Justice and mobilities in the Netherlands

taking into account the interests of those affected?

Stan Hellegers

Radboud University Nijmegen

An investigation into the relation between justice and mobilities through the case of mobility interest representation in the Netherlands

Justice and mobilities in the Netherlands

taking into account the interests of those affected?

Stan Hellegers
Student number 0116769
April 2011
stanhellegers@gmail.com

Radboud University Nijmegen

Summary

Mobilities are of vital importance to our society, on both the individual as the societal level. With social life depending on being able to be mobile the consequences of not being mobile can be far reaching. Issues related to mobilities are frequently subject of academic as well as policy debate. In these debates references to equality and fairness are common. However, the theoretical foundation for these references is lacking. This leads to ill-supported academic research and lacking policy solutions. This main research question of this thesis is formulated as follows:

'How is the problem of mobilities justice influenced by mobility interest representation in the Netherlands?'

The answer to this question involved an extensive discussion on concepts related to mobilities and justice in order to define and develop these concepts, creating a theoretical basis for examining justice in mobilities. Issues, related to mobilities, potentially creating unjust situations were categorised and discussed as externalities. The definition of *spatial justice* following from this discussion was:

'A situation in which the interests of all individuals, whose motility is consequentially affected by space or spatial processes, are taken into account equally'

This showed the need to examine the way interests are taken into account. Using the Netherlands, with a traditionally strong civil society, as the area of study six mobility interest organisations were examined using a qualitative approach. Research into documentation and a series of interviews provided the basis for a discourse analyses. This examination provided insight into the role of mobility interest representation and in the participants' perception of justice in mobilities.

Index

List of abbreviations

3VO	Verenigde Verkeers Veiligheids Organisatie 3VO
ANBO	Algemene Nederlandse Bond voor Ouderen
ANWB	Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB
CG-Raad	Chronisch zieken en Gehandicapten Raad Nederland
CSO	Centrale Samenwerkende Ouderenorganisaties
COSBO	Centraal Orgaan van de Samenwerkende Bonden van Ouderen
Fte	Fulltime equivalent
LOCOV	Landelijk Overleg Consumentenbelangen Openbaar Vervoer
NOOM	Netwerk van organisaties van Oudere Migranten
NS	Nederlandse Spoorwegen
NVOG	Nederlandse Vereniging van Organisaties van Gepensioneerden
PCOB	Protestants Christelijke Ouderenbond
PT	Public Transportation
ROVER	Vereniging Reizigers Openbaar Vervoer
TLN	Transport en Logistiek Nederland
Unie KBO	Unie van Katholieke Bonden van Ouderen
ROCOV	Regionaal Overleg Consumentenbelangen Openbaar Vervoer
VANBWL	Verontruste ANWB Leden
VVN	Veilig Verkeer Nederland

Figures

Appendices

Chapter 1: Introduction

'Mobilities' are vital to any society and individual. Everyone is mobile in some way, or in multiple ways. Many people rely on a car, train, bike, legs, or a combination of those, for their daily commute, shopping, social visits or recreation. The increasingly mobile society is thus more and more affected by interesting aspects of mobilities: externalities. Examples of 'externalities'[1] include: exhaust fumes, traffic injuries and deaths, noise, but also more abstract forms as inequality in access, a burden of mobility and increased costs of mobility. Depending on the modality, usage, place, user or else these can differ in impact. This is not new, although some might sound more familiar than others. How mobilities are used, perceived, and how processes involved take shape is vital in understanding these externalities, when and why they become a problem. Policies have been developed, pleas have been made, individual actions have been taken to act on these perceived problems. These are familiar attempts which include emission regulations, fuel taxation, speed limitations, parking fees, Public Transportation [PT] grants, safety regulations, 'car-free Sunday', awareness campaigns, road rules and many more. In some way or another these externalities and policies affect equality, deliberately or not.

A society, situation or alternative can be more or less equal. Less equal situations are often perceived as less just than more equal ones. However, even when a situation is not equal it still can be just. To be able to examine such a statement a concept of social justice is needed. Therefore it is useful to know what social justice is, and how it should be applied to a mobilities context. Because no universal standard for justice is known, this thesis will look at possible interpretations of social justice which can be used. Since spatiality is inherent to human society and mobilities are used to cope with space, it is necessary to account for space in order to discuss social justice in mobilities. Once an understanding of social justice is gained space has to be taken into account. Space is an important element in understanding justice in mobilities. Spatial justice is a concept that in recent years has been developed. Although useful work has been done in this upcoming field, essential theoretical notions are still lacking. In order to provide an increased understanding of the value and range of spatial justice the concept will be further developed and applied to mobilities.

---

[1] 'Externalities' is a concept originally used in economics to describe all effects of an action not transmitted through in the price of a product. It is used here to describe all effects of mobility which are not accounted for by the user(s) of mobility. Whether an externality is negative or positive would be defined by the perception of those who define it.

In the Netherlands mobility is a very relevant societal issue. Not only are many of the externalities caused by mobilities very palpable due to a high population density, also the large Dutch economy and population are highly dependent on mobilities. Historically, within the Dutch society a very strong civil society has been formed in general and in the field of mobility interest representation. The organisations active in this field represent groups of individuals of Dutch citizens with common traits or interests. This representation of mobility interests is aimed at affecting mobility policies. These organisations are often originally founded due to specific needs, inequalities or injustices as perceived by the founders at the time. Some of them are only aimed at mobilities while others are active in other fields as well. A large part of the Dutch population is represented through such organisations. These organisations are active in relaying interest from their members to mobility policies. In doing so they affect the justice situation.

The problems involved are manifold, yet the core is easy to grasp, whether in research or in spatial and mobility planning. My contention, and the main reason for the subject of this thesis, is that the conversion of an observed or perceived problematic to action is lacking from an understanding of the relation between mobilities, externalities and justice. Improving[2] this conversion through a better understanding of aforementioned should lead to better informed research, policy recommendations and policies. This thesis will examine mobilities, externalities and justice in available literature, and develop existing concepts where needed. This helps establishing an understanding and a vocabulary needed to examine justice issues in mobilities. Furthermore, due to their role and their insight into the role of externalities in practice, mobility interest representation in the Netherlands will be examined. This should provide insight in the justice situation in mobilities in the Netherlands. The goal of this thesis is thus:

To gain insight in the relation in, and between, justice and mobilities, in order to improve research and policy recommendations regarding mobility issues.

By discussing and developing concepts pertaining to mobilities and spatial justice this thesis will provide mobilities researchers with a vocabulary pertaining mobilities and justice that enables better examination of processes related to mobilities that affect justice situations. At the same time it will provide a framework for more informed mobility policy decisions on

---

[2] Improvement in the sense that a greater awareness of the effects of policies on the justice situation is established.

spatial justice issues. Through an exploration of literature on mobilities and externalities, and an examination of the field of mobility interest representation regarding both externalities and the perceptions of justice in mobilities in the Netherlands this thesis provides insight into the justice situation in the Netherlands. The main research question is thus:

How is the problem of mobilities justice influenced by mobility interest representation in the Netherlands?

This has been examined by discussing mobilities and justice literature in order to establish a usable vocabulary. In discussing mobility, space, time, the goals of mobility, freedom, motility capital, social justice and spatial justice the required understanding is gained. In these discussions different views on the concepts are weighed and where needed the concepts are developed. The discussions on space and justice show the need to account for space in justice issues, the concept of social justice will be critically discussed and supplemented with space in order to account for the spatiality of mobility. Next the different forms of externalities are discussed, and illustrated using examples. In order to examine the justice situation and the particular perception of externalities and their manifestation in the Netherlands, representatives of mobility interest organisations have been interviewed. Supporting the answering of the research question these sub questions are thus formulated:

Chapter 2:

What are the relevant concepts concerning mobilities and how can they be defined?

What is justice and how can it be defined?

What are externalities and which are relevant?

Chapter 3:

How are mobility interests represented in the Netherlands?

Chapter 4:

How is justice in mobilities regarded and affected by mobility interest organisations?

1.1 Methodology

When conducting research it is important to be aware of the perspective you, as a researcher, have. This perspective is based on assumptions on ontology and epistemology and thus affects *what* the researcher thinks he or she can research and *how* he or she can research this. The research builds on these assumptions. The methods chosen, the questions asked and the explanations deemed acceptable: these and more depend on these views. Collections of these views are often called paradigms. Throughout the history of Human Geography these paradigms, or approaches, have emerged and an impressive array is available with all sorts of variations of thought[3]. Despite this range of available approaches it is not easy, or always possible to 'pick' a fitting approach; especially because within every approach a multitude of interpretations exists. My scientific philosophy could cautiously be typified as a post-structuralist one. A view 'profoundly suspicious of anything that tries to pass itself off as a simple statement of fact, of anything that claims to be true by virtue of being 'obvious', 'natural', or based upon common sense' (Wylie, 2006, p. 289): this stance has been the initial cause for this research. A critical perspective on what was being passed off as obvious in mobilities literature sparked the start of this thesis: concepts as 'fairness' and measures of inequality being used, with little thought as to what they meant; as obvious, natural reasons to act, as justifications for change. A lot of the writing in this thesis is an attempt to explicate such fallacies. Another property which could be typified as one fitting post-structuralism is the anti-essentialist view underlying this thesis. Although at times I was reluctant to commit to definitions and assumptions, probably due to a constantly present sceptical and subjectivist inclination, certain starting points are needed. As Peperzak (2003) wrote: '... reason cannot prove its own beginnings. At least some beliefs, perceptions, feelings must be accepted before we can begin arguing. In order to avoid arbitrariness, we must find out which basics, instead of being 'subjective' in the subjectivist sense of the word, are so fundamental that they deserve our respect and even trust' (p. 3). In order to get an indication of these basic fundamentals this thesis sets out with a thorough discussion of concepts, while continuing to doubt the meanings given throughout the process. This is also reflected in the interviews held: all started out with discussions on definitions, aimed at finding out what the participants' perspective was. Throughout the interviews the views of actors involved played an important role. The idea that 'meaning and identity are effects rather than causes' (Harrison, 2006, p. 122) is something heavily reflected in the discussions on socially constructed space and

---

[3] For a comprehensive overview of approaches see Aitken & Valentine (2006).

discourse. The constant awareness of discourse and the consequences of this awareness is further reflected in the implicit importance given to influence in the definition of justice as well as in the empirically examined representation.

1.2 Methods

The methods used to conduct the research for this thesis can be divided into two types: literature research and empirical research. It thus combines exploratory literature research with qualitative research in the form of in-depth interviews with relevant experts/actors. The literature research consisted of three types relevant during the research. Firstly exploring the topics, mobilities and spatial justice, required taking in a lot of different texts from many authors in these fields. Many of which will not be referred to in this thesis because they have proven to be irrelevant. They were useful in defining the precise subject though. Part of the preparatory process was also the writing of two papers on related topics[4]. These helped greatly in discovering what routes to take, and very important: what routes not to take. This thorough preparation enabled the second type of literature research. In this phase the relevant texts were thoroughly read and analysed in respect to each other, providing the basis for the discussion and development of the concepts in chapter one. The abundance of relevant citations retrieved from these texts were critically selected depending on their potential contribution in describing the concepts and providing a broad, yet deep, understanding of these concepts as they are used in the respective academic fields. During the writing process new texts would regularly come to my attention due to references in texts, new insights or due to the regular search for new articles or ones that have previously eluded discovery. The literature used in this phase was mostly available through the Radboud University library and online journal archives. The third type of literature research was performed while investigating the mobility interest organisations. This involved acquiring and interpreting documents revealing the nature of the organisations like statutes but also documents providing insight in their capabilities and actions. These documents were sometimes publicly available or upon request while others were only available after gaining the trust of the respective interviewee. Documents acquired this way would usually be accompanied with the request to be careful in citing from them.

---

[4] The topics were: 'Foucauldian bordering: the car mobility system' for the course 'Cross Border Governance' and 'Spatial Justice in the mobilities Turn' for the course 'Our common ground'. Both courses were attended at the Radboud University Nijmegen. Papers available at request.

1.3 Interviews

To obtain the information regarding the organisations representing mobility interests for each organisation one representative was interviewed. Concerning the structure of an interview three basic types of interviews can be identified: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Roulston, 2010). To clarify the choice made for a semi-structured interview for this thesis all three will be discussed. Structured interviews use a highly standardized interview script; the participant can pick their answers from a list made by the researcher. Because in this form the interviewers are advised not to deviate from the script this presents problems when participants do not understand a question, or interpret it differently (Roulston, 2010). Semi-structured interviews use a prepared interview guide with a number of, usually open-ended, questions. After each question the interviewer can follow up the question, aimed at obtaining more detail or elaboration on the answer given (Roulston, 2010). The interview guide does provide the same starting point for each interview but each interview can vary depending on the answers and follow up question (Roulston, 2010). This type of interviewing requires the interviewer to have 'highly developed listening skills to be able to both ascertain whether the research topics have been addressed by the interviewee, and when and how it is appropriate to follow up on accounts given' (Roulston, 2010, p. 15). Unstructured interviews do not use an interview guide and are conducted in the form of unscheduled, possibly spontaneous, conversations for example during field work (Roulston, 2010). Although a paper guide is absent the interviewer can have certain topics in mind and can steer conversations towards these topics (Roulston, 2010). These conversations are less predictable than structured and semi-structured interviews and because both speakers can introduce topics, which may not be of interest to the researcher, the interview might not be relevant for the research (Roulston, 2010). This method is likely to require multiple interviews to discuss all research topics and thus more time and availability of researcher and participants.

To conduct the interviews for this thesis semi-structured interviews were conducted. The nature of the topics and the intent to gain insight in the perception of participants on issues involved it was essential to be able to adjust the order of topics and to be able to ask follow up questions. Follow up questions were required to explore the familiarity of the participant with the topic and the perspective on the matter. Because beforehand it was unknown how familiar respondents were with specific concepts it could be necessary to explain topics. In some cases these questions were designed to stimulate a participant to explore a topic, follow up questions were used to direct the participants in the desired direction. The interviews were prepared and conducted using the Socractic-Hermeneutic

interviewing method as described by Dinkins (2005), as a type of phenomenological interviewing. This type involves a dialogue in which 'focus is moved away from the "respondent" in the interview, toward a shared dialogue focused on the reflections of both the interviewer and interviewee as they share ideas, listen, and reflect together... (Dinkins, 2005, p. 128) which as Dinkins discusses is presumably not often used because assumed to 'lead' the interviewee. However, Dinkins shows using multiple angles that this is no more the case than in other interview types. Following this method the participants was asked for their definitions of, and perspectives on, concepts. Furthermore in this shared dialogue participants was, where appropriate, asked about awareness of the implications and consequences of their opinions. Also in some cases answers would be rephrased and the respondent would be asked for confirmation to find out whether the answer was interpreted correctly. Explicitly involving, and starting with, a discussion on the definitions of the concepts involved provides a range of advantages according to Dinkins (2005): no prejudices or assumptions concerning the concepts are provided, the answers are likely to provide plenty of potential follow up questions; it is required to know what is being discussed to know what is being answered and differing answers, between participants, might be based in different understandings or values concerning the concepts involved. In the resulting interviews thus the definitions, ideals and practice were discussed. Following Heldens & Reysoo (2005) in the set up of the interviews the different stages (uncertainty, exploration, cooperation and participation) of an interview were carefully accounted for in order to ensure reaching the two final stages in which participants would share and actively and willingly contribute to a fruitful discussion.

The participants were selected after selecting the organisations. In most cases a preferred participant was selected before contacting the organisation with the request. One potential participant[5] declined an interview due to a lack of time. The others who were selected and approached agreed to participate. All participants were active in representation of mobility interests in name of their respective organisation. The participants were, in the order of the interviews:

Geert Hendriks, senior policy officer at Veilig Verkeer Nederland[6]
Frank Twiss, advisor Public Affairs at Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB[7]
Michael van der Vlis, chair of the board of Vereniging Reizigers Openbaar Vervoer[8]

---

[5] Henk Verhagen, co-ordinator Home, Travel, Transport at the Consumentenbond (Consumers Union; my translation) and representative for this organisation in the LOCOV.
[6] Dutch Traffic Safety Association; my translation, hereafter VVN.
[7] Royal Dutch Tourist Association ANWB; my translation, hereafter ANWB.

Miriam van Bree, head of department of 'advocacy and research' at the Fietsersbond[9]

Janny Lagendijk, senior policy officer 'mobility and accessibility' at the Chronisch Zieken en Gehandicapten Raad[10]

Klaas Wierda, policy officer 'living and mobility' at the Protestants Christelijke Ouderenbond[11] and representative for the Centrale Samenwerkende Ouderenorganisaties[12]

All interviews were held in Dutch, being the native language of all participants and the interviewer (me); this provided the best means of communicating. Concepts with no existing Dutch translation were translated by me and where necessary clarified during the interviews. Since the interviews were held in Dutch the citations used are translated, and paraphrased if needed. Before each interview the participants were provided with a short, written, introduction of the thesis topic and the goal of the interview and topics. The interview guide was amended to fit each organisation. After each interview the guide and the interview were evaluated and lessons learned were applied, resulting in slight adjustment of the guide after each interview. Of course the knowledge gained in between interviews affected the discussions in later interviews. The written introduction and interview guide will be provided as appendix B and C. At the start of each interview a short introduction of the thesis, the background of the interviewer and the goal of the interview was given. Participants was asked to introduce themselves, their profession and organisation as well. Permission to record the interviews was asked, and permitted, by email. All interviews were thus recorded and the original recordings will be provided as appendix D to ensure optimal verification. The interviews took between 1.5 to 2.5 hours. In one case the participant beforehand stated to have less than 1,5 hours available due to a busy schedule; in this case some of the questions were provided per email before the interview and the answers were used during the interview for follow up questioning. The interview took about 1,5 hours. Some participants noted that their answers might not represent the official stance of their organisation; this was duly noted and accounted for when processing the results.

1.4 Limitations

Despite useful insights can be gained through this research I am aware that certain limitations are inevitable, some more visible than others. First and foremost: the use of the

---

[8] Association Travellers Public Transportation; my translation, hereafter ROVER.
[9] Cyclists Union; my translation.
[10] Council of the Chronically ill and disabled Netherlands; my translation, hereafter CG-raad.
[11] Protestant-Christian Elderly Union; my translation, hereafter PCOB.
[12] Central Cooperating Organisations of the Elderly; my translation, hereafter CSO.

results obtained cannot be detached from the specific discussions contained in this thesis. The research is aimed at describing a small part of a much larger social context which, due to sheer complexity, cannot be described within a single thesis. It also will, due to flexibility and fluency of this context have changed by the time you are reading this. Although these are limitations that affect most sociological research, this thesis is more vulnerable because this changing context is partially the object of research. Also the researcher cannot be seen independent from this context. Thus, and through interaction with the participants, the object of study is changed due to this research. Furthermore this research is in large part formed by my own subjectivity and implicit assumptions which, undoubtedly, will be noticed by the reader.

1.5 Relevance

Mobilities plays an important role in our society, many argue an increasingly important role. This importance is due to the central role mobilities play in social life. In designing and choosing between mobility policy alternatives, ranging from spatial planning to road pricing instruments to public awareness campaigns, it is important to have insight in the effects on the justice situation in order to make an informed choice for or against certain policy directions. Without a concept of spatial justice and insight in the effects of policies and practices on the justice situation this is not possible. In the current scholarly debate, and policy recommendations resulting from it, on mobilities, its externalities and inequalities, the spatial justice perspective needed to provide this insight is currently lacking. This results in suboptimal policies, and policy recommendations. Results of decisions might not reflect their intentions, and thus have undesired effects. By examining externalities and processes underlying inequalities insight in the spatial and social justice situation will be gained and decisions will fit the intentions better. Although this might not necessarily contribute to effectiveness of policies it does enable those who design and implement policies to have a clearer aim at their goals.

The thesis covers two fields of research: spatial justice and mobilities. Spatial justice is under development as a concept, developed from the lack of a spatial component in the concept of social justice, in critical urban geography. In mobilities literature a turn to make mobility central to all sociological research is underway (Kloppenburg, 2005) while at the same time solutions are proposed for inequalities caused by, and in, mobilities. In critical urban geography it is spatial inequality that is the prime focus while in mobilities it is social inequality related to mobilities, which has a inherent spatial component, that is the focus. This

thesis will contribute to concept development in spatial justice literature by discussing the nature of social justice and space using a range of relevant ideas from social and spatial justice literature. By discussing important concepts from mobilities literature this thesis adds to the understanding of these concepts. By connecting these concepts to externalities it becomes possible to discuss the justice implications of externalities in an informed way. The application of the developed concept of spatial justice onto mobilities provides interaction between the two fields. This will benefit both fields because of the understanding gained. The concept of spatial justice will benefit because the discussion will provide it a theoretical basis and the application to mobility issues will highlight the spatial component of social justice. The mobilities debate will benefit from the concept of spatial justice because it allows improved examination of issues with externalities.

1.6 Structure

This thesis consists of five chapters. This is the last paragraph of the first chapter. The second chapter will examine the existing literature on mobilities and social and spatial justice. In discussing the interpretation, perceptions and use of concepts the theoretical underpinnings will be demarcated. These discussions will provide insight in how mobilities and justice are perceived in mobilities and justice literature. Moreover, in critically discussing these concepts the line of argumentation for and against the use of the different possible interpretations and foci will be provided. After this the perceptions on externalities in mobilities will be discussed using three categories of externalities. This will provide insight in what inequalities and processes are perceived in literature and it will provide an understanding of the role of mobilities in (re)production of (in)equalities. That concludes the second chapter. At this point it will have become clear that, in order to examine inequalities' injustice, it is vital to examine mobility interest representation. In support of this chapter three will explore the field of mobility interest groups in the Netherlands, describing the different organisations, their history, goals, the individuals they represent and the means they possess. The fourth chapter is the result of the interviews held and builds on the theoretical insights gained and information provided in the preceding chapters. The chapter provides insight in the perceptions of the different organisations on issues such as the goals of mobility, externalities, justice. The differences between organisations are highlighted as well as the way these organisations represent their target groups. In the final chapter the thesis will be concluded and recommendations will be provided.

Chapter 2: Mobilities, justice and externalities

2.1 Introduction

Mobilities literature itself has only recently, in the past ten years, been developing as sociologists like John Urry, Vincent Kaufmann, Peter Peters and others have started using mobilities as a lens to examine society. This proposed 'mobilities paradigm' due to a mobilities turn in sociology should encompass the 'diverse mobilities of peoples, objects, images, information and wastes' (Urry, 2000, p. 1) and how 'those actual and potential movements organise and structure social life' (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 212). Externalities and inequality are regularly discussed in mobilities literature yet notions of justice are lacking. The discussion on social justice starts using the work of John Rawls, Thomas Pogge and Thomas Nagel after which a transition to the work of Edward Soja, Peter Marcuse, Mustafa Dikeç and others on spatial justice will be made.

Within this literature a range of concepts and discussions on concepts are being described. Because the meaning of a concept or term is relevant for understanding what is meant by it, it is important to establish what a concept means, and what it does not mean. In order to understand these concepts their creation and interpretation is examined. Firstly mobility will be discussed. Then space and time and their relevance for mobility are discussed followed by a short discussion of the goals of mobility. Examining the role of freedom and motility capital lead up to a discussion on social justice. The inclusion of space in justice approaches is discussed in the paragraph on spatial justice. Finally an extensive work through of externalities and processes involved is provided.

2.2 Mobility

The first concept to examine is mobility itself. Given its use in several separate disciplines this concept definition needs unravelling; as Kaufmann (n.d.) notes:

'When a geographer uses the term 'mobility', s/he wants first to evoke the idea of *movement in a geographical space.* This is not talking about the same thing as the traffic engineer for whom mobility refers to *transport flows*, or the sociologist for whom it refers to *change of social position or role'* (p. 41).

In an attempt to bring the different views from different disciplines closer together Sager (2006) states that 'mobility is created by overcoming friction measured as physical distance, costs or other variables indicating inertia or resistance' (p. 467). However, in more detail Urry (2007) starts out with noting four main 'senses' of mobility used in mobilities studies. The first use is to describe a property of a person or an object; something that moves or is capable of movement. The second refers to mobility that poses a threat in the form of a mob; due to its mobility it is seen as disorderly and potentially dangerous. The third sense considers upward or downward social mobility[13]. The fourth sense separates a category of movements from the first; longer term types of migration, possibly in order to search for 'a better life' (p. 7-8). These senses globally provide categories of how mobility can be perceived.

