AMBIVALENT MOBILITIES

A CASE STUDY ON SCOOTER DRIVERS IN AALBORG

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Synopsis

The case study on scooter drivers in Aalborg is an
example of ambivalent mobilities. The case in itself
serves with interesting and valuable knowledge
about the multidimensionality of mobilities.
Scooter driving is framed fairly negative in Danish
mobile culture and reveals the power and use of
mobilities, namely in this case social exclusion.
Explicit personal morals or lifestyles and more
general dominant standards or ideologies in a
society are present and exert influence on mobile
behaviour.

People are attracted to or as well torn between
attributes of mobilities that reflect a social
belonging or status to identify with and to
represent this identity to others. Depending on the
values and morals present in society and possible
pressure against personal attraction, ambivalent
conditions can occur. Ambivalences reveal the
ambiguity in mobilities and moreover the values
and meaning struggling with each other. The
reactions on such ambivalent conditions, the
handling via norms for example, reflect underlying
attitudes towards mobilities. With normative
structures people attempt to orient in social
complexity and to simplify decisions of right and
wrong. To deal with ambivalent mobilities can help
to understand mobilities more profound and to
reveal the dominant principles that determine
mobile action and development most.

Reference for the front page figure:

Reinau, Frank (2010)

Preface

This report was written in the period September 2009 to June 2010 in the final semesters of the master programme in Urban Planning and Management at Aalborg University. The theme of the report was chosen and developed by the author and focuses on mobilities with an explicit interest in ambivalent mobilities. The case study on scooter driving served this interest with a precise research frame that enabled a profound investigation of this mobile practice and reflection on mobilities overall.

In the report the Harvard method is used for references. The references are separated in three groups. The first group contains collected sources based on interviews and focus group discussions and moreover e-mail replies by participants of this study. The second group of references is listing the analysed sources and has a sub-group of press articles. The third group relates to academic references such as theoretical literature for this report. The tables, figures, pictures and maps are numbered throughout the report and an overview can be found after the table of content. Images are produced by the author if no source is mentioned. The transcriptions of the interviews and focus group discussions, the filled questionnaire and other additional context data such as observation results can be found on the enclosed CD. Based on the aspect of anonymity the recorded sound files are excluded but can be requested by contacting the author. Otherwise methodological form sheets can be found in the appendices of this report.

For their direct contribution to this report, I would like to mention a few persons. I am sincerely grateful for the cooperation with the participants in the case study on scooter drivers in Aalborg. Special thanks is directed to Claus Serup, Jens Amtoft-Christensen, Jens Gjødsbøl and Mariann Nørgaard who helped me with their comprehensive description to understand and learn about the scooter driving practice and its context in Aalborg. Furthermore I want to thank the 5 members from the youth club and the 6 (7) students of Auto-College Aalborg for participating in the discussions and hope that it was interesting for their part as well.

I would sincerely thank my supervisors Tim Richardson and Claus Lassen who supported me with interesting and constructive input, offered reflection and just longer or shorter talks helped the flow of ideas.

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Table of content

List of figures

List of tables

List of pictures

List of maps

1   Introduction

This report is approaching ambivalent mobilities based on a case study on scooter driving in the urban region of Aalborg. Mobility is steadily demanded and reflects a principle of modernity and progress. A nearly unquestionable positive connotation regarding mobility is prevalent. The flipside of such a connotation and association to mobility is the development of ideologies, standards and principles that function as a yardstick to be measured against or as goals to be reached. But the requirements to accomplish these goals are unequal distributed in societies. To not be mobile is unacceptable and a condition that has to be abandoned.

The mobile practice of scooter driving is reflecting and exemplifying the multiple dimensions within mobilities that represent values and meanings attached to mobile agency and valuation. Even though scooter driving is framed quite negatively by the majority of people in Danish society and seems to be an unaccepted practice, the strong striving for being mobile, for being known as a mobile person and the imagination of opportunities with being mobile is clearly prevalent.

Therefore the mobile practice of scooter driving will be investigated with an explicit interest in normativity on different research levels, 1) the everyday life with the actors performing this practice, 2) the policy level as structuring professional for this means of transportation and 3) their interface that is the space of interaction for both. All these scopes create, receive and mediate a picture or narrative of the scooter driving practice. Such narratives will be identified and presented.

Within normative confused space different mobilities approaches with regards to scooter driving will be revealed that represent a different balance of underlying forces that form a mobilities understanding. Ambivalences are present and become created. To focus on ambivalent conditions can facilitate more profound knowledge and exposes competing values, norms or approaches in mobilities overall.

1.1   Contextual frame

Perceptions of mobility and the production of standards are present on different planning levels. This section will give a short introduction to the Danish mobile culture on the national level and furthermore an outline of objectives in the municipal region of Aalborg. Even though the scooter driving practice is most likely not an issue on the national level, based on the planning scale, the ideologies or objectives can serve as framing information for the mobile practice it is embedded in. Moreover the dominant car and bicycling culture are contextual mobile practices for the scooter driving practices in Denmark as it will be presented in this report.

1.1.2   Mobile culture in Denmark

Denmark "*A world-class transport system*" (Infrastrukturkommissionen, 2008: 305) – at least that is a formulated aim based on the 2006 formed Infrastructure Commission. This commission was formed to analyse and identify priorities and best investment strategies for the national transport and infrastructure development in Denmark until 2030. "*The terms of reference for the work of the commission state that 'the overall objective is for Denmark to maintain and develop its position as one of the countries in the world with the best transport systems, despite the fact that growing traffic volumes are increasing the requirements in the long term'*" (Infrastrukturkommissionen, 2008: 305).

The Commission's work built on the assumption of definite traffic growth and the opinion for the need of expansion of the infrastructure systems was dominant. On this national level the terminology of mobility is rarely used and mostly framed in a quite economic manner. To exemplify an extract of the English summary of the commission is presented:

> *"Mobility is a key element in the competitiveness of businesses - and thus also for the growth conditions of Danish society. Efficient transport systems contribute to ensuring that goods can be produced in the best and least expensive location. The production and distribution of goods become simpler and less expensive, because faster and more reliable delivery to the consumers is ensured. And high mobility contributes to businesses being able to attract the right manpower.*
>
> *At the same time, it is important to be aware that the development in the climate and environmental areas may influence our planning of infrastructure as well as urban planning. We must also expect that the measures available to us are constantly being developed, and that technological possibilities which we cannot imagine today will be developed. These are*

factors which are likely to influence the planning process." (Infrastrukturkommissionen, 2008: 306)

This quotation regarding the national development of Denmark reflects a mobilities understanding in a transport planning perspective and is concerned with economic growths and competitiveness. Moreover based on this statement the environment seems to be of marginal significance and a strong belief in technological development as an enabler, so to speak, is represented. These aspects illustrate the concept of 'ecological modernisation' that describes the framing of ecological concerned development. A strong belief in technological solutions and quite little moral questioning is representative for such framing of environmental disputes (Hajer, 1995).

One main basis for Denmark's infrastructure is the so called 'large H'. It is a road infrastructure system that aims at connecting the whole country through its H-form. "*The large H has proved its robustness, and the H should continue to form the solid basis for the development of our infrastructure*" (Infrastrukturkommissionen, 2008: 308). The following figure represents the increase in car ownership in Denmark over a period of ten years and reflects no reversal in the development of individual motorized traffic.
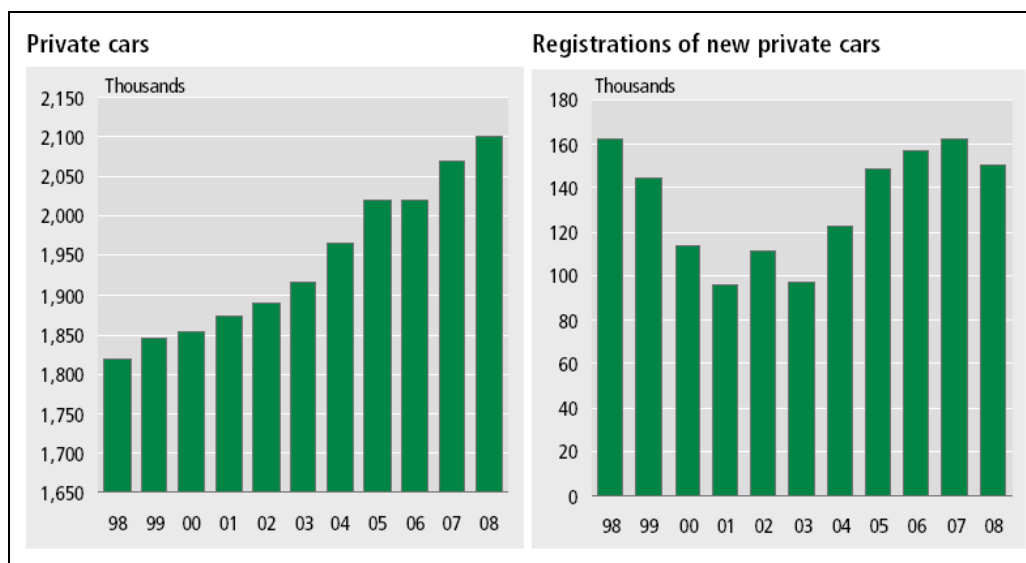
Figure 1: Car ownership in the period from 1998-2008 in total numbers (Denmark Statistic, 2010)

