mobile century?: changes in everyday mobility in Britain in the twentieth century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, forthcoming 2005) [Draft manuscript almost complete. Contracted to be delivered to publishers November 2004)

Pamphlets for distribution in Lancaster and Manchester

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J., Adams, M. and Owen, S. *Travelling around town: everyday mobility in Lancaster and Morecambe since the 1940s* (Lancaster: Lancaster University, 2004, in press)

Pooley, C., Turnbull, J., Adams, M. and Owen, S. *Travelling around town: everyday mobility in Manchester and Salford since the 1940s* (Lancaster: Lancaster University, 2004, in draft form)