

# T<sup>2</sup>M

International Association for the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility



**Photo 1: Parisian buses used for meat supply at a railway station in the North of France (~1916, private collection)**

Editors:

Étienne Faugier, Claudine Moutou, Arnaud Passalacqua

# Newsletter

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## Editorial

In many countries, various institutions are involved in the preparation of the First World War centenary. The beginning of 2014 will open the way to a 5-year long commemoration of one of the most traumatic events of the history of humanity. For the social scientists dealing with technology and more precisely historians of mobility, this episode acts also as a kind of seminal moment. Many aspects of our contemporary world are an inheritance of choices made during or just before the conflict and consolidated by the war. For instance we can trace back the end of horse-drawn vehicles, the beginning of oil dependency, and major improvements of aviation or the development of trucks as being significantly influenced by this period in history.

Although the First World War is often symbolized by the famous and fixed trenches, the First World War also paradoxically acted as a powerful vector of technologies in the world of mobility. One might ask if the adoption of technologies developed for military purposes were the best ones for the new conditions of a world in peace after 1918.

In the next 5 years we have the opportunity to raise awareness about the links between our mobility landscape and the First World War. Tourism interest in military cemeteries is expected to attract millions of travellers from all over the world. What knowledge can we share that gives these tourists to enhance their touristic experience? Is highlighting the adaption and commandeering of transport technologies for the purposes of war going to increase public appreciation of having control over their own mobility? How do different cultural and disciplinary standpoints – winners and losers – affect interpretations of mobility history during this period?

This newsletter is the last of the team made of Étienne Faugier, Claudine Moutou and Arnaud Passalacqua. The next issue will be under the reigns of Sam Merrill, Andrey Vozyanov and Claudine as Étienne and Arnaud focus their energies on other aspects of the T<sup>2</sup>M association.

As always we encourage you to send us news, reports and articles for the next issue to [newsletter@t2m.org](mailto:newsletter@t2m.org). Deadline for copy is **Monday 27 January 2014**.

Étienne Faugier  
Claudine Moutou  
Arnaud Passalacqua

## President's Page

November 2013

Dear Colleagues,

Now back from Kouvola and St. Petersburg, I would like to share with you, how deeply impressed I am with historical transport and mobility studies in Eastern Europe. There is so much research in Eastern Europe ongoing, which still is not enough recognized in the Western world.



**Photo 2: Opening of the T<sup>2</sup>M conference in Kouvola, Finland, September 25, 2013**

This year it was a young conference, with more PhD-students than ever. Again, the conference underlined the vitality of the field of transport and mobility studies and its precarious institutional setting at the same time. We do not have enough tenured positions in the field in order to secure stability and continuity of attendance and membership. The lively creativity has to be counterbalanced by more institutional endurance.

The experience of the Schengen-Border between Finland and Russia by train and the difference of life styles and academic attitudes of the two hosting institutions and countries served as ideal framework condition for partly breathtaking and path breaking insights into the permeability of borders. The quite different border experiences of the speakers from 25 countries showed up in most talks and discussions. A very good example for learning by diachronical and international comparisons was the last plenary session on Saturday 28 September in the Assembly Hall of the State Transport University. Siphon Khumalo, Chief Executive Officer of the Cross Border Road Transport Agency of South Africa presented lessons from history for his approach to facilitate border crossings in Southern Africa. At the border between South Africa and Zimbabwe, trucks have to wait for up to eight days to pass the different border controls. It is not easy to facilitate cooperation between the two countries and the different agencies involved. Because of the interesting talk of Alexey Sergeev, Chief Secretary of the board of the Interparliamentary Assembly of the Commonwealth of Independent States (the umbrella organization of the succession states of the Soviet Union, on the day before, Siphon Khumalo and his commentator (transport consultant Nuno Ribeiro from VTM, Lisbon/Portugal) suggested to compare the situation in Southern Africa rather with the attempts to facilitate border crossings in the Commonwealth of Independent States than with the more and maybe too advanced European Schengen model. What a new perspective!

There were many more examples for the benefits of the “genius loci” of the conference for discussing the complexities of mobility across borders. You will find the full papers on our website (if you are a member). Please have a look. In any case you find the abstracts.

From an organizational point of view, this conference was more challenging than ever for the local organizing committee. I am so thankful to Jenni Korjus, Igor Kiselev, Heli Mäki, Polina Polukhina, Anu Kilpinen and their team. You did a wonderful job!

Hans-Liudger Dienel

## Report on the T<sup>2</sup>M 2013 conference

### Transport and borders

11<sup>th</sup> International conference on the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility  
Kouvola, Finland – St. Petersburg, Russia, 25-28 September 2013

One year ago, when the conference theme of borders was first announced the T<sup>2</sup>M newsletter suggested that it may stimulate thought about overcoming borders. This turned out to be the case. Overcoming was a key theme in discussing the topic of borders as they often present a problem to struggle and win over. However, as we heard at the conference, they can at times provide surprisingly fruitful circumstances for mobility history. Conceptions of borders were deployed through a variety of topics – a few are mentioned in this short conference report.

Andreas Christ and Merja Hoppe in their paper suggested that “*mobility and borders are in a sense opposed to another*”. Border is an obstacle, a cause for disunity. One of the insights of conference was that mobility infrastructure of European states actually can be seen as having disintegrated throughout history and even today. Kerstin Burckhart and Martin Schiefelbusch explored the cases of infrastructural incompatibilities between the adjacent regions of Spain–France, Denmark–Germany and Switzerland–Germany. They reflected on how difference in track gauge, mountain chains and border-crossing formalities fragmented transport networks and complicated international connections. At the opening ceremony Hans-Liudger Dienel pre-empted these observations by asking “*do we have a transnational transport network in Europe at all?*” Andreas Christ and Merja Hoppe evidenced the transition in importance of different borders: while people learn how to deal with political issues, the infrastructural boundaries are becoming much more tangible and urgent matters.

The problematic character of borders was discussed in the context of the mobility vs. nature struggle. Sometimes this struggle only ended in utopian projects but sometimes can be used as a platform for gaining stable well-developed infrastructure. Kallio Kale, for example, spoke of the case of Finnish railways which were persistently re-built multiple times in response to the almost annual damage caused by the climate until the knowledge and monetary resources were accumulated to improve the quality of the railways. In contrast, Ekaterina Kalemeneva, winner of the best conference poster, spoke of projects of cities to the Soviet North in the 1960s which defied the climate limits of human settling but never happened to realize its full potential.

A strong interest of conference participants was directed towards non-material and intangible borders – socially and technologically determined obstacles in the way of data flows. Several presentations focused on knowledge transfer over state borders (See for example papers by Elena Kochetkova, Kallio Kale, Mia Korpiola). Paulina Faraj depicted practices of DIY dissident production of radio-receivers in 1930s. Ralph Roth explored the early history of the Internet to discover that this media has had to encounter number of monetary and material barriers: with the World Wide Web finally succeeding only due to persistent attempts of enthusiasts and flexible US economics (compared to the Soviet Union).