However, next to this motorised means of individual transportation that seems to be one dominant factor in Danish mobile culture, other forms of transport and mobile preferences standing out such as the bicycle culture. Bicycling is a widespread means of transportation for many Danes and especially

Copenhagen is known for its great bicycle culture. Urban cycling is quite normal in Denmark and attention as well as infrastructure is accordingly offered. The mayor of the Technical and Environmental Administration of the city of Copenhagen says:

> *"Copenhagen is often held up internationally as a model bicycle-friendly city. This is because cycling is as natural for Copenhageners as brushing their teeth. And that again is because cycling is one of the key parameters for urban planning. In other words, in Copenhagen we have managed to prove together that the bicycle is the modern metropolis' preferred mode of transport." (City of Copenhagen, 2009)*

To exemplify the dominance of the bicycling culture, especially in Copenhagen, the following to pictures from the bicycle blog Copenhagenize.com are presented. The first picture (on the left) shows a bicycle parked in front of a "No-bicycle-parking" sign and won a prize in "*a photo competition hosted by a newspaper years ago wherein people were invited to send in their interpretation of 'Danishness'"* (Copenhagenize, 2010). The second picture (on the right) presents additionally the ignorance of the exclusion of bicycles in the urban area of Copenhagen. The sign says "Parking of bicycles is prohibited".

Picture 1: Bicycling in Copenhagen I (Copenhagenize, 2010)

Picture 2: Bicycling in Copenhagen II (Copenhagenize, 2010)

 "Cyclists in Copenhagen travel a total of 1.2 million kilometres by bike every day. This is the equivalent of cycling to the moon and back – twice! There is a total of 350 kilometres of cycle tracks and 40 kilometres of green cycle routes in Copenhagen - the equivalent of the length of Jutland! In Copenhagen, one person in three commutes by bike to work or school every day." (City of Copenhagen, 2010a) The municipality of Copenhagen evaluates continuously the development of the bicycle practice with so called 'bicycle accounts'. Since 1995 this monitoring helps to overview improvements or lacking measures concerned bicycling (City of Copenhagen, 2010b). But not only

Copenhagen is concerned with bicycling, other Danish cities as well such as Aalborg in northern Jutland that is the urban region for the case study of this report.

1.1.3   Aalborg Commitments and ambitions

Aalborg represents itself as a city especially concerned with traffic safety and a focus on health within their objectives for transport planning. Aalborg as a bicycle city is posed and promoted by the counsellor Mariann Nørgaard (2010b). The city received 7 Million DKK from the Danish government for implementing measures for Green Transport for the budget period 2010-2013 (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010b).

The Danish Road Safety Commission states in their report "Every Accident is One Too Many: Road safety starts with you" that: "[t]he local authorities in the country of Northern Jutland were among the first to prepare road safety action plans, and it appears from this area that local authorities with road safety plans increase the funding allocated to prevention of road accidents" (Danish Ministry of Transport, 2000:41).

The Aalborg Commitments are one frame for objectives for the city development. They aim to: "1. Reduce the necessity for private motorised transport and promote attractive alternatives, 2. Increase the share of journeys made by public transport, on foot and by bicycle, 3. Encourage transition to low-emission vehicles, 4. Develop an integrated and sustainable urban mobility plan, and 5. Reduce the impact of transport on the environment and public health" (Markworth, 2008). Next to these local guidance "[s]ince 1993, [t]he city of Aalborg has participated in 10 European transport projects" (Markworth, 2008) and quite a few measures were implemented via these collaborations such as five hybrid buses via the project JUPITER and JUPITER2, improvement of terminal facilities to promote collective transport or parking information systems concerned demand management as well as travel behaviour information systems such as route planners (Markworth, 2008).

As previously introduced, already the national planning level in Denmark is communicating an irrevocable need for increased mobility. This is based on the attached values and consequential coherencies developed. According to these associations assumptions are formed that economic growths and competitiveness can be achieved only with increased mobility and to constrain mobility would translate into loss of money, competitiveness and progress. Certainly on the municipal level mobility is addressed more precisely. Here, in Aalborg Municipality, explicit issues such as health and environmental concern are pronounced. 'Green' and safe transport are at the centre of Aalborg's traffic politics. Based on the partial framing of the scooters as bicycles and with these development objectives as an overall context, a frame for the scooter driving practice in the urban region of Aalborg is presented.

1.2   Problem formulation

1.2.1   We can't control mobility, can we?

This report is dealing with current conditions in mobilities based on a case study on scooter driving. The steady and increasing demand for mobility is omnipresent such as presented in the previous section. Strong driving forces and beliefs such as mobility as freedom, mobility as a social status, economic growth or competitiveness create nearly exclusively positive concepts of mobility that are deeply rooted in individuals and political perceptions of mobility. Standards are produced that create a locked-in situation because there is no other desirable option than to be mobile in that ideal picture. But such positive connotations and attachments exclude the present inequalities and overall negative consequences of increasing mobilities such as environmental problems, social exclusion, stress or increased ambivalent conditions. It is a planning dilemma; to operate with a concept of mobility that is a societal maintained value of seamless social and spatial mobility, but this concept of mobility clearly reaches its ends and falls apart on an institutional level. Several urban or traffic planners realize the negative consequences for the environment and society of such an illusionary pursuit and have to think of solutions. But not only on the policy level limitations are obvious, in everyday life injustices and inequalities are prevalent as well. However, if strategies hold on to such an indefinite mobilities understanding and are being maintained in everyday life, quite ambivalent conditions result. To reveal the reasons for the occurrence of ambivalences in mobilities a profound investigation of the different mobilities dimensions becomes relevant. These ambivalent conditions, the underlying forces and the different coping strategies are at the heart of this report.

1.2.2   'Mobility-in-the-making' – An everyday life example of scooter driving in Aalborg

The mobile practice of scooter driving reflects and is embedded in exactly these conditions of steady mobilities demand and its strongly positive associations. Nevertheless it is framed fairly negative from an outsider's view and is representing conflict potentials in mobilities. With the case study on scooter driving the multiple dimensions of mobilities are presented that are powerful in their influence on mobile agency and mobilities understanding of a person. These dimensions reflect the values and meanings attached to mobilities, the symbolic power mediated by mobilities and the normativity built through these dimensions. The rather formal norms and laws concerning mobile practices mostly on a material dimension are just one form of attempting structuration in mobilities, but the everyday life experience and representational dimension have a bearing on agency and valuation of mobilities as well. Therefore the report will investigate the case of scooter driving practice with an explicit interest in normativity.

Even though conditions around the scooter driving practice appear to be ambivalent, especially in the field of regulations, the case study is not only about this chaos; it is about the possibly new, differently shaped or mixed norms produced as social reaction. It's about the situated production of norms and behaviour in mobilities. How do sense-making processes take place in a fairly conflict loaded dispute and is it an individual or rather collective action? Sense-making circumscribes here a process of managing personal mobilities needs in relation to given conditions.

Questions arise about why this mobile practice is frowned upon in contemporary Danish society and how professionals deal with the conditions. What is considered and included by the planners when taking decisions concerning scooter driving? Furthermore, in everyday life practice which consequences result from a recurring disregard of rules by some of the scooter drivers on the one hand and non-acceptance of this mobile group maintained by non-scooter drivers on the other hand? Which consequences result from a normative confused space for mobilities?

To sum it up, the primary research questions are:

1. Which norms of mobility are in operation within the scooter driving practice?

2. Which norms are created within the everyday life of the scooter drivers?

3. What is the normative interface like and what is mediated by whom?

4. Which normative standpoint is to be taken in planning to cope with ambivalent mobilities?

To note, the first three research questions are case related, since they specifically refer to the scooter driving practice and the social environment in which the practice exists. The fourth research question is rather comprehensive and concerned with the general research interest in complex mobilities. This separation is based on aiming at a profound investigation of mobilities due to the case study on scooter driving and to reach another level of abstraction with the fourth question as support. In the following section an overview of the report's structure will be presented that reflects the overall layout of the study.