Within the mobilities paradigm, mobilities, in the first sense of mobility, are interpreted as various kinds and temporalities of physical movement, ranging from standing, lounging, walking, climbing, dancing, to those enhanced by technologies, of bikes, buses, cars, trains, ships, planes, wheelchairs, crutches … Also included are movement of images and information … as well as virtual movement … (Urry, 2007, p. 8; Featherstone, 2004; Kellerman, 2006; Adey, 2010). Inclusion of social mobility, the third sense, has been argued by Kaufmann (2002). Between the former and the latter a difference can be made in property of the described event: the first range of events all portray a spatial movement of actors or matter, the second portray socio-economic movement. The latter does often involve spatial movement as well status change of the subject, and as Kaufmann (2002) argues, social and spatial aspects should be integrated in studying mobilities, but the inclusion of social mobility in the definition of mobility itself seems nothing more than a semantic mix-up originating from the disparity in historical concept use between social and spatial sciences. No valid argumentation that shows otherwise has been presented. For the purpose of this thesis the concept of mobility will thus not include social mobility, either horizontal or vertical.

In order to be able to separate actual movement from the potential of movement Kaufmann (2002) introduced the concept of motility; '*the way in which an individual appropriates what is possible in the domain of mobility and puts this potential to use for his or her activities*' (p. 37). Specifying this somewhat vague definition Kaufmann includes that;

---

[13] Intragenerational and intergenerational change of social position; for example getting a higher paid job than ones parents or than before.

'... motility is comprised of all the factors that define a person's capacity to be mobile, whether this is physical aptitude, aspirations to settle down or be mobile, existing technological transport and telecommunications systems and their accessibility, space-time constraints (location of the workplace), acquired knowledge such as a driver's licence, etc,' (p. 38). In the paragraph on motility capital this will be elaborated on.

Although used consistently in the citations above, sometimes movement and mobility[14] are used interchangeably and sometimes a clear distinction is made. Cresswell (2006) describes movement as 'the general fact of displacement before the type, strategies and social implications of that movement are considered' (p. 3) whereas mobility refers to socially produced motion (p. 3). For Cresswell the way we experience mobility and the effects this has on how mobility is represented are part of this socially produced motion next to the actually movement. Next to actual movement Cresswell argues that representation of movement in society, 'in film or law, medicine or literature' (p. 3), serves the purpose of making sense of this movement. This, and the practiced and embodied mobility (p. 4) on which the representations are based, is how actual mobility is perceived. The influence that representation and the experience of mobility have on mobility discourse[15] can thus have an influence on how inequalities or injustices are experienced and reacted upon. As Manderscheid (2009) remarks, the discursive embedding of movement can privilege some and disregard others and their social position (p. 40), which could be cause of unwanted inequalities.

Peters (2005) argues for the use of the terminology of passages and projects for better examination of mobilities. His description also attaches a value to travel independent of movement. Travel can be thought of as:

'… the active construction of passages as spatio-temporal orders in at least three ways: creating heterogeneous orders, planning and repairing these orders *en route*, and finally including and excluding people, places and times from these orders' (p. 405).

Peters (2005) thus describes a movement, every movement, as a passage, and every passage as oriented towards realising the spatial displacement required to get to a place, or a project (more on projects below). A passage is something that is 'created, maintained, and

---

[14] In some cases movement is considered mobility while mobility is considered motility, as Sager (2006) does. Since no conceptual difference is made, this is irrelevant and considered semantic confusion.
[15] Discourse 'defines both what *can* and what *cannot* be said or done, what appears to be true, legitimate or meaningful and what is dismissed as false, deviant or nonsensical' (Wylie, 2006, p. 304).

justified' (p. 406) and has to be studied within its context. This creation, maintenance and justification of passages can 'be defined as the ordering of heterogeneous entities in such a way that a situated relation between time and space is produced' (Peters et al., 2010, p. 354). This observation further adds to the notion of a social embedding of mobility and its potential implications. For example; 'cars and bicycles do not move in an empty time-space, but in a densely shared traffic landscape, as in a Dutch city, their passages are related' (Peters et al., 2010, p 354). To further explore this embedding, and begin to understand how mobility is embedded first an understanding of space has to be gained.

2.3 Space

Mobility takes place in space, which can be perceived in different ways. Because of this it is important to determine what space is and its relation to mobility. This paragraph therefore first determines what space and place are before moving on to discussing space and its implications for mobility and inequalities. Some authors maybe use space and place interchangeably while others specifically define both to make a point.

A historical starting point in the perception of space is that of Euclidian space. Euclidian space is space seen as an empty arena or a container in which spatial process and relations are enacted (Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 1993; Gieryn, 2000). This 'isotropic' or 'infinite' space was a concept of space which was mathematically defined (Lefebrvre, 1991) and conceived as independent from social life. This *contextual* space (Soja, 1980) thus provides an 'inappropriate and misleading foundation upon which to analyze the concrete and subjective meaning of human spatiality' (p. 209-210). Soja continues by recognising that 'space itself may be primordially given, but the organization, use, and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation and experience (p. 210). Therefore a view of space as *created* space is more appropriate. In his 'The production of space' Lefebvre (1991) argues for seeing space as socially constructed and he presents a conceptual triad for doing so; spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces. 'The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space ... produces it... (p. 38). Spatial practices can be revealed by deciphering this space (p. 38). As 'people's perceptions condition their daily reality with respect to the usage of space: for example, their routes, networks, patterns of interaction that link places set aside for work, play and leisure' (Merrifield, 1993, p. 523) it becomes clear that space is formed by practice. These are Simmel's paths created by those walking on them, the roadspaces created by car users (Urry, 2007) in the daily practice of mobilities. On the other hand representations of space are discursively formed by 'scientists, planners, urbanists,

technocratic subdividers and social engineers ... all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived' (p. 38). Lefebvre continues to identify this conceived space as 'the dominant space in any society' (p.39). In this space spatial and mobility policies are formed and from this space they affect the potential of practice and representational space, or lived space. This space is experienced through the complex symbols and images of its users (p. 38); it consists of imagery in imagination, symbols and signs as for example discussed by Peters (2006) and Urry (2007) when discussing the representation of car usage in culture. Soja (2010) argues these three spaces 'open up new ways of interpreting what he [Lefebvre] would call the (social) spatiality of human life'(p. 102). Or in other words, understanding the reproduction of space, studying the interaction between social life and space, offers ways to understand society better.

So up till now we can recognise physical space and social space, but how are differences created within space? A vital property of space, social and physical, and place is the inherent unevenness, as Soja (2010) remarks, 'just as there are always some variations between individuals in their sociohistorical development' (p. 71). In discussing space and inherent differences within the concept of place Gieryn (2000) lays out three ground rules on the definition of place: geographic location, material form, and investment with meaning and value. Geographic location as a property of a place suggests the uniqueness of a particular place and insinuates an importance of physicality. Although a place thus has to be somewhere overlap can exist: 'a place could be your favorite armchair, a room, a building, a neighborhood, district, village, ... state, nation, continent ...' or less clearly bordered; 'a forest glade, the seaside, a mountain top' (Gieryn, 2000, p. 464). A space can thus have a clear demarcation, but a space is not a place for the sake of demarcation. Gieryn critiques the use of places in cases where they are merely used to demarcate a certain area for statistical use, for analytic utility: 'place is not merely a setting for a backdrop, but an agentic player in the game – a force with detectable and independent effects on social life' (Werlen, 1993 cited by Gieryn, 2000, p. 466). Not only is a place somewhere; it is also something. A place has physical form. It might be an object or a compilation of objects, possibly in its surroundings. In the case of digital places this still holds, as physical infrastructure and servers are required to create the space, even though this physicality might not be, consciously, part of the place for an actor. Moreover, as Gieryn (2000) remarks: 'social processes (difference, power, inequality, collective action) happen through the material forms that we design, build, use, and protest' (p. 465). So the material form is instrumental in conducting effects of social processes. Differences or inequalities in society are thus expressed in the material form of

15

places, such as for example in infrastructure as highways, parking spots or cycling lanes. The third aspect that makes something a place is the meaning or value that is attributed to a certain space; places are 'interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined' (p. 465) and 'a sense of place is not only the ability to locate things on a cognitive map, but also the attribution of meaning to a built-form or natural spot' (p. 472). This means that next to the inherent materiality of a place, which is relatively stable, place is actually labile, flexible and contested. Because when place is determined by social outcomes rather than a objective spatial given it is determined by those with power in social life. In fact, even this definition is a result of a social process in which academia are attributed a certain power to define this concept.

From the above it becomes clear that power relations are important in creating or producing space and place. For mobilities this means not only that social processes determine which spaces or places are worthwhile to travel to but also what space and time, money and resources[16] are available for different modes of mobility. Although different actors can attribute different meanings to places and mobility, path dependency, spatial material fixity and other actors' choices do directly impact on the potential range of decisions an individual can make in both the long and short term[17]. So even though an individual can attribute different meaning[18] to a space, in a society individuals are thus largely dependent on what possibilities it provides to be mobile, influencing possibilities and costs to be mobile. So not only do material and social space influence motility and mobility but the influences also work the other way around, or as simple as Löfgren (1995) states it; 'movement constitutes spaces' (p. 359-360). Hilti (2009) argues in line with Simmel (Urry, 2007) that 'daily actions and daily paths take place in a certain space and therefore generate space as such' (p. 150). Soja takes it one step further: 'urban society is inherently spatial and that spatial forms actively shape social processes just as much as social processes shape spatial form' (Soja, 2010, p. 169).

This is in line with what Soja (2010) argues; namely 'that space is filled with politics and privileges, ideologies and cultural collisions, utopian ideals and dystopian oppression, justice and injustice, oppressive power and the possibility for emancipation (p. 103). As Castells (1979) describes it: it is a 'material product, in relation with other material elements -

---

[16] More on this below. Important here is to realise that, most of, the different involved resources in mobilities, in the broadest sense of the word, are somehow influenced by society.

[17] For example: it is probably a bad idea to decide to cycle on a highway or to drive through an existing building.

[18] Or as Lefebvre(1991) puts it; 'a peasant does not perceive 'his' landscape in the same way as a town-dweller strolling through it' (p. 113-114).

among others, men, who themselves enter into particular social relations, which give to space (and to the other elements of the combination) a form, a function, a social signification' (p. 115). In the chapters on justice and representation through interest groups this line of thinking will be further explored.

First let us, shortly, return to the perspective of Peters (2005) in which passages have an independent value and in which movement can be a project by itself a passage or movement can be regarded as a 'place'. This view is supported by Kaufmann (2002):

'The use of Marc Augé's 'non-places' is completely symptomatic of this tendency. Ritually cited as proof of the disappearance of territories, this work in effect contraposes the idea of places as social, historical and identity references with non-places, which are defined as non-social, non-historical and non-identity, which cannot be related to and are non-historic … to the fact that places of mobility can perfectly well be references in relational terms, and even in terms of identity, through memory especially' (p. 12). So rather than simply viewing mobility as the destruction of time and/or space[19], as illustrated in figure 1, a more complex view is justified in which actors are able to use their ability to be mobile and actual mobility in order to re-arrange socio- and spatio-temporal orders.

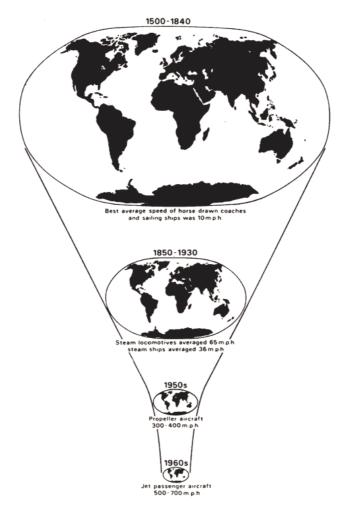[19] A common notion in literature on mobilities. See Kloppenburg (2009).

Figure 1: Time-Space compression (Harvey, 1989)

In the (re)production of social space and its interaction with mobilities places are thus created as well as 'destroyed'. More tangible is the example of a new highway that provides residents of a town to reach greater distances with more ease and less time. However, only places that are connected to the new highway by ramps are 'closer' in the perspective of the residents. The space unnoticeably crossed, and places within it, while travelling on the highway, effectively are removed from the social space the residents perceive. Places that are not connected but formerly reached by other means of transport, by bike for example, may become relatively farther away. At the same time the passage of the travel itself becomes a place. The journey by car, train, bus or on a bike becomes situated. The actor is both in space as a travelling object, one with its mode of transport, but the actor is also in a place while in the mode of transport (Sheller, 2004). Peters (2005) argues that the existence of these places, or passages in his words, are reason to reassess the way we look at travel and travel time.

2.4 Time

Mobility takes place in space but also in time. It is thus not only a way to negotiate space, but also to negotiate time given the spatiality. Because of this it is for mobility issues relevant how time is conceived since this influences the examination of these issues. Therefore it is important to know what time is, how it is perceived and how time is used by actors as a means to orient themselves, and their actions, in the world.
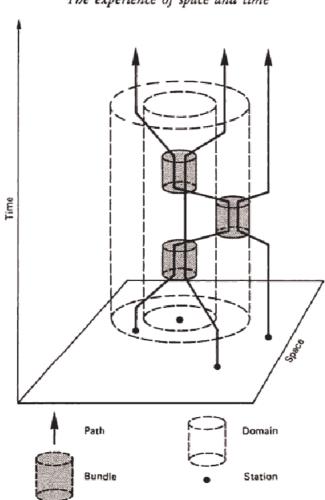
Time is primarily recognised in two forms, objective and subjective time[20]. As objective time it is assumed that time simply exists, with or without human presence or observation. This objective time can be measured and quantified with instruments and timescales. Subjective time is time as it is perceived or experienced by an actor, independently from objective time. The valuation of time by the actor can thus differ per actor or even per moment. To relate time to space, 'the time-geographic approach captures the spatial and temporal sequence and co-existence of events by using a 'dynamic map' to represent the path of an individual in motion over space and through time' (Parkes & Thrift, 1980, p. 245). Following the work of Hägerstrand (1970) this motion over space and through time is limited by three primary types of constraints: capability, coupling and authority constraints:

- *Capability constraints* limit the activities of individuals because of their biological construction (e.g. need for food and sleep) and/or the tools which they can command. Tools extend the individuals capability to use space-time.
- *Coupling constraints* define when, where and for how long an individual has to join other individuals, tools and materials in order to produce, consume and interact.
- *Authority constraints* impose limited access to either space locations or time locations through rules and regulations.

Figure 2 shows an example of a time-space prism that depicts the limitations following from the constraints for a hypothetical actor. The bundles depicting this 'objective time' spent, travelling or being at a location show the (potential) range of the individual. This is different for a person walking, cycling or using a car. The constraints would for example affect someone's capability to walk large distances (especially when physically handicapped

---

[20] Following dualistic views on time from philosophy from Henri Bergson, *temps* and *durée,* Martin Heidegger, *Zeit* and *Dasein,* and others. For the purpose of this thesis it is sufficient to accept to we can at least accept that we can *think* objective time exists, without delving too far into Immanuel Kant's work.

or due to old age), to travel at certain times (when employment requires attendance at during a specific timeframe or when dependent on public transportation), or to use certain modes of travel (due to lack of a drivers license due to age limitations). Equally applicable for other modes of transport, these time-space models thus provide a way to map mobility and motility and serve as an example of how thinking about time and space affects thinking about mobility.

The experience of space and time

Figure 2: Time-Space graph (Parkes & Thrift, 1980)

Critiquing these traditional notions of time is Peter Peters, who argues that in mobilities these perspectives lead to the idea that time can be gained by travelling faster. He argues that you can provide 'people faster travel by solving [mobility] design problems, but when these problems are solved the spatio-temporal order of a passage is changed and new *expectations* are raised' (Peters, 2003, p. 231; my translation). Thus he argues that time should be seen as a 'socio-temporal order'(p. 32; my translation) in which time is a social construct which is influenced by artefacts and practices. This 'historical, social, cultural time

20

is always intersubjective and is stored in artefacts and practices' (p. 32; my translation). These artefacts and practices thus provide ways for actors to influence the arrangement of time for their themselves and others, structuring their lives temporally. Artefacts and practices not only cover clocks but also discipline, household appliances (Peters, 2003) and train schedules (Urry, 2007).When time is considered as a social construct rather than objective or subjective, Peters argues, time can be seen 'as the product of the context' (p. 34; my translation) of a movement. This results in a different perspective on mobilities (Peters, 2003), changing the vocabulary[21] used to describe mobility problems. Thus instead of *how* a certain problem is to be solved it becomes about 'in which way concrete design solutions designed to solve the problem change the distribution of time, space and risk and how this change is legitimised' (p. 231; my translation). Here Peters hints on a different approach for dealing with externalities of mobilities and hints on justice issues; both will be discussed below.

Closely related to time is the role of speed in mobilities, like space and time: the way speed is perceived is relevant for decisions made regarding mobility. Concerning mobility, speed is a quality of a modality; each modality has a certain speed potential. This potential is a vital quality of a modality because it greatly influences the motility options a modality can present to an actor. It can be expressed in absolute speed (space 'overcome' per time unit) or in time spent on a movement. Baeten, Spithoven and Albrechts (2000) argue that mobility policies in Belgium are dominated by the primacy of speed; Peters (2003) argues this is the case for the Netherlands as well. However, as shown by a range of authors despite increasingly large distances being covered the time spent travelling the past decennia population-wide does not increase (Urry, 2007). According to Peters (2005) this creates a dilemma since this would mean that there would be no need to increase travel speed (to decrease travel time). In his reasoning Peters ignores the way users evaluate mobility options. The question is whether or not humans have a preference for speed or reduction of travel time, which according to Lyons & Urry (2005) they do. Following Peters' reasoning it is likely that actors will still follow Albertine's path[22] because it is not absolute speed but relative speed that creates her haste. But, by his reasoning, an upward change in speed in any modality will cause the described effect. So when redistributing speed, e.g. from car users to cyclists, this effect will cause a desire for more speed, following Peters' line of reasoning; and probably cause disproportionate discomfort for those who are slowed down. Even when no time is

---

[21] For a detailed account of Peters reasoning on vocabularies read 'De haast van Albertine' (p. 232-237).
[22] They will choose for a increase in speed. See Peters' *De haast van Albertine: Reizen in de Technologische Cultuur: Naar een Theorie van Passages* for an elaboration of this example.

gained, more speed serves internal and external goals such as the (mere) feeling of being faster (as compared to alternative modalities and others) and increased options in location choice for 'projects' (Peters, 2003; Kellerman, 2006; Adey, 2010). Peters repeatedly (2003, 2005, 2010) argues that there is no time-gain because actors use the time gained to perform more/faster passages and/or more projects thus claiming that that 'striving for shorter travel times can only fail in the long run' (2005, p. 401). He ignores two things; the subjective valuation of time and speed by actors and the fact that mobility can also be about increased range of motion which provides an increase in choice (of home, work or recreational places). The latter also includes reduced social dependency in location choice, worth mentioning because one available project cannot simply replace another[23]. Even if a constant travel time exists some actors might prefer multiple faster, possible using different modalities, movements over a single movement, and a greater potential for splitting projects over multiple places can be realised. This brings us to the question; what are the goals of mobility? This will be dealt with in the following paragraph.

2.5 Goals of mobility

As it became clear above the motivation behind mobility is important in examining which design-solutions are preferable over others. Mobility as described above can have a range of goals and might have sub-goals. As space, time and speed are socially constructed, goals can also be socially constructed. Furthermore they can differ per actor, per passage, differing over time. Following Peters, Kloppenburg & Wyatt (2010) a goal of mobility can be called a 'project'. A project is a spatio-temporal order of 'clusters of acts, individuals and items necessary for the completion of any intention-inspired or goal-oriented behaviour' (Hägerstrand, 1973). Figure 3 shows a project marked in a time-space graph which is suggested to be spatially fixed. This is not necessary since passages and projects can overlap; a project can involve mobility and a passage can involve a goal.

---

[23] A project in this case being a specific family member or friend. It would, for example, not be sufficient to visit someone else's grandparent when creating a passage and project for visiting your grandparent.
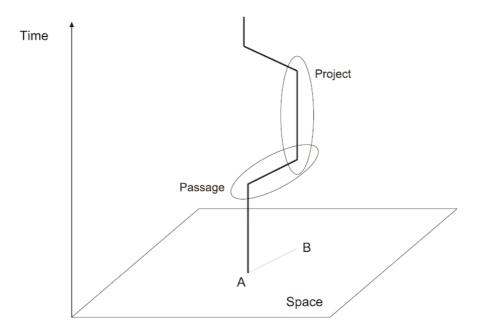
Figure 3: Time-space prism with indication clarifying 'project' and 'passage' (Peters et al. (2010)

A goal of mobility could thus be labelled as project or a passage but that does not fully answer why actors would want to engage in either. Although there could be a range of goals depending on the actor involved, and its subjectivity, the main goal of mobility is identified as co-presence. Or as Kaufmann (n.d.) put it:

'The importance of motility in the process of social integration stems most notably from the fact that despite the many ways we have of getting around, success is largely dependent on physical co-presence' (p. 60).

This follows from the conception that face-to-face interaction is the preferred method of communication (Boden & Molotch, 1994; Castells, 2000; Urry 2007). Urry (2007, 2008) notices an increase in mobility and an accompanying increasing influence of mobility systems on society which:

'… provide what we might call the infrastructures of social life. Such systems *enable* the movement of people, ideas and information from place to place, person-to-person, event to event, and yet their *economic, political and social implications* are mostly unexamined in social science' (Urry, 2007, p. 12; emphasis added).

This confirms the need for co-presence, as does Gieryn (2000) arguing that: 'places bring people together in bodily co-presence' (p. 276), since mobility is needed to get from one to the other 'place'. If mobility systems, and therefore motility, lack social exclusion can be caused as Baeten et al. (2000) note: 'a lack of mobility options is an important part of social exclusion' (p. 95; my translation). This is because co-presence, amongst other reasons, is needed to keep networks of social relations intact. Depending on the type of relationship that exists between actors a certain amount of contact is required. But next to co-presence other goals can exist. Urry (2007) lists a range of goals including: activities during travel, the pleasures of travelling itself, the movement through and exposure to the environment, the beauty of a route (p. 250). From Peters (2003) vocabulary of passages and projects it can be concluded that a passage can thus become a project, since the passage itself can become the goal of the travel. To be able to undertake these passages and projects, to be mobile an actor needs ways to realise mobility. This will be dealt with in the next paragraph.

2.6 Motility capital

When working towards examining justice in mobilities, it is important to be able to describe the good that is actually differentiating between actors. To use mobilities actors need to undertake action; as mentioned above this requires space and time, but also tools (like bicycles, cars, planes), skills (being able to walk, drive a vehicle, cycle, run), and a certain arrangement of space (having footpaths, roads or lacking obstructions). In mobilities literature several concepts are in use to describe this potential: motility, network capital and exchange. Concepts used in transport literature aimed at describing the good are accessibility and access. This paragraph discusses these concepts and aims at formulating a concept best suited to describe that what actually could be just.

The collection of motility for an actor can be described as motility capital, as compared to 'economic, cultural and social capital' although 'motility refers to both vertical and horizontal dimensions of social position' (Kaufmann, Bergman & Joye, 2004, p. 754; emphasis in original). This considered, it is argued that motility capital identifies 'a new form of social inequality' (p. 754). It must be noted that Kaufmann accentuates the potential divergence between motility and mobility due to conversion problems (from motility to mobility) caused by specific circumstances (Kaufmann, 2002, p. 55-56, p. 81), in which the individual is not able to freely choose between alternatives. This partially shows how Kaufmann recognises the influence of context on motility, as he explicates for morphology

and spatial planning (see p. 95). Urry (2007) uses the notion of motility capital as the basis[24] for his concept of network capital, which he defines as: 'the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit'(p.197). Urry thus explicitly involves the social network, as part of the context of mobility. Borrowing from Pierre Bourdieu[25] he proposes network capital as 'a distinct stratification order' (p. 197) sitting next to Max Weber's social class, status and party. It consists of eight elements covering a range of skills, attributes, material goods, spatial and social properties[26]. Motility capital is thus very specific to the individual, and can greatly differ between individuals regardless of social class or spatial location. It is hard to objectively value the different attributes within motility capital. Their value can depend on each other, individual preferences, spatial configuration and more. This makes it vital to consider individuals rather than groups when examining inequalities.