We also heard how territories and particular spheres of mobility can often used be contested by conflicting interests. Paul van Heesvelde spoke on how military and economic interests competed in Belgian railway planning in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Igor Kiselev in his opening address stated that the border is constructed economically and politically as well as technically; sometimes it is the political barriers that are most difficult to overcome.

Participants of this year's T<sup>2</sup>M conference experienced for themselves a barrier being successfully overcome: custom and passport control while crossing the Finland-Russia border at 200 km/h. In this case, the Allegro fast train connection between Helsinki and St. Petersburg and associated border

formalities provokes a need to re-think the concept border because it would normally imply a stop at the physical/geographical Russian-Finnish border. Undoubtedly, the double location of the conference was a high-point – it worked not only as entertainment but also as an analytical tool, a kind of participant observation. Passengers-participants could observe the variety of effects of border-crossing: other models of local trains, station signboards in Cyrillic letters and the sudden disappearance of Wi-Fi connection as soon as we left Finland.



**Photo 3: Passing through Vyborg, Russia on the Allegro train. (Sam Merrill)**

Nevertheless, a common message of many presentations is that borders can be conceptualized positively as well as negatively. Borders can be an engine for new ways of social integration and local development of technical progress that can tackle stagnant sectors of economics. Arnaud Passalacqua focused on the experience of France, where demarcation of borders served to define responsibilities, improve functioning and provide equality for competing railway carriers. Anna Danilova illustrated with qualitative interview data how borders of “closed cities” in Russia created the feeling of stability and immunity towards outer tribulations. Andreas Christ and Merja Hoppe gave an example of how *“negative barrier effects of system borders for mobility have stimulated the development of new solutions leading to a change in the mobility and transportation system.”* While Massimo Moraglio and Robin Kellermann discussed how the manifestations of borders between Europe and other continents gradually led to economic and political as well as transport “de-bordering” within the European Union.

Sometimes, borders give hope – to asylum seekers, refugees and migrants. In this vein, Torsten Feys shed light on how shipping companies lobbied interests of migrants during the European escape of 1870s-1920s. Less dramatic, but very vivid image of a border as a horizon of dream and interests was analyzed by Nikolaos Papadogiannis who questions the traditional distinction between migration and vacation mobility. One could ask: what would tourism actually be like without borders? Authors of these lines of enquiring commented that colleagues residing in the EU sometimes neglected the opportunity to travel without a visa (while receiving the visa is perceived as an extraordinary adventure for, say, Russians or those willing to get to Russia).

We spoke a lot about how mobility encounters, modifies and stirs up the borders. Transport has to adjust itself to the fact that the world is full of borders. But looking back once more at the Allegro train trip mid-conference, we can see that large part of this experience would be impossible without multidimensional demarcation of Russian/post-Soviet space. Let us say, some colleagues for the first time have seen a functioning trolleybus – St. Petersburg operates the fourth largest network of this transport mode in the world. Curiously, if we map out the dissemination of trolleybuses that would show us a contour of the former “camp of socialist states”. Paradoxically, we can conclude that borders are sometimes what mobility needs – to boost new ideas and developments.

Andrey Vozyanov  
European University at St. Petersburg





Photo 4 & 5: Opening and panel presentations from Russian delegates



Photo 6: Participants at the T<sup>2</sup>M 2013 conference



*Ekaterina Kalemeneva,  
PhD student, European University at Saint-Petersburg*

## Between human-built world and natural environment: change in the borders of development and city-patterns in the Soviet North in the 1960s

### Introduction

Exploration of any new space provokes discussions about future ways of its development.

The Arctic for the USSR was a region of this kind because of its diversity, low level of development and severe natural conditions. One of the wave of discussions about future visions of human-built environment in the Arctic flooded in the USSR in the 1950s when the government declared a new course toward mastering the inland Arctic territories.

This project studies plans for Arctic urbanization in the 1960s with a focus on the visions of architects at Leningrad towards northern urban planning by creating cities with artificial micro-climate for instance towns covered by transparent dome.

What caused an increased attention towards northern urban planning in the middle of the 1950s? How did the architects at Leningrad see the arctic towns, being themselves based many thousands kilometers away from their construction sites? Were their projects of city with artificial micro-climate really appropriate for northern conditions?

### Methodology & resources

Researchers who focused on the Arctic development of the USSR frequently look on this process from two different sides:

- \* "from above" - in terms of the State's concerns, portrayed the practices of Arctic urbanization as a direct realization of governmental interests;
- \* "from grass-roots level" - through the practices of adaptation of new settlers to special conditions in the Soviet Far North etc.

This project aims to study the "middle level" of mastering the Soviet Far North- the intention of architects from Leningrad branch of The Academy of Building and Architecture to implement their own visions of the Arctic cities in the 1960s.

Architectural projects like domed city are seen in the framework of high-modernism, with the intention to make "rationally organized" space that led the architects to encounter with bureaucratic level as well as with local specialists.

This research based on archival materials (architectural projects and internal documentations of architectural project institute, governmental documents etc.) and interviews with the architects.

### Acknowledgments

This project is a part of international research project "Assessing Arctic futures: voices, resources, governance", funded by Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research, MISTRA, Sweden; project leader Sverker Sorlin.

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### Factors conducing to appearance of the projects of domed-city in the USSR

- \* faultiness of previous practice of the Arctic urbanization: the first towns were constructed without any consideration of the harsh environment due to economical reasons and ideological intention to make the new territory the same as any other region;
- \* the new political course, claimed since the 1950s postulated the task to improve living conditions for the Soviet people.
- \* an increase of influence of expert's knowledge in Khrushchev's period provided an opportunity for discussions about necessity of changes in northern urban planning;
- \* an interest of Soviet architects in the 1950-1960s toward western modernism and paper architecture of avant-garde of the 1920s, especially in the question of planning system;
- \* The Arctic environment enabled the creation of challenging proposals: absence of previously built infrastructure and local traditions made opportunity to construct new types of settlements in the middle of nowhere

### Pre-history of the idea of domed city

Igloo, an ancient prototype of a domed city?

Canadian project for the Arctic city Frobisher Bay, 1958 (unrealized)

Domed city in the sci-fi literature

Invention of a geodesic dome by R. B. Fuller in the 1940s

One of the Soviet projects of a city with artificial micro-climate for Andromeda town, 1959 (unrealized)

### Conclusions

#### Fate of the projects of domed-city in the USSR

In the 1970s there was an attempt to construct a domed city in Siberia, but while being started the project became abandoned in a few years.