1.3   Report structure

INTRODUCTION
- Danish context
- Problem formulation
- Research questions

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

Multi-dimensional mobilities	Multi-levelled research interest	Norms in mobilities

Research strategy

METHODOLOGY

Theoretical discussion of the methodology	Applied methodology
- Case studies - Storylines - Piloting	- Applied piloting - Explicit case-study - Applied methods

Reflections on methodology

ANALYSIS & INTERPRETATION

Portrayal of storylines

Storyline 1	Storyline 2	Storyline 3	Storyline 4

Dynamics of storylines

Main findings of analysis

CONCLUSION

Discussion, reflection & outlook

Figure 2: Report structure

2   Theoretical approaches

In this section of the report I will argue for a multidimensional mobilities approach to address the mobile practice of scooter driving in a profound manner. As stated in the problem formulation, this mobile practice seems to be negatively framed in the mobile culture of Denmark. Scooter driving is stereotyped on societal level and fairly excluded in policy papers and a normative confused space creates quite ambivalent conditions around this mobile practice. To reveal norms and values and to trace the negative opinions concerning scooter drivers a 3-dimensional mobilities approach is used that contains the material, experience and representative dimensions of mobilities. With this mobilities approach the mobile practice of scooter driving is investigated with an explicit interest in normativity on different research levels, 1) the everyday life with the actors performing this practice, 2) the policy and planning level as structuring professional for this means of transportation and finally 3) their interface that is the space of interaction for both. All these scopes create, receive and mediate perceptions of the scooter driving practice.

The theoretical section of the report will introduce the following sub-themes: 1) Starting with elaborating on mobilities and introducing the multidimensional mobilities approach of this research. That is followed by demonstrating ambivalent mobilities. 2) The different scopes of investigation will be introduced and related to each other, namely planning and policy level, everyday life, and their interface. 3) The normative perception, the research is approached with, will be addressed by elaborating on the use and function of norms. And 4) the research strategy will be presented and incorporates these theoretical approaches and further outlines explicit research units that link towards the next section of methodology of this study

2.1   Approaching mobilities

This research project attempts to understand (and explain) inequalities and different dimensions in mobilities through approaching ambivalent mobilities. In noticing ambivalent mobilities, change might be more likely facilitated. As Bechmann (2004: 27) puts it: "I consider the notion of ambivalence as crucial for a better understanding of why modern mobilities are dealt with the way they are." It should be noted that this research is not about freeing mobilities from ambivalences; it is questionable whether this is possible at all; but to investigate their emergence and contextual conditions. This research approaches the dispute of ambivalent mobilities through the normative field in mobilities. Such normative fields reflect the values and meanings attached to mobilities and the attempt to control or at least simplify the complexities of mobilities. In doing so the case study of scooter drivers in Aalborg serves as an example of ambivalent mobilities. This mobile practice reveals nicely the multiple dimensions of mobilities and furthermore a normative ambivalent framing. Due to being relatively little studied conditions in this mobile practice and its surroundings can be identified which are perhaps hidden, taken-for-granted or 'silenced'. The aim is to reveal these.

2.1.1   Multi-dimensional mobilities

Mobilities entail quite a complex net of factors that influence conditions and are strongly interrelated with each other. The physical space and conditions, such as performed movement and the physical infrastructure it uses, is one dimension. Social status, symbolic meaning or overall shifts in social space and the different potentials to be mobile, so called motility, is another dimension of mobilities that can't be excluded (Canzler et al., 2008). Interestingly, intention and result are not always in line with each other and moreover might be ambivalent. To understand such circumstances mobilities have to be appreciated in their complexity. Therefore this section will introduce examples to approach mobilities more profound and will end with the explicit mobilities approach of this study.

Embracing complexity

Tim Cresswell is aiming at a holistic understanding of mobility and its politics. He argues for a more shared research from the various disciplines and to join their resources. His mobilities understanding is based on a tripartite, namely: 1) brute movement, 2) meanings attached to movement, and 3) experienced practice of movement (Cresswell, 2008: 132). In his understanding the politics of mobility are constituted on and with all three dimensions. Transport studies often focus on the amount of people moving, the distance they travel, the speed of this movement etc. that are all concerned with

the material dimension. The meaning is not included yet. Meanings can be transported in a narrative form. There are different stories told about mobilities such as "*Mobility as liberty, mobility as progress. We are always trying to get somewhere. No-one wants to be stuck or bogged down*" (Cresswell, 2008: 131). Such narratives are used on different levels, from private life to economic politics and influence decision and action. As a third dimension, the experiences are crucial for mobilities behaviour. It makes a big difference whether someone feels forced into performing a movement or if it is out of free will and joy; even though such underlying circumstances are not always obvious in the eventually performed action. This again underlines the need to approach mobilities in their complexity to reveal underlying forces or coherencies.

John Urry developed as one part of his new mobilities paradigm an understanding of *five interdependent 'mobilities'* such as: 1) corporeal travel of people, 2)physical movement of objects, 3) imaginative travel, 4) virtual travel and 5) communicative travel (Urry, 2008). He underlines the need to "*emphasise[] the complex assemblage between these different mobilities that make and contingently maintain social connections across varied and multiple distances*" (Urry, 2008: 14). Overall this new paradigm should emphasize "*the changing constellations and configurations of mobile and stable elements in modern sociomaterial contexts*" (Canzler et al., 2008: 2). In mobilities it is not only about being mobile; instead immobility is a big factor. This immobility of people or objects and structures often enables others to be mobile at all.

Canzler, Kaufmann and Kesselring "*define mobility as a change of condition by targeting three dimensions: movement, networks and motility*" (Canzler et al., 2008: 2). To outline these shortly: Movements are concerned with physical/geographical movement with origin and destination but do not necessarily involve transportation such as information movement via the phone. Networks are the frame and facilitator for such movements. Motility describes the capacity or potential to move socially and spatially. In more detail motility is described as "*the capacity of an actor to move socially and spatially. This is therefore reinforced by networks and can be defined as all forms of access obtainable (both technologically and socially), the skills possessed to take advantage of this access and their appropriation (or what the actor does with the access and these skills)* (Canzler et al., 2008: 3). Such potential is not equally distributed between actors and moreover underlying intentions vary. Therefore it might be not enough to create access to mobility (infrastructure) in a plain physical manner because inequalities would not decrease necessarily. It is important to notice that "*mobility is a value where norms can be manipulated, suggesting a reference to competences*" (Canzler et al., 2008: 5).

Montulet and Kaufmann work with spatial-temporal perceptions and created a typology of mobile actors respectively mobilities. These types are: 1) Sedentary mobility with the picture of a mobile subject as country man, 2) re-embedded mobility with the immigrant as allegory, 3) incursive mobility represented via the traveller and 4) cosmopolitan mobility represented by the businessman

(Kaufmann et al, 2008). All these typologies represent different mobile actions, constraints and needs. Their social statuses are different and therefore their orders for mobilities are as well. Montulet and Kaufmann argue that: "*certain types of relations with space-time – are expected, or even fostered and valorised by specific social contexts. There can be no doubt that these valorisations are distributed socially and thus contribute to the classification of individuals according to their different positions in the social space. In other words, social contexts valorise spatial uses and forms of behaviour (Certeau, 1990) – the mobility of standards – with reference to which the given player will see his or her behaviour evaluated*" (Kaufmann et al., 2008: 44). This so called 'mobility of standards' represents the ideologies produced in mobilities that might be quite restrictive for some actors. Individuals strive to reach such expectation based on work conditions or representations within any social group where such a standard is expected. The latter relates back to Cresswell's mentioning of narratives about mobilities that carry such ideologies and influence action in private and professional spheres. Excessive demand can be the consequence which might be elusive and moreover noxious.

The next quote represents further examples for dimensions in mobilities and illustrates the symbolic power and other affective aspects of mobilities that can have strong influence on mobile action apart from instrumental structures:

> *"Steg et al. (2001) demonstrated that symbolic-affective functions, such as excitement and prestige, as well as instrumental-reasoned functions, such as financial costs and driving conditions, are important dimensions underlying the attractiveness of car use. Examining the relative importance of different instrumental and affective journey attributes, Anable and Gatersleben (2005) found that for work journeys, more importance is attached to instrumental aspects, whereas for leisure journeys, almost equal importance is ascribed to instrumental and affective aspects, such as flexibility, convenience, relaxation, and freedom. Hunecke (2000) differentiated four basic symbolic dimensions of mobility: autonomy, excitement, status, and privacy."* (Hunecke et al., 2010: 5)

As previously demonstrated with the different mobilities approaches and understandings, there is more to being mobile than to move from A to B. Emotional and representative attributes in any form of individuality, excitement or status are attached to mobilities. From bigger concepts such as mobility as liberty down to personal relaxation, values and meanings are produced that have powerful influence on mobile behaviour and perceptions. Even though a lot of mobile actions can be observed and preferences and development accordingly is assumed, quite a few underlying forces are not as such visible or clearly stated and perhaps even hidden and ambivalent. Planners being one of the professionals assessing and understanding development would profit from a profound and interrelated knowledge of mobilities that would reflect the everyday life realities. With such a deep

multidimensional understanding planning most likely can impinge more effectively and perform hopefully an educative and structural power for mobilities development.