Manderscheid (2009) argues that because 'social inequality cannot be reduced merely by improving ... motility... [A]ctual and potential movements are not a capital of social value itself but rather a crucial mechanism within the reproduction of inequality (p. 35-36). Although slightly downplaying the importance of network capital as seemingly proposed by Urry this is in line with Kaufmann's view on motility as creating inequality and Urry (2007) reckons that it is the social consequences of mobility rather than mobility itself that provide potential for inequality. Peters (2005) proposes the concept of exchange to describe the resources an actor can have 'to make changes in the spatiotemporal order of related processes in *real time*'[27] (p. 410). Using case studies and examples he argues that exchange can consist of money, capacity ('in all its varieties' (p. 410) expressed in spatiotemporal units), anticipation, knowledge and experience, having information technologies at one's disposal, risk and authority (2005, p. 410-411). Thus it is used by Peters (2005) and Peters et al. (2010) to describe the possibilities of actors to create passages and projects, and to maintain and adjust them if needed. More than Kaufmann and Urry, Peters et al. address the interaction and

---

[24] Although he carefully discusses motility and network capital in such a way as to make network capital seem more original.

[25] On economic and cultural capital, see 'Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste'. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

[26] For a full list see Urry (2007, p. 197-198).

[27] Peters (2005) makes a point of exchange being decisive in the ability to repair a spatiotemporal order rather than available clock time. Following his own reasoning and examples this is simply false, instead time is in fact a form of exchange itself, since passages don't have fixed time slot and thus the passage itself and events within the passage can be moved around in time. Furthermore in Peters et al. (2010) they write: Time is not the only resource that can be used to create room for manoeuvre in passages' (p. 19).

consequences of events in and between passages and projects, yet the former do not exclude these influences from their concepts.

These three concepts thus are dependent on a range of qualities, of the actor and the spatial and social surroundings. As Manderscheid (2009) notes, these qualities are not 'randomly distributed'. Not only do historically and socially constructed qualities influence an actor but also physical and mental properties can greatly influence an actor's potential, posing mobility problems for those for whom the mobility system is least suited. As will be discussed below these can include the elderly, children, handicapped or the chronically ill. But also the ability to read a time schedule of public transportation or bus can be very influential (Urry, 2007; Kaufmann, 2010b).

Considering the above it might be concluded that motility, network capital or exchange, as it ultimately serves to enable mobility, solely derives value from this. However, Sager (2006) justly remarks that although mobility is commonly valued higher than potential mobility, according to him due to utility maximisation thinking in economics, the latter has an intrinsic value which could be called 'freedom'. After all, if an actor does not have a choice to be mobile or not, the experience of being forced the passage would most likely outweigh the passage itself. The next paragraph will deal more extensively with freedom and spatial autonomy.

2.7 Freedom

This paragraph will explore the use and importance of freedom. Actors can be (im)mobile by choice or due to being forced or constrained. Whether an actor is (im)mobile by choice or not makes a difference for the interpretation of mobilities. The potential to be mobile provides a better insight in potential inequalities than actual mobility because of this. Moreover, freedom is relevant when examining inequality in mobilities because it can be used to identify whether and how one actor's mobility is restraining other's motility or mobility. Below the concept of freedom will be discussed in relation to mobilities. So what is freedom in the context of mobilities? As a starting point let us follow Sager (2006) in seeing freedom as self-determination: where 'self-determination is … the right or opportunity of individuals to make choices so as to be in charge of their own fates' (p. 466). Sager (2006) works from this definition to make the distinction between negative freedom and positive freedom. The first meaning that one 'enjoys protection from encroachment ... [or] the absence of restraints that one person may exercise over another' (p. 467), in short expressed as the freedom *from*, while the second aims at the possibilities an actor has 'to realise a desired state of affairs' (p.

468) expressed in 'alternative bundles of 'functionings' that a person may be able to achieve' (p. 468), or the freedom *to*. Whereas one can disagree over what becomes a restraint or possibility[28] the general distinction serves to distinguish between restraining externalities in mobilities.

Within the mobilities literature mobility is commonly regarded as a positive influence on an actor, for example Bauman (2000) notes; 'people who move and act faster … are now the people who rule' (p. 119). Mobility as a positive attribute is thus often recognised as directly improving the lives of those who are mobile as well as affecting power-relations in favour of the mobile (Baeten, 2000; Peters, 2003; Urry, 2007) However, this does not mean that in all cases mobility is a positive thing; this is because actors can be forced to be mobile. A good example is people fleeing from natural disasters, war, poverty, starvation or other potentially deadly causes. Although they enjoy the positive freedom to move, which is certainly lacking for many (Bartlett, 2009), they realistically have no choice because the alternatives have prohibitively grave consequences. As such mobility is far from a sign of freedom or empowerment for these actors and as such it exemplifies the importance of discerning between motility and mobility. In less extreme cases a lack of freedom is also relevant. Take for example waiting time in public transportation or long travel times. Although actors might enjoy or find uses for waiting time or travel time[29] Sager (2006) argues that 'transport involving too long distances in time and space, compared to what is found reasonable, affects freedom of choice negatively' (p. 470). As illustrated by the phrase 'what is found reasonable' the stance of actors towards, and the implications of waiting and travel time can differ depending accepted practices within the given social construct of a society, or subcultures within society. This works two ways; an actor can decide that certain temporal configuration of a passage is unacceptable for him/herself and society can 'decide' a certain temporal configuration is (un)acceptable. In case these do not coincide this means society can expect actors to accept undesired temporal properties of their passage(s). This could for example by expressed by speed limitations or (temporal) traffic zoning.

Mobility can also function in enhancing freedom; following a classical economical line of reasoning Sager (2006) shows that motility can increase the 'choice set available ... [and thus] ... raise preference fulfilment to a higher level' (p. 470). Next to obvious limitations of this line of reasoning involving subjectivity and rational problems it must be realised that

---

[28]As MacCallum (1967) questions: Consider a man who is not free because, although unguarded, he has been locked in chains. Is he unfree because of the presence of the locked chains, or is he unfree because he lacks a key? (p. 321)
[29] As Peters (2010) argues this should be considered a valid mobility choice.

choice maximisation should not be a goal by itself. Motility can generate expectations between individual actors or in society, creating a burden to move (Urry, 2007). Furthermore, reflecting Peters (2003, 2005, 2010) objections to (lines of reasoning which lead to) speed maximisation or travel time reduction, an actor might lack the rationale to refrain from increasing mobility. However, no proof exists that the positive effects of mobility, *for the actor itself*[30], are offset by negative effects of mobility in a situation of, rationality-bounded, free choice. Thus increasing the choice set (of projects) of actors by increasing mobility is not, inherently, bad. In fact because motility provides the positive freedom 'to choose between different ways of living ... [and enables] ... the pursuit of substantive opportunities (Sager, 2006, p. 470) more motility can thus be preferred over less.

The question rises if and how freedom is limited by society, or by social constructs within society. Affecting the freedom of an actor, his or her own freedom or someone else's freedom requires the power to do so. Power can be effected by affecting behaviour directly, by government or actions of other actors, or, more importantly according to Foucault (1984), by indirectly affecting how actors govern themselves. This is a precarious matter in a democracy. Since theoretically the power lies with the people, hence the demos, it would be the people that would be trying to govern themselves already. Although negative freedom is thus limited this is, admittedly to some degree[31], by choice. However, contemporary democracies do have a range of actors, such as state institutions, different levels of state, a multitude of organisations fully or partially subsidised and set up by the state or by private actors. These actors affect discourses in society and thereby how actors perceive what they can and cannot do. By internalising the norms created in discourse actors effectively govern themselves, as derived from Foucault's (1979) writings on Bentham's panopticon. These discourses thus act as a medium, transmitting and producing power, able to reinforce power but also able to undermine and expose it (Flyvberg & Richardson, 2002). It can thus be argued that the extent of self-determination, and thus freedom, is limited by the influence of discourse on actors.

Because discourse influences freedom, mobility and motility of actors it is important to know how discourse is influenced and created. In the case of mobilities specific systems influence discourse. Discourse is a collection of ideas, stances and practices which is constantly being (re)produced, adjusted, affected. Urry (2007) argues that because of the

---

[30] How mobility affects others will be discussed in the chapter on externalities.
[31] Since most inhabitants of democracies, realistically, do not actively choose to live in a democracy, most are born into one and by upbringing embedded into the system.

nature of societal organisation required for enabling, most forms[32] of, mobilities *mobility systems* are formed. A mobility system basically contains all social and material organisation required for enabling a certain kind of mobility. Urry (2007) bundles the descriptions of these systems around modalities, for example; the train mobility system, the car mobility system, and the air mobility system. For example: Urry (2007, 2008a, 2008b) argues the way the car mobility system is comprised has a very big influence on discourse, in such a way that it is self-reproducing and affirming. It thus is able to legitimate it's negative externalities, on which more below, while it thus facilitates a specific modality over others. This way discourse is affected in such a way that freedom to choose between modalities is affected due to this mobility system.

2.8 Social justice

Throughout history ideas on justice and fairness have been developed. A notable starting point for the purpose of this paragraph is Rawls' Theory of Justice (1971)[33]. Rawls argues that in order to decide what is an 'appropriate distribution of the benefits and burdens of social cooperation' (p. 4) a thought experiment has to be conducted. By letting individuals, or rather hypothetical rational actors representing individuals, decide on how the social institutions[34] are to be arranged from an 'original position', in which 'no one knows his place in society, his class position or social status, nor does anyone know his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence, strength, and the like' (Rawls, 1971, p. 12), the process to arrive at a just social order is formulated. The point of this process is to reach 'an agreement that takes equal account of the interests of all individuals who are to live under this social order' (Pogge, 2007, p. 66). Rawls thus argues that this process would result in a concept of a 'basic structure'[35] of society in which 'the worst-off participant is better off than the worst-off participant under any practicable alternative social order' (Pogge, 2007, p. 68). Note how this does not mean that a totally equal situation has to be achieved in order for justice to be achieved. Also it must be noted that the approach does not take into account historically formed structures and it does not take transitional problems into account. Interesting is the choice to subject social institutions or, slightly more narrow, 'the basic

---

[32] Only forms that require a certain degree of organization and/or technology also require notable mobility systems.
[33] Far to extensive to explain in full here; see Pogge (2007) for a comprehensible summary.
[34] Rather than referring to 'collective institutions' Rawls uses this term to refer to 'practices and rules that structure relationships and interactions among agents' (Pogge, 2007, p. 28).
[35] 'The basis structure is 'the arrangement of major social institutions into one scheme of cooperation' (Rawls, 1971, p. 54) and as such 'compromises the main social institutions-the constitution, the economic regime, the legal order and its specifications of property' (Rawls, 2005).

structure' as the main influential object rather than actions, actors or other possible objects, to ethical scrutiny, among other things due to the recognised difficulties in realising moral agency on an individual level. This recognises the importance of discourse, as socially constructed, and how this contains elements affecting the 'social justice' situation. An important aspect of discourse is thus reflected in the potential of social institutions to mandate, authorise, engender or sufficiently deter burdens on individuals (Pogge, 2007). In Rawls' approach it is also a way of dealing with complexity of this social construct and the interdependencies of social institutions (Pogge, 2007). Secondly, in light of the discussion below it is also useful to note that Rawls' approach is based on individuals' well-being which aggregates to collective well-being.

Rawls conception of justice is, as Nagel (2005) argues, not derived from a comprehensive moral system and as such a political value. Therefore justice is an '*associative obligation*' (Nagel, 2005, p. 121). This means that obligations following from a conception of justice are limited to a, in this case Dutch, society[36]. Justice as discussed here is thus a form of socioeconomic justice and as such:

'It depends on positive rights that we do not have against all other persons or groups, rights that arise only because we are joined together with certain others in a political society under strong centralized control. It is only from such a system, and from our fellow members through its institutions, that we can claim a right to democracy, equal citizenship, non-discrimination, equality of opportunity, and the amelioration through public policy of unfairness in the distribution of social and economic goods' (Nagel, 2005, p. 127).

As such we can recognise rights of representation and (re)distribution, in which the extent of the (re)distribution is determined through representation. In this respect Miller (1999) rightfully argues that 'social justice has to do with the means of obtaining welfare, not with welfare itself' (p. 7), since 'between having access to a good and experiencing the well-being that may result there often stands a personal decision' (p. 7). This argument is comparable to the difference between mobility and motility. What follows from it is that the different valuations which actors can have of a good (maybe some form of motility capital) and its potential welfare (the passage realisable) are a complicating factor in generalising

---

[36] I will readily accept the need to exclude certain goods or rights from this presumption, see Nagel (2005, p. 126-127) and Hanisch (2007, note 47) for examples of 'prepolitical limits' and basic needs. However, discussing this is not relevant the purpose of this thesis.

mobility needs. Therefore 'the idea of social justice makes sense only if we assume there is a broad consensus about the social value of a range of goods, services, and opportunities' (Miller, 1999, p. 8). It would be needed to define what would generally be needed in the case of motility. There is no easy way to define a minimum motility need, although a useful concept has been developed in economics by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum; the capabilities approach. This approach aims at defining a list of needs which serves as a threshold needed for an individual to be 'a dignified free being who shapes his or her own life' (Nussbaum, 1999, p. 234). Instead of a 'preference-based' or a 'resource-based' approach[37] it aims at assessing quality of life using a list of capabilities. Interesting items from this list include: 'being able to move freely from place to place' and 'being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life[38]' but others also depend on mobilities in one form or another to be facilitated. The capabilities approach recognises the importance of people being *able to* rather than *to be*; so motility over mobility and influence on decision making rather than having certain criteria met. As such this aims at providing positive freedom, the ability *to*. Taking the above into account it becomes clear that the ability to affect political choices becomes important for individuals to have their interests taken into account. After all, the political choices decide on whether and how welfare, in this case motility, is (re)distributed.

So, if justice lies in taking equal account of the interests of those part of a social order, or society, and as such in the ability to partake in democracy the question becomes whether those involved have sufficient influence to affect the social institutions. The focus of injustice thus lies in processes rather than outcomes. Iris Marion Young[39] confirms this need to shift the focus 'from outcomes to processes and from assuring equality and fairness to respecting difference and pluralistic solidarity' (Soja, 2010, p. 78). This brings Rawls' idea on the relation between social justice and social institutions closer to practical use since attention is shifted 'to the production of injustices and the embeddedness of this production process in the social order (Soja, 2010, p. 74). Social injustice thus might be observed in outcomes, as discussed in the paragraph on externalities, but to determine whether a situation is truly unjust the influence of those affected has to be taken into account. A situation is thus not unjust on account of being unequal nor would it be just on account of being equal. Because of the

---

[37] The first aims to fulfil a range of goals where the second fulfils availability of resources; for disadvantages on both see Nussbaum (1999, p. 232-233).
[38] See Nussbaum (1999, p. 235) for a list of the 'central human capabilities', this list is not intended to be exhaustive; see Clark (2005) for a discussion of the capabilities approach.
[39] Author of 'Justice and the Politics of Difference' (1990).

spatial aspects involved, and as Pirie (1983) argued, 'it is conceivable that there is something about justice judgements in a spatial setting that would commend particular formulations or principles of justice' (p. 469). In the next paragraph this idea is further examined and developed.

2.9 Spatial justice

As discussed above there is a shared sense in mobilities literature among authors that mobility/motility has negative influences on social justice[40]. Also it has become clear that mobilities in general serve to negotiate space. In the discussion of externalities it becomes clear that spatial effects affect (in)equality in a relevant way. As indicated above the concept of spatial justice already exists for a couple of decennia. Yet only recently the debate around the concept has picked up steam; a number of papers was published since 2000 on the subject and in September 2009 a bilingual journal's 'justice spatiale | spatial justice' first issue saw the light of day. Engaging with justice issues as raised by Harvey, Lefebvre, Rawls, Soja, and others Dikeç (2001) proposes the following basic formulation:

'(a) a focus on spatiality as a process; as a producer and reproducer of, and at the same time being produced and reproduced by, relatively stable structures (permanences),
(b) recognition of the interrelatedness of injustice and spatiality as producing, reproducing, and sustaining each other through a mediation of larger permanences that give rise to both of them' (p. 1793).

Permanences in Dikeç' sense can be compared to the basic structure as discussed above. Thus it is not about replacing social justice for spatial justice but 'rather to bring out more clearly the potentially powerful yet often obscured spatiality of all aspects of social life and to open up in this spatialized sociality (and historicality) more effective ways to change the world for the better through spatially conscious practices and politics' (Soja, 2000, p. 352). This way spatial justice effects can be included where they are ignored in social justice theories. The relation between social and spatial justice should not be interpreted in a deterministic way nor such as that spatial remedies are sufficient for social injustice. The two

---

[40] Several authors, like Urry (2007, 2008), Peters (2003, 2010), Baeten (2000), Kaufmann (2002, 2010a), Heine, Mautz &Rosenbaum (2001) hint on issues which can be recognized as social or spatial justice issues without explicit referral to either concept.

are inseparable and issues should be dealt with in context of the system, political, economic or social (Marcuse, 2009).

So in spatial justice the spatial aspects that affect the 'justice situation' are the focus[41]. Yet it must be noted that, within this relatively small field, a lot of attention has been given to outcomes rather than processes. Rather than providing a positive definition of the concept, negative formulations and examples are more common. Marcuse (2009) provides 'two cardinal forms of spatial **in**justice:

- 'The involuntary confinement of any group to a limited space – segregation, ghettoization – the unfreedom argument.
- The allocation of resources unequally over space –the unfair resources argument' (p. 53)

This way of approaching spatial justice is derived from the territorial justice, in which the spatial entity (in theory on any level) in the case is used to *locate* the injustice. Space in this approach is not used to *identify* the processes leading to injustices. This leads to problems when examining when space is relevant or not. After all: if space has no role in the process creating injustice there is no added use in involving it, and thus processes taking place due to space are possibly not accounted for. Therefore it is essential to include space as part of the process rather than a common denominator in spatial justice. Thus the two cardinal forms of injustice as proposed by Marcuse need rephrasing; changing 'to a limited space' into 'by space' in the first form and 'the allocation of resources unequally over' into 'the unequal access to resources in' provides a more useful and accurate view on spatial injustice. This perspective acknowledges the centrality of processes affecting justice but also centralises the role of mobilities. The first form (the involuntary confinement of groups) can refer to strict authority constraints, like imprisonment or restricted access to gated communities, but also includes more elusive spatial processes in which restrictions are posed by financial means. The latter can for example be caused by housing projects only aimed at higher income groups or due to gentrification. The second form (the unequal access to resources) can refer to resources as fresh water or fertile land but also to infrastructure, amenities or social events.

Soja (2010) adds a useful notion to the vocabulary surrounding spatial justice in discussing 'consequential geographies'. Besides the relevant difference between equality and

---

[41] Since the concept is derived from social justice theory the same considerations in deciding what is ultimately just are applicable.

equity, and the impossibility of achieving spatial equality[42], Soja argues that depending on context, the basic structure and time, the geographical differentiation can be consequential or not, meaning that it either affects the justice situation or not. In determining what is just, and what not, it is important to extend this idea to spatial processes. This means that not only a spatial configuration has to be studied for direct effects on motility but also the effects a spatial configuration has on the behaviour of actors which can affect other actors' motility. It must be noted that also when spatial or motility changes are not a direct effect of representation these changes can include negative and positive effects to the justice situation. Considering the above spatial justice can more accurately be defined as:

'A situation in which the interests of all individuals, whose motility is consequentially affected by space or spatial processes, are taken into account equally'

Therefore injustice manifests itself in the built environment but also in 'distributions, networks, and institutions ... [S]pace and the processes of spatialization play a major role not only in the production of the conditions of domination as an indispensable manipulative tool for the existing mode of production [capitalism]' (Dikeç, 2001, p. 1793). Baeten et al. (2000) argue in the same sense that social stratification is reflected in unequal distribution on mobility and that this is expressed in 'the power which the different layers of the population can exercise in order to organise mobility in such a way that their mobility interests are optimally represented (p. 95; my translation). Not only is social stratification reflected but also reproduced due to the stratification in influence on mobility organisation (Baeten, 2000; Baeten et al., 2000; Urry, 2007). Within spatial justice literature, like in the citation above by Dikeç (2001), capitalism is extensively discussed as an important cause of inequality, as an actor and as subject of change. Yet, although the socio-economic organisation of human society can influence inequality, spatial justice is in essence about recognising and valuating inequality in order to determine whether something is just or not, within any given socio-economic system. Inequality is inherent to any socio-economic system whereas injustice is not. Furthermore, capitalism is not an actor but a typification; thus it cannot *do* anything[43]. In describing the status quo and in examining processes and possible changes the socio-political-

---

[42] In essence due to the uniqueness of spatial properties of anything material but more concrete due to the fact that 'distance-minimizing behaviour is a fundamental part of our spatial being and our socially produced geographies ... whatever we do will very rarely, if ever, be distributed perfectly evenly or randomly over space' (Soja, 2010, p. 72).

[43] Maybe a moot point, but apparently an enduring misconception within Marxist thinking.

economic organisation should be taken into account, but a common occurrence in spatial justice literature is a focus on attacking capitalism rather than describing either the inequality or the processes at work.

A spatially just situation is not a given. Given the dynamic of society and the discussed influence of space and spatial processes on society a spatially just situation is unlikely to be achieved without intervention. Assuming that a just situation is preferable to an unjust situation this raises questions of responsibility and power. Who should and who could work towards a spatially just situation? The first concerns the matter of relationships between actors in society; some form of a social contract[44]. The second concerns the extent to which an extern can influence the situation. The basic idea of a social contract is that some form of government is required to avoid 'the State of Nature', basically an anarchic situation in which a lack of trust between actors creates unliveable circumstances (Hobbes, 1955). Rawls (1971) notes that such a contract should not be thought of as 'one to enter a particular society or to set up a particular form of government. Rather, the guiding idea is that the principles of justice for the basic structure of society are the object of the original agreement' (p. 11). Thus actors in a particular society, or citizens, thus require a form of government. Power, required to govern society, is thereby relayed to that government. In democratic nation-states like the Netherlands citizens and government can be considered to have a relationship in which citizens provide the government with the power to act on their behalf. In this relationship government is expected to at least aim at taking into account the interests of all its citizens when forming policies. Because citizens give up part of their power to government under this assumption it is the responsible actor in realising justice. Furthermore; the primary actor in the Netherlands rearranging spatial configurations, creating mobility policy decisions, affecting third party behaviour and redistributing welfare is government, on all levels. Mobility in the Netherlands primarily takes place in public space but government is also the only actor able to enforce policies in both public and private space. Finally government is the principle actor concerning redistribution because all actors are subject to its rule; other actors would only be able to facilitate voluntary redistribution. Spatial planning and mobility policies are important means to affect space and the motility of actors. Government thus 'owns' the ' problem'. Although other actors can influence (in)equality directly, by affecting space or motility options, they cannot affect spatial justice directly. Only indirectly through influencing

---

[44] Social contract theory is subject of a philosophical discussion on the moral and political obligations of actors originating in the work of Thomas Hobbes. Other influential proponents were John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

government can they affect the extent to which interests are taken into account equally. Organisations which influence government while representing other actors are therefore a relevant object of study. However, the question remains whether a gap between their representational intentions and actual effect exists. This difference between representation and influence limits their influence on spatial justice.

The potential to influence is further examined in chapter four. The purpose of spatial justice is thus that it is useful in examining causes of and solutions to inequality and injustice issues with a spatial factor, whether consequences of social processes or spatial processes, facilitating informed decision-making processes. Because a situation is not unjust on account of being unequal nor just on account of being equal it is important to be aware of unequal situations and consequential processes that could indicate injustices. The next paragraph deal with externalities for this purpose.

2.10 Externalities

After having defined spatial justice as above the question remains: what interests can be taken into account? Rather than listing all possible interests that could ever occur regarding to mobilities this chapter sets out to explore externalities as discussed in literature, thus providing an oversight of previously scientifically examined externalities. Increased mobility and an increased importance of mobilities are perceived to cause inequalities and injustice due to a range of externalities (Baeten, 2000; Kloppenburg, 2005; Kellerman, 2006; Urry, 2007; et al., 2010; Peters, 2010; Kaufmann, 2010a; Adey, 2010). Within the range of externalities different authors specify or focus on a limited number of externalities. Three categories can be identified:

- Material consequences: externalities with direct physical consequences
- Societal consequences: inequalities within mobilities/motility
- Socio-spatial consequences: inequalities caused by socio-spatial processes

These categories cover the full range of spatial justice effects related to mobilities[45], and are based on the different types of consequences externalities have. Externalities have in common that they are in one way or another an effect caused by mobilities. This means that if

---

[45] Although positive externalities exist just as well for both methodological reasons and philosophical reasons negative externalities are the prime focus here. Externalities can often be regarded both negatively as positively for both the same actor as different actors. Exploration of the topic has shown positive externalities are considerably less interesting.

an inequality is caused by mobility this is considered an externality as well. The following paragraph will examine these three categories in this order. The first category is that of **material consequences**; these include often mentioned issues as climate change due to CO2-emissions, peak-oil, environmental degradation, traffic jams, particulate matter, noise pollution and more. Important to realise is that environmental pollution 'does not just come at the expense of 'nature' but also of the *people* which within the power relations of contemporary society are unable to demand an ecologically liveable environment to escape from unhealthy elements of the milieu. Man and nature are part of one and the same ecological chaos, and only democratic debate can decide on a just place in this chaos and the extent of pollution allowed. ... This political-ecological debate is being avoided in the orthodox discourse on environmental issues' (Baeten et al., 2000, p. 99; my translation).