We can define several levels of critique of a city with artificial micro-climate among other specialists and official institutes:

- \* responsible ministries refused to implement these projects because of a high cost of their implementation
- \* a contradiction between architects and the engineers and local builders: local engineers looked at the architects from Leningrad as on strangers who understood nothing in the issues of construction on their territory.
- \* these projects illustrates a high modernist intention to create the rationally organized city. Urban planning was a tool to influence upon social structure: the plans supposed strong regulation of amount of inhabitants, a renewal of the idea to socialize any household activities in the city by a power of building structure (e.g. creating a network of refectory instead of a private kitchen).

Thus like James Scott shows in his book *Seeing like a State*, the failure of these plans could be explained by the discrepancy between expert's view from above and the citizens' requirements.

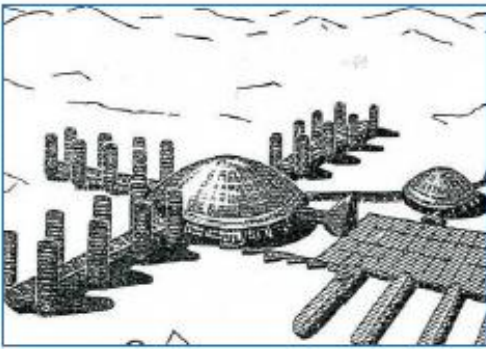
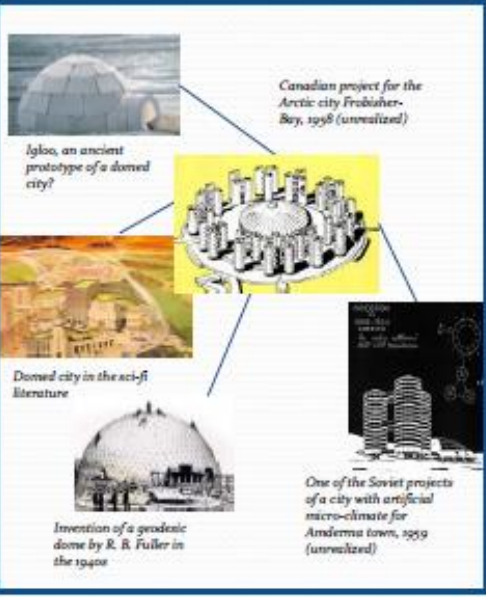



Photo 7: A snapshot of the winning T<sup>2</sup>M conference poster Ekaterina Kalemeneva (St. Petersburg)

## EC elections and Prizes

### T<sup>2</sup>M Executive Committee Elections

This year's election of the T<sup>2</sup>M Executive Committee (EC) involved seven candidates for four seats – two of which were student positions. The interest in standing on the EC is very welcoming, and we hope that all candidates as well as those who stepped down will continue to play an active part in our association.

The result of the election is that Sam Merrill (University College London, England) and Andrey Vozyanov (European University at Saint-Petersburg, Russia) replacing Etienne Faugier (France/Canada) and Fabio Berio (Italy) as student representatives. Positions previously held by Corrine Mulley (Australia) and Colin Divall (England) are now taken by Anna Lipphardt (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany) and Valentina Fava (University of Helsinki, Finland).

### Annual Travel Funds

This year T<sup>2</sup>M donated the following travel grants to assist delegates attend the conference.

**International Travel Grant:** *Jose Ernesto Carmona Gomez (250 €)*

**Intercontinental Travel Grant:** *Paulina Faraj (500 €)*

**Continental Travel Grant:** *Joonas Nikkanen (250 €)*

**Russian Travel Grant:** *Anna Danilova, Gennady Chitayants, Alexander Kitunin, Ekaterina Biktimirova, Maria Drozdova, Anastasia Vasileva, Elena Volkova, Alexander Syetlov (400 € each)*

### John Scholes Prize

Mike Bess and Eike-Christian Heine were jointly awarded the John Scholes Transport History Research Essay prize.

Mike Bess is finishing his PhD in Borderlands History at the University of Texas at El Paso. His submission is entitled "Routes of Conflict: Building Roads and Shaping the Nation in World War II and Postwar Mexico, 1941-1952".

Eike-Christian Heine defended his PhD in July 2013 at the Technical University Braunschweig (Germany). His submission is entitled "Connect and divide: Contradictory Mobilities of the Kiel Canal". Congratulations to both!



Photo 8: Mike Bess and Eike-Christian Heine

### Bibliography Project

A group has been set up to progress the biography project which started last year. The idea of the bibliography is simple. It should be a list books and articles about transport and mobility that have been published during the year, cross-referenced by themes. The biography will be available online at the T<sup>2</sup>M website and serves as a valuable tool for historians of transport and mobility.

T<sup>2</sup>M members are encouraged to help out with this very worthy project. Ideally it would be useful to have volunteers take a geographic area or a particular topic – but smaller contributions to help address the gap in non-English books and articles, and ensure new items are added to the list is also useful.

Please contact one of the editors for more information or to offer your support.

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## In the Spotlight



### Massimo Moraglio

**Berlin Institute of Technology - Centre Technology and Society, Germany**

**You have been a member of T<sup>2</sup>M for quite some time, how did you come to the transport and mobility studies?**

Well, I think this is serendipity. I wrote my master thesis on the economic role of public work in Italy after 1929 great depression, and how a dictatorship, as Italian fascism, used those public works to enhance its power. Transport infrastructure had the lion share in those activities, and I recognized that history of transport is a crossover topic, affecting public perception and economic cycles, everyday life and people expectations. So I got involved in this topic more and more.

**What are your fields of interest in transport and mobility?**

Being curious by nature, I would not put boundaries. But, surely I worked extensively on 1920s Italian ground-breaking motorway construction, as well as in historical turning points for transport infrastructures, alike second half of XVIII century and 1960s mass motorization. Indeed analysing turning points are fascinating, because such a research force you to investigate the predecessors and the historical mainstream, eventually to the point to criticize the main narrative.

**How do you describe the mobility in Italy and in Germany? What's different? What's similar?**

At a macro level, it seems to me that those two countries have very similar patterns, as well as, on average, a - mostly-male - obsession for motor vehicles. However, the public transport in German offers definitely a better service, which in my eyes is the outcome of a different social compromise.

**What would you expect of the T<sup>2</sup>M association in the next years?**

T<sup>2</sup>M is doing, and has done, an amazing work, giving evidence to a sub-field, as history of transport, which was hidden behind other labels. And T<sup>2</sup>M is a market place where to discuss and enhance our knowledge on the issue; the success and the vibrant atmosphere at the annual conferences is the best proof of this.

I was thinking about the high turnover of participants at our conferences. It is well known among sociologists of organizations that this revolving door routine fill the meetings of free riders and capture only a few new members. But, looking this from a different prospective, our annual meeting are populated by very inspiring papers presented by scholars with very different backgrounds. The lowest common denominators are history and mobility. So, why not to push this further? Why not to challenge openly our historical mainstream and learn from other discipline? And, vice versa, suggest very proudly (and humbly) that history matters?