2.1.2   Three-dimensional mobilities approach

This research is using a three-dimensional mobilities approach to enable a more profound mobilities understanding. These dimensions are mainly based on Cresswell's work (2006) but developed overall from the previous introduced theoretical ideas to explain mobilities in their complexity. Additionally to the brute movement, the meanings attached and the experiences of mobility presented by Cresswell, symbolic attributes of mobilities are added. The three dimension used in the study are mainly concerned with human's mobility and do not involve objects specifically as done by other authors mentioned above. The interest in scooter driving influenced this consideration of three dimensions, especially the third dimension concerned with representation. The rejection of the mobile practice of scooter driving seems to be strongly attached to a negative picture of a specific type of scooter driver that was mediated on different levels such as by the press, individuals or professionals. This reflects the symbolic power in mobilities that can dominate attitudes about or attraction to mobile practices.

In short, the three dimensions that shape the mobilities approach applied in this study are:

	Description
Material dimension	Contains the actual performed movement, empirically observable, and the physical infrastructure, networks used
Experience dimension	Contains emotions, meanings, and values attached to the movement created through experiences
Representational dimension	Contains the symbolic power of mobilities, produced ideologies, identities attached to types of mobilities

Table 1: 3-dimensional mobilities framework of this study building on Cresswell's work

All together the three dimensions create the influencing features in mobilities that determine a person's behaviour. They can shift in their balance depending on a person's attitude, ability and overall contextual conditions. They have interrelation coherence.

Material dimension

The material dimension is the one most direct observable dimension but certainly not the only determining one. It includes the performed movement of subjects. This dimension has an objective character due to being relatively easily observable and many features can be counted, recorded, measured and calculated. Thus this data is often mediated as being mostly reliable and valid. It is fairly common to deal with this dimension in transport planning.

To include the physical infrastructure is on the one hand based on its existential fact that it is enabling mobile actions to take place. Further it reflects traces of mobile systems that were introduced once and therefore gives an insight on previous mobilities. On the other hand, due to its physical/material condition it has a 'static' character which could be associated with stability. It might be also limiting development that probably could occur but would include a shift in infrastructure, which would involve effort and often costs.

Experience dimension

The experience dimension has a quite subjective character containing emotions felt, meanings and values experienced and produced. The senses are in focus in this dimension. Joy, freedom, fear, stress and many more experienced emotions concerned with mobilities can determine their meaning and value. The everyday life with its repetitive character and rituals structures such experiences and keeps them on track so to say, or in other words, structures in the everyday life reproduce experiences and meaning.

Representational dimension

To feel connected to something or someone is quite crucial for the identification process but it can produce constraints as well, especially if others put 'a label' on someone. Here a more societal perspective plays into the dimension; next to a personal drive for representation and feeling of belonging, the society creates typologies and symbols that entail identities and might end up in ideologies. Moral values influence especially this dimension. Types of mobility and mobile subjects become created and act as yardsticks for evaluation. This orientation and evaluation can differ in regards to social statuses people occupy respectively aim at.

A personal sense-making process occurs through interplay of all these dimensions. Certainly this can differ from person to person and furthermore other aspects can influence the finally performed action. Intention and reality don't have to go in line with each other. Many factors shape the actual movement such as being influenced by group or societal pressure to present a type of mobile subject for example or various factors that enable access to mobilities in the sense of motility. Motility contains all three dimensions which an actor takes into account to identify potential to be mobile.

At first there has to be an underlying reason for being mobile. Reasons are diverse and multiple. Overall social-material connections are sustained, communicated and formed. Examples could be travelling as moving from one place to another to reach a destination (work, school, friends), to experience and feel the movement and travel itself for relaxation or being part of a group (bike ride, stroll, jogging), or to represent a lifestyle, status or belonging could be another reason (being rich, eco-friendly, sexy). Given the physical, social and virtual infrastructure the mobile action is performed through/on such as streets, bicycle paths, computer networks and chat rooms, social hierarchies and statuses for example, physical and social space is formed that is accessed most often via requirements or is constrained through these. Examples are the driver's licence, the ability to communicate in virtual networks, costs, time schedules, and social stratification in forms of gender, age and ethnic for example or emotions based on positive or negative acknowledgement of a person in a social setting. All these examples are possible mobilities with their attributed values on different dimensions. Therefore it is not enough to invest only the material dimension; the experience and representational dimension are critical as well. Acknowledging the multidimensionality of mobilities helps to understand ambivalences and additionally to cope with these within planning.

The multidimensionality of mobilities became illustrated previously and explains the complexity behind mobilities. The different dimensions contain different attributes that have values and meanings attached. Some are rather emotional and others perhaps economical concerned. Explicit personal morals or lifestyles and more general dominant standards or ideologies in a society are present and exert influence on mobile behaviour. Certainly differences, contradictions and ambivalences can occur. People are attracted to or as well torn between attributes of mobilities that reflect a social belonging or status to identify with and to represent this identity to others. Depending on the values and morals present in society and possible pressure against personal attraction, ambivalent conditions can occur. Ambivalences reveal the ambiguity in mobilities and moreover the values and meaning struggling with each other. The reactions on such ambivalent conditions, the handling via norms for example, reflect underlying attitudes towards mobilities. With normative structures people attempt to orient in social complexity and to simplify decisions of right and wrong. To deal with ambivalent mobilities can help to understand mobilities more profound and to reveal the dominant principles that determine mobile action and development most. Thus the following section will demonstrate the presence of ambivalent conditions in mobilities.

2.1.3   Ambivalent mobilities (AM)

What is ambivalence? Something is experienced as ambivalent if there are (at least) two opinions, emotions or actions pulling in different directions simultaneously, creating tensions or conflict (Bechmann, 2004). Robert Merton and Elinor Barber define: "*sociological ambivalence refers to incompatible normative expectations of attitudes, beliefs and behaviour assigned to a status (i.e. a social position) or a set of statuses in a society*" (Merton/Barber 1976: 6 in Bechmann, 2004: 29). The complexity of contemporary mobilities contains ambivalence as an existential condition. Such ambivalent mobilities (AM) can be identified in different features within mobilities. Some of these features or conditions, as well as developments, will be outlined in the following section to demonstrate the presence of AM. Additional coping strategies or overall handling of AM will be addressed. Therefore the sub-themes of this section are:

- Freedom as mobility

- Mobilities inequalities

- Hypermobility and standstill

- Coping with AM

The initial interest in ambivalent conditions within mobilities is the framework for this research project. Many different approaches try to cope with current mobilities and develop explanations but nevertheless questions remain. New knowledge is generated based on extended approaches in mobilities studies such as the mobile turn in social science overall, the new mobilities paradigm by John Urry et al. (Urry and Sheller, 2006) or the recognition of multiple dimensions within mobilities (Urry, 2006; Cresswell, 2006) that open up further scopes in this interdisciplinary field. Ambiguous conditions are recognized and discussed differently by authors of the research field mobilities.

Freedom as mobility

Tore Sager (2008) relates the discussion around mobilities to the notion of freedom. Many people relate 'being mobile' to 'being free'. Constraints in mobility translate in being less free and people demand more mobility. Furthermore such linking is found with speed and freedom as well which will be mentioned in a following example below. In 'Freedom as mobility: Implication of the distinction between actual and potential travel' Sager describes the dilemma of facilitating such freedom. In his opinion, to have the opportunity to decide not to be mobile would translate into mobilities as freedom, but at the same time, in giving such freedom, people *have to* move to generate demand and thus create supply to choose from. So if everybody would take a chance on his/her freedom, namely to have the choice, such freedom would be impossible (Sager, 2008). Here he points out a market

society paradox and furthermore a planning dilemma concerned with actual travel. People are forced to travel to generate freedom as mobility and end up in an ambivalent condition. In regards to potential travel the circumstances are different. Here an individual can maintain one's autonomy without actually travelling; without being physical at some place but with having the potential and choice for doing so. This relates to the following example by Mimi Sheller that takes the potential travel in the sense of potential mobility, so called motility into account. "*Motility is the capacity of an actor to move socially and spatially […] defined as all forms of access obtainable (both technological and socially), the skills possessed to take advantage of this access, and their appropriation (or what the actor does with this access and these skills)*" (Canzler et al., 2008: 3).