Increased mobility, especially car mobility, in the past century has such proportions that externalities as mentioned above occur. Peters (2003) argues that there is no single mobility problem but a multitude of problems as formulated in a range of public debates. This means that the importance of an externality is defined by attention given to it, thus putting a problem onto the political agenda is a power issue. This influences the power relations in favour of those able to influence this process, the mobile, and negatively affects that of the immobile as argued by Baeten (2000), Peters (2003) and Urry (2007). Furthermore:

'… the orthodox sustainable transport vision leads to the further empowerment of technocratic and elitist groups in society while simultaneously contributing to the further disempowerment of those marginalized social groups who were already bearing the burden of the environmental problems resulting from a troubled transport' (Baeten 2000, p. 69).

This means that not only the perception of an externality as a problem is influenced by power relations but also that those affected by the externality are disempowered either by the externality or a solution. Urry (2008a) states: 'The global market has engendered enormous external diseconomies, as economists put it, or untold global risks, as sociologists say' (p. 270). This creates a social dilemma, as individual benefits lead to collective disadvantages (Peters, 2003). Climate change serves as a good example of such a dilemma because transport accounts for one-third of total carbon dioxide emissions (Geffen, Dooley and Kim, 2003). Baeten (2000) states that the '*exposure* to environmental risk, caused by current transport levels, is equally harmful to everyone' (p. 72, emphasis added) but it is the *measure* of exposure that differentiates between social class and mobility. Examples of which are the case

of hurricane Katrina, in which the mobile were able to leave the parts of the city that were to be affected the worst while the immobile, poor, remained (Swyngedouw, 2006; Adey, 2010), and slum dwellers in third world countries which are least able to cope with climate change due to disempowerment, low mobility and lacking financial means (Bartlett, 2009; Heinrichs, 2009).

As argued above there is a difference in the impact of externalities on the mobile and the immobile. However, inequality in mobility and motility itself is often perceived as a problem by itself, in line with this Kaufmann (2010a) argues that mobility has become another dimension of social stratification. It has **societal consequences.** As explained when discussing motility capital an individual's motility is partially determined by financial capacity, material possession and certain personal skills. Motility is as such strongly related to social stratification. Urry (2007) argues that a 'good society' would 'extend the capabilities of co-presence to every social group' or more refined; '... that all social groups should have *similar* rights of co-presence' (p. 208). This is mostly due to the argued importance of co-presence as facilitated by mobility. This effect is enhanced by power relations, the burden of mobility and differences between modalities. As Bauman (2000) argues:

'People who move and act faster, who come nearest to the momentariness of movement, are now the people who rule. And it is the people who cannot move as quickly, and move conspicuously yet the category of people who cannot at will leave their place at all, who are ruled'(Bauman, 2000, p. 119-120).

Here Bauman argues that the different stratifications between mobility, and thereby modalities like car-mobility and public transportation represent at the same time stratifications in power. This same effect has been described by Whitelegg (1997), Peters (2003), and Baeten, Spithoven en Albrechts (2000), arguing that this stratification perpetuates itself. Due to the demands of society placed upon its members a burden of motility is created (Urry, 2007). In this respect it must be noted that it is largely due to economies of scale that airports and flight or highways and car mobility are enabled and affordable (Sager, 2006). This effectively means that motility and mobility also become societal properties next to individual properties; thus enabling the otherwise immotile. The difference in stratification becomes visible when comparing car-mobility to public transportation, which is often aimed at serving the lower social stratifications, or those with less motility. This is illustrated by what a car-driver wrote as early as 1902:

'Travelling means utmost free activity, the train however condemns you to passivity … the railway squeezes you into a timetable' (cited in Morse, 1998, p. 117).

Illustrating the difference in freedom between forms of mobility this shows how the car mobility system provides a degree of freedom not available otherwise. Important to add in this respect is:

'There are many gaps between the various mechanized means of public transport. These 'structural holes' in semi-public space are sources of inconvenience danger and uncertainty. And this is especially true for women, children, older people, those who may be subject to racist attacks, the less able and so on' (Urry, 2004, p. 29).

Thus far it has become clear that the car mobility system provides a mobility that is not available through public transportation. It is the 'social relations that stem from mobilities that are crucial' (Urry, 2007, p.197). At the same time it is a perception of freedom, independency and privacy provided by the car and lacking in public transportation that is important; 'For De Certeau the train (and the bus), it turns out, is a 'travelling incarceration' in which human bodies are able to be ordered because, although the carriage is mobile, the passengers are immobile' (Thrift, 2004, p. 44). This lack of mobility has a considerable impact on the social and economic welfare of the subject in relation to others (Goldberg, 2001; Heine, Mautz & Rosenbaum, 2001; Urry, 2007; Peters, 2009).

Whereas the second category deals with inequalities in mobilities, the third category deals with **socio-spatial consequences**; as discussed above mobility is required to establish co-presence, and thus social life. This dependency and the primacy of speed, as argued by (Baeten, 2000; Peters, 2003; 2010), caused spatial planning for the past decennia to be based on increasing the speed of mobility and decreasing travel time through car mobility; leading to an increase in the spatial scale of mobility and spatial dispersion. Most clearly this is seen in companies that are able to use economies of scale due to an increased mobility of their customers. As Heine, Mautz & Rosenbaum (2001) note:

'Eine eigene Infrastruktur ist entstanden, die an den Freizeitbedürfnissen von Familien mit Kinder ansetzt, diese mit spezifischen Angeboten kanalisiert und dabei das Auto voraussetzt,

von den Erlebniseinkaufszenter über Freizeitparks bis zu den *Drive-ins* von McDonald's' (p. 132)

An ongoing process of reduction of amenities, services and stores in smaller municipalities creates a situation in which those without access to the car mobility system are not able to meet the increased social demands or to simply get to a store. This reduces options and increases dependency of before mentioned groups like the elderly, children and poor on support from the state and their social circle[46]. In order to explain the mobility dilemma for this category as an example 'the IKEA-case'[47] will be discussed.

The IKEA-case revolves around the spatial effects that influence the network capital or motility of actors (consumers without car) due of the actions of actors (IKEA) in response to the motility of actors (consumers with car). This could be applied to other spatial issues as well. Amongst other factors the car motility of a large enough group of potential customers enables IKEA to locate its store at locations in the outskirts of major cities, where real estate prices are low, large parking places can be built and access to major highways is secured (Baraldi, 2003). These locations are often hard to reach by public transportation or (if at all) by bicycle, due to lacking networks or longer distances. This situation creates an unequal situation between those whose motility capital is better suited for this situation and those whose motility capital is less suited. Van owners are better off than those with a small car and bicycle owners in the vicinity of the store are better off than those without bicycles. Thus due to the motility of a group of potential customers the IKEA inadvertently excludes another group of, immotile, potential customers.

Using the notion of motility capital this can be examined as a cost issue. There are several types of costs involved related to the selling of the goods; land/real estate prices, transport costs (IKEA's own logistics, mobility costs for customers or costs of a delivery service). These are related to the relative spatial location of the IKEA and customers and influenced by property prices (Baraldi, 2003). Important in this context is that when changing policies, e.g. like when Peters suggests to re-think the primacy of speed (2003), the costs for *all* actors change. By 'slowing' down an IKEA store would have a smaller support area and would have to increase sale locations, thus losing the advantages of economies of scale,

---

[46] For more on this see Peters, 2003, p. 259-0, note 56.

[47] The example of IKEA was used by Peter Peters in response to a question by email in February 2010. Peters used a short version of the example to question the social justice of stratification in accessibility of IKEA-stores, notoriously inaccessible without car and easily accessible for car-owners. He argued that this inequality could be explained but not be justified. This is in line with his agenda on politicisation of choice of ensembles of passages (Peters, 2003, p. 213)

increasing real-estate and logistic costs. Although on average transport costs for consumers would become lower, because on average the distance to an IKEA-store would be smaller, aforementioned additional costs would reflect in the product prices. The question that should be asked is whether, and how, this re-arranging influences the justice situation: are the interests of those whose motility is affected by these actions being taken into account? Let's look at another example that examines the same issue from a different angle.

This case deals with the urbanisation process in the Netherlands in which the viability of smaller villages is reduced due to two main reasons; the population in general is ageing and young adults migrate to cities. This reduces the economic viability but also decreases the support areas for amenities. Therefore certain amenities are no longer profitable and will disappear (relocation to nearby larger village or city); increasing the distance between those staying behind and the amenities. This effect is magnified due to decreased motility of the elderly (Heine, Mautz & Rosenbaum, 2001) and the limitations of public transportation (SceneSusTech, 1998). Those that stay behind have their opportunities reduced due to the (semi-permanent) mobility of those that move away. This affects spatial justice, negatively, for those staying behind because their dependence on others is increased and their potential everyday activities are restricted (Heine, Mautz & Rosenbaum, 2001; Kaufmann, 2002). Again the question is whether this is acceptable or not. Is it just to limit those who want to move away in their mobility in order to reduce inequality for those staying behind? Urry (2007, p. 208-9) would probably propose a reduction or rationing of mobility (perhaps by affecting their motility capital through taxation) while at the same time increasing mobility of those staying behind (perhaps through improved public transportation). This puts mobility in a different light, as Shove (2002) notes:

'… in *collective* terms, greater mobility is likely to increase social-spatial exclusion and decrease opportunities for effective participation. By implication, efforts to minimise social-spatial exclusion through the provision of more transport may have perverse and negative consequences' (p. 2)

In both examples spatial agglomeration effects in society offer opportunities or pose problems for groups of actors, inadvertently negatively or positively affecting others. The spatial justice issue becomes more clear; the spatial qualities of actors (remember that space is a social construct) are dependent on other actors and on the motility and mobility of all actors, and these qualities influence the justice situation.

2.11 Concluding

This chapter has provided the insights and understanding of the vocabulary needed to examine justice in mobilities. The discussion of justice has lead to the need to examine representation in mobilities while the externalities and processes described provide insight into indications of what could be reason for individuals to seek representation. The next chapter will describe the organisations relevant in mobility interest representation in the Netherlands.

Chapter 3: Mobility interest groups in the Netherlands

3.1 Introduction

As it has become clear that influencing mobility policies is an important pillar of influencing spatial justice this chapter will examine the field of mobility representation in the Netherlands. From the discussed notion of spatial justice it follows that in order to achieve a spatially just situation it is important to take individuals interests equally into account. The principal way of doing so in the Netherlands is through democratic representation. However, as discussed it appears that this method is insufficient to fulfil this demand due to a range of externalities. Baeten et al. (2000) argue that it is an unevenness in representation within the democratic system of Belgium in the form of a lack of institutionalised deliberation for mobility interest representation of individuals by interest groups in mobilities that causes the undesired, spatially unjust, situation. In the Netherlands mobility interest groups do partake in institutionalised deliberation with government and public transportation companies. This chapter will provide oversight of mobility interest groups in the Netherlands, their history, who they represent, how they function and what rights and possibilities they have.

The groups discussed in this chapter have been chosen because they represent large parts of their respective, diverse, target groups and combined these groups cover most of mobility interest groups in the Netherlands. In line with the conclusions drawn in chapter two these organisations primarily represent natural persons' mobility interests, directly or indirectly, rather than the interests of legal persons such as corporations.

The descriptions will provide insight in the makeup of the field of mobility representation and the workings of the organisations. The following organisations will be covered; ANWB, VVN, ROVER, CG-raad, Fietsersbond and CSO. The information used is in most cases extracted from documents publicly available like statutes, year reports, in some cases from less easily available documents, websites and from interviews with policymakers/lobbyists from the respective organisations. Before the organisations firstly institutionalised deliberation in the Netherlands will be discussed.

3.2 Institutionalised deliberation in the Netherlands

Institutionalised deliberation is a type of deliberation in which a legal basis for participation in the policy process exists. Other types of deliberation are possible, and exist[48], but can easily be abandoned if other parties as government and involved corporations decide to. Institutionalised deliberation acknowledges the right, or need, of citizens to be consulted and in effect admits shortcomings in democratic representation in mobility issues.

During privatisation of the national railways and revision of the railway law in the nineteen nineties the legal basis for the LOCOV[49] and ROCOVs[50] has been laid. Instated per September 01 1998 in 'Instellingsbesluit LOCOV' by T. Netelenbos, Minister of Transport, Public Works and Water Management, the LOCOV is set up to protect consumers in the railway market, which at that time was in the process of privatisation. Within the LOCOV the obligation for railway service companies to inform consumer interest organisations is given shape. Besides government and the Nederlandse Spoorwegen [NS] (Dutch Railways) a number of consumer organisations has a seat. Among the requirements to be allotted a place in the LOCOV are that the organisation; has expertise regarding public rail transportation; is representative regarding issues which concern consumers of public rail transportation; and operates on a national scale. The organisations in the LOCOV are as such engaged in both formal and informal deliberation with government and companies[51]. Between the consumer organisations and the representatives of companies there is disagreement about the extent to which the advice given is followed. The organisations argue their influence is limited while the NS argue that their influence is less visible because the NS incorporates most advise in their plans in the informal process before the formal process (Projectorganisatie Evaluatie Spoorwetgeving [PES], 2008). The organisations argue that either way they have to resort to political lobbying to reach their goals, thereby suggesting that lobbying is a less preferable way of representing their interests[PES, 2008]. The ROCOVs are the regional versions of the LOCOV. Their focus is on regional public transportation like by bus, but they will occasionally comment on national public transportation issues as well, for example when decisions concerning railway schedules affect the connection of bus lines to train schedules.

---

[48] For example the LCO, Landelijk Chipkaart Overleg, (National Smartcard Consultation; my translation) in which the participating organisations only instrument is *not* participating.

[49] Landelijk Overleg Consumentenbelangen Openbaar Vervoer (National deliberation consumer interests public transportation; my translation.

[50] Regionaal Overleg Consumentenorganisaties Openbaar Vervoer (Regional deliberation consumer organisations public transportation; my translation); enabled by the law 'Wet personenvervoer 2000', instated per July 1 2000. Covers all forms of public transportation on a regional level. Participating organisations differ per region.

[51] For a detailed description of instruments available to the organisations in the LOCOV see PES (2008, p. 155).

The participating organisations differ per region. They have the same rights as in the LOCOV as both are based on the same legal basis. The implementation of the participation of consumer organisations differs per region, as does the extent to which they are implemented.

As seen in appendix A there is variation in which organisations are participating in ROCOVs, the extent to which the local government is involved and whether other participants than consumer organisations are participating. Furthermore there appears to be a lot of variation in activity in the ROCOVs. This has direct consequences for the extent to which this type of representation is made possible, after all if the ROCOV is inactive it will not fulfil its role.

Both on the national and regional level the role of the interest organisations is advisory. The only obligations of government and companies to the representing organisations are to inform the organisations about their plans, to consider given advise or objections and to provide, in case the advise is not followed, reasons as to why. Although on a regular basis organisations and individuals are invited to be part of discussions about new policies or about evaluating policies other forms of deliberative participation are absent in the Dutch situation. When discussing the results in the next chapter more attention will be given to whether mobility interest groups perceive this as a problem and what possible solutions they think to be possible.

3.3 Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB

The ANWB is the oldest and largest mobility interest group in the Netherlands. Founded on the first of July 1883 with the name 'Nederlandsche Vélocipèdisten-Bond[52]', or Dutch Cyclist Association (my translation), at first the organisations' goal was representation of the interests of cyclists. For a large part this included the improvement of roads in general and soon other road users became members as well. The ANWB not only functioned as a lobby for infrastructure improvement but also started placing road signs. Largely due to offering roadside assistance, since 1946, the ANWB has grown from a bit over 200.000 members to about 4.000.000 members. These days the ANWB provides a wide range of services, among which road assistance, insurance, and other service sales by far outweigh member contributions in financial terms. To manage these services ANWB B.V.[53] has been created, under control of the association ANWB. This is an important distinction between the

---

[52] In 1885 it was renamed into 'Algemene Nederlandsche Wielrijders-Bond', hence the abbreviation ANWB.
[53] A B.V. is a private limited liability company; all shares are held by the ANWB. For more information on the current makeup of ANWB holdings see Jaarrekening 2009 ANWB groep (Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB [ANWB], (2010).

ANWB and other mobility interest groups; the ANWB has founded the 'ANWB group', which contains a number of companies, to execute its interests. As such the ANWB has both the interests of its members as its company's commercial interests to represent, although officially all interests and goals are set by the general assembly of the ANWB. The financial means of the ANWB are significant; in 2009 it had a turnover of about €1.056 million. The total Fte[54] in 2009 was 4.284, of which by far most is due to the commercial activities. According to the ANWB the section Public Affairs, which is for a large part comprised of lobbyists, is completely financed by membership fees (ANWB, 2007), which were over €47 million in 2009. Further specification is lacking, although inquiry learns this section has at least 30 full time lobbyists.

The ANWB has, as stated by the statutes (ANWB, 2009), an internal structure of representation in which the Netherlands are divided into four regions, the members living in these regions appoint representatives[55] for the general assembly in preceding local assemblies. This general assembly has the deciding vote on which goals to pursue. These are then executed by the company. In this structure the main goals of the ANWB are formulated in the statutes:

'… the goal is to represent the interests of her members in the field of recreation, tourism, traffic and transport ... where appropriate, she will endeavour to preserve and improve the quality of the environment…' (ANWB, 2010, art. 3; my translation). But more particularly the ANWB is committed to:

'... improving and maintaining access, availability, liveability, affordability, safety, security, and freedom of choice, in their respective relationship[56], regarding the areas of recreation, tourism, traffic and transport, at local, regional, national, and international levels' (Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB [ANWB], 2010, art. 3.1; my translation).

The goals are thus very broadly defined and the room for directions within the available space is abundant. Other ways than via the assemblies for members to make their interests known are through member initiated direct contact, (e)mailing, calling, or through

---

[54] Fulltime-equivalent; the number of fulltime jobs that are available.
[55] 100 in total, number of representatives per region proportional to the number of members in the region. For more details see the ANWB's statutes (2009).
[56] Interesting detail to which will be paid more attention in next chapter. Basically means that, besides from being very broad, prioritisation in goals plays an important role.

member surveys conducted by Public Affairs, which is responsible for, among other things, determining members interests. This department is also active in formulating policies from perceived interests and representing these interests.

Due to the range of activities and the commercial activities, by which a consumer very easily, and possibly unnoticeably, becomes a member, the group of members is diverse. Because members are not primarily recruited based on a particular special interest, but rather through sales of a range of products and services, diversity is to be expected.

An interesting sub-group of members was active in the period 1995-2005, the 'Verontruste ANWB Leden [VANWBL]'[57] or 'worried ANWB members'. This sub-group, with an estimated size of 2000 members and a core group of 20-30 members, consisted of ANWB members that disagreed with policy choices made within the ANWB, primarily concerning environmental issues and sustainability. VANWBL argued that many decisions made were contradictory with the statutes of the ANWB, in which environmental quality is explicitly mentioned in the goals of the organisation, because the environment was not being taken into account sufficiently. VANWBL argued that car-mobility was being given preference over other modalities and was being promoted at the expense of the environment. By 1997 the group had a representative, Henk Timmermans, in the general assembly. According to Mr. Timmermans and the VANWBL, the general assembly and the way it operates is far from democratic; it is argued that not all views of the members get represented in the decisions of the general assembly sufficiently while at the same time important decisions are taken in an opaque way. This example suggests that car mobility is given preference over environmental quality, which is not at all a strange suggestion given the share of car-owners of the ANWB members.

Because the ANWB lacks active local groups and at the same time has a powerful national organisation its focus is primarily on representation on the national level. This is done through a range of ways. Not only does the ANWB have considerable influence due to its strong position in several markets which directly affect, primarily car mobility, it also has various channels of communication with a very large part of the population of the Netherlands. Through her own monthly magazine it reaches approximately 6 out of 10 families while this member database also ensures a direct way of influencing the general

---

[57] Information on this group has been retrieved from the website, http://www.antenna.nl/vanwbl/, the group mailing list, and by email from contact Erik van Dijk.

public when needed[58]. Other ways of influencing policies are through lobbying directly with either politicians or government officials or in by partaking in institutionalised deliberation; in this case in the LOCOV and in some regions the ROCOV.

3.4 Vereniging Reizigers Openbaar Vervoer

ROVER was founded on the 28th of April 1971 by Frans van der Poel, supposedly due to dissatisfactory conditions he and others with him experienced in bus transportation. Inspired by the multitude of unions available for other groups he and others decided to explore the possibilities for a organisation to represent users of public transportation. At first it was a foundation and it was changed into an association ten years later. ROVER has about 6500 members, but argues it represents all the users of public transportation, '3 million each day' (www.rover.nl, 2010). The association is nationally organised and allows for regional departments to be set up under specified conditions. The 31 regional departments focus on representation of public transportation issues in their specific region, covering cities up to whole provinces. The goals of the association are set in the statutes and they are:

'a. to represent the interests of passengers using public transport and collective transport;
b. promoting the quality of public transport;
c. promoting the growth of the share of public transport in total movements' (ROVER, 1998, p. 1).

The general assembly has the final say over policy decisions. Currently this is given shape in a policy document spanning from 2008 to 2012 (Vereniging Reizigers Openbaar Vervoer [ROVER], 2008) which interprets what ROVER is supposed to be, gives more detail to the goals and explains in detail what are to be the foci in the representation. In yearly plans as proposed by the board this is further specified. To reach these goals ROVER relies on a small staff, the board and volunteers (especially in the departments). ROVER has a relatively small budget compared to the other organisations; its turnover is approximately €0,5 million. Of this it spends about 80% on its core objectives (Centraal Bureau Fondsenwerving, 2010). Determination of the interests of members is possible through departmental assemblies, the general assembly and through direct contact. ROVER aims to represent the interests of all

---

[58] For example, in 1999, the ANWB had 3.5 million stickers with the text 'Rekeningrijden Stop!'(Road pricing stop!) printed and distributed. This effort lead to the end of government efforts to implement road pricing, for a while.

users of public transportation but since there is a big gap between its members and all users it both has to rely on deduction and surveys. In the departmental assemblies members can draw attention directly to specific local issues, for example regarding bus line/schedule changes.

The regional ROVER departments participate in the ROCOVs; every ROCOV has at least one ROVER representative. Due to overlap multiple ROVER departments can be represented in a single ROCOV; the aim is however to synchronise the departments with the concession[59] areas. On the national level ROVER participates in the LOCOV, uses media and engages in political lobbying. With a limited number of members the potential to influence politicians via public opinion is limited, yet its influence on policy decisions seems to be much larger due to the claimed representation of all PT-users. ROVER does publish a monthly magazine for members containing news and opinions. Furthermore it has a website on which related news is provided and a weekly column. On the regional level ROVER has a notable network due to the relatively organised and active local departments and involvement of volunteers. A number of local departments also have websites which are used to provide actualities and information to (potential) members.

3.5 Veilig Verkeer Nederland

Due to increasing car mobility in the first decades of the 20th century the number of traffic accidents also increased. A group of organisations and volunteers already active in promoting traffic safety decided to work together in a national organisation, the 'Verbond van Vereenigingen voor Veilig Verkeer'[60], founded in 1932. Its aim was to improve traffic safety for all road users, especially through informational and educational activities, in 1959 traffic education even became obligatory in primary schools. After multiple name changes VVN merged in 2000 with the Voetgangersvereniging[61] and the Stichting Kinderen Voorrang[62] into 3VO, only to rename to Veilig Verkeer Nederland once again in 2006. Currently VVN has about 14.000 members. It must be noted that it does also have about 20.000 donors. Of the approximately 5000 volunteers that work for VVN a growing number are not members. The organisation aims at reaching 'sustainable safety and quality of public space' (Veilig Verkeer Nederland [VVN], 2007; my translation), and as the statutes show it also aims at doing this in such a way that civilians have 'equal opportunities to safe mobility, irrespectively of how one

---

[59] In the privatisation of Dutch public transportation concession areas were created, followed by periodical tender procedures to decide which company obtains the concession to provide the PT-service for an area.
[60] Union of associations for safe traffic; my translation.
[61] Association for Pedestrians; my translation.
[62] Foundation Children First; my translation. 'Voorrang' could also be translated as 'right of way'.

wants to be in public space or wants to partake in traffic' (VVN, 2007; my translation). The associations' general assembly is responsible for settings these goals, while the board is responsible for execution of the yearly plans to reach these goals. For this purpose the board has instated a managing board and a professional organisation. This organisation consisted of 73,2 Fte[63] at the end of 2009. Of the turnover of approximately €12,3 million in 2009 the organisation used about €9,5 million for its core objectives; €5,9 million for education, €1,2 million for lobbying and €2,5 million for campaigns (Veilig Verkeer Nederland [VVN], 2010). Besides the national level VVN has districts and departments, which both have their own boards. The 12 districts, corresponding with the provinces, each delegate 2 members to the general assembly. The approximately 281 departments aim at accomplishing traffic safety at the municipal level and answer to their respective district boards. The departments provide information to the general public about traffic safety, engage in political lobbying and organise traffic safety related events. On national level the organisation tries to draw attention to traffic safety through media campaigns, it engages in political lobbying, does research and it supports the districts and departments. The research it performs, independent and in cooperation with other parties, is aimed at improving and creating products and regulations related to traffic safety. It also sells products, primarily related to activities directly serving traffic safety and for the purpose of informing about traffic safety.