**Currently you are working on the future of transport. How is this feasible for an historian?**

I am very confident of my historical background to the point to challenge it, being involved in other fields. Actually, to a closer look, there are a lot of common points between history and future. Both work on time scale. Both are high speculative. As Benedetto Croce – an Italian philosopher – wrote that history is always involving contemporary issues, in the meaning that more or less consciously we wrote about the past in order to debate current issue. And, in point of fact, future is doing the same, forecasting the future in order to drive the present. Let me add, as a final point, the future studies very often relies on historical trends, although this not always done, in my eyes, in a accurate way: I see there many occupation assets and a lot of fun for us historians!

## *Journal of Transport History*

The December 2013 issue of the *Journal of Transport History (JTH)*, vol 34 (2), is a Special Issue featuring five papers about Austro-German transport histories:

1. A specifically German path to mass motorisation? Motorcycles in Germany between the World Wars *Reinhold Bauer*
2. Promoting German automobile technology and the automobile industry: the Motor Hall at the Deutsches Museum, 1933-1945 *Bettina Gundler*
3. The great auto theft: confiscation and restitution of motorised vehicles in Austria during and after the Nazi period *Christian Klösch*
4. Germany's National Socialist transport policy and the claim of modernity: reality or fake? *Christopher Kopper*
5. Luxury item or urgent commercial need? Occupational position and automobile ownership in 1930s Austria *Verena Pawlowsky*

In addition the Issue carries three maritime museum reviews:

1. The Single Ship Museum: *Polly Woodside* (Melbourne) *Jennifer Clark*
2. The *Mary Rose* Museum (Portsmouth) *Graham Attenborough*
3. Sailing to Marege: the Colin Jack-Hinton Maritime Gallery at the Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory (Darwin) *Steve Mullins*

The Issue also features 19 book reviews.

**As the official journal of the T<sup>2</sup>M association, members receive copies of the twice-annual JTH as part of their membership subscription to T<sup>2</sup>M.**

The home-page of the Journal contains links to contents, author submission guidelines and to current and back-copies:

<http://www.manchesteruniversitypress.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?id=4>

Address all queries and submissions to the Editor, Gordon Pirie, at [jth.editorial@gmail.com](mailto:jth.editorial@gmail.com).

Gordon Pirie

Editor, *Journal of Transport History*



# *Transfers*

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## **EDITORIAL**

*Gijs Mom and Nanny Kim*

### **Making a Living: Bicycle-related Professions in Shanghai, 1897–1949**

*Xu Tao*

### **The Firedrake: Local Society and Train Transport in Zhejiang Province in the 1930s**

*Ding Xianrong*

## **SPECIAL SECTION ON RICKSHAWS**

### **Rickshaws in South Asia: Introduction to the Special Section**

*M. William Steele*

### **Mobility in the Margins: Hand-pulled Rickshaws in Kolkata**

*Gopa Samanta and Sumita Roy*

### **Travel Behavior of Middle-class Women in Dhaka City**

*Shahnaz Hussain and Umme Habiba*

### **Rickshaw Pullers and the Cycle of Unsustainability in Dhaka City**

*M. Maksudur Rahman and Md. Assadekjaman*

### **The Future of Rickshaws: Concluding Thoughts and Wider Issues**

*Peter Cox*

## **IDEAS IN MOTION**

### **A Journey with Cycle Rickshaws: Identity, Respect, Equality, Space, and Sustainable Futures**

*Rajendra Ravi*

## **MOBILITY AND ART REVIEW**

### **Art on the Move: Rickshaw Painters in Bangladesh**

*Gopa Samanta*

## **MUSEUM REVIEW**

### **The Sahmat Collective: Art and Activism in India Since 1989**

*J. Daniel Elam*

## **FILM REVIEW**

### **Mediating Cultural Transfer: Tran Anh Hung's Films About Vietnam**

*Thong Win*

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### ***Transfers* Editors:**

Gijs Mom, Georgine Clarsen, Nanny Kim, Peter Merriman, Mimi Sheller, Heike Weber

## Accidents & Emergencies

### **Accidents and Emergencies:**

#### **Risk, Welfare and Safety in Europe and North America, c. 1750-2000.**

A conference report by Peter Itzen, Freiburg

“A conspiracy” – that was how Arwen Mohun described the character of the conference on ‘Emergencies and accidents’ that took place at Oxford Brookes and was organized by Mike Esbester of Portsmouth University and Tom Crook from Oxford Brookes (9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> September, Oxford Brookes University). If it was a conspiracy then certainly a conspiracy which succeeded in bringing scientists and scholars together from many different countries and disciplines whose scientific interests all focused on risks in modern western societies. Among them not only established and prestigious scholars of the subject like Bill Luckin or the aforementioned Arwen Mohun, but also many young researchers that managed to demonstrate into how many fields the research on risk, accidents and emergencies has spread. Interestingly, some of the leading experts and former civil servants that formed policies on health, safety education and risk management in the United Kingdom also took part in the discussions. Their contributions enriched the discussions enormously and opened up perspectives of coming historical and sociological research on emergencies, risks and accidents.

The questions at the core of the conference were diverse: What were typical risks of modern societies? What was, in contrast to this, perceived as a risk? How did modern agencies tried to counter and mitigate these risks? How did social stratifications and class society influence risk perceptions and public countermeasures against them? And, possibly most important, how did risks effect people’s lifes? The conference followed these questions by focusing on different areas, debates, periods and agents, covering Britain as well as on Portugal, Poland, the United States, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, France and Germany, ranging from the early 19<sup>th</sup> to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, dealing with gamblers, surgeons, workers, drivers, engineers and other scientific experts, thus making comparisons and long perspectives possible. Naturally, traffic played an important part in these debates.

It was therefore very fitting that risky behaviour in traffic was at the heart of the first keynote lecture, and it stayed at the heart of many discussions during the following days. Bill Luckin told the story of drink driving in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century and noticed the importance of continuity and slow change of what was essentially a conservative system of risk management. Partly this conservatism could be linked to the fact that drink driving was a common habit in the equine culture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and because of the big role horses played in car accidents around 1900. The dominance of legal criteria and risk management that were developed in a horse culture were difficult to abandon, and it took highly independently thinking judges to prepare the adjustment of law to a motorised society. In the discussion, Arwen Mohun pointed out that in the American debate not only equine criteria were important in shaping new traffic regulations, but also experiences with railroad accidents were crucial in the emergence of new risk regulations.