Sheller (2008) is exemplifying the connection of freedom and mobility in a more detailed way. She is separating different forms of freedom and relates them to different forms of mobility. The three forms introduced are personal, sovereignal and civic freedoms based on Orlando Patterson who called these *core Western values*. However, here it will be elaborated on the connection to mobilities. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights formulates in article 13 three kinds of freedom of movement: *"(1) the right to leave any country (including one's own); (2) the right to return (to one's own country); and (3) the right to freedom of movement within the borders of each state"* (UDHR 1948 in Sheller, 2008: 27). Nevertheless, the personal mobility freedom is determined by different constraints such as physical/bodily and social abilities to be mobile, spatial conditions or social obligations. Furthermore "*gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality are some of the key axes for the uneven distribution of personal mobility*" (Sheller, 2008: 27). The sovereignal freedom of mobility is often related to mobility injustice because it "*empowers some to be more mobile at the expense of others*" (Sheller, 2008: 29). Here examples could be imprisonment, taxes, requirement of a passport or the car-system being dominant taking the space away from other road users. Actors being empowered over others can be random individuals that 'fulfil requirements' up to institutions that create such 'requirements'. Civic freedom as a third form is concerned with a political community where mobility is a basic need to create such community at all. Here both physical and informational mobility is meant (Sheller, 2008). An example of weakening such civic freedom of mobility would be privatization of public space because such possible mobilization would be disconnected or not possible at all. These three forms of freedom of mobility exemplify the relational character of mobilities. "*When mobility is disrupted in one realm, it may be met with efforts to increase mobility in another*" (Sheller, 2008: 31). This explains the ambiguous conditions when aiming at freedom as mobility because such freedom is not just personal it is collective as well and moreover has uneven sovereignal influence (Sheller, 2008). Motility as potential mobility and based on the ability to put such potential into action can act as another option to cope with constraints on all three levels.

Mobilities inequalities

As already touched upon and interrelated with the first example about freedom as mobility, the conditions are not the same for everybody. Mimi Scheller deals with inequalities in mobilities and raises the question of whether being more mobile is always an improvement or if it is instead an increase of inequalities (Sheller, 2008). In relation to the different forms of freedoms of mobility she states concerned with justice/injustice:

> *"[W]e can understand mobility justice/injustice in three different senses: first, as the degree to which various personal mobility rights are evenly or unevenly distributed; second, as the degree to which sovereignal freedoms of mobility impinge upon and have detrimental affects on others; and third, as the degree to which civil societies are able to enjoy civic freedoms of mobility, or find them constrained." (Sheller, 2008: 31)*

Mobilities produce inequalities as well, and what for some means to be mobile is creating immobility for others. The dominant car-system is often the 'winner' in such distribution of mobility options; if it is a construction for a highway cutting regions apart or the urban road infrastructure alone, dominating over other forms of mobile practices (Urry, 2007). Bergmann (2008: 21) calls the disadvantaged from such constellations "*victims of mobility-structured social exclusion*" and points out the need to "*take the life-destructive modes of moving and accelerating seriously*" (Bergmann, 2008: 22).

A quote from Hägerstrand (1987: 13 in Sager, 2008: 32) underlines Sheller's doubts in increasing mobility with wondering that it: "*is interesting to think about … how far we can move in the direction of more and more mobility before we come across still more unacceptable side-effects than there are today*". Taking into account the year Hägerstrand stated this thought it becomes obvious how deeply rooted the demand for increasing mobility is.

Hypermobility and standstill

First and foremost there is to mention two contradictory views on technology that are related to mobilities approaches: "*the unlimited freedom of speed and acceleration on the one hand, and the vision of slowing down and slowness on the other*" (Bergmann, 2008: 14-15). These two views are related to a future development and its abilities in technological advancement and to an ethical estimation of human behaviour. Such approaches exist parallel and create different moral values and ideals. Based on such dualistic approaches "*[w]e keep on driving our machines of death, despite the knowledge of their catastrophic consequences that the instrumental approach to technology has provided for decades*" (Bergmann and Sager, 2008: 8). But it is not the dualism alone, instead the domination of one approach over the other creates such undesirable consequences.

Overall it can be recognized that acceleration and speed are essential in contemporary mobilities and lives. Such acceleration occurs, influences and is expected even in technological development, social interactions and cultural life overall (Bergmann, 2008). This is often referred to as hypermobility and "*[t]he experience becomes more and more commonplace in the rich countries: Everything changes, but nothing really happens*" (Bergmann, 2008: 16). Paul Virilio named it 'racing standstill' which has intense influence on people's life with creating insecure conditions, stress, a need to adopt new conditions without knowing how things develop and feelings of belonging are challenged to name some (Bergmann, 2008). Critically some might say that "*our body becomes more and more a passive non-moving container, which is transported by artefacts or loaded up with inner feelings of being mobile in the so-called information society*" (Bergmann, 2008: 21). Montulet and Kaufmann add to the latter statement based on increasing connectivity through technological development new forms of spatial proximity is offered but access is not distributed equally and a reverse effect takes place as well. Some "*people try to reduce the impact of their moves on their lives, their social networks, their anchoring, while at the same time attempting to achieve maximum moving potential – motility – in order to respond to the mobility injunction that characterises contemporary Western societies*" (Kaufmann et al., 2008: 48). Such connectivity and reversibility both allow a combining of the various social spheres and maintaining a feeling of belonging. Furthermore Kaufmann and Montulet (2008) argue that increased speed in transportation technology serves primarily increased sedentarity and is not a sign of hypermobility. In their opinion people choose and might compensate with other forms of being mobile that do not necessarily contain physical movement such as the many communication technologies.

Sven Kesselring conducted case studies concerned with people who developed a quite high mobilities' management meaning developed an ability (to some extent) to cope with complex mobilities in their lives; so called 'mobilities pioneers'. These 'mobility-managers' reach an end to their ability to control the mobilities they are part of, but try to cope with it in 'ordering' more mobility options. One main result was a development from directional to non-directional mobility. To say it roughly that translates into: A personal regulated and navigated form of mobility developed into a fragile, uncertain and even paradox and ambivalent form of mobility. This paradoxical appearance is based on "*actors interpret themselves as subjects with mobility politics, with individual decision-making, freedom of movement and so on, while being highly restricted and limited*" (Canzler et al., 2008: 7). Certainly it depends on the type of mobile behaviour and relations or connectivity to other actors or systems and networks in that context. But the aspect of increasing risk with more complexity was common in all cases (Kesselring and Vogl, 2008).

Jörg Bechmann exemplifies ambivalent mobilities via pull and push factors in performed journeys. In his opinion origin and destination as features of a journey entail equally both forces and therefore create ambivalence. To exemplify, he names tourists or refugees (Bechmann, 2004). The tourist is

attracted and irritated by the foreign culture in the same way and the refugee has to/wants to leave the home country based on rather precarious conditions. But more commonly he states, the more options one has or knows of, the more difficult the decisions are to choose one or the other. For Bechmann (2004: 30): "*increasing mobilities and growing ambivalences are viewed as twin processes – the more we travel, the more ambivalence there is*".

Coping with AM

According to Bechmann the feature of a traffic light is exemplifying a typical coping attempt with ambivalences, namely separation:

> *"Traffic lights at urban intersections may serve as the arch-example to illustrate this very exclusion of ambivalence. Two of their genuine features are important here. First, they are either red or green (and yellow only in order to prepare the driver for a forthcoming phase of 'red' or 'green'). Second, they mobilise pedestrians in the same way as they immobilise cars. On this view the traffic light signifies modernity's inherent drive to eliminate 'undecidables' and to construct order through dualisms" (Bechmann, 2004: 32).*

This form of separation is quite well known and an ongoing feature in traffic planning. It allows control about different mobile practices which share a common space and time. Such separations can have different consequences for different actors or practices involved and do not assure balance in any sense. Is such a result acceptable and furthermore should it be appreciated? Dualistic consequences itself coping with ambivalent conditions can be comprehensible with its attempt to simplify and to offer a coping strategy. Moreover it might be a need to enable conditions at all to appear such as having one fairly stable pace of 50 or 60km/h for the inner city car traffic and excluding slower modes of transportation. Structuration processes are reflected in different dialectic mobilities approaches or concepts and conditions overall. A statement from Urry exemplifies:

> *"The mobilities, which link the local and the global, always depend from multiple stabilities … Deterritorialization causes reterritorialization. The complex character of these systems rests on multiple time-space fixities or moorings, which help to realize the liquidity of modernity. 'Mobile devices' such as mobile phones, cars, airports, trains and ICT connections require overlapping and varying time-space immobilities" (Urry, 2006, 96; translation from German in Canzler et al., 2008)*

This quote describes the fact of immobile notions within mobilities. Furthermore immobility is facilitating mobilities. However, the question remains if that is a satisfactory result in all circumstances or whether other solutions should be intended (as well). Exemplifying in regards to the different dimensions in mobilities; the notion of motility appears to be a third factor between the notions of

being mobile and immobile. This potential of being mobile offers another dimension to the other two conditions and therefore creates a further option for an actor involved. Motility acts in a way as a mediator to deal with mobility and immobility and does not imply an actual movement necessarily but offers the ability to realize 'solutions' (Sheller, 2008). An example for such mediation feature in the public space discussion would be 'in-between' spaces, so called public domains that enable a shared or mixed space and mobility for groups and individuals to experience otherness. The terminology 'in-between spaces' refers to their existence not necessarily in defined public spaces. It is rather about an occurrence through action of people who share time-space patterns (Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001).