VVN does not participate in the LOCOV or in any ROCOV but it is active in other forms of cooperation which allow VVN to share their insights with local, regional and national government.

3.6 Fietsersbond

In a reaction to both the explosive increase in car use and the abolishing of bicycle transportation by the Dutch Railways in the sixties and seventies a number of local groups initiated the 'Eerste, Enige, Echte Wielrijders Bond[64]', founded on 18th of October 1975. The name was a pun aimed at the ANWB, which started out as a interest organisation for all 'wielrijders' but became more and more dominated by car users. The lawsuit following resulted in a name change and a lot of publicity for the then called 'Enige Echte Nederlandse Fietsers Bond[65]'. This publicity and the many activities organised in the early years resulted in tens of thousands of members for the new organisation. Throughout the years the organisation

---

[63] Fulltime-equivalent; the number of fulltime jobs that are available. VVN at that time had 87 employees.
[64] First, Only, Real Wheel Riders Union; my translation.
[65] Only, Real, Dutch Cyclists Union.

grew to about 35.000 members. At the same time the organisation professionalised and in 2000 it changed its name to 'Fietsersbond'. The goals of the organisation are described in the statutes (2007) as:

'- to improve the quality of cycling in the Netherlands, including the provisions
for the bike, safety, accessibility by bike, the quality of bicycles and services to cyclists, and thereby increase of the use of the bicycle;
- to create more space for cycling and cyclists, both in the literal sense (physical space, facilities) and in more figurative sense (attention, priority, status, appreciation, take into consideration)' (Fietsersbond, 2007, art. 1; my translation).

As seen above the Fietsersbond thus directly indentifies what could be important for cyclists, including their members. The goals are however open to interpretation and prioritisation. Within the structure of the association the board interprets these goals and proposes policies on a yearly basis to the general assembly, which also has the final say over, among other things, the makeup of the board, the direction of the association and the policies to be executed. The assembly is formed by delegates from the about 150 local departments of the Fietsersbond, the voting weight of each delegate is determined by the number of members the department represents. The professional organisation of the Fietsersbond consists of 28.5 Fte[66] of which 16.3 Fte is available for lobbying and 7.9 Fte for education (Fietsersbond, 2010). The organisation had a turnover of about €3,8 million in 2009 of which it spend over €3,1 million on these core objectives (Fietsersbond, 2010). This organisation primarily acts at the national level while supporting the local departments with knowledge and promotional materials. Communication with its members is accomplished through representation of the local departments, the website, a monthly magazine. The organisation actively seeks feedback on cycling amenities/problems of non-members by promoting the use of the complaints desk. The Fietsersbond participates in the LOCOV and about a third of the ROCOVs.

3.7 Chronisch zieken en Gehandicapten Raad Nederland

The CG-raad is an umbrella organisation for over 160 organisations that have members with a disability and/or a chronic illness. The CG-raad was founded on the 5th of October 2000 as the result of a merger between the Gehandicaptenraad[67] and the

---

[66] Fulltime-equivalent; the number of fulltime jobs that are available. The Fietsersbond has 40 employees.
[67] Council of the Disabled; my translation. Founded in 1977.

'Werkverband Organisaties van Chronisch zieken'[68] The CG-raad represents organisations rather than individuals but through these organisations an estimated 400.000 people are represented (Boot & Knapen, 2005). The association aims at:

'... creating a society in which people with disabilities and/or a chronic disease or condition can participate based on equal rights, equal opportunities and equal obligations... (Chronisch zieken en Gehandicapten Raad Nederland [CG-raad], 2009, art.1; my translation).

The CG-raad is as such an organisation representing not only mobility interests but all aspects affecting people with disabilities and handicaps more than others. This includes mobility, since personal mobility as well as the skills needed for other forms of mobility might be affected negatively, depending on the individual. Most important for mobilities is the notion of equal opportunities, most notable in efforts to increase accessibility of existing transportation and special transportation. The CG-raad is an organisation of organisations. The general assembly is formed by representatives of member-organisations and has the deciding vote on the policies as proposed by the board. How individual members of the member-organisations are represented has not been examined. However, individual members can contact the CG-raad directly regarding issues they encounter. The CG-raad currently has 0.7 Fte available for representation and lobbying for mobility issues. The CG-raad had a turnover of a bit over €10 million in 2009. Almost the entire budget of the CG-raad consists of government subsidy.

     The CG-raad is primarily active at the national level. It participates on the national level in the LOCOV. It provides information and support to member-organisations. On the regional level the CG-raad is not active, yet in most ROVOCs member-organisations of the CG-raad are participating.

3.8 Centrale Samenwerkende Ouderenorganisaties

     The CSO the umbrella organisation of organisations of the elderly: Unie KBO[69], PCOB, NVOG[70] and NOOM[71]. These organisations are themselves groups of organisations. Originally founded on the 13th of November 1954 as the COSBO and renamed into the CSO in 1992 the organisation currently represents about 550.000 members. Up till 2007 the

---

[68] Cooperation Organisations of the Chronically ill; my translation.
[69] Catholic Elderly Union; my translation, hereafter Unie KBO.
[70] Dutch Association of Organisations of Pensioners; my translation, hereafter NVOG.
[71] Network of Organisations of Elderly Migrants; my translation, hereafter NOOM.

ANBO[72] was a member-organisation, it decided to leave the CSO because it felt working together was too restrictive, it had to make too many concessions to their own views in cooperating. The ANBO claims to represent 400.000 members. It can be expected that mobility interest do not diverge too much between the elderly represented by these organisations. The CSO aims at:

'...promoting the interests of the elderly at national and international level, ..., through deliberation, coordination and the resulting collaborations...(Centrale Samenwerkende Ouderenorganisaties [CSO], 2009, art 1; my translation).

This goal is clearly aimed at promoting an interest rather than reaching a particular goal, the statutes thus dictate that the interests are to be determined through a '...joint discussion by the members...' (CSO, art 4 sub 2; my translation). The general assembly consists of the same persons as the board of the organisation, which is formed by an independent chair and two board members each from the member-organisations. Mobility interests are within the member organisations through their respective general assemblies, direct contact through e-mail, phone and letters, and through occasional surveys. The organisations of the elderly aim not only at representing the collective interests of elderly but are also active at the local level in organising activities for their members. The organisation of the CSO is relatively small; it consists of a director and a few policymakers/lobbyists. With a yearly budget of about €650.000 the organisation relies for a large part on staff from its member-organisations to represent its interests. Thus policymakers/lobbyists are employed by the member-organisations, in the case of mobilities by Unie KBO and PCOB, and work both for CSO as their respective organisations[73]. On the local and regional level the member-organisations rely on volunteers.

CSO is a national organisation and thus operates primarily on the national level. It represents its members' mobility interests in the LOCOV and is active in political lobbying both on the national and international level. On the regional and local level its member organisations are themselves active in most ROCOVs and in political lobbying.

---

[72] General Dutch Union of the Elderly; my translation, hereafter ANBO.
[73] Both Unie KBO and PCOB provide one employee for this purpose. Due to overlap in organisation interests it is hard to determine how many Fte is spend for CSO.

3.9 Concluding

This chapter has provided insight in the organisations active in mobility interest representation. Knowledge of their history, members, goals and (financial) means provides insight in extent of representation they can provide to their members. The next chapter will take a closer look at the discourse these organisations function in.

Chapter 4: Perceptions on mobilities, externalities and justice in the Netherlands

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the result of both interviews held with representatives of these organisations, documents obtained from and about representation and lobbying activities of these organisations and other sources. The purpose of this chapter is to reflect the insight in the perceptions of the participants on certain topics. This examination will provide insight in whether mobility representation currently affects the justice situation positively or negatively, leading to conclusions and recommendations in the final chapter. The first paragraph will reflect views on mobility. The second paragraph reflects the perceptions of the participants on priorities in mobilities, and how their views on discourse. The third paragraph discusses the externalities the participants described, and the effects on their members. The fourth paragraph reflects the views the participants had on justice. This is followed by ideas on a minimum level of motility in the fifth paragraph. The sixth paragraph discusses the ways the organisations represent their members interests. But firstly a short recollection of which participant belongs to what organisation:

Geert Hendriks: Veilig Verkeer Nederland [VVN]

Frank Twiss: Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB [ANWB]

Michael van der Vlis: Vereniging Reizigers Openbaar Vervoer [ROVER]

Miriam van Bree: Fietsersbond

Janny Lagendijk: Chronisch Zieken en Gehandicapten Raad [CG-Raad]

Klaas Wierda: Protestants Christelijke Ouderenbond [PCOB] and Centrale Samenwerkende Ouderenorganisaties [CSO]

4.2 Mobility

The first topic discussed in all the interviews was on the role of mobility. Questions were aimed at obtaining insight in the perception of the participants on the goals of mobility. As discussed above in chapter one mobility can have a range of goals. When describing the goals the participants had different ways to do this. Twiss said that the starting point is that 'every Dutchmen should reasonably be able to participate in social life'. The word reasonably is being used here to express a, vague, limit to consequences of this statement. When asked

for an explanation Twiss referred to the limits a spatial and social context can confer and the role of choice and responsibility of the individual. He also noted a growing need due to increasing need for social contacts, as the economy grows. Twiss' view mobility can be interpreted as the result of the acquired freedom in mobility the majority of the ANWB members has. There is no notion of acute shortage of mobility, rather a fear of possibly losing freedom of choice or imposition of costs on their members. Wierda and Lagendijk both referred to uses like being able to do shopping independently, go to work, visit friends and family. Wierda acknowledged this by referring to elderly feeling locked up in wintertime, being unable to cycle or walk due to snow and ice. Lagendijk emphasised that handicapped and chronically ill have the same, general, mobility goals as others but that in the current system the accessibility for those groups is significantly less, affecting quality of life. Both these views reflect much more than the one Twiss provided current limitations and a focus on basic needs. This is also visible in other answers they provided during the interview. This is likely due to the vulnerability of their members. Van Bree stated that 'every person wants to be mobile' but that mobility is not a goal by itself, reflecting the idea that mobility is a social necessity. A means to an end and not without limitations. Hendriks stated that 'everyone should be able to go where he wants', the primary concern being that this can be done in a safe way. He did add that 'mobility is a condition to live' and that isolation (of individuals) is more 'expensive' for society. On a societal level Van der Vlis perceived two main goals: accessibility and 'reversed' accessibility. The first dealing with 'economical, cultural and recreational aspects' and the second having a social function, to prevent social poverty and isolation in rural areas. He then added that the basic function of mobility is 'to travel from A to B'.

This paragraph described the part of the interviews aimed at gaining insight in the perspectives of the organisations on mobility. This was required both to check if the uses in the field match the theoretical uses as well as a basis of interpretation for the rest of the interview. From the above it becomes clear that nuances exist which provide insight in the interests of the respective organisation. The perceived goals of mobility are comparable to the goals defined in literature as described in chapter one, yet different emphases can be seen. These can, at least partially, be traced back to the respective organisations' goals. The following paragraph will look into the perception and role of discourse.

4.3 Discourse

During the interviews, participants was asked about the relative importance of properties of mobilities. Topics like speed, time, cost and quality of the project in order to obtain insight in the preferences on these topics and into the current discourse on mobility. These were discussed in relation to each other. Even though the participants were in general agreement on certain properties or values the application could differ a lot. On the topic of speed Twiss argued that: 'people want to travel fast, and this freedom should not be restricted without good reason'. Van der Vlis expressed that importance of speed, travel time and quality depends on the individual. Also he said that 'most people do not mind a reliable half hour', arguing that it is more important to always be slower while knowing about how long it takes than being fast with a large risk of delay. In this respect he also argued that in relation to the car it is not a big problem for public transportation to take more time for travelling short distances. For longer distances this becomes more important. Van Bree argued that travel speed itself is not that important, since the time-budget for travelling remains constant at an average of about one hour. She also expressed the importance of reliability of travel over speed. Hendriks added that speed does affect safety, and for that reason should be reduced where needed, but that the tolerance of car drivers to drive at low speeds is limited to 'two or three minutes'. They would start driving too fast after that length of time anyway. Responding to a follow-up question he confirmed the importance of the experience of speed, ease, safety. The importance of 'experienced time' was also stressed by Van der Vlis and Van Bree. Both argued that this time differed from real travel time. Van Bree said: 'there is a difference between for example a train journey and waiting or transferring because the traveller does not rationally experience this time'. Van der Vlis argued likewise, stressing that individuals do have freedom to adjust their trip, depending on individual needs. On the subject of access Van Bree mentioned that the Fietsersbond in the past used the number of destinations within cycling distance: 'if an amenity is lacking within that range you have less choice... this was not the best argument in policy discussions so we adjusted by using more relevant arguments from current discourses'.

In discussing modalities the participants of the ANWB, ROVER and Fietsersbond had clear preference for car, PT and bike. As Twiss said: 'car mobility is very important to us, 90% of our members use the car a lot', adding that the ANWB is an organisation with a wide range of goals: in some cases PT or bike are more suitable. Van der Vlis stressed that ROVER is explicitly for PT, yet whether to use PT or car is depending heavily on the context of the individual and for rural transport, logistics and business use the car or truck are legitimate

modalities. He added: 'PT is crucial for the functioning of cities'. Van Bree argued that 'mobility has to be arranged in such a way that you do not cause nuisances or harm for/to others' to continue explaining how bikes comply with this definition best as compared to car and PT. Hendriks explained that some modalities are safer than others and that VVN would prefer people to use modalities that cause less risk than others, explicitly preferring walking and cycling over cars and PT; adding that for some users some modalities can be significantly safer. Using a car is preferable to cycling for elderly due to a high risk of falling. Where Hendriks related modality choice to safety, Lagendijk related modality choice to accessibility: 'Whereas PT should be accessible for everyone this is often not the case, making the car in many cases the only viable option for longer distances'. Wierda stressed the accessibility for the elderly, adding that PT currently can present difficulties for elderly due to uncertainties regarding travel time, connections and social safety, but also the quality of the trip can be problematic. 'Although on paper 'Valys' and the 'regiotaxi'[74] are good systems, we receive complaints from our target group about uncertainties or the style of driving'. The only organisation discriminating on a specific use for a modality is ROVER, Van der Vlis made a clear difference between commuters and 'economic' traffic. Commuters, from/to the city, should have disincentives to using the car. For example by strict parking policies and facilitating PT, according to Van der Vlis, because 'they can choose for an alternative trip, for example by PT'. In response to the question whether car use is current in higher demand than PT Van der Vlis said: 'yes, you cannot influence demand completely but for society it would be better if you can choose for PT'.

The participants were presented with questions regarding discourse awareness in order to find out how or if they are influenced by it. In general it can be said that the organisations are very much aware of discourses and possibilities to use these in representation of interests. The most interesting citation in this respect was provided by Lagendijk: 'the definition of a handicap is that the social environment is arranged in such a way that having a handicap leads to having a social disadvantage. Due to the inaccessible society we have built, this is a problem'. This demonstrates awareness of the idea of space as described in chapter two, while at the same time forcing to rethink the 'cause' of low motility, or inaccessibility. Using an example Lagendijk said: 'you are wearing glasses and depending on the (technical) possibilities of the system that is a limitation or not'. In this same vein of thought Lagendijk remarked that in the current society it is normal that people (from the same social circle) tend

---

[74] Valys and Regiotaxi are forms of (collective) demand based transportation used to carry out the 'Wmo' (Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning, or Social support act; my translation), instated per January 1 2007.

to live far apart from each other; this puts extra strain upon those who are less mobile. Other participants showed awareness and use of existing discourse as well. Hendriks confirmed using ideas on sustainability to discourage car-use in order to improve road safety. He also told VVN used health concerns in the case of safety around primary schools: 'we use the health-thinking surrounding the increasing weight of children to promote children cycling or walking to school by stressing it is also good for their health', adding that 'environmentalists also use safety arguments to discourage car use'. Likewise Van Bree explained how the Fietsersbond uses argumentation, based on available discourses, best suiting the discussion at hand, whether it is on health, spatial planning, economy or something else in order to promote cycling. When asked about a focus on specific topics from different discourses Twiss responded by explaining that because the ANWB has a wide range of goals compared to one-issue organisations, like environmental organisations, it generally provides a more balanced view. For example in the case of accessibility of recreational areas/nature he explains how environmentalists are unwilling to give up any nature for this cause whereas the ANWB is much more willing to balance between the different interests it represents. Hendriks argued that, regardless of other discourses present, economic losses are the main reason for mobility-policies: 'government does not care that you and me are stuck in traffic, it is about lorries and business-travel'. The participants was then asked whether they or their organisations were actively looking to affect discourse to their benefit. It was not immediately clear for all participants what would be the use of this, nor how to go about this.

This paragraph started by describing the mobility discourse in the Netherlands using participants' perspectives regarding a range of concepts relevant in mobilities. It continued discussing perceptions of modality preferences. By getting to know how participants value different qualities of mobilities insight in how something can be unequal is gained. The discussion on valuation of different qualities and modalities is relevant for understanding the views on externalities, as discussed in the next paragraph. The insight gained in the discourse of mobility is therefore a vital step towards understanding how situations can be unjust. Regarding potential injustices it can be argued that disproportionate influence on forming discourse is an injustice. It seemed that the organisations are using their awareness of other discourses in choosing specific topics to focus on as well as trying to affect the perception on specific topics . However, awareness of mobility discourse itself proved limited, and the organisations do not seem to aim to change it. For now there is no reason to assume potential injustice on this point. The next paragraph will discuss the views of the participants on externalities.

4.4 Externalities

In chapter one three categories of externalities have been discussed. During the interviews the participants was asked which externalities they perceived in general. Follow-up questions regarded particular externalities affecting the respective members or their target groups. Although all participants were familiar with the term externalities they seemed more comfortable using 'problems' or 'inequalities' than externalities. Given that 'externalities' is more of a umbrella-concept, these terms were often more suited to describe a specific situation. Follow-up questions in this part of the interview were aimed at gaining an understanding of how the participants perceived the nature of the externalities they perceived. This could include the role of the individual, social and spatial processes. This also included asking for judgements on the acceptability of third party harm as a prelude to discussing justice. This should provide insight in processes (re)producing these externalities and if and how these processes are perceived by mobility interest organisations.

All the participants came up with or recognised the first category of externalities and provided examples as environmental pollution, noise, stench or diminishing fossil fuels. Some other externalities were brought up as well. Hendriks introduced subjective[75] and objective road safety[76]. The risk of accidents is something which is unequally spread amongst road users: 'especially (young) moped users and cyclists over the age of 80 have a high risk of accidents', according to Hendriks. Van Bree explained that cyclists are pretty independent, able to cope with most situations, but that road safety and bikes getting stolen are problems that are most important for cyclists[77]. Twiss, first mentioning traffic jams and speeding before pollution, linked bikes (and cars) getting stolen to providing free choice, suggested that lacking parking facilities for both limits motility of its users. Hendriks explained the nature of the externality of speeding cars: 'Speeding is the largest risk factor. Yet when I drive five km/h too fast nothing happens to me. Everyone is constantly being confirmed in wrong behaviour, and not getting punished. (Q: Why?) The individual gain is more important than the loss of the collective, which the individual does not experience'. Van der Vlis remarked pollution is inherent in mobility, although for PT it is less than for cars, and that as such

---

[75] The perception/feeling of safety and potential accident, for a range of slightly different definitions see Sørensen & Mosslemi (2009, p. 8).

[76] Described as either the actual number of accidents or the risk of accidents, for more information see Sørensen & Mosslemi (2009, p. 6).

[77] Although not strictly an externality, bike thefts do impact motility both directly (having your bike stolen) and indirectly (avoiding mobility due to fear of having your bike stolen) both can be influenced by mobility policies like guarded parking facilities. As such it is relevant.

mobility should not be stimulated as such but only for serving its goals. Comparing modalities Van Bree argued that mobilities should 'be organised in such a way that you do not cause hindrance to others. Bikes cause no nuisance, no pollution, use little space and are healthily for people. That is different from cars and PT'. Twiss concurred, saying that cars diminish liveability a lot particularly in urban areas.

Inequality in mobilities or motility were also discussed. A comment by Wierda reveals the influence of personal preferences and capabilities on motility: 'some [elderly] would rather not drive in the evening, at night or when there is intense sunlight. Probably due to impaired vision'. Responding to being asked how mobile elderly are, he said: 'an increasing amount of elderly has a driving licence, although a lot of women lack one and PT in rural areas is often, depending on the province, lacking. And although the elderly are less restricted by having a job often they are depending on mobility when volunteering. Van Bree concurred with the elderly being a vulnerable group: 'being older it is hard to be mobile, especially due to personal limitations... hearing, seeing. There is a lot of interaction in traffic... The system is built on [the assumption of] those personal qualities'. Lagendijk, whose target group deals, more than others, with physical limitations, explains that accessibility of shops, streets, PT and more is often immensely lacking due to bad design and spatial arrangement. Lagendijk: 'Own transportation [car] can compensate for lacking transport but is financially not feasible for many. Compensating (collective) demand based transportation like the WMO-cab, Valys, student-transportation or patient-transport take longer, are time-consuming, unreliable and of bad quality ... Flying goes reasonably well. For the quality of life this would be bad for everyone but this group is being discriminated against'. Van der Vlis underscored that differences are not only noticeable per individual or group: 'per province there is a lot of difference, it depends on political majorities. City-regions[78] are often more left-wing than rural areas, so they generally have better PT. Of course busy lines are economically profitable so frequencies pose no problem'. Hendriks added that in either rural or urban context elderly who cannot or will not use PT should probably be kept mobile by letting them keep their car. 'Often they will limit themselves according to their capabilities, perhaps combined with some advice or education. From a traffic safety point of view that is a tricky thing to say'. Another inequality noted by Hendriks is in the risk of accidents between indigenous and immigrant children, where the latter have a higher risk than the former: 'possibly because they are less adept at cycling, they did not grow up with it. Often they live in poorer neighbourhoods with

---

[78] Administrative level between municipalities and provinces in the Netherlands.

narrower and straighter streets, more cars. Poorer neighbourhoods are worse off in traffic safety'. Van der Vlis reckoned that spatial inequalities in mobility have another side as well: 'in cities with a higher density the need for cars is less, and more can be accessed by foot or bike. There is probably a relation between income and mobility but either way it is very important that PT is available and well placed'. Van Bree criticised the spatial planning aimed at car use: 'planning is not done with the possibilities of the average user in mind. For example: new neighbourhoods have parking norms to guarantee being able to park while something alike does not exist for cyclists or pedestrians. The norm is the car user and the other possibilities come after that'. Discussing another case Van Bree remarked: 'Availability of good cycling infrastructure can differ greatly between municipalities: Houten has good infrastructure, and there you will see even very young children cycling on their own; this you would not see in other places. In Den Haag and Heerlen the infrastructure is very bad and people cycle much less there'.

The third category of externalities, that of socio-spatial consequences, has also been discussed in the interviews. When asked about the problem of ageing and the shrinking rural population Van Bree noted the reduction of PT in rural areas, due to reduction of the population adding that: 'the 'Regiotaxi' should compensate for the disappearing bus services but the elderly will experience a hurdle in using it. Van der Vlis concurred that: 'rural areas are becoming more empty: amenities are disappearing, the population is decreasing' adding that: 'elderly should not be forced to move to the city, that is why it is important to guarantee minimum PT levels'. Van Bree argued that the problem partially lies in the merging of amenities: when three hospitals merge into one that stimulates mobility. ... (Q: Does the Fietsersbond have a long term view on this?) Yes, the distances should be kept short. A mobility check should be done for amenities in order not to increase the total travelled kilometres. Neighbourhoods should be planned in 'reverse': starting with an analysis of destinations for walking and cycling and then for cars. And also on the regional level'. Lagendijk explained that: 'if amenities were closer, less mobility would be needed. We do look at amenities near the house, but not at laws and policies regarding spatial planning of houses. (Q: Because it is long term?) Yes, and because you cannot influence it; it is not national policy'. When asked whether VVN aimed at reducing mobility (since less mobility could mean less safety risks) Hendriks replied: 'That is not our aim, neither do we stimulate people to live closer to their work or amenities'. In response to being asked whether ROVER would prefer there to be less mobility Van der Vlis responded: 'No, what ROVER wants is that the spatial arrangement is adjusted in such a way that people are as little as possible

obligated to move. Like in the 'compact city policy'[79], new housing projects should be located within the city rather than outside'. When suggested that other spatial developments might affect mobility as well Van der Vlis answered that, although he tried to prevent 'weidewinkels[80]' from establishing in Amsterdam in the past, it is hard to stop this development altogether.