Luckin’s talk already hinted at one of the most important topics of the conference: successful or failed management of risk always essentially dealt with the perception, regulation and prescription of individual behaviour. Behaviour was also at the core of Arwen Mohun’s keynote lecture. Talking about risks and thinking about the reasons why people choose to take risks also means looking at changes in behaviour, Mohun emphasised. Yet in order to achieve that historians should be aware that sociological risk conceptions that focus on the 20<sup>th</sup> century do not necessarily reflect historical reality. Risk management, risk avoidance, risk choice and tolerability, Mohun argued, were important facts of life in the early modern age and the 19<sup>th</sup> century already. Historians will, she proposed, also need to try to reach beyond sources that primarily mirror the positions of experts and look out for the experiences and perceptions of ordinary people as they were forced to take risks or did so voluntarily. This is, of

course, also a problem of available sources, but Mohun advised historians to have a look at legal records that often reflect everyday situations.

As already became clear in one of the first sessions answering these questions leads to the involvement of many different sections of the historical and other social sciences. Thus, in the panel on workplace accidents e.g. Richard Biddle presented interesting material that elegantly combined medical history with the history of technology. Analysing the example of shipyard workers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, he told the story of rising and worsening accidents that came into being with the introduction of steam and iron technology. Likewise, Mia McCabe linked history of technology with a popular history of an inventor of a safety lamp that turned into a popular hero. Both could demonstrate how technology affected the seriousness of possible injuries and how society tried to find ways to counter these heightened risks – e.g. by resorting to new technology or by new medical methods or an extended system of medical care. Finally, Mike Mantin presented a research project on the triangle of disabled persons in mining regions, emergencies and the poor law in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. What was regarded as disability, what kind of moral and social obligation followed from disability and how disability could be used as a political argument was dependent upon many different issues – not least the general economic situation. Mantin's case study was an interesting example of how important not only the perception of risks, emergencies and its results are, but also of how these perceptions are shaped and changed.

Prevention was one of the answers that grew in importance with the advent of new technologies. In a section on traffic history Mike Esbester depicted the history of safety education and the mechanisms of general admonitions and micromanagement by which authorities tried to influence behaviour in order to reduce risks and make them more tolerable at once, using posters, placards, but also lessons in school. Magda Fahrni was interested in the agents of these processes and looked at the white masculine engineers and safety experts that became influential in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Canada. How a history of risk and risk prevention can also enhance our understanding of political processes was something Mariusz Jastrzab demonstrated in his paper on traffic education in Socialist Poland. Here, an authoritarian and paternalistic state tried to control the effects of traffic risks and followed closely public discussions and debates on the dangers of modern traffic, developing communicative techniques that appealed to children and made them aware of the risks in modern traffic.

Disease management and risk prevention were the topic of an interesting session that dealt with two very different examples – the problems of risk management and public health in 19<sup>th</sup> century Portugal (Alexandra Esteves) and debates about the dangers of disinfectants in Britain (Rebecca Whyte). In Portugal the picture is particularly ambiguous: The fight against diseases was ambitious and the ideas how the diseases could best be combated were progressive. Yet the comparatively weak state of Portugal, the inadequate provision of health institutions combined with a widespread public distrust towards modern public health measures worked against the success of public health campaigns. Nor could the state and its liberal-minded government count on the support of the influential Catholic Church with which it was in deep conflict. The debate in Britain on the dangers of disinfectants that occurred at around the same time was, by contrast, shaped by ideas of utility and relativity: For many, the positive effects of disinfectants outweighed the dangers of this substance that were sometimes used as a suicide method. Both papers demonstrated how public health measures could trigger discussions, but also how they began to shape individual behaviour and political and cultural debates.

Not behaviour, but how society and its experts interpreted the negative effects of risky behaviour and how they tried to control them were at the centre of the section on 'Auto-mobility and accidents'. Peter Itzen described how German medical and legal experts discussed car accidents in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and how they tried to make sense of the dangers and of the difficult and intricate questions how accidents could be assessed legally and morally. Was car traffic not a consequence of business activity that was of benefit for the whole society so that the whole society should take the responsibility for its negative consequences? The discussions on these questions had not come to an end in the 1930s, but it seems as if German medical experts proposed different solutions from their counterparts in Scandinavian



countries (as Bill Luckin emphasised in the ensuing question section). The second paper was presented by Marjan Hagenzieker. Hagenzieker demonstrated how fruitful quantitative research can be for the history of traffic accidents. Using several modern databases she analysed the scientific publications on traffic accidents since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and showed how explanations of traffic accidents and proposed solutions changed over time and how these corresponded with other, more general developments. Here, a lot of potential can be found in the future digitalisation of publications in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and of the vast amount of 'grey literature' that deals with the topic of traffic accidents. While quantitative research may not be the only way to find answers about the history of traffic accidents, it certainly helps to widen the perspective of more conventional historical research.

How the state developed measures to insure public health and safety was the focus of a panel that primarily dealt with the structures of and debates on the British Health and Safety Executive during the post war period. Christopher Sirrs depicted the process of the reform of the health and safety regulation in the 1960s and early 1970s. Sirrs demonstrated that, rather than looking for tighter regulation, reformers debated the necessity to find ways to act against individual apathy by workers – a phenomenon which was singled out as one of the main reasons for industrial accidents. John Rimington, a former Director-General of the UK Health and Safety Executive, described and analysed the framework and institutional, legal and political conditions which shaped the work of the Executive. The changing political background and the political rhetoric of the time contrasted sharply with the day-to-day co-operation between government and Health and Safety Executive. Paul Almond of the University of Reading reflected on the changing public attitudes on health and safety campaigns and measures. Whereas the success of these measures can (on the whole) not be questioned, since the 1980s an increasingly hostile attitude towards the idea of health and safety regulation emerged. It portrayed this kind of regulation as a paternalistic, illiberal and ineffective safety culture. Almond demonstrated that a combination of many factors (among them different political surroundings, a continued economic downturn, the increasing regulative influence of the European Union as well as a changed legal culture and new ideas of self-regulation and risk assessment) led to a declining notion of legitimacy of health and safety regulation in the last couple of years. The ensuing discussion on the three papers laid bare a striking contrast between the importance and effectiveness of regulation and the public and political rhetoric.

How risks were debated internationally and transnationally was at the core of one of the final sessions. What emerged was at the same time a story of institutional success and failure. Isabelle Lespinet-Moret demonstrated how the International Labour Organisation (ILO) functioned as an international platform of knowledge concerning the reaction to occupational risks that influenced risk perception and management by medical experts and technical engineers that read the recommendations of the ILO. While the ILO managed to shape risk management policies Judith Rainhorn depicted a fascinating story of repeated risk ignorance in France, Belgium and the United States. Following the debate on white lead as a dangerous substance in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Rainhorn discovered recurring periods of risk unawareness or even risk denial – a phenomenon that she described metaphorically as 'streetlight syndrome', pointing out that it is the 'dark' periods that the historian should be interested in. Rainhorn herself did offer some explanations for this fascinating phenomenon that is typical of many risk debates, hinting e.g. at the role of the industry, the lack of an international scientific debate in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the aim of a self-sufficient national economy (that made compromises concerning risk management inevitable) and the late emergence of a working class that was able to fight for its interests and safety.