Sven Kesselring offers different viewpoints on ambivalences and respectively different coping strategies. Ambivalences can be seen 1) as antinomies meaning unsolvable contradictories, 2) as inconsistencies and 3) as pluralism, which could be just further possibilities that might be paradoxical (Kesselring, 2008: 89). These different perceptions of ambivalences contain different handlings with ambivalences. One-best-way strategies are aimed at when talking about antinomies. There is just one optimal solution that has to be fought for. Inconsistencies might be solved with time passing at one point and suboptimal solutions are accepted. The pluralistic view is accepting ambivalence as an integral element of mobilities and paradox or indifferent solutions are just incidents (Kesselring, 2008).

These questions of coping with AM such as the previous examples or separation and dualism are challenged in the analysis of this research project and will be reverted to in a later stage of the study. Furthermore, can norms be a way towards a strategy or a decision? Hence the multi-levelled research interest will be introduced following.

2.2   Multi-levelled research interest

This research is interested in a profound mobilities understanding as previously discussed. On the one hand it is about "the autonomous moves of individuals", their mobility management and underlying driving forces such as meanings and values attached; on the other hand it is about "the structural impacts of societal and professional constraints within mobility decisions" (Kesselring, 2008: 81) such as mobility concepts, policies and ideologies for example. The former individual level is addressed with investigating the everyday life sphere and the latter will be approached with considering the policy and planning level for mobilities. Moreover their interface will be contemplated precisely because it is not always obvious where the eventually performed action derives from.

2.2.1   Planning and policy level

The planning and policy level is understood as political professionals, containing administrations and systems that develop concepts and formulates policies to design, control and structure mobilities and their systems (Kaufmann et al., 2008). These structures or standards can address mobile practices such as public or individual transport, mobile interventions like taxes, traffic laws or behavioural codes or mobile subjects such as pedestrians, car drivers, children or elderly people for example. This research project is investigating the mobile practice of scooter driving with a focus on youth. Mobile interventions limit and direct individual's behaviour to manage a co-presence of different actors and different mobilities in space and time (Kaufmann et al., 2008). Furthermore economic issues play a role to finance infrastructure systems. Even though policies and plans are formulated and most likely implemented, mobilities can be divergent to predicted action.

The following statement exemplifies the problem concerned institutional assembly of mobility as principal of modernity. As a principle it maintains powerful but the adaptation and implementation on institutional level is complicated or not even desirable:

> *"On the level of principles there is continuity concerning the relevance and the social and political importance of mobility. The zero-friction society and seamless social and spatial mobility remain powerful societal goals and values (Hajer 1999). But on the level of institutions and institutional procedures and routines there is irritation, confusion and doubt. This leads to a structural discontinuity, where institutions search for alternative solutions for social, ecological, economic and cultural problems caused by increasing mobility."* (Kesselring, 2008: 84)

This quotation states that ideological beliefs develop into standards that people are striving for, such as mobility, freedom or the zero-friction society and values are produced and attached to mobilities demand. These ideologies can be powerful societal goals even though not realistic or moreover harmful for society and environment in the long run. The planning level should intervene and demonstrate consequences of such desires and objectives. It can be questioned to what extent an effective disillusion for a more sustainable development takes place on policy and planning level. Individuals' aims should be revealed as illusions and the planning level should educate about conditions and consequences. However the role of producing meaning or values on such policy levels shifted as well. Individual identities are less founded in institutions; rather they are produced in a permanent manner in individuals life spheres in their everyday life (Rammler, 2008).

Stephan Rammler (2008: 70) describes the "*modern transportation policy trapped in a 'cage of bondage'*" that is created through the effective affinity (Wahlverwandtschaft) of modernity and mobility. He presents the dialectical interplay of both, that creates more opportunities and

dependencies in the same time. *"[T]ransportation serves to integrate social differentiation, it becomes a source and motor of further differentiation of its own. By driving differentiation through integration, the foundation is laid for ever more traffic growth and transcending ever more spaces"* (Rammler, 2008: 69). These dialectic interplays are not sufficiently integrated into the planning and policy decisions. As Rammler says policies are even trapped and can't find a way out of these interrelated and interdependent conditions. One way to break out the trap could be a rather radical view and action; he says: *"This 'confinement' restrains political feasibility of strategies and measures directed at sustainability that threaten to seriously disrupt the growth dynamic inherent to the relation of modernity and mobility. The price to be paid for such far-reaching intrusion would be political demise and loss of power"* (Rammler, 2008: 71). Whether such a political action is realistic to take place (as already questioned above) would be another discussion.

Finally it is of interest to invest the ability of planning and policy level to structure mobilities and furthermore the influence of such level on everyday life and its performances and decisions. To understand interactions and to what extent provisions are accepted, mediated or rejected the interface of both scopes might give some insight.

2.2.2   Everyday life

Everyday life could be called the habitat people form, in which they perform, receive, create and mediate meaning in actions and mostly in a repeating manner (Gardiner, 2008). Mobilities are as well everyday life performances and means and further representation of meanings and values people attach to their actions (Cresswell, 2006). Everyday life is diverse and not necessarily reasonable. Moreover everyday life is often taken-for-granted and not appreciated as an essential and basic form of people's structuration in life and thus creates societal condition and development. However, there are quite a few disciplines that deal with this sphere. Not surprisingly social science dominates this interest but entails a few different approaches towards everyday life. Some of these knowledge and research fields will be introduced in the following sections and should exemplify the value and use of everyday life research in this explicit research project. Therefore four examples will be described with different themes concerning the everyday life. The two first examples about meaning and emotions were chosen to exemplify how mobilities appear in everyday life. The second two examples, concerned with being critical and normative in regards to everyday life practice, should underline the need for intervening in everyday life whereby the former two can help to be rather efficient:

- Meaning as a basic condition for people's action

- Emotions as engines (to implement intensions)

- Problematizing the everyday for change

- A normative standpoint in Scandinavian countries

Sociology as an overall academic discipline is probably mostly thought of when thinking of studying the society and its units. But there are many more disciplines or lines of thought and methodologies, which define themselves more precisely. Examples would be symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, or phenomenology to mention some. The examples listed below will present different issues of the everyday life research. These can contribute to the understanding and value of investigating the everyday even though the authors of such examples don't share the same school(s) of thought in particular. That shouldn't be the decisive point because the everyday can be addressed in multiple manners, in different contexts, on different levels and with different methods. Certainly the results can differ immensely accordingly. However, they all have in common to acknowledge the everyday as critical sphere to investigate and furthermore to understand and influence social development.

Meaning as a basic condition

One 'sociology of the everyday' life would be *symbolic interactionism*. Proponents of this sociological school of thought had difficulties to find an explicit definition due to the nature of their discipline being *pragmatic* and *plural* (Waskul, 2008). Nevertheless the issue of investigation of this discipline can be described as following:

> *"Symbolic interaction is something people do in everyday life. It is the active, reflexive, creative and communicative doings of people in which meaning is fashioned – a uniquely human quality that bestows the capacity for both self and society at the most fundamental level." (Waskul, 2008: 117)*

Based on difficulties defining symbolic interaction it is more sensible to understand three main premises of this perspective and method. According to Blumer (1969: 2) these are:

> *"- Humans act towards things on the basis of the meaning that the things have for them.*
>
> *- The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows.*
>
> *- These meaning are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters" (Blumer, 1969: 2 in Waskul, 2008: 118)*

Central to symbolic interactionism is *meaning*. Meaning is defined in action; in symbolic interaction that is performed in everyday life. Not only the centrality of meaning is appreciated, beyond its origin is questioned and is unit of analysis. In this line of thought meaning is a social product formed in and through interaction; it is a context dependent and interpretive process. Moreover it is mostly dependent on *how* something is said or done, to/with *whom* and in which *context* (Waskul, 2008).

Another thematic scope discussed in symbolic interactionism is the influence of *mind, self and society* as concepts being active in and shaping everyday life. Briefly *mind* can be described as the capacity and an ongoing process of what humans are able to do/think ('minding') that enables and entails *self* as a pluralistic definition of one's own person. Actually self is often defined in different ways by different thinkers. 1) Some regard self as a process due to role-taking of others which reflexively defines the own person, 2) others define self as a process developed out of what people do and 3) self as a product of 'role-making' in communities or linked to systems. Finally "*society is seen as an emergent and situated process*" (Waskul, 2008: 130) in the symbolic interactionist perspective and proponents underline the society-in-the-making where choices can be investigated and therefore explain the emergence (Waskul, 2008).