This paragraph explored the perception of externalities following the three categories, and discussed for each what externalities the participants perceived and what their ideas were on these externalities. This was done in order to identify potential areas which could be consequential. In doing so it appeared that vulnerable groups exist depending on the type of externality and the participants perceive that very specific groups are affected more by externalities than others. For example concerning the material consequences; especially children and elderly are affected by safety risks. A general agreement existed on those with less motility capital being affected more: this concerns primarily the groups represented by the CG-raad and CSO but also groups that are only represented indirectly: young children and adolescents. This is consistent with the findings on externalities in chapter two. These sort of inequalities could be a sign of injustice, yet whether that is the case depends on whether the interests of those concerned were taken into account equally. The organisations seem especially aware of, and focused on, short term effects and lesser so of long term and more complex effects. It seems that this is due to the lesser impact they can have on these, yet several participants discussed their views on how long term planning could alleviate several externalities. The following paragraph will discuss the views on justice.

4.5 Justice

Justice is a broadly interpretable concept and therefore this paragraph discusses the views of the participants related to justice. This is done in order to acquire insight in what is thought of justice in the practice of mobilities representation. Regularly, with all the noted inequalities, the issue of responsibility came up. In general it seemed important for the participants whether those affected by an externality were somehow capable in avoiding this externality or partially responsible for causing the externality. The participants seemed to

---

[79] Spatial policy aimed at increasing housing density in urban areas rather than building housing in rural areas. Originated in Amsterdam around 1978, introduced by Van der Vlis at the time in function as municipal executive for, but not only, spatial planning and transportation. From 1983 on the concept has been repeatedly used as planning principle in national spatial planning instruments, for example the 'Structuurschets Stedelijke Gebieden' (1983), 'Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening' (1988), 'Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra' [VINEX] (1991), 'Actualisering Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra' [VINAC] (1997).
[80] Stores located on the edges of town, aimed at customers that come by car.

identify this with justice. Twiss said: 'when living in an urban area you have many possibilities, a lot of PT, the stores are always open and cheap. In rural areas there is less PT, more expensive stores which are open less. If you choose for the urban, then those are just the given properties of the area'. In line with these views on responsibility Hendriks explained that although VVN strives for safer travel 'it is someone's own choice if he wants to travel somewhere, as is the modality used for that movement. We only try to influence him to do that in a safe way'. Van Bree explains that people, in general, are free to choose where they live and that that choice affects their motility options. Often bikes are not a primary motive in when choosing, thus they can end up with bad infrastructure for cycling. Van Bree also expressed her view on responsibility: 'the individual is primarily responsible for his own motility capital, for example by getting a driving licence'.

Also included in most interviews was the topic of free choice, and the participants view on maximising free choice. As discussed in chapter one this is closely related to freedom and mobility. This is also reflected in the responses of the participants. Twiss started by relating freedom of choice[81] to modality choice: 'concerning freedom of choice, the car is often the fastest way to travel, but not always. It is important to be able to link different modalities. If PT is more environmentally friendly, make it more appealing for the user. Do not bully car-users to increase PT use'. The ANWB is thus for improving the choice users have between car and PT by improving an PT rather than by creating a disincentive for cars. In reaction to this preference to maximal free choice Van der Vlis responded: 'that means endless spending. In the Belgian case, in which a minimum of PT is guaranteed for any location, the law[82] also works the other way: not only do there have to be bus stops within 400 metres of any housing, they also will not allow new housing more than 400 metres from a bus stop'. Hendriks discussed measures limiting freedom by discussing what is and what is not acceptable in making mobility more safe: 'If pedestrians all have to wear a fluorescent vest that improves their safety, but is it acceptable? It limits their freedom. Should our mobility system be arranged in such a way that pedestrians have to wear a fluorescent vest?' When asked if car drivers should be allowed to listen to the radio, call or text he applied the same principle: 'it is a slippery slope, distraction in traffic is deadly. The chances on an accident increase, but what is acceptable? Having passengers if they do not talk to the driver? Children

---

[81] During the interview Twiss showed a visualisation of the ANWB goals: a pyramid containing the seven main goals. Maximal freedom of choice was in the top triangle. When asked why it was on top Twiss responded: 'I do not know, but I use all the seven core concepts'.
[82] In Belgium the decree 'Basismobiliteit' has been issued in 2001 for the region Flanders. For a discussion and evaluation see Onderzoeksgroep TOR (2008).

in the car? If you only knew... How far do you have to go to rule out these risks'? When asked what the consequences would be of 'being able to do what one wants' Van Bree responded: If mobility causes harm to others the government needs to intervene. (Q: How much harm can someone's mobility cause?) We do not have something like a 'personal mobility budget' in the Netherlands'.

This leads to the question to what extent harm is acceptable. During the interviews in several cases a participant would suggest that there is a limit to the harm, yet that in certain cases it is acceptable. Van der Vlis reckoned that: 'some harm is acceptable, some things are part of living in a city. (Q: Particulate matter concentrations?[83]) That would be over if the Amsterdam economy would be gone. Too absolutistic'. This indicates that some harms have to be accepted for certain gains, in this case economic gains. Likewise, when asked if there is something as acceptable risk in order to be mobile, Hendriks weighed safety risks and mobility: 'There is no hard limit, it is a scale. It can always be safer, you can give up something to gain more safety', adding that 'the mobility of one individual should not be detrimental to the safety of another. The different modalities come with different safety risks for others depending on size, weight and speed'. As noted earlier, Van Bree argued that mobility should be arranged in such a way that no harm would be caused to others: 'government intervention is acceptable to a high degree. The problems caused by mobility are unacceptable so policies are required'. Hendriks added that it is not simply the harm that is relevant: 'it is also a form of inequality; I am at risk while others have nothing to fear from me. Young cars users for example cause a lot of risk, for themselves as well as for others. Our priority lies with those who are mostly at risk by others rather than these groups'.

The next topic at hand is closely related: the views of the organisations regarding the allocation of costs in mobility. Increasing or decreasing the costs of mobility is often used to make a modality more or less attractive, for a certain place, timeslot or simply to provide financial room for mitigation. One way to do this, which has been discussed in the interviews, is road pricing[84]. In the past decennia this has been a recurring topic in Dutch politics. Although at times being close to introduction, to date it has not been introduced. Another way is through parking tariffs. In response to discussing road pricing as creating inequality Van Bree responded that that could be the case if the price is high, yet 'inequality already exists; for example you have to wait 3 years for a parking licence in Amsterdam. … It has to be

---

[83] Particulate matter in urban areas is often contributed in large part to transport related emissions.
[84] The general concept of road pricing aims at charging users, often aimed at cars or lorries. Depending on the specific system and pricing scheme application can differ. No definitive road pricing scheme is on the table at the moment or at the time of the time of the interviews. Therefore the general idea is being discussed.

possible to reach your destination. Pricing policies currently make city centres and peak hours in PT more expensive, it is weird that that is different for cars. (Q: Price differentiation is a good development?) Price is a good incentive but also important are speed, comfort, predictability and control. All those are subject to policies'. Van der Vlis agreed: 'expensive parking [in city centres] is a good way, but of course it should be possible to get there'. Discussing road pricing Twiss revealed his line of thinking on paying for the involved costs: 'Mobility should cost what it actually costs. The price of a car. Roads, the land used, construction, maintenance. It makes sense that car-users pay for that. (Q: Do car-users pay more than it costs?) In the Netherlands a car is very expensive, you have to pay BPM[85]. Mobility costs money but the price paid should be closer to the actual costs. Also it is alright if environmental damage is included in the price. If you drive a car that damages the environment less, you should pay less. If you collect money for a something [an effect caused by the mobility at hand] it should be used to solve the problem. This could be done through road pricing. We are not for differentiation on time and place, maybe in the future'. In the last line Twiss refers one of the potential uses of road pricing: reducing traffic jams. Another remark by Twiss clarifies this position: 'the perception [of car-users] is currently that the government is unable to solve traffic jams, even with road pricing. They want you to pay for being in a traffic jam. You should get money instead. When you are in a traffic jam the government has failed in its task to facilitate mobility'. Van der Vlis had a completely different opinion. In response to being asked about the costs of car use, explaining how costs are spread out and thus unclear, he responded: 'that is one of the reasons why I am for road pricing: provide insight in the costs of mobility, and make all costs variable. And differentiate on time and place. (Q: What would be the most important goal of road pricing?) As far as I am concerned the same as parking policies in Amsterdam: make sure there are as little commuters as possible on the road: accessibility. Other purposes as environmental ones are legit, but are often also related to time and place: concentrated at rush hours. The most important resistance against road pricing is simply the fear that they [government] will impose on 'de heilige koe[86]'. (Would road pricing lead to more people using PT?) I think so, although filling up PT is not a goal. Reducing car traffic is, especially in cities due to pollution and space issues'. Regarding the perspective of the car-user Twiss said: 'Once on a conference T.

---

[85] 'Wet op de belasting van personenauto's en motorrijwielen' instated per December 24 1992. Tax on cars, formerly about 40%.Under reform to take CO2 emissions into account.
[86] Dutch expression referring to the car as 'a sacred cow' [which refers to the role of cows in Hinduism], suggesting some sort of irrationality on the part of the car owner, over appreciating his/her car.

Netelenbos[87] said: 'And if it gets too busy we will adjust the controls and that will make the people get off the road.' That is exactly what citizens are afraid of, they need clarity. Car-users know government is robbing them, that is the perception. So with every new thing they think: 'what are they doing and how can they abuse that to take money from me.' We know that, so we are looking for ways to improve accessibility without evoking that image.' Van Bree said regarding road pricing: 'hopefully it will account for time and place, environmental effects and traffic safety. A good way would be to make the first ten kilometres much more expensive. That would stimulate the use of the right modality for the right use, the logical choice'. Van Bree also considered a different case: 'in improving traffic safety for cyclists costs can be involved: firstly problem awareness is important, then the analysis of the problem. Cyclists die in accidents involving cars. In that case there are two possible solutions. Or make cyclist subordinate to cars, that we do not want. So we need different measures: for example airbags on the outside of cars. (Q: So the costs would be for the car user?) They are bigger and heavier so they have more responsibility. So they should pay the costs'. Hendriks referred to the case in which neighbourhoods are less safe due to the spatial arrangement: 'The monetary investment to adjust the streets is not popular. The cars would have to be parked outside the street; that would not be accepted. Besides, the people are used to the situation'. He used this example to make clear that the likelihood of change for these neighbourhoods would be relatively small, even if the inhabitants would have enough influence to affect change.

This paragraph discussed the issues the participants came up during the interviews related to justice. The participants discussed the issues of (personal) responsibility, free choice, harm and costs while doing so providing insight into their values regarding justice. The participants have different views that are primarily expressed in the different foci they have. The perceptions of justice of the participants are relevant because they reflects the expectations they have of themselves and other actors. By framing justice in line with their own interests the organisations have a tool to justify their stances on specific issues in the debate. Justice for the participants seems primarily about the acceptability of their members being affected by externalities, or policies aimed at dealing with externalities. Also the idea of redistribution of wealth/motility was evoked. The ensuing discussions around a minimum level of motility are reflected below.

---

[87] At the time the Minister proposing a road pricing scheme.

4.6 Minimum amount motility

As seen above all the organisations see mobility as something required for individuals, and also or by extension as required for a functioning society. Mobility can be regarded as a basic need, given its necessity in realising other basic needs and, if not regarded as a basic need, in realising co-presence. In the interviews the participants was asked if they think a minimum level of motility would need to be defined and be part of policies. In the following discussions the participants would be asked for their views on what this level would have to be and the realisation of such policies. Following a discussion on the reduction of amenities and funds for rural areas Wierda said: 'there needs to remain a minimum level, possibly by using volunteers. For elderly that is important because they want to keep living where they have always lived. It is defendable to have a minimum level. There are already a lot of municipalities with only a local bus. I do not think large amounts of money are being used for PT for very small villages'. Twiss' responded likewise after discussing rural deprivation worsening motility capital of the rural population: 'that is why we need to define a minimum level. It is a form of injustice which we want to deal with. But we should not provide an 'optimal' level for everyone. Van der Vlis explained that, although it would probably be better for elderly to move to the city, they should not be forced to: 'that is why we need a minimum level of PT. We are jealous of Flanders, but we are not able to obtain similar norms because it costs too much money. In large cities that is different'. A case in which levels of motility are defined is that of the earlier mentioned WMO-transportation. Under the WMO the target group, mostly consisting of physically handicapped and chronically and mentally ill (SGOB, 2006), is provided regional transportation by 'regio-taxi' and transportation outside one's own region by 'Valys'. The latter has two categories, providing either 700 km per year or 2250 if the individual is unable to use the train[88]. As a representative of the groups affected Lagendijk was asked how the current system related to a minimum level of motility and the acceptability of the limitations. She responded: The CG-raad strives for an unlimited budget. I do not know why the budgets are set at the current levels (Q: could a limitation be acceptable?) Well, of course Valys should not be abused, but it should also be taken into account that Valys is limited in ways PT is not limited, it is harder to use, you have to call 3 hours up front.. that should be accounted for in the granting of kilometres'. Lagendijk elaborated: 'Mobility is needed, and it should be possible to have equality. That does not have to be absolute but with a comparable income comparable mobility should be possible.

---

[88] In 2009 respectively 257,744 and 8,128 persons were in these categories. That year an approximate 145,431 persons used Valys. The money spent was €55 million (Ministerie van Financiën (2008, 2010a, 2010b).

Mobility between rich and poor differs as well. Besides, we do not ask for free transportation but for PT-tariffs. Also, people in our target group are relatively more often in lower income groups, that should be taken into account'. From the perspective of the cyclist Van Bree explained that: 'it cannot be formulated as an amount of kilometres; it depends on the context; safety is important. Personal limitations, seeing and hearing have great impact; when you are old you should be able to be mobile. You have to be able to go anywhere, also without a driving licence'. Van Bree explained further: 'In rural areas PT from village to village is a bad choice, one bus for one passenger is too expensive. You should provide PT for those who do not have another choice'. When asked what would be a acceptable minimum level Wierda responded that 'it is different for everyone... one bus at the hour, or two. Frequency is important but more important is that the stops are well positioned so no transfers are required and the distance to home is short'. Wierda: 'one way of doing that is using a mobility test for spatial projects, to check if no one drops below the minimum level. Defining a minimum level is desirable, PT has to be an alternative at older age'. There are thus two different approaches as mentioned by the participants: one advocating a more or less nation-wide minimum level and one aimed at providing motility to the motility-poor. The preference for one or the other seems related to those represented, and the costs involved. As Van der Vlis, after being asked how high this minimum level should be, said: 'Of course there is a financial stop to it. PT is currently being subsidised for more than half the cost. (Q: The limit for the minimum level lies at the availability of money?) For the government, yes. We do not think the tax payer has to pay endlessly'. A minimum level can, depending on how it is applied have different motivations. Wierda provided an example of elderly being affected by limitation of a bus schedule in a rural area because their studying (grand)children now required them to drive them to the train station on Sundays in the afternoon/evening. In the same way Van der Vlis suspected that the ANWB would be in favour of a minimum level of PT because 'they also have interests in recreation. That is what 'thin' lines are used for most'.

A closely related topic discussed during the interviews was (re)distribution; this mostly came up while discussing inequalities in general. The perspective of the participants on whether and who has to pay or be limited in mobility provides insight in their views on justice. The various responses dealing with forms of (re)distribution are discussed here. Following a discussion on affordability Twiss said: 'the proceeds of car mobility all go onto a big pile. These funds should be used for mobilities, primarily it should go to roads but some can go to PT'. As indicated before Twiss thus agrees with a form of redistribution, although this does not reveal to what extent. When asked whether costs charged to car-users if road-

pricing were to be introduced should go to PT Van der Vlis responded: 'yes, the goal is to get commuters out of the car. They will have to go somewhere else; PT should be able to cope with that and be attractive to use'. When asked whether it is just that car-users have to pay for someone else's motility Van der Vlis said: 'well, everyone pays for the public interest and people have to pay for the problems they cause. (Q: So a car-user pays for his own mobility and for someone else's?) Because those others are not on the road and thus do not cause traffic jams'. Throughout the interview it became very clear that Lagendijk favours redistribution, needed because providing mobility against standard PT-tariffs for the groups involved requires substantial financial input. When asked about redistribution Lagendijk said: 'in the past Valys was unlimited. There is a limited budget. (Q: Shortage of money?) ... that society is willing to pay for it'. This indicates that the availability of money for redistribution is primarily based on the availability of money, rather than ideologically inspired. Likewise when asking Twiss whether the introduction of a minimum level of motility would be influenced by the level of influence different groups have, said: 'this is clearly a financial matter. We can imagine that in areas where hardly anyone uses PT it becomes more expensive; it costs a lot of money after all. Differentiation in price is acceptable'. Defending the lesser used PT services Van der Vlis explained: 'if you look at the train services that the NS used to say were unprofitable, which are now under control of other parties, you will see that due to quality improvements these lines are now far more attractive and more used then before'. Thereby suggesting that what seems unprofitable and in need of subsidising now could very well be profitable when managed correctly. In response to being asked if it is just that society would have to pay for keeping a minimum level of PT Wierda responded: 'you could ask the same question regarding the construction of a new road', after explaining that a need exists for a minimum level of PT.

This paragraph examined the views on redistribution of motility, specifically in the form of a minimum level. This for the purpose of exploring a potential route by which redistribution as a right is considered plausible, how it potentially could be executed, and its acceptability amongst these organisations. Given the recognised importance of motility at both an individual as a societal level this issue is relevant when dealing with externalities concerning societal and socio-spatial consequences. Although all participants agree on some form of a minimum level it is much less clear what this should entail and who should pay for this. It seems unlikely that general agreement on such measures is possible due to the different interests that are being represented. Following the reasoning on justice it is in this respect instrumental that a degree of redistribution is established through equal representation.

Therefore the next two paragraphs will discuss the matters of under-/overrepresentation and the way the organisations represent.

4.7 Under-/overrepresentation

After discussing the views on justice in mobilities the topic of the interviews switched to equality in representation. The discussions explored how the organisations determine the interests of their members and the relationship between representation and inequalities. This lead to the question whether there is over- or underrepresentation of specific groups. The answers given must be seen in the context of the interests the participants are likely to have. Also discussed were potential differences in representation within the member/target groups of the organisations, possibly due to colliding interests.

When asked whether there are parts of the CG-raad' target group that are not represented Lagendijk responded that: 'there are three umbrella-organisations, one for mentally handicapped, one for the mentally ill and then there is the CG-raad. I do not think there are people that are in our target group that are not being represented'. When asked for inequality within their own target group Lagendijk explained that the determining the agenda and priorities the member-organisations were very understanding: those with marginal interests understand that capacity is lacking and that the more pressing issues get most of my scarce time'. Discussing inequality in representation Lagendijk did make a point of the large differences in capability between organisations: 'The CG-raad has 28 hours a week for representing of interests. Our national representation is thus severely limited. We do not have the funds to spend time on all relevant issues. Our budget is primarily provided by the ministry of Health, welfare and sports. They do not take mobility into account and the income from our member organisations is low. Society should invest more'. She continued: 'the inequality in power as compared to Pro-Rail[89], NS and 'Transport en Logistiek Nederland'[90] is huge; that should be exposed more[91]'. Twiss reckoned that it could well be possible that not everyone is being represented: 'although there are a lot of organisations'. Talking about representation within the ANWB itself Twiss explained that although there exists diversity among the members a large part of the members is a car-owner, in large due to the road assistance service they offer. When asked about weighing between different represented

---

[89] Pro-Rail manages the Dutch railway network.
[90] Transport and Logistics Netherlands; my translation, hereafter TLN. Interest organisation for transportation and logistics companies.
[91] The inequality referred to here is one between citizens and corporations, and falls outside of the scope of this thesis.

interests, like the environment, he said: 'often we talk about stimulating something, for example a car that is more environmentally friendly; can we make it more attractive to buy? The extent to which you do that.. is incredibly complicated. We have a wide range of interests to represent, which can conflict'. Talking about the VANWBL Twiss said: 'that was during the nineties, there were some power struggles, in those days we did little research among our members. They would say: 'they never asked me'. When we started researching the opinions about 'Anders Betalen voor Mobiliteit'[92], we opened the poll up for everyone. (Q: With the goal to have members feel represented?) Yes. (Q: And VANBWL?) In the general assembly decisions are made through voting. If a group of members takes over control that can have a big impact… In practice there are hardly ever big differences of opinion, mostly accents. In writing policies I do not think about what the general assembly would think of it. That only comes into play afterwards. The overall idea does not get changed'. Considering overrepresentation Twiss did not go in to detail: 'you can never be sure of it. We are there for our members, not for every Dutch citizen. Of course some groups are more represented than others. That is just the way it is'.

Talking about representation within his members Wierda explained that: 'especially the group 50 to 65 is underrepresented in the PCOB; if counting CSO that group is better represented. The older elderly are overrepresented in that respect. (Q: Does that affect your priorities?) We do have a lot of attention for healthcare and other subjects aimed at those groups' (Q: Do you expect the growing group of elderly to exert significant influence on spatial planning and mobility?) That is hard to say, at the moment elderly are not very much involved, judging by our members'. Van der Vlis was more explicit and explained that: 'car-drivers are overrepresented. Although their interests are represented in an unfocused way. Differently from ROVER the ANWB does not make a distinction as to whether the mobility is of use for society, the same goes for the 'Consumentenbond'. They also explicitly say changing the modal split[93] is not part of their policy. ROVER, CSO and the Fietsersbond are explicitly aiming at changing the modal split. Interest organisations for car-users do not, and politics are sensitive to that'. Hendriks argued along the same line: 'We do not all have the same interests. Some groups are poorly represented in the political lobby, en some groups are well-represented. If you look at measures taken then you will see that, politicians, people between 40 and 60 years old, car-users, take decisions over what could be safer at the expense

---

[92] Paying Differently for Mobility; my translation. Twiss refers to a cabinet plan introduced presented to parliament on November 30 2007 aimed at introducing a form of road pricing. The plan was cancelled March 18 2010.
[93] The modal split is the distribution of mobility over modalities.

of mobility. (Q: For other groups?) Yes, the decisions taken surprisingly often have consequences for others then themselves. They understand that you should be able to call while driving a car. If they cycle they understand why *they* do not need a helmet, but as soon as the decision has to be weighed for children it is easier'. Twiss was very clear on this: 'children are represented by their parents, and they think traffic safety is very important. Therefore we provide schools with the tools to educate children about traffic'. When discussing the differences within the VVN members Hendriks explained how different ideas exist on how to reach the same goal: 'some aim at using technical solutions, infrastructure, make roads 'Duurzaam Veilig'[94]. Others aim at influencing behaviour, providing information and education from an early age on'. While discussing the subject of objective and subjective safety Hendriks did reveal other differences: 'there are differences in the organisation how to deal with this. Should we just aim at reducing deaths and take a lack of subjective safety for granted?' Van Bree did not notice much discussion or inequality among cyclists: 'maybe between normal cyclists and those on road bikes? We do get complaints about hindrance they cause each other'. More to the point she explained that: 'especially immigrant children and elderly are underrepresented in the Fietsersbond. It is a new development, takes a while before it can be seen in policies or statistics. The dialogue with these groups is more and more visible in 'Vogelaar'-neighbourhoods[95]'. Van Bree explained that it is likely that these groups will get increasingly involved in local departments. Explaining her view on which group is worst off in representation Van Bree said: 'PT-users are probably worst off in representation, although they do get a lot of attention when there is trouble with the trains' (Q: Why are they off worse then?) They have 1 million discount card holders; yet ROVER is very small compared to the number of people they represent. Also the problems are so big in PT. The Fietsersbond copes with relatively small problems, a road crossing or something small. A railroad line is a much larger project, with a lot of interests'. Following the interview Van Bree added by mail: 'in the case of car use, cycling and walking the user has a lot of control over their departure time and the route taken. PT-users are bound to the existing schedule. They cannot influence the supply. That is why it is so important that the government arranges the consultation of PT-users well, as they did in the LOCOV and ROCOVs' (Van Bree, personal communication, August 24, 2010).