The conference closed with a discussion among health and safety experts about the history of risks. John Rimington, former Director of the UK Health and Safety Executive, Neal Stone of the British Safety Council, Tim Carter, Chief Medical Adviser to the Maritime and Coast Guard Agency, and David Eves of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents admirably managed to pull the strings of the discussions of the past days together. Tim Carter pointed out that a history of risks always deals not only with different historical background, but also with different types of risks: chosen risks (as in

gambling) are possibly very different from imposed risks, absolute risks differ from relative risks. Finally, risk perception might vary enormously and may be very dissimilar from actual risks. A history of risk is, in the end, always a history of many different risks, as values of life and health constantly change and different ways of risk tolerability, acceptance and avoidance even within western societies. Case studies that look beyond the border of national histories are therefore particularly enlightening, the contributors agreed.

Was it, then, a successful ‘conspiracy’ (Mohun) that took place in Oxford? One of the most striking conclusions of the conference was not only the sheer amount of fascinating projects that were being discussed. It was also the diversity of topics of which only some could be mentioned here. Others included the history of trauma, problems of infrastructure, the policing of risk, new environmental risks and the emergence of changed legal environments – to name but a few of the topics of those panels that could not be summarised here. From the perspective of a German historian it was particularly interesting to see how very much alive and even booming the branch of medical history is in Anglo-Saxon contexts. However, despite the diversity of projects (and also despite the different national traditions of writing history) one thing that did shine through was the topic of risky, regulated, imposed or threatened everyday behaviour; a behaviour that astonishingly is often taken for granted even though it often proves perilous. It is this theme that historians that deal with emergencies, accidents and risks share and try to make sense of.

The conference was sponsored and financially supported by Oxford Brookes University, the Centre for European and International Studies Research at the University of Portsmouth, the Economic History Society and the Wellcome Trust. The keynote lectures by Bill Luckin and Arwen Mohun as well as the concluding roundtable discussion are available as podcasts: <http://www.pulse-project.org/node/568>

*Peter Itzen  
Freiburg*

## News

### **Mobility and Civil Society - How Social Commitment Takes Place**

Interdisciplinary Workshop, 5- 6. December 2013, Freiburg i.Br. (Germany)

Location: FRIAS (ground floor, large room), Albertstr. 19, D-79104 Freiburg i.Br.

For a long time, social proximity, neighbourhood, and long-term sharing of local space were considered a central prerequisite for community building and the articulation of collective interests. Throughout history, various social and political initiatives and associations have reflected this in their approaches to social reform, as well as in their specific forms of recruitment, organization and social mobilization. In recent times however, spatial mobilities increasingly govern the everyday lives of large sections of populations around the world. Mobile ways of life arise from demands of globalized job markets, specific arrangements in family and personal relationships, or sophisticated leisure activities. Beyond the effects on individual life-worlds and life-courses, the novel trans- and multi-local patterns also have a strong impact on how people build solidarities and engage in the realm of civil society. The workshop will take a closer look at the question of how a sense of community and collectivity is formed under mobile circumstances, and how networks of solidarity and modes of participation function which transcend locally rooted forms of community organizing.

Conveners: Matthias Möller and Anna Lipphardt

Research Group Cultures of Mobility in Europe (COME), Universität Freiburg

With the kind support of Hans Böckler Stiftung and Fritz Thyssen Stiftung für Wissenschaftsförderung.

Registration until Nov 24, 2013. Please email-contact: [come@eu-ethno.uni-freiburg.de](mailto:come@eu-ethno.uni-freiburg.de)

For more details see the workshop website: <http://www.come.uni-freiburg.de/mobilityandcivilsociety>

### **Black Sea Calling**

HilgerBROTKunsthalle, Vienna (Austria)

Continuing our interest in collaborations across borders the opening of Black Sea Calling is worth mentioning. Black Sea Calling is an artist-in-residence exchange programme between Austria and 9 countries of the Black Sea region. Altogether 19 artists were hosted in 2012/2013 in Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine. The exhibition presents these artists with works reflecting the different cultural contexts of the countries involved.

The exhibition opens on the 20 November 2013 at the HilgerBROTKunsthalle and will continue until 15 February 2014.

For more information: <http://blackseacalling.eu/exhibition-2013/>



**Research Marking the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the London Underground**

The passing of 2013 will also bring the end to a year of commemorative events that marked the opening of London's Metropolitan Railway and its extension to the London Underground. Two recent publications collate new research on the subject.

Firstly, a special issue of the *London Journal* edited by Richard Dennis; Carlos López Galviz, and Sam Merrill contains contributions from Sir Peter Hall, David Pike, Delcia Keate and Sam Mullins. It can be accessed online at:

<http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/maney/ldn/2013/00000038/00000003>

Secondly, a lavishly produced collection of essays, *Going Underground: new perspectives* also edited by Carlos López Galviz, and Sam Merrill presents some of the papers given at the 'Going Underground: Travel Beneath the Metropolis 1863-2013', organised by the Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research on 17-18 January 2013. It can be found online at:

<http://www.ltmuseumshop.co.uk/gifts-and-souvenirs/books/underground/product/going-underground-new-perspectives.html>

## Call for Papers

### **Victorian Transport**

Australasian Victorian Studies Association (AVSA) Annual Conference

10-12 July 2014

The University of Hong Kong

Deadline for Abstracts: 30 November 2013.

The Victorian Age is one of mobility and of transportation: goods, people and money were transported within Great Britain, across Europe, and to the far reaches of Empire. Ideas - whether economic, political, educational, religious or philosophical - were imported and exported. And far from being unemotional, the Victorians were also regularly 'transported' by emotions which doctors, scientists and psychologists tried to theorise. This conference seeks to redefine the parameters of transport through inter-disciplinary approaches to material, metaphorical and metaphysical journeys during the Victorian era. A special section of the conference calls for papers on Victorian Transport related to China and the 'China-West' axis. Papers on global crossings are particularly welcome.

For more information: <http://www.english.hku.hk/events/victoriantransport/>

Abstracts of up to 300 words, together with your biodata (ca. 100-150 words), should be sent to: [avs2014@hku.hk](mailto:avs2014@hku.hk)

### **Stations in wartime 1914-1918**

3-5 September 2014

International Colloquium, Paris

Deadline for Abstracts: 1 March 2014.