Emotions as engines

Emotions are not often explicitly studied in everyday life research even though they are so essential and meaningful for each person's behaviour. Hochschild developed a theory of emotional experiences and created a typology of 'feeling rules', 'display rules' and 'emotion management' (Poder, 2008). This developed typology reflects the creation of emotions that is not random, it is more often quite planned. Some circumstances require certain emotions and if such emotions are not 'delivered', rejection or confusion can appear. This so called emotion management is part of everyday routines: "*Individuals work on their feelings to feel and display the appropriate emotion in the situation*" (Poder, 2008: 332). To emphasize is the initiative character of emotions and the driving force they can entail. Furthermore emotions have a structural force in daily life as described below.

Another dimension where emotions will play an intense role is stratification in everyday life. This relates to the situational stratification which is "*for participants, often the most salient dimension of everyday life compared with the macro-structural stratification of class, ethnicity and gender*" (Collins, 2004: 237-8 in Poder, 2008: 330). Such issue of acceptance of one's own person is crucial for emotional energy and not only for the person alone, for the other (group) participants as well; in other words, no-one wants to be a geek or wallflower within a social setting. It has hierarchical function within daily interaction. But it should be noticed that this "*is a dynamic feature rather than located within more or*

less established personalities" (Poder, 2008: 331). Finally this elaboration about emotions will be ended with a statement concerned with the activating force of emotions:

> *"However, we can speculate a lot about our doing this or that, but such reflexivity does not in itself secure agency. It is one thing to have an intention, but another to carry it out. To do so we need emotional energy"* (Poder, 2008: 333).

Problematizing for change

Some earlier works of thinkers such as Marx focussed on the everyday life but dealt with it in some different way though. This critical everyday life approach was always concerned with political projects. Modern society, capitalist society and the conditions of the working class were roughly speaking at heart of many critical disputes at that time. The "*secularization and rationalization of the social world*" (Gardiner, 2008: 163) was criticised and everyday life had to be problematized to achieve change. Political, economic and socio-cultural issues influence the everyday and it is "*regarded as a contested and opaque terrain, where meanings are not to be found ready-made*" (Highmore, 2002a: 1 in Gardiner, 2008: 163).

Moreover dialectic and ambivalent attitudes revealed and remained when dealing with the everyday. For Marx the "[e]veryday is both the cause of and prophylactic for mystified and fetishized social relations, something to be celebrated, but also criticized and ultimately transfigured" (Gardiner, 2008: 166). Certainly this has to be seen in the context of that time. Overall everyday life must be understood within a context as underlined by Simmel as well. He shares a dialectic view on the everyday by pointing out that the "modern life: […] ultimately the product of active human praxis, […] is presented to us as something bereft of intrinsic meaning and coherence, and hence often as alien and threatening" (Gardiner, 2008: 168). Furthermore Simmel has an explanation for some everyday life behaviour developed as a consequence of modernity:

> *"The sheer compactness of the urban environment, the tremendous multiplicity of groups and individuals we interact with on daily basis, and the compression of time and space by various modernizing and technological processes mean that everyday life in the contemporary city is marked by a constant bombardment of the senses. But the results are contradictory: along with overstimulation and the blasé attitude that is an adaptive response to it, comes an inestimable richness and variety of objects and experiences."* (Gardiner, 2008: 169)

Simmel's work represents both positive and negative factors of urban life and its everyday life's sphere as mentioned in this quote and is not obtaining a final synthesis that would even out such

circumstances. This is probably not achievable or not worth striving for even though some would wish so. It should be appreciated according to Walter Benjamin that the possibility exists that: "*In the minutiae of daily life, the very 'banality' of which is worth savouring, we can find numerous gestures, practices and symbols that are not entirely overshadowed by the logic of the commodity form*" (Gardiner, 2008: 176). Benjamin seemed to be less negative in his critical investigation of the everyday and saw the everyday as a sphere to initiate social transformation (Gardiner, 2008). Furthermore, in line with Benjamin's thoughts any experiences, whether rational or irrational, "*contribute to the vast array of meanings and narratives we create out of the 'raw material' of our daily lives*" (Gardiner, 2008: 176). Finally it can be stated "*that the everyday is permeated with political and ideological meanings, and constitutes the fundamental ground on which both domination and resistance are exercised*" (Gardiner, 2008: 182) and therefore should be respected as a valuable sphere to investigate if interested in the critical inquiry of social conditions, in understanding these and furthermore aiming at change.

Normative standpoint

This section will present a more up to date Scandinavian example concerning everyday life research. This research field has received more attention since the 1980s within Scandinavian culture. Most often the issue of home and family has been thematised and developed further in an interest in gender studies. A research group was founded even that was called *Nordic Research Group for the New Everyday Life*. This research group had a clear set of agenda and normative standpoint, "*namely to strengthen integration and cohesion in the 'new' everyday life*" (Christensen, 2008: 309). The aspect of terming it 'new' everyday life is in focus. Again context related the interest in gender studies and finally a shift in society is most likely decisive. This research group wanted to reach *cohesive everyday cultures* and criticised the separation of time, space and individuals (Christensen, 2008). To reach such change "*the group cultivated an everyday life perspective that accommodates the conditions related to macro, meso and micro levels of analysis*" (Christensen, 2008: 318) to have a view top-down and bottom-up on everyday life connected. Such meso-level is described as:

> "*the intermediary level is the missing link between the households and society. The intermediary level has the advantage of more people and consequently a broader competence and larger resources than a single household. In relation to the 'big society' and solutions from above, the intermediary level has the advantage of closeness and first hand experience. The solutions can be better adapted to the real needs, and the available resources are used better.*" (Research Group for the New Everyday Life, 1991: 27 in Christensen, 2008: 317)

To have a normative standpoint is in itself not so critical, but rather in which direction this normative view hints is of interest. It got partially criticized that everyday life research ended up confirming prejudices too much and therefore Gullestad recommends "*to renew everyday life research so that it does not confirm, but rather challenges existing prejudices. Place more analytical emphasis on questioning prevalent everyday knowledge [...]*" and it is about "*an intersectional approach to everyday life research*" (Christensen, 2008: 325) meaning on different scales such as local to national and/or within different institutions, structures or actors involved such as family, school and ministry of education for example (see chapter 2.2.3 about interfaces).

To take a stand for this research

Especially concerned with the research interest in mobilities, the everyday enables us to have a profound insight which helps to understand and moreover to identify points for interaction or change. Additionally the everyday reflects in its diversity and complexity dialectic and ambivalent conditions in daily patterns. Nevertheless synergy effects can appear when linking the everyday life research to mobilities. In principal these scopes are as such interconnected that they are difficult to separate clearly. Here a sociological and multidimensional mobilities understanding is thought of which was introduced previously.

Recalling the examples mentioned above, they present conditions of the everyday life and its activating units which are produced, received, mediated and changed. Some point out direction how to go about handling and change of everyday life; others describe rather profound constitutions and aim at understanding these. Starting with the perspective of thought from the symbolic interactionist, especially the three premises according to Blumer line up quite well with the above described mobilities approach. The centrality of meaning as a basic condition for people's action and with its structural force for decisions it is crucial in mobilities as well.

Furthermore the identification and positioning of individuals in society is determining for agency. This agency is done via, with or through mobilities. The concepts mind, self and society create a person's awareness of its own being. This formed identity can be determining for actions developed from that. In addition to the latter the aspect of emotions as driving forces and positioning hierarchies in daily life empowers or controls a person's ability in being part or connected to a group or action.

To take a normative standpoint in everyday life conditions and development is to be appreciated. But the critical point is in which manner such an attitude is approached and further performed. The previously mentioned intersectional approach from the Scandinavian research group seems reasonable to understand and investigate conditions, both contextual and profound. This is

addressed with the interface perspective in this case study. The everyday reveals perhaps little and ordinary routines but these can have a complex underlying story based on further circumstances not directly obvious.

To end this section everyday life experiences are linked to mobilities with reference to Cresswell. As he puts it with introducing geosophy, the *geography of knowledge* that appreciates: "*the worlds known and unknown by people in everyday life*" that "*are not simply colourful mental maps confined to the world of ideas. Rather they are active participants in the world of action. They inform […] all manner of […] people with the ability to mold the world we live in. [They] become social. They become political*" (Cresswell, 2006: 21). Certainly there are different levels of subjectivity and context dependencies of such everyday life knowledge, but some reveals to be highly structuring the world such as the concept of space and place which is determined by people's action and interaction in time-space relations (Cresswell, 2006). That relates to the following scope or focus on interfaces that can reveal the action, reaction or inaction towards structures within everyday life.

2.2.3   Interface – site of interaction

The previous introduced scopes of research interact to a certain extant with each other. This interaction is taking place in interfaces. As the name already contains, interfaces are concerned with different scopes which meet, clash, interact or connect. Often institutional levels such as planning departments build on assumption concerned the everyday life and create structures for management, policies and plans that should regulate people's behaviours. Partially oriented on best-practice examples and in itself coherent designed they might still fail in function in regards to their initial aims. This is related to the situated and socially shaped interfaces. The everyday life contains diverse and unpredictable forms of receiving, mediation, rejecting, and transforming structures produced on the policy level and plans and policies can fail in their intention or become reshaped (Watson, 2005). Vanessa Watson (2005) underlines the focus on such interfaces that reveal the necessity for trans-disciplinary research. Interfaces are arenas that can be used to learn from and to recognize the socially embedded character of systems. Vanessa Watson exemplifies:

> "[…] cities can't be seen as autonomous beings. The 'will to govern' (plan, neaten, organise, make functional) and the 'will to survive' co-exist in the urban environment – we need to understand the interface of these distinct rationalities, need to recognise how people 'warp' government interventions to help them survive – this is the most creative moment in the 'urban planning' process" (Watson in Hentschel et al., 2009: 5).

The conceptual use of investigating the interface of everyday life and policy level for this research project is exactly concerned with the latter. With including such interface the research seeks to understand the process of receiving structural order from the planning level and furthermore the shaping forces in that process. In doing so following questions might be addressed in an appropriate manner: Why is there a gap between everyday life practice of scooter driving and the planning policies concerned this practice? Can you speak at all of a gap or is it rather a transformation and recreation process of (other) structural forces? What is shaping and moreover what happens in the interface?

A previous example of the Scandinavian research group highlighted a similar concept calling it *intermediate* or *meso-level* that functions quite like an interface described in this section. In their work it is about an active involvement on such level to reach improvement in the use of resources available and communicative balance of 'real' needs instead of inefficiency based on (wrong) assumptions.

2.3   Norms – their creation and use

Norms structure our behaviour. They are accepted, reproduced, ignored, not even (consciously) recognized or newly fashioned but overall have to be followed by a crucial number of people to come into existence as norms. This research is approaching mobilities from the perspective of norms to understand action and inaction towards, such as valuation and handling of mobile practices; in this case study namely scooter driving. It revealed quite in an early state of the study that normative structures attached to mobile behaviour were determining for the picture or role this mobile practice of scooter driving has in mobilities. Why is scooter driving not seen as an appropriate mobile practice by some? The conflicts generated around it; do they origin in the practice alone or are there other scopes attached to the (negative) framing of this particular mobility practice in the dominant mobility culture? Are there un-written rules or other influencing factors such as membership feelings, symbolic meanings, or stimulating emotions concerned with scooter driving that would give insight and understanding for scooter driver's behaviour? With a normative approach these questions could be addressed appropriately and in an interesting manner to understand behaviour within and around this mobile practice. Therefore the function, creation and change of norms will be introduced in the following.

2.3.1   Power of norms

Norms are agreements about correct/appropriate action and they vary in their strengths which relates to their values attached to them. These values keep a norm in power and thus make people act accordingly and expect others to do so too. It could be called a coincided value system and it serves as a frame of reference that on the one hand helps to simplify the complexity of the social behaviour by allowing expectations about specific behaviour of others and on the other hand limits personal behaviour as well (Hogg et al., 2005). Often it's followed up on through a system of reward and punishment.

The power or functioning of societal norms seems to be quite related to the so called 'structuration – confirm structuration' from Haugaard (2003) in his paper about the 'Reflections on seven ways of creating power'. 'Structuration – confirm structuration' as social order describes actions of people which allow power structures to be executed and even more basic they create such structures through confirmation and adjustment. There are numerous examples such as behavioural codes while eating; you don't eat with your hands; or in school; you listen to the teacher. However such norms are culturally different and not universal. In mobilities you could think of pedestrians walk on the sidewalk and not on the street, following the clock-time system or waiting at the red street light even though the street is empty and crossing the street without watching when it's a green light. All these examples can demonstrate different levels of confirmation by people and there are certainly always some not confirming. The amount of people acting to confirm a structuration, they help to create the structuration and in doing so they give it power. Moreover some norms can be more institutionalised and tied to laws that have different obligatory enforcements. People have to pay a fee when caught crossing a red light for example but most don't pay any money when behaving inappropriate at the dinner table.

2.3.2   Shifting norms

Most often the amount of people is crucial for societal norms which are often defined via the deviant behaviour but the more people will infringe such boundaries the norm can shift or change. These boundaries are as fixed as they become fixed (see above: confirm structuration). Moreover in relation to everyday life, there are quite some hidden or taken-for-granted norms which can be revealed through violation of these (Garfinkel, 1967 in Hogg et al., 2005). This could be an interesting aspect in regards to mobilities understanding and judgement in society. If change is wanted such recognition is necessary to facilitate change at all.

In the case of scooter driving for example strong stereotypes concerned the practice and some groups of people performing it are prevalent. These stereotypes have underlying normative beliefs that reflect a widely shared evaluation of this mobile practice. This evaluative image is going beyond the performing of this mobile practice and social misbehaving or deviant behaviour overall and even criminal action is associated with scooter drivers as this study will demonstrate. Additionally it is not too surprising that a marginal group of people is stereotyped in their behaviour. This leads back to the aspect of the amount of people accepting and reproducing norms. Even though just a small percentage of scooter drivers behave stereotypical, the picture is maintained by the majority of non-scooter drivers. The scooter drivers themselves do not shift in their behaviour either because on the one hand they reject the reproaches and on the other hand they create own norms that structure their actions. Moreover the norms within groups of scooter drivers are produced to define their personal roles and to form an identity of being a scooter driver overall. These identification processes in the group conserve norms and create a perception that actions with adherence to these norms have an actual effect such as inter-group acceptance for example (Hogg et al., 2005).

Concerning the multiple level framework of analysis on the everyday life practices and the policy level and further their interface, it's assumed that societal norms being transferred in between these levels and aren't necessarily clearly dividable. The research revealed that narratives about scooter driving often origin from everyday life experiences that have implicit and taken-for-granted norms as integral part of anybody's personal life (Garfinkel, 1967 in Hogg et al., 2005). Differences appear rather in the prosecution of violating of norms. There the policy level containing planners, politicians and other institutions such as the police can use punishment systems by legislation or sanctions to react on such violations compared to the societal sphere which would react with contempt for example (Hogg et al., 2005). This does not say much about the power such punishments contain. Social acceptance can be highly significant as well.

2.3.3   Norms in mobilities

An article of the journal Environment and Behaviour illustrates norms within mobilities based on the interest in attitude-based target groups as investigation method to approach ecological impact of daily mobility. The authors' state:

> *"[T]hat travel-mode choice can be explained by mobility-related operationalizations of attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavior control, and intention (e.g., Bamberg, Hunecke, & Blöbaum, 2007; Bamberg & Schmidt, 2003; Haustein & Hunecke, 2007; Heath & Gifford, 2002). A further relevant psychological determinant of travel mode choice is the personal norm, which is theoretically derived from the Norm Activation Model of Schwartz*

(1977). In contrast to the subjective norm construct of the TPB [Theory of Planned Behaviour] (Ajzen, 1991), the personal norm measures the intrinsic moral obligation to behave in a morally correct way. Several studies have demonstrated a positive effect of personal norm on the use of environmentally friendly travel modes (e.g., Harland, Staats, &Wilke, 1999; Hunecke, Blöbaum, Matthies, & Höger, 2001; Nordlund & Garvill, 2003)" (Hunecke et al., 2010: 5).

Different normative levels can have effect on mobile actions. More formally created norm structures but individual, rather personal norms as well that would translate already in more ethical and moral direction a person identifies with. Moreover this article mentions the studies of lifestyles that represent specific values and meanings that can create normative structures within this lifestyle as well. These determine daily actions and mobilities:

"Research on social stratification in modern societies, however, has shown that the complexity of social activities cannot be explained satisfactorily by sociodemographic variables. For this reason, the concept of lifestyle, which better defines an individual's daily range of actions, was introduced in social structure research. Lifestyles are affected substantially by individual values and attitudes and are not only determined by socioeconomic or sociodemographic variables." (Hunecke et al., 2010 : 6)

When thinking of norms as a decision help or constraint they might be part of the formal as well as informal rules. The policy level contains more formal structured decision processes but produces via mobile interventions normative structures and builds on given societal and informal norms as well. Tore Sager exemplifies normative structures via rules in mobilities. He says: "*Rules are put into force at all levels, from micro-authorities in the home to the government of nation states. Rules may regulate local trips and international journeys, and they may be in effect under ordinary circumstances or only in times of crisis*" (Sager, 2008: 260-261). As examples he mentions: "*Commanding children to return home before dark; restrictions on who is eligible to drive a car; permission required to settle in another province; visa and passport rules or zones or districts closed to particular groups by road posts or check-ins*" (Sager, 2008: 261). Certainly rules are not (necessarily) norms but can be. Or the other way around, norms can act as rules depending on their acceptance as norms based on institutionalisation and the values attached.

2.4   Research strategy