---

[94] Sustainably safe; my translation. A 'safe system approach' road planning concept. Aims arranging roads in order to prevent accidents and injury. See Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Verkeersveiligheid (2005) for a detailed discussion.

[95] A group of 40 problematic neighbourhoods appointed on March 22 2007 by then Minister Ella Vogelaar of 'Wonen, Wijken en Integratie' (Living, Neighbourhoods and Integration; my translation). Van Bree referred to the relatively high percentage of immigrants living in these neighbourhoods.

This paragraph discussed under- and overrepresentation in several forms as discussed with the participants. The aim of this was to find out whether there are groups that are not being represented currently or whether there are groups whose interests are overrepresented. This could mean that there is inequality in the extent to which interests are being taken into account. The participants all indicated that there are no groups that are not being represented, although they did agree that there might be variations in the extent of representation. It seems the organisations perceive primarily inequalities in representation but not total exclusion of representation. Although clearly not all citizens of the Netherlands are represented through these organisations, based on the responses provided a reasonable representation can be expected. It is also worth considering that those individuals who do not feel a urgent need to have their interests represented will not act to do so. Given the history of the current organisations it is likely that in case of consequential motility issues people who currently lack representation could without too much trouble find representation. Still it could be useful to keep in mind groups that are less able to use existing systems for representation such as immigrants or children. As was noted in the interview with Van Bree immigrants are likely to be underrepresented and in multiple interviews it became clear that children are only represented through their parents. This explicates the need to take a look at how representation works. The next paragraph discusses how the participants viewed their role in relation to their members, politicians and planners, and also their necessity and influence.

4.8 Representing interests

With this insight in how the organisations see inequality in representation it is time to discuss the relation between organisations, citizens and government. The participants was asked how they perceive their role and their necessity. In the discussions that followed the participants would express their view on the shortcomings of the transfer of problem-awareness from individuals to government. Van Bree explained that: civil society is very strong in the Netherlands. Politicians and government officials are used to talking to interest groups. This is often also institutionalised in the policy process. Citizens can have 'inspraak'[96] at the municipal or provincial level, but it is limited to that specific moment. Interest organisations are involved in a much earlier stage, providing ideas, feedback, voicing concerns'. Van der Vlis noted a different problem when asked whether the relation should primarily be between citizen and politician: that relation exist; look at the attention given to

---

[96] For lack of an appropriate translation. It refers to the possibility citizens have to voice their concerns about policies at predetermined moments in the policy process.

road pricing. Also locally much attention for parking, good cycling lanes and more. What is really becoming a problem is that the level of government that has authority over spatial planning, the municipal government, is not directly involved in PT anymore[97]. Where in the past the politicians would be the link between citizens and PT that now disappeared. PT thus disappears from the attention of policy makers. (Q: Can interest organisations fill this void?) No, you cannot take on both the municipality and transportation company'. Twiss explained his take on democratic representation after being asked why interest organisations exist: 'members ask for it, they are displeased with policies (Q: A democratic deficit?) Democracy is based on rational choice. Choosing persons that represent subjects. In practice people choose more irrational, possibly on a single subject. (Q: Mobility gets not enough attention in elections?) No, it is in the picture. Traffic jams, road pricing; very superficial. Without interest organisations there would be a different problem: the process becomes more bureaucratic. Government officials would have more freedom to think about what they think the citizen would want. (Q: And they would not consult citizens?) No; at best a minister would at times request a study'. This shows how Twiss sees the role of the ANWB and interest organisations: obtaining information about the real interest of citizens because government officials would not. In response to being asked whether the link between politician and citizens is too weak Twiss further establishes this view: 'indeed very limited. Therefore we have a role to inform politics'. Hendriks emphasised the position of weaker groups: 'Democracy is not about who has the most votes, but about voicing the interest of as many people as possible. Keeping the interests of those more vulnerable and weaker in mind is part of democracy (Q: Does VVN increase the democratic measure of mobility policies in the Netherlands?) I hope so. It is our goal to represent those vulnerable groups, whose opinions are not heard, in the field of traffic safety: children, elderly, pedestrians' (Q: Are these represented less through democracy?) Of course we do not look at the democratic process. It could be. We only look at who is at risk in traffic, without endangering others'. VVN thus explicitly looks out for vulnerable groups. Wierda has a similar line of thought: 'the interests of the elderly are not automatically taken into account. Institutions and corporations do not always have the expertise to know what is important for elderly. (Q: They are not motivated enough to investigate what interests the elderly have?) They will investigate when they think it is needed, but they just do not realise it sometimes. We will sound the alarm if we think it is needed. (Q: Democratic deficit?) Possibly, for example in the case of

---

[97] Due to the privatisation of PT in all but the four largest cities.

WMO-transportation due to public tendering the quality is not necessarily guaranteed. We are thus needed; the same goes for the 'OV-chipkaart'[98]: there is far too little information about it aimed at elderly, so we came into action'. Lagendijk stresses how hard it is for individuals to represent their interests: 'For an individual it is an enormous step to plea for one's own interests when confronted with objectionable policies. (Q: Demands a lot of knowledge?) It demands one to overcome one's own hurt and grief. Let alone representing the interests of others; interest organisations often do not exist locally, so then one has to be set up. (Q: On a national level, should the CG-raad be needed?) That would be great'. Adding to that: 'It is a common, shared view that accessibility for people with a handicap can cost money, with interest organisations and in politics. Because it is about discrimination and exclusion. Still we have to keep drawing their attention to the subject, otherwise mobility and accessibility for these groups is quickly forgotten'.

One way the organisations contribute to contributing to the democratic process, all organisations indicated, was through providing knowledge, in various ways. Hendriks illustrated this using an example: 'One of the organisations, Foundation Children First, was working on participation of children before the merger into VVN. In one project they would have children and planners/designers go into neighbourhoods together. That was a real eye-opener. Children are very intensive users of neighbourhoods. The planners/designers never realised some things, because they generally are that 'white male of 40-60'[99]. (Q: is the possibility to address those planners directly lacking?) Depends on the situation. We also support volunteers with knowledge about children in traffic, but they have to have the ability to transfer that knowledge to the municipality. Sometimes we organise master classes for city planners and designers, but it is those who are already sensitive to traffic safety who come there'. In addition to contributing knowledge Van Bree also provided an example in which this did not work: 'in the debate on mandatory vehicle lighting during the day we explained that cyclists would be less visible, people just would not believe that. From the perspective of car-users that is just not easy to understand'. After explaining that knowledge levels differ between the organisations Van der Vlis responded to the question whether the organisations are being taken seriously: 'the position of consumer organisations is not very good. Although there is a obligation to consult them, there is no obligation to do what consumers say. It is like discussing Christmas dinner with the turkey. They [transportation companies] use us as

---

[98] Smart card system for PT (OV = Openbaar Vervoer = Public Transportation) that is currently in the process of introduction in the Netherlands.

[99] Reference to discussion earlier in the interview. Hendriks explained how planners are influenced by their own preferences, and that most are white males between 40-60.

consultants, but as soon as it costs money they hardly ever follow our advise'. Twiss expressed multiple views on the issue of knowledge. He stressed the ANWB's ability to know what opinions there are about issues: 'when we do research how different groups think about issues we also research non-members. We know the opinions of our members and we know what 'the Dutchman' thinks'. When asked if the influence of the ANWB is big enough to ensure the interests of its members he responded: 'Influence has its limits. It also has to do with expertise, knowing what is important to the population. Members of parliament know too little of those they represent'. Commenting on their influence on the policy process he explained: 'we talk to government officials, discuss topics with them. We share our opinion, the official can do with that what he wants. (Q: But you represent the ANWB, do officials follow your advise more than that of others due to your large amount of members?) Expertise is very important, the official seeks knowledge in society. If it is about traffic safety they will also consult VVN. But it also has to do with support. A minister also just wants to be successful: support and effective measures are thus important. He needs to be able to say to parliament that he consulted the experts. They have to decide on how to use our information, we just represent our members'. Lagendijk confirmed the view of the government officials lacking knowledge and looking for support: 'They look for support. Or they have to solve a problem, as parliament or the minister has asked them to, and they know that if they do not do that properly we will confront them through parliament. In one case, concerning the little cars[100] for handicapped people, we were asked to check if there was support for required identification for ownership. The government official did not know about different kinds of ID-cards required by other departments, while we did'. Wierda explained what would happen if interest organisations would be absent: 'next to consumers there are other forces at play: transportation companies, other levels of government, the car-lobby. These all can have different interests. Of course there are politicians who sympathise with your case, but they also need to be fed. We see that on a municipal level and on a national level. It would be harder to weigh the different interests. We provide lacking knowledge, but more importantly provide a balance against other interests'.

Discussing ways to translate interests into policies Van Bree explains difficulties for volunteers on the municipal level: 'Citizens have trouble reaching planners, but even interest organisations have trouble reaching them. The local building projects often take multiple

---

[100] A car-like type of scooter initially used by elderly and handicapped people but increasingly popular among (non-handicapped) teenagers and others. Does not require a (car-)driving licence since it is by law considered a scooter.

years of weekly meetings, volunteers just cannot manage to do that. Therefore we aim at changing regulations rather than a single project. If we manage to change CROW[101]-guidelines concerning cycling paths we enjoy the results for years to come. Also, mobility is not a priority at all for city planners'. About the national lobby she also explained: 'it is a combination of a personal and an organisation network. Also, whether a member of parliament often uses a bike or does not at all makes a big difference. It is a lot easier to get things done in the first case'. Hendriks provided an example of a discussion on longer lorries: 'on behalf of the business interests involved they argued that there was no additional risk. We had our doubts but research was lacking. But that is a battle you cannot win. (Q: Because they have larger means, provided by corporations?) Yes, but they are also entitled to try and influence policies. I do not see why they would not be allowed to. Politics should weigh the different interests. (Q: And the choice they can make depends on the information they are handed?) Not only by what they are handed, but also what they look for themselves. That is how it should be. But.. the influence of a rich, large actor with economic interests… Those economic interests are also of interest to politics'. Van der Vlis explained that ROVER, on the national level, deals primarily with the ministry of Transport, Public works and Water management, adding that: 'publicity is very important, press releases, my weekly column. ... We are involved very early in the policy process. In the LOCOV it is a custom that next to the discussion points people from the NS talk about what they are doing or planning. ... Also personal contacts are important, politicians and officials. Within the LOCOV it is customary to organise workshops where interest organisations, officials and corporations attend'. Wierda confirmed this and added: 'we have contact through the LOCOV, with the ministry of Transport, Public works and Water management; I am in project groups, for example about Valys. This is also attended by government officials and Connexxion[102]. And of course I can contact people directly. Or we invite officials for meetings. Either way, we organise a meeting twice a year for our local and regional mobility executive. It is important that they have direct contact with officials'. Lagendijk described a similar process: 'Lobbying is a trade. Keeping your network intact, with ministry's. How we do it also depends on whether the goal is easy to reach or harder. In the first case we might use quiet diplomacy rather than attract a lot of attention to it. Afterwards we thank those people and maybe present them a prize for best member of parliament or something alike. If the goal is harder to reach we will use the media.

---

[101] National knowledge platform for Infrastructure, traffic, transport and public space. Publishes a multitude of reports and guidelines regarding infrastructure. Widely used by government officials.
[102] A public transportation company active in the Netherlands. Arranges Valys.

We also have a department that supports manifestations; they can start something visible in society'. Twiss concurred: 'we primarily lobby with government. But sometimes we try to influence the NS or other transportation companies, Shell[103] or the BOVAG[104]. (Q: What interests would a corporation have to listen to the ANWB?) You only have influence if you have something. We have a lot of members, which represent the Dutch population fairly reasonable. We can use the media. We convey the opinion of our members to those organisations, and sometimes that is not enough. For example: sometimes we do indicative research and we do a press release. It might not accurately represent the situation but it does put pressure on things (Q: so you use your name as way to exert pressure?) Yes'. Continuing he explained: 'we act at the national level. Aimed primarily at the national government, at the ministry of Transport, Public works and Water management because mobility is dominant topic for our members. But on the other hand of course recreation and tourism. And the environment. So on a regular basis we talk to the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment. For example about cleaner cars. And we also discuss topics on a European level with sister organisations'.

This paragraph provided insight in the way the organisations perceive their own role, in relation to their members, politicians and planners. The core problem of being underrepresented seems to be the lacking ability of policy makers to identify with the needs of those involved, especially when these needs differ from those of the policy makers themselves. This results in underestimation of the significance of these needs and potentially allows for ill fitted policies. Interest organisations play an important role in overcoming this, while at the same time providing policy makers with knowledge. The participants thus indicate that the work they do is very relevant to ensure that certain interests are taken into account. Yet they also notice that a certain inequality exists between organisations due to available means. Using the definition of spatial justice it follows that representation can both increase or decrease the measure of justice. However, it cannot be determined straightforward whether this is the case or not. This is due to the inherent complexity of weighing interests in decision making. Representation can thus be of positive influence while it can also create a situation in which those represented better dominate the decision making process. On a further note organisations representing business interests are thought to be more influential according to the participants. Multiple examples have been provided in which such an actor apparently had too much influence and thereby the influence of other organisations in those

---

[103] Royal Dutch Shell
[104] Interest organisation for entrepreneurs in the mobility branch.

cases was limited. This justifies research into this type of organisations, both empirical as theoretical. In the latter respect it is interesting to debate what rights legal personalities have.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis focuses on the relation between mobilities and justice. This concluding chapter provides an overview of the most important aspects discussed as well as an answer to the research question. Finally some suggestions for further research will be given as well as suggestions for further research and policy recommendations.

For this research it was important to know what concepts were important and how they should be defined. This is especially relevant because the concepts both in mobilities as justice literature were, and are, dynamic concepts. Using insights from a wide range of authors I provided grounds for choosing specific interpretations and delimitations of the concepts. Literature further provided the basis for determining externalities, in three categories, as the denominator of effects and processes that can affect the justice situation. From this and the interpretation of justice, as acquired in chapter two, it followed that empirical research into mobility interest organisations was required. These organisations were introduced and described in chapter three. In chapter four the discourse on mobilities and justice in interest representation was uncovered, based on a series of interviews.

The main goal of this thesis was *to gain insight in the relation in, and between, justice and mobilities, in order to improve research and policy recommendations regarding mobility issues*. This thesis used the justice situation in mobilities in the Netherlands as the object of study. This lead to the research question:

How is the problem of mobilities justice influenced by mobility interest representation in the Netherlands?

To answer this question several steps had to be taken. Firstly the relevant concepts concerning mobilities had to be determined and defined. Secondly the same has to be done concerning justice. Thirdly existing research on potential externalities provided insight in types of externalities and processes. Fourthly an overview of mobility interest organisations was given. Fifthly the discourse in mobility interest organisations was described. Supporting the answering of the research question were thus the sub questions as discussed below.

What are the relevant concepts concerning mobilities and how can they be defined?

The answer to this first question was provided through the discussions in chapter two. Important to notice in the discussion of the meanings of concepts is that they can shift between individuals; they are fluent. Mobility can, very abstractly, be seen as 'the ordering of heterogeneous entities in such a way that a situated relation between time and space is produced, embedded in its socio-spatial context, in order to overcome space and time'. This thus required to establish what space and time are, as well as what that social context is. The discussion on space provided the insight that space is both physical and social. Physical space is both geographic location and material form and is influenced by history. Social space is socially constructed through spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces. It is the latter, also known as conceived space, which is regarded the dominant space in society and which is discursively formed by scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers. This points out the need to critically review this influence. In the discussion it became clear that for mobility 'place' is also relevant. Defined as a actor-dependent interpretation of a specific space, place is defined by the meaning and value that is attributed by actors. Regarding mobilities the discussion showed that projects and passages can be regarded as places. And thus that meaning and value are important in valuing mobility.

Time is something that is constraining, a reason for people to be mobile. It also impacts how mobility is experienced and what goals, or projects, are possible. Through mobility the time needed to be mobile can be shortened or lengthened. Policy measures affecting the time spent on mobility can affect the value the passage has for an individual. This time spent is also closely related to speed, and speed has a direct effect on the externalities involved in the passage. It was shown that it would not be preferable to 'slow down' because of its limiting impact on motility.

In order to be mobile people create passages and projects. The goal of mobility is subjective, depending on one's preferences and needs, and many different goals can be identified. The overall most important goal can be summarised as 'co-presence'. This is the defining factor of social life and mobility, or lack thereof, as such has important economic, political and social implications. How big these implications are for the justice situation on a individual level depends in large on the motility capital someone has.

Motility describes the potential to be mobile. This is a better way of examining mobilities because it specifically takes into account the freedom of individuals to be mobile and to choose between passages and projects. Also it allows for incorporation of the actors'

context. Motility capital is then thus used for describing the means and qualities an individual has to be mobile within a socio-spatial context.

Freedom is relevant because the distinction between forced mobility and free mobility has to be made. The first considered a negative form and the latter a positive form of mobility. Also freedom can be considered of independent value for actors. Secondly freedom is important in mobilities because the effects of externalities and policies can greatly affect this in two ways: negative and positive freedom. The first meaning the freedom *from* restraints of one actor over another and the second the freedom *to* realise passages. This discussion about the relation between freedom and power shows how discourse is once again an important influencing factor, confirming the need to examine this.

What is justice and how can it be defined?

The answer to this question is discussed in the paragraphs on social and spatial justice. Social justice is 'the appropriate distribution of the benefits and burdens of social cooperation'. Yet it is quickly established that it is not possible to derive this from a comprehensive moral system. It is redistributive and an associative obligation, meaning that what justice is has to be determined within a societal context. It is argued that those in society should have an equal say over the policies that affect them. Furthermore it is discussed what approach would be required to redistribution of mobility if it is assumed to be a basic good. In line with the conclusions on motility and freedom it is argued that both the actual distribution of motility and the distribution of influence should be based on capabilities rather than outcome. Because the impact of spatiality on the justice situation cannot be ignored when examining mobilities this is also discussed. Due to the properties of space and place, the uniqueness, the inherent unevenness, and the impact spatial configuration has on the behaviour of actors, which can affect other actors, it is argued that it is rather the spatiality of processes than the spatiality itself that requires a perspective on spatial justice. Furthermore it is argued that a stratification in influence in mobility organisation can affect the justice situation: '*in which the interests of all individuals, whose motility is consequentially affected by space or spatial processes, are taken into account equally*'. Finally it is argued that it is primarily the role of government to facilitate this spatial justice due to its relation to its citizens.

What are externalities and which are relevant?

Three categories of externalities were distinguished by their consequences: material, societal and socio-spatial. Discussing the first category it was shown that it is inequality in influence and mobility that can affect the exposure to and impact of these environmental externalities. In the second category it is argued that mobilities cause stratification in society due to power relations, the burden of mobility and differences between modalities. The third category discussed how mobilities transform space, and social space, causing increased importance of mobilities and exclusion of the less mobile. The examples given show that deciding whether these effects are unjust is a complex matter.

How are mobility interests represented in the Netherlands?

This question is answered in chapter three. After shortly discussing institutionalised forms of influence and terms specific to the Dutch system six organisations representing mobility interests for different target groups are introduced. In the chapter their histories, goals, means, members and internal workings are examined. The diversity in these characteristics shows that between de organisations the ways to influence mobility policies and practice at different levels differ greatly. The chapter also showes how different member groups can have different goals based on their mobility interests.

How is justice in mobilities regarded and affected by mobility interest organisations?

In the fourth chapter the results of the interviews held with the participants of the different organisations are used to reflect the perspective of these organisations on a range of topics. Mobility, discourse, externalities, justice, minimum amount of mobility, under-/overrepresentation and representing interests are discussed. The participants defined mobility in slightly different ways, showing a connection between the interests of their members and the definitions of mobility and its goals. The paragraph on discourse reflects how the different organisations have different ideas regarding properties as reliability, speed, quality of mobility as well as the experience of travel. From this and the discussed preferences on modalities a reflection of the discourse the participants are in is provided. Next the discourse awareness of the participants was discussed. They were in general aware of past discourses and in some cases of the role of framing concepts, using this in their lobbying efforts. They seemed to be

less aware of potentially influencing the discourse they are in themselves in order to reach their goals. Discussing externalities the participants reported a range of negative externalities affecting their, and others', members. Discussing the first category of externalities insight in how the participants valued specific externalities was gained. Their views on processes and responsibilities related to externalities were reflected. In the second category especially the views on inequality within mobilities were discussed. A general consensus that vulnerable groups were those lacking in motility capital, particularly those with personal limitations combined with a lack of financial means. Consequences of societal changes due to mobilities were noted but not extensively discussed. The socio-spatial consequences were confirmed and it was argued that policies could be more inclusive of these effects, although some organisations were far more interested in affecting these than others.

The discussion on justice was primarily aimed at probing the ideas the participants had, this provided discussions on a number of subjects. Responsibility for choices made regarding modality and travel goals were perceived to lie with the individual. The freedom of choice was related by the different participants to their own preferred modalities, stressing the importance to freely choose, within limits. In the discussions on the acceptability of harm caused by mobility the different participants weighed the harm caused by behaviour against the consequences of not allowing the behaviour. Concerning the allocation of costs of mobility there were different opinions; on the one side they should just reflect the costs, including externalities while on the other side it was argued it should be used as an incentive to change mobility behaviour. In the discussion on costs it was primarily car-mobility that was considered as a 'target' for cost allocation. In some cases this seemed to be connected to the externalities caused by cars, yet willingness to incur non related costs on car usage seemed to exist as well. The closely connected discussion on a minimum amount of mobilities related to the idea of mobility as a basic need. Following acknowledgement that mobility is necessary to live in this society all respondents agreed that some sort of minimum level should be formulated. What the participants did not agree on was a definition of this level, how high it should be and how it should be executed. Some proposed solutions aimed at identifying and providing mobility to vulnerable groups while another aimed at a minimum level of PT nationwide. Also suggested by some was the possibility of performing a mobility check in case of spatial projects, to prevent people from dropping below a minimum level due to changes affecting their motility. A general agreement existed on the need for redistribution to make this possible, although the availability of money is clearly limited by the willingness of 'society' to allocate money for this goal.

In the discussion on underrepresentation or overrepresentation the participants agreed that there were no groups that were not represented. It was argued that groups exist that were less off in representation than others. This was most clearly shown when comparing car-users to the handicapped and mentally ill, the time and means available differ greatly. Also it was argued that the mobility characteristics, or the mobility mindset, of the people making policies, taking decisions are of great influence on the focus of policies and the choices made. This was perceived to be due to ignorance of the needs of those involved. A relation between characteristics of modalities, and the possibilities of individuals to affect their use was deemed important. The extent to which the user can use his or her motility was thought to influence the extent of representation needed for the users of a modality; more in case of more dependency on the modality.

In the reflection on the discussion of the role of the organisations, representing interests, all participants more or less argued that they fulfilled a function that was lacking in the system: transferring the knowledge about the interests of their members to politicians and planners. Without the organisations, it was thought, that government would be unable and unmotivated to research these needs. Also the conveyance of interest through democratic representation was thought to be lacking in this respect. All organisations noted another important aspect of their role: the contribution of specific technical knowledge. This was also considered a reason why they are asked by government officials to contribute their opinions, next to the possibility to make sure policies had sufficient support. Finally some ways and limitations of lobbying are discussed; the organisations provided insight in how they lobby. The discussion showed the importance of the direct contacts with government officials and ways to pressure them.

5.1 Discussion and recommendations

This thesis examines externalities, justice and mobilities in relation to each other. The problem of a lacking understanding of the relation between mobilities, externalities and justice has been addressed. In academic literature and mobility policies negative externalities of mobility are noticed and used as justification for change, without carefully considering the consequences for all actors involved. With an improved understanding of what justice is and the reflection of the conclusions above it is clear that a more critical approach to justice research is required than which is common. It can be concluded that within any justice research it is vital to examine two factors: the inequality that is potentially unjust, including

the underlying spatial and social processes, and if the interests of those involved have been taken into account equally; as Ericsson (1976) remarks;

'What is *prima facie* more plausible than the idea that in deciding what is morally right, obligatory, or just, decisive or at least considerable weight should be attributed to the want, likes and dislikes of the parties concerned?' (p. 64)

This reasoning also has a weakness: for many it will not answer to what is *felt* to be just. It is this feeling that has been the allure of the multitude of theories dictating more equality. Still it has proven problematic to formulate viable theories on justice that work towards establishing this equality. Although the choices made in this thesis are also at some points based on assumptions[105], these assumption are based on the rules within the societal context in which this thesis is written. This makes this justice as formulated in this thesis an applicable concept. To work further towards application research could look into:

- the role of interest organisations representing business interests;

- the causality and range of spatial and social processes related to mobilities;

- the formulation of basic needs in mobilities; and,

- a method to identify those who do not meet the motility required as a basic need.

Following from the reasoning in, and research done for, this thesis two main recommendations are:

- to perform mobility impact assessments for spatial projects;

- to carefully consider the influence interest organisations have on policies.

---

[105] Why following Nagel (2005) should necessarily lead to taking interests into account *equally* based on citizenship is of course something very acceptable with a democratic society but still an assumption which would probably not hold in an attempt to formulate justice in universal terms.

Bibliography

Adey, P. (2010) *Mobility*. New York: Routledge.

Baeten, G. Spithoven, A. and L. Albrechts (2000) *Mobiliteit: Landschap van macht en onmacht*. Leuven: Acco.

Baeten, G. (2000) The Tragedy of the Highway: Empowerment, Disempowerment and the Politics of Sustainability Discourses and Practices. *European Planning Studies* 8(1), 69-86.

Baraldi, E. (2003) *The places of IKEA: using space as a strategic weapon in handling resource networks.* Paper presented at the Conference on Clusters, Industrial Districts and Firms: the Challenge of Globalization. Conference in honour of Professor Sebastiano Brusco Modena, Italy. September 12-13 2003.

Bartlett, S. (2009) *Social aspects of climate change in urban areas in low and middle-income nations.* World Bank fifth urban research symposium, June, 2009.

Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid modernity.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boden, D. and H. Molotch (1994) 'The compulsion of proximity', in Friedland R. and D. Boden (eds.) *Now here – Space, time and modernity.* Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Boot, J.M. and M.H.J.M. Knapen (2005) *De Nederlandse Gezondheidszorg*. Houten: Bohn Stafleu van Loghum.

Castells, M. (1979) *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Castells, M. (2000) *The Rise of the Network Society: Volume I: The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture. 2nd Edition.* West Sussex, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing.

Centraal Bureau Fondsenwerving [CBF] (2010) http://www.cbf.nl/Instelling/4716/ROVER-Ver (Accessed on November 2 2010).

Centrale Samenwerkende Ouderenorganisaties [CSO] (2009) *Statuten*. Utrecht.

Chronisch zieken en Gehandicapten Raad Nederland [CG-raad] (2009) *Akte van wijziging Statuten*. Utrecht. http://www.cg-raad.nl/docs_en_pdfs/overig/2009_Statuten_CG-Raad.pdf (Accesssed on November 8 2010).

Clark, D. A. (2005) *The Capability Approach: Its Development, Critiques and Recent Advances.* Global Poverty Research Group. http://www.gprg.org/pubs/workingpapers/pdfs/gprg-wps-032.pdf (Accessed on July 5 2010).

Cresswell, T. (2006) *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World.* New York: Routledge.

Dikeç, M. (2001) Justice and the spatial imagination. *Environment and Planning A*, 33, 1785 – 1805.

Dinkins, C.S. (2005) Shared inquiry: socratic-hermeneutic interpre-viewing. In: P.M. Ironside (eds.), *Beyond method: philosophical conversations in healthcare research and scholarship 4*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI (2005), 111–147.

Ericsson, L.O. (1976) *Justice in the Distribution of Economic Resources*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wicksell.

Featherstone, M. (2004) Automobilities. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(4/5), 1-24.

Fietsersbond (2007) *Statuten Vereniging Fietersbond 8 november 2007*. Utrecht. http://media.fietsersbond.nl/Jaarberichten/statuten_versie_november2007.pdf (Accessed on November 2 2010).

Fietsersbond (2010) *Jaarverslag Fietsersbond 2009*. http://media.fietsersbond.nl.s3.amazonaws.com/jaarberichten/jaarverslag%202009%20kleur.pdf (Accessed on November 2 2010).

Flyvbjerg, B. & T. Richardson (2002) 'Planning and Foucault: In Search of the Dark Side of Planning Theory', in Philip Allmendinger and Mark Tewdwr-Jones (eds.) *Planning Futures: New Directions for Planning Theory*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002, 44-62.

Foucault, M. (1979) *Discipline and Punish: the birth of the prison.* New York: Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1984) The Ethics of the Concern of the Self as a Practice of Freedom, in Paul Rabinow (eds.), *Ethics*: *Essential Works of Foucault*, Vol. 2. London: Penguin, [1984] 1997).

Geffen, C., Dooley, J. J. and S. H. Kim (2003) *Global Climate Change and the Transportation Sector: An Update on Issues and Mitigation Options*. 9th Diesel Engine Emission Reduction Conference, Newport, United States.

Gieryn, T.F. (2000) A Space for Place in Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1), 463–496.

Hanisch, C. (2007) *Global Distributive Justice*. St Andrews: University of St Andrews. http://hdl.handle.net/10023/216 (Accessed December 9 2009).

Harrison, P. (2006) 'Poststructuralist theories', in Aitken, S. and G. Valentine (eds.) (2006) *Approaches to human geography*. London, Sage Publications, 122-135.

Hägerstrand, T. (1970) What about people in regional science? *Papers in regional science*, 24 (1), 6–21.

Hägerstrand, T. (1973) The domain of human geography, in: R. J. Chorley (eds.) *Directions in Geography*, pp. 67–87. London: Methuen.

Heine, H., Mautz, R. and W. Rosenbaum (2001) *Mobilität im Alltag: Warum wir nicht vom Auto lassen.* Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag.

Heinrichs, D. (2009) *Adapting Cities to climate change: Opportunities and constraints (Findings from eight cities).* World Bank fifth urban research symposium, June, 2009

Heldens, J.J.H.M. and F. Reysoo (2005) De kunst van het interviewen: reflecties op het interview met een guide. *KWALON-tijdschrift voor kwalitatief onderzoek in Nederland*, 10 (3), 106-121.

Hilti, N. (2009) Here, There, and In-Between: On the Interplay of Multilocal Living, Space, and Inequality, in Ohnmacht, T., Maksim, H. And M. M. Bergman (eds.) *Mobilities and Inequality*. Farnham: Ashgate publishing limited.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1955, first published 1651.

Kaufmann, V. (n.d.) *Mobility: Trajectory of a concept in the social sciences.* Laboratoire de Sociologie Urbaine. Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne. Translation from the French by Jessica Strelec, 41-60.

Kaufmann, V. (2002) *Re-thinking Mobility: Contemporary sociology*. Aldershot: Ashgate publishing limited.

Kaufmann, V. (2010a) Mobile social science: creating a dialogue among the sociologies. *British Journal of Sociology,* 61(1), 267-372.

Kaufmann, V. (2010b) *Alexander von Humboldt Lecture: Re-Thinking Mobility.* February 10 2010; Nijmegen: Radboud University Nijmegen.

Kaufmann, V., Bergman, M.M. and D. Joye (2004) Motility: Mobility as Capital. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 28(4), 745-765.

Kloppenburg, S. (2005) *New inequalities in an era of globalisation: Mobilities and in- and exclusions.* Wageningen: Wageningen University; Department of Social Sciences

Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB [ANWB] (2007) *Strategisch plan ALB 2008-2009: concept*. Den Haag.

Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB [ANWB] (2009) *Statuten van Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB gevestigd te 's-Gravenhage d.d. 25 februari 2009*. Den Haag.
http://www.anwb.nl/binaries/pdf/over-anwb/vereniging-en-bedrijf/090317statuten1.pdf
(Accessed October 20 2010)

Koninklijke Nederlandse Toeristenbond ANWB [ANWB] (2010) *Jaarrekening 2009 ANWB Groep*. Den Haag.
http://www.anwb.nl/binaries/pdf/over-anwb/anwb-actueel/jaarrekening_2009_anwb_groep.pdf (Accessed October 20 2010).

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell. Translation from the French by D. Nicholson-Smith.

Löfgren, O. (1995) Leden im Transit? Identitäten und Territorialitäten in historischer Perspektive. *Historische Anthropologie,* 3(3), 349-363.

Lyons, G. and J. Urry (2005) Travel time use in the information age. *Transportation Research A*, 39, p. 257-76.

Manderscheid, K. (2009) Unequal Mobilities, in Ohnmacht, T., Maksim, H. And M. M. Bergman (eds.) *Mobilities and Inequality*. Farnham: Ashgate publishing limited.

Marcuse, P. (2009) Spatial Justice: Derivative but Causal of Social Injustice. *justice spatiale - spatial justice*, 1.

Miller, D. L. (1999) *Principles of Social Justice.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ministerie van Financiën (2008) *Rijksbegroting 2009*. www.rijksbegroting.nl (Accessed on january 21 2011)

Ministerie van Financiën (2010a) *Jaarverslag 2009*. www.rijksbegroting.nl (Accessed on january 21 2011)

Ministerie van Financiën (2010b) *Rijksbegroting 2011*. www.rijksbegroting.nl (Accessed on january 21 2011)

Peperzak, A. (2003) *The Quest for Meaning: Friends of Wisdom from Plato to Levinas*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Projectorganisatie Evaluatie Spoorwetgeving [PES] (2008) *Spoor in beweging: Eindrapport Evaluatie Spoorwetgeving*. Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat. http://ikregeer.nl/document/blg-72586 (Accessed on October 22 2010)

Morse, M. (1998) *Virtualities: Television, Media Art and Cyberculture.* Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Nagel, T. (2005) The Problem of Global Justice. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 2, 113-147.

Nussbaum, M. (1999) Women and Equality: the capabilities approach. *International Labour Review*, 138(3), 227-245.

Onderzoeksgroep TOR (2008) *De sociale effecten van basismobiliteit in niet-stedelijke gebieden*. Brussel: Vakgroep Sociologie – Vrije Universiteit Brussel en Cesor.

Parkes, D. and N. Thrift (1980) *Times, Spaces, and Places: A Chronogeographic Perspective*. Chichester/New York/Brasbane/Toronto: John Wiley & Sons.

Peters, P. (2003) *De Haast van Albertine. Reizen in de Technologische Cultuur: Naar een Theorie van Passages*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Balie.

Peters, P. (2005) Exchanging Travel Speed: Time Politics in Mobility Practices. *Configurations*, 13(3), 395-419.

Peters, P. (2006) *Time, Innovation and Mobilities: Travel in Technological Cultures.* London: Routledge.

Peters. P. (2010) *Alexander von Humboldt Lecture: Travel Time in Technological Cultures.* February 3 2010; Nijmegen: Radboud University Nijmegen.

Peters, P., Kloppenburg, S. and S. Wyatt (2010) Co-ordinating Passages: Understanding the resources needed for everyday mobility. *Mobilities*, 5(3), 349-368.

Pirie, G. H. (1983) On spatial justice. *Environment and Planning A,* 15(4), 465 – 473.

Pogge, T. W. (2007) John Rawls: His Life and Theory of Justice. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Translation from German by Michelle Kosch.

Rawls, J. B. (1971) *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Rawls, J. B. (2005) *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Roulston, K. (2010) *Reflective Interviewing: A Guide to Theory and Practice*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Sager, T. (2006) Freedom as Mobility: Implications of the Distinction between Actual and Potential Travelling. *Mobilities*, 1(3), 465–488.

SceneSusTech (1998) *Car-systems in the City: Report 1*. Dublin: Dept of Sociology, Trinity College.

Sheller, M. (2004) Automotive emotions: Feeling the car. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(4/5), 221-242.

Sheller, M. and J. Urry (2006) The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A,* 38, 207-226.

Shove, E. (2002) *Rushing Around: Coordination, Mobility and Inequality*. Lancaster: Lancaster University; Department of Sociology. http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fass/sociology/staff/shove/choreography/rushingaround.pdf (Accessed 02-06-2010).

Soja, E. W. (1980) The Socio-Spatial Dialectic. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70(2), 207-225.

Soja, E. W. (2000) *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Soja, E. W. (2010) *Seeking Spatial Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sørensen, M. and M. Mosslemi (2009) *Subjective and objective safety - the effect of road safety measures on subjective safety among vulnerable road users*. Institute of Transport Economics (TØI), report number 1009/2009. Oslo. http://www.toi.no/getfile.php/Publikasjoner/T%D8I%20rapporter/2009/1009-2009/1009-2009-nett.pdf (Accessed on January 12 2011).

Stichting Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Verkeersveiligheid (2005) *Door met Duurzaam Veilig: Nationale Verkeersveiligheidsverkenning voor de jaren 2005-2020*. Leidschendam: SLEE Communicatie. http://www.swov.nl/rapport/dmdv/DMDV.pdf (Accessed on 26-01-2011).

Swyngedouw, E. (2006) *Impossible "sustainability" and the postpolitical condition*. David Gibbs and Rob Krueger (eds.) New York: Sustainable Development Guilford Press.

Thrift, N. (2004) Driving in the City. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(4/5), 41-59.

Urry, J. (2000) *Sociology beyond societies: mobilities for the twenty-first century*. London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2004) The 'System' of Automobility. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(4/5), 25-39.

Urry, J. (2007) *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity press.

Urry, J. (2008a) Governance, flows, and the end of the car system? *Global Environmental Change*, 18, 343– 349.

Urry, J. (2008b) Climate change, travel and complex futures. *The British Journal of Sociology,* 59(2), 261- 279.

Veilig Verkeer Nederland [VVN] (2007) *Jaarverslag 2006.* http://www.veiligverkeernederland.nl/system/files/u5132/070824_VVNJaarverslag2006.pdf (Accessed on November 2 2010).

Veilig Verkeer Nederland [VVN] (2010) *Jaarverslag 2009.* https://www.veiligverkeernederland.nl/system/files/Jaarverslag_2009-web_0.pdf (Accessed on November 2 2010).

Vereniging Reizigers Openbaar Vervoer [ROVER] (1998) *Statuten VERENIGING REIZIGERS OPENBAAR VERVOER (ROVER)*. Nijmegen.

Werlen, B. (1993) *Society, Action and Space: An Alternative Human Geography*. London: Routledge

Whitelegg, J. (1997) *Critical mass: Transport, environment and society in the twenty-first century.* London: Pluto.

Wylie, J.W. (2006) 'Poststructuralist Theories, Critical Methods and Experimentation', in Aitken, S. and G. Valentine (eds.) (2006) *Approaches to human geography*. London, Sage Publications, 298-310.

Interviews

G. Hendriks (personal communication, August 11, 2010)

F. Twiss (personal communication, August 13, 2010)

M.B. van der Vlis (personal communication, August 16, 2010)

M. van Bree (personal communication, August 23, 2010)

J. Lagendijk (personal communication, September 22, 2010)

K. Wierda (personal communication, September 29, 2010)

Appendices

A: Table ROCOV

ROCOV	ROVER/PT	ANWB	Fietsersbond	CSO	CG	Student	Municipality	Project	Women	Environment	Other
Drenthe	1			1	2		1		1		1
Flevoland	1		1	1	2	1	1				
Friesland	1			1	2		1		4		
Gelderland	1		1	1	1	1	1			1	1
Groningen	1	1		2	2		1	1			2
Limburg	2			2	1				2		
Noord-Brabant	1		1			1	1	1	1	2	2
Overijssel	1			1	3	1	1				
Twente	2			2	1	1	1				
Utrecht	1		1	1	1	1	1			1	3
Zeeland	1	1		1			1	1			
Amsterdam	2		1	2	1	1					1
Rotterdam	1		1	2	2						
Haaglanden	1		1	1	1						
Holland Rijnland	1		1	2	1						
Midden Holland	1			2	1						
Noord-Holland noord en Haarlem-IJmond	1			1							4

ROCOVs and participating organisations listed by organisation type. In cases where multiple local departments of the same national organisation participated they were counted as one. In cases where multiple member organisations of an umbrella organisation were represented they were separately counted. Organisations with a specific PT-interest were counted as ROVER/PT. Sources: http://www.stichting-opc.nl/ for list of ROCOVs and contact information/websites/organisation overview.

Most ROCOVs are formed per province.
ROCOVs Drechtsteden/Alblasserwaard/Vijfheerenlanden, Waard/Goeree-Overflakkee and Amersfoort are either not active or no information is available.
Holland Rijnland: 6 civilian members.
In several ROCOVs some organizations have multiple members.
In some ROCOVs commercial organisations participate.

B: Interview guide

De manier waarop orgX de rol van mobiliteit waarneemt; welke prioriteiten er gesteld (zouden moeten) worden.
Rol mobiliteit
 Doelen mobiliteit
 Prioriteitstelling (snelheid/reistijdverkorting/vergroting keuzemogelijkheden)
 Hoe definieert uw organisatie mobiliteit?
 Welke rol vervult mobiliteit (co-presence, transport, vergroting keuzevrijheid, etc?)
 Beïnvloed deze perceptie veiligheid?
 Zou deze rol moeten veranderen?
 Heeft mobiliteit invloed op de kwaliteit van leven?
 Is mobiliteit een basisbehoefte?
 Relatie mobiliteitsdiscours – onveiligheid
 Hoe wordt het belang van veiligheid ingeschat?
 Richt uw organisatie zich op een discoursverandering?
 Welke factoren beïnvloeden de relatie tussen de verschillende modaliteiten?
 (duurzaamheid, milieu, burger/bedrijfsleven centraal?, etc)

De invloed van ruimtelijke inrichting op mobiliteit en onveiligheid.

Relatie ruimtelijke planning automobiliteit – OV. Perceptie participant.
 Is er een voorkeur voor snelheid/reistijdverkorting? Hoe ziet orgX dit?
 Bereidheid primacy of speed op te offeren?
 OrgX richt zich op aanpassing inrichting / regels voor verkeersgebieden (woonerven, 30kmp/h gebieden/ veiliger weginrichting).
 Welk effect heeft dit op de motiliteit van de burger/bewoners verkeersgebieden?
 Op welke manier worden de effecten op de mobiliteit meegenomen in deze doelstellingen?

De problemen die orgX constateert in mobiliteitsvraagstukken en mogelijke ongelijkheid in onveiligheid.
Ongelijkheid in mobiliteit en (re)productie hiervan
Rol gebruiker mobiliteit vs effecten
 Beperking mobiliteit
 Verkeersongevallen
Externe effecten (3x)
 Welke problemen worden ervaren worden door organisatie/doelgroep.
 Is er sprake van ongelijkheid/onrechtvaardigheid tussen uw doelgroep en andere mobiliteitsgebruikers? Beschikbaarheid mobiliteit door veiligheidseisen?
 Rol kosten veiligheid; verbruik, aanschaf.
 Voor wie gaat de veiligheid er op vooruit/achteruit? Doelgroepen?
Invloed
 Hoe wordt het veiligheidsbelang bepaald? (prioriteit?) / Hoe bepaald de organisatie wat de belangen van haar leden zijn?
 Ziet u uw leden/doelgroep als een achtergestelde groep? (onrechtvaardige situatie?) / Zijn er achtergestelde groepen?
 Hoe uit zich dit?

Onder/oververtegenwoordiging tussen groepen?

Denkt u dat uw doelgroep ondervertegenwoordigd is?

Rechtvaardigheid

Welke mobiliteitsrechten worden er gepercipieerd?

Waar worden deze aan ontleend?

Wie draagt er verantwoordelijkheid voor deze rechten volgens de organisatie?

Welke rechten heeft de achterban? Welke rechten zou ze moeten hebben?

Zijn er strijdige rechten op mobiliteit of veiligheid tussen groep x en groepen y/z?

Hoe gaat de organisatie daar mee om?

Behoort het tot uw doelen om ongelijkheid te verminderen?

Capabilities vs justice approach. Is er een minimum aan veiligheid (schade aan derden)   te formuleren of kan gesteld worden

VVN en de manier waarop zij belangen vertegenwoordigt en wijze waarop zij haar doelgroep waarneemt.

Belangenbehartiging door orgX

Beïnvloeding van mobiliteitsbeleid.

Verhouding met overheid / planners; contact met planner of politici. Overlegorganen

Waar liggen volgens u de prioriteiten van de rijksoverheid qua mobiliteit?

Hoe liggen prioriteiten tussen modaliteiten?

Hoe zouden deze moeten liggen?

Wat is de bestaansreden van uw organisatie?

Is er sprake van ongelijkheid binnen uw achterban?

Wat is de positie van uw organisatie in belangenvertegenwoordiging?

Hoe beïnvloed uw organisatie mobiliteitsbeleid?

Is dit effectief?

De rol van non-gouvernementele organisaties in het bereiken van (ruimtelijke) rechtvaardigheid en de positie van orgX ten opzichte van andere organisaties.

Positie ten opzichte van andere belangenbehartigers

Institutionalisering; hoe wordt de constatering en aanbeveling van Baeten ervaren, hoe   past Peters constatering hier in?

Overlegorganen/samenwerking (SWOV, KpVV, etc)

Wiens belangen worden er vertegenwoordigd? (Machtsverhoudingen)

Welke externe effecten worden waargenomen?

Hoe wijken deze af van orgX waarneming?

Welke externe effecten worden als probleem gesteld?

Hoe wijken deze af van orgX probleemstelling

Gedeelde belangen / afwijkende belangen?

Welke probleemcoalities worden gesloten?

Hoe worden probleemcoalities gevormd?

Welk rol speelt de orgX hier in?

Welke veranderingen zou u graag zien in vertegenwoordiging van mobiliteitsbelangen?

Zou een democratischer systeem bijdragen aan verbetering van de positie van groep x?

C: Written introduction interviews

Organisatie:

Participant:

Scriptie

In de scriptie staat ongelijkheid in mobiliteit en reproductie hiervan centraal. De (on)rechtvaardigheid van deze ongelijkheid wordt overwogen aan de hand van concepten en inzichten uit het mobiliteitsdiscours uit de sociologie, en wordt gekoppeld aan de opkomende stroming uit de kritische geografie over ruimtelijke rechtvaardigheid (Spatial Justice). Dit houdt in dat de ruimtelijke effecten van mobiliteit beoordeeld worden op aanvaardbaarheid. Onderdeel hiervan is de mate waarin, en de manier waarop, degenen die de negatieve externe effecten (zoals burgers die mogelijk aangereden kunnen worden) van mobiliteit ondervinden invloed uit kunnen oefenen op hun situatie, hun eigen mobiliteit en de ruimtelijke inrichting.

Ongelijkheid heeft meerdere verschijningsvormen in deze, welke dit precies zijn is onderdeel van mijn scriptie. Vermoedde vormen zijn ongelijkheid met betrekking tot externe effecten van mobiliteit (wie ondervindt overlast van uitlaatgassen, CO2, ruimtebeslag, onveiligheid), ongelijkheid in toegang tot mobiliteit, ongelijkheid in ruimtelijke effecten van mobiliteit en ongelijkheid in vertegenwoordiging. Of deze ongelijkheden leiden tot sociaal onrechtvaardige situaties is onderdeel van het theoretisch kader van de scriptie.

In Nederland bestaat een omvangrijke institutionele laag van non-gouvernementele organisaties die invulling geven aan belangenbehartiging van burgers. In de internationale literatuur omtrent beleidsbeïnvloeding van de ruimtelijke ordening en mobiliteit en ruimtelijke rechtvaardigheid wordt hier vaak veel waarde aan gehecht. De literatuur over mobiliteit suggereert verder dat de manier waarop deze organisaties mobiliteit, en gerelateerde begrippen, definiëren, veelzeggend is en invloedrijk kan op de vorming van het mobiliteitsdiscours in beleid. Hiernaast is het van belang om inzicht te verkrijgen in welke problemen, ongelijkheden en rechten de verschillende organisaties waarnemen. Dit interview is onderdeel van een serie interviews met vertegenwoordigers van verschillende organisaties die zich bezig houden met belangenbehartiging gerelateerd aan mobiliteit.

Het interview zal semi-gestructureerd zijn. Aan de hand van hoofdonderwerpen en doorvragen zal een vraaggesprek ontstaan om inzicht te krijgen in de vooraf aangegeven onderwerpen en indien relevant zal ingegaan worden op tijdens het gesprek aan bod komende nieuwe informatie of inzichten.

Graag zou ik dus met u praten (in willekeurige volgorde) over:

De manier waarop de orgX de rol van mobiliteit waarneemt; welke prioriteiten er gesteld (zouden moeten) worden.

De invloed van ruimtelijke inrichting op mobiliteit en onveiligheid.

De problemen die de orgX constateert in mobiliteitsvraagstukken en mogelijke ongelijkheid in onveiligheid.

De orgX en de manier waarop zij belangen vertegenwoordigt en wijze waarop zij haar doelgroep waarneemt.

De rol van non-gouvernementele organisaties in het bereiken van (ruimtelijke) rechtvaardigheid en de positie van de orgX ten opzichte van andere organisaties, politici en planners.

D: Digitally stored: recorded interviews