Organized by AHICF as a tribute to the 100th Anniversary of the First World War outbreak, the colloquium will be focussing on stations as network hubs and major points of interchange. The colloquium should provide useful input for historical research into the First World War, as an example of total war, raising questions with regard to the endless and growing flows of men, goods, materials and mail, the forms of mobility occurring in practice in a war considered to have reached stalemate and immobility by the end of 1914. By bringing together historians specialising in technical systems and wartime economies, in architecture, warfare, cultures of mobility, behaviour patterns, literature and art, from or conducting research into the different warmongering nations, the colloquium should highlight the importance of transport, not only in a wartime economy but also as a factor colouring the perception and remembrance of war, addressing how stations came to have landmark status for war and soldiers and, by extension, examining how troops travelling in uniform played a part in fostering a culture of war. This international colloquium aims to bring together the scientific community (history, social sciences), the younger generation of researchers and heritage professionals.

The Call for papers will run from 1 October 2013 to 1 March 2014. See <http://www.ahicf.com/appel-a-communication-gares-en-guerre.html> for more detailed information.

Proposed contributions (title, outline, including an indication of prospective sources, brief CV) should be sent by **1 March 2014** to: [contact@ahicf.com](mailto:contact@ahicf.com) Potential authors will be informed of the programme committee's decision by 1 May 2014.

Papers may be presented in English and French.

**The psychology of governing sustainable tourism mobility: Bridging the science-policy gap**

Second international workshop

Black Forest of Freiburg, Germany

1-4 July 2014

Abstracts due: 1 February 2014

The main roadblock this international workshop seeks to address is the inability of policy makers and stakeholders to change the tourism mobility system towards sustainable development. Therefore the workshop will explore the psychological and social barriers and incentives to taking effective governance measures, alongside building further on a sound understanding of the consumption behaviour of tourists. The Centre for Sustainable Tourism and Transport (NHTV Breda University, The Netherlands), the School of Hospitality and Tourism Management (University of Surrey, UK), the Research Centre for Sustainable Tourism (Western Norway Research Institute), and the Department of Tourism (University of Otago, New Zealand) are sponsoring this workshop.

Abstracts should be not more than 300 words and will be reviewed by the organizing committee. We encourage contributions that cover research ideas, research in progress, exploratory research and untested hypotheses and multi-disciplinary discussions and overviews. The total number of delegates is limited to 40. Further information about the call for abstracts and a form for submitting an abstract can be found on <http://www.cstt.nl/freiburg2014>.

**Wartime and post-war public works:****Administration, policies and expertise about a mobilized civil ministry (1914-1929)**

Grande Arche de La Défense, Paris, France

19-20 June 2014

Deadline for proposals : 25 January 2014

Since the nineteenth century, the French Ministry of Public Works had been a tool for the structuring of the State and the presence of the nation across territories in the long term. Between 1914 and 1918 and during the 1920s, its projects and its actions made a significant contribution to the building and the recovery of a State and a nation that had been immersed in what some scholars have called a “total war”. For the past two decades, a major component of World War I historiography has been probing the conflict in the light of the concept of *the cultures of war*. This approach tends to assert that the footprint of the war was not restricted to military aspects as it affected both the front and civilian society behind the lines. It shows that the conflict impacted the populations’ daily lives and perceptions in the belligerent nations and thrive on it. This idea has paved the way for a global understanding of total war and the representations put forward both in France and in other belligerent countries.

This international scientific conference is organized as part of the Excellence Laboratory (LABex) project called *Writing a new history of Europe* and is part of the World War I commemorations. The purpose of this conference is to understand the directions and the actions of the Ministry of Public Works during this period in the light of these thoughts, with fruitful comparisons about what happened in other belligerent countries.

Proposals (one page maximum) should be submitted by January 25 2014. Include the author's qualifications and positions, a mention of their latest publications, as well as their mail and e-mail contact details, to: [contact.travauxpublics.publicworks.1914-2014@planete-tp-plus.com](mailto:contact.travauxpublics.publicworks.1914-2014@planete-tp-plus.com)

Please send any questions to: [contact.travaux-publics@i-carre.net](mailto:contact.travaux-publics@i-carre.net) For more detailed information please see: <http://www.developpement-durable.gouv.fr/Manifestations-a-venir,16776.html>



**The Space Between: Literature and Culture, 1914-1945**  
**Crossing the Space Between, 1914-1945**

Institute of English Studies, London  
17-19 July 2014,

Deadline for abstracts: 2 December 2013

The Space Between is an association of scholars largely based in North America dedicated to the study of literature and culture from 1914 to 1945. The society is holding its annual conference in London next year (17-19 July) around the theme of 'Crossing', – whether of oceans, borders, classes, genders, disciplines or genres – as it relates to literature, art, history, music, theatre, media, and spatial or material culture in any country between 1914 and 1945. This suggests lots of possible dialogues with colleagues working in transport history.

Abstracts of no more than 300 words along with a short biographical statement should be sent to Nick Hubble at Nick.Hubble@brunel.ac.uk by 2 December 2013. If you require a little bit more time contact Richard Hornsey richard.hornsey@nottingham.ac.uk with your expression of interest

More details about the conference and the society are available here:

<http://spacebetweensociety.org/conference/>

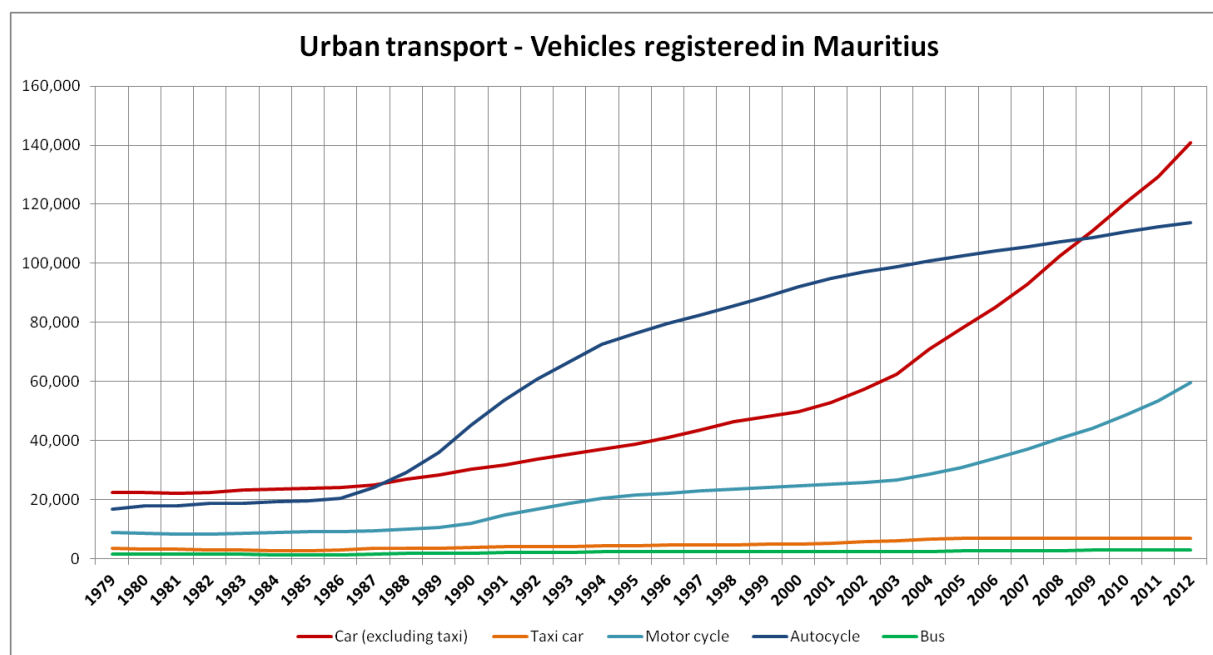
## View from the Street

### Mauritius with new eyes for transport change

Since my last visit in 1989 to the island of Mauritius my sensitivity to the sights has changed. This time I was not just sensitive to places and artefacts that had meaning to the lives of my family (living and deceased) – including reported sightings of the green and white Vanguard that my grandfather previously owned. This time I was sensitive to observing how mobility and the organisation of transportation services differ from that which I am accustomed to (in Australia), and what these may mean for Mauritius' future.

The island of Mauritius is 2040 square km with a population of 1,257,121 (*Statistics Mauritius 2012*). From the air Mauritius can be appreciated for its image as a tropical honeymoon destination. The interior consists mainly of sugarcane fields and mountains bordered by white sandy beaches and the intense blue of coral reefs. The population is largely found in an arc stretching from the capital Port Louis down to Cure Pipe in the central west of the island. It is no accident that these population centres follow the route of the Midlands railway line originally built in 1865. What is surprising is that transport technology that contributed to the pattern of urbanisation was abandoned. The last passenger service was in 1956 and eventually the railway network was dismantled and sold off.

In 2013, urban transportation in Mauritius is well and truly motorised. My memories of 1989 include the beeping of horns as drivers sought to clear the road of cyclists and dogs. Since my visit in 1989, the most dramatic change in types of registered vehicles is not so much the growth of privately owned cars – but the large number of autocycles that provide a fast and cheap form of mobility. While the number of cars (excluding taxis) appears to surpass autocycles in 2009 it is coupled with a growth in motor cycles. As seen in the graph the growth in taxi cars and buses is almost non-existent.



**Figure 1: Selected modal longitudinal data sourced from Statistics Mauritius (2012)**

Taxis in Mauritius are not as intimidating as I remember them in 1989. They were to me a mystery. I would see a taxi car packed with passengers pause by the road side. One person would get out and another three would get in. In 2013, there are now clear visual cues to recognise a taxi and how they

operate. They are uniform in look. Standard white sedans each with a yellow rectangle identifying the name of the town taxi rank that they belong to. Observing this consistency and regulated systems gave me a level of comfort and reassurance had I needed to use a taxi. It did not however act as a deterrence to wannabe taxi drivers who beeped their horns trying to get a fare from us as we waited at our bus stop.

I have no memories of buses in 1989 but in 2013 I found travelling the bus system relatively easy. The transport network on an island the size of Mauritius is focused on the linking of towns, not neighbourhoods within a town – thereby making it easy to identify which bus to take. Bus stops are inconsistent in design but easy to recognise. Some of the bus stops along busy routes had corporate marketing to help them stand out, as seen below.

It is the workings of the bus system - the impressive and perplexing aspects - had the biggest impression on me in this trip to Mauritius. These can be summarised as being about either the passenger experience or bus system constraints to improvement. I did not find timetable information at bus-stops and didn't have a chance to feel concern. The buses demonstrate high levels of service frequency – albeit during the day - and staff at bus stations always answered my questions (“5 minutes”). But as I rode more buses I wondered if the lack of timetable information was being exploited by bus operators at the expense of passengers' time and safety. When timetable information is not available buses have the flexibility to collect as many passengers as possible before their competitor. This appeared to be at the expense of passenger safety and the value of passengers' time as I observed while travelling around the island in car and on bus that on less busy routes bus operators had a tendency to pause for extended periods of time at bus stops in the urban areas, and then speed through the countryside.

Bus safety and maintenance is an issue of concern. Public transport in Mauritius is operated by a combination of operators - a government run National Transport Authority, seven private bus companies and 11 bus owners' co-operatives. It is no exaggeration to say the bus fleet, including those run by the government, is old and, as evidenced by the exhaust smoke, poorly maintained. The variety of vehicle designs and livery may be delightful in the eyes of a tourist but not for passenger comfort. Air conditioning is virtually non-existent, many buses have steep stairs and there is no room for wheelchairs or prams. The first low-floor buses to be introduced by one of the private companies and marketed as a premium-service with functioning air-conditioning and subtitled films showing as on-board entertainment – which even managed to distract this transport enthusiast from looking out the window.



**Photo 5 & 10: A branded bus shelter and steep stairs for boarding a bus (Source: Moutou)**

External pressures are a significant constraint to improving the operation of the bus system. The roads through towns are narrow thereby providing no space for separate lanes for buses. Space is at a premium especially in the capital Port Louis. The encroachment of ‘illegal’ street traders onto the road space in the city centre narrow streets is a political issue. What surprised me was that it was allowed to extend into the roadway of the two Port Louis bus stations. I was witness to street traders blocking the passage of buses within Gare Victoria – a bus station already heavily congested with bus queues. Chaos reigned as both buses and street traders want to serve the rush of workers leaving work to catch their bus home. While this is reportedly going to change soon with the creation of more market space, the low regard for the bus timeliness, the poor regulation of space within the bus station and the seemingly public acceptance of the situation was puzzling.



**Photo 11: Snapshot of peak hour at Gare Victoria as street traders are in no rush to move (Source: Moutou)**

Bus operators in Mauritius have to contend with the pressures of competition from other modes of transport. Aside from the competition of private car ownership which for many Mauritians, as in other parts of the world, is viewed as evidence of their climb up the socio-economic ladder, there are plans underway to add lightrail. The *métro léger* is proposed to link Port Louis to Cure Pipe, the busiest commuter route as the heavy rail once did. Buses are expected to act as feeder services which will necessitate a change in the bus network but also the profitability of different routes. Bus operators will need to contend with greater competition for passengers but their ability to prepare is stifled by the limited information as the project goes out to tender. It is not clear, for example, how much of the space of the transport interchanges will be allocated to park-and-ride and to buses. If light rail stops will be located within towns – therefore causing a high level of reorganisation and disruption to existing land-use and transport operators, or on the periphery of towns away from established trip generators. Bus operators will also need to remarket their services as information about bus routes will need to be communicated and customer expectations about comfort and safety change. This will be difficult for many bus operators who have been relying on public acceptance of any bus service being better than a modern bus service. But it is a challenge that is worth facing if Mauritius is avoid increases in car ownership placing pressures on the natural environment that it relies on so much for its economic wealth.

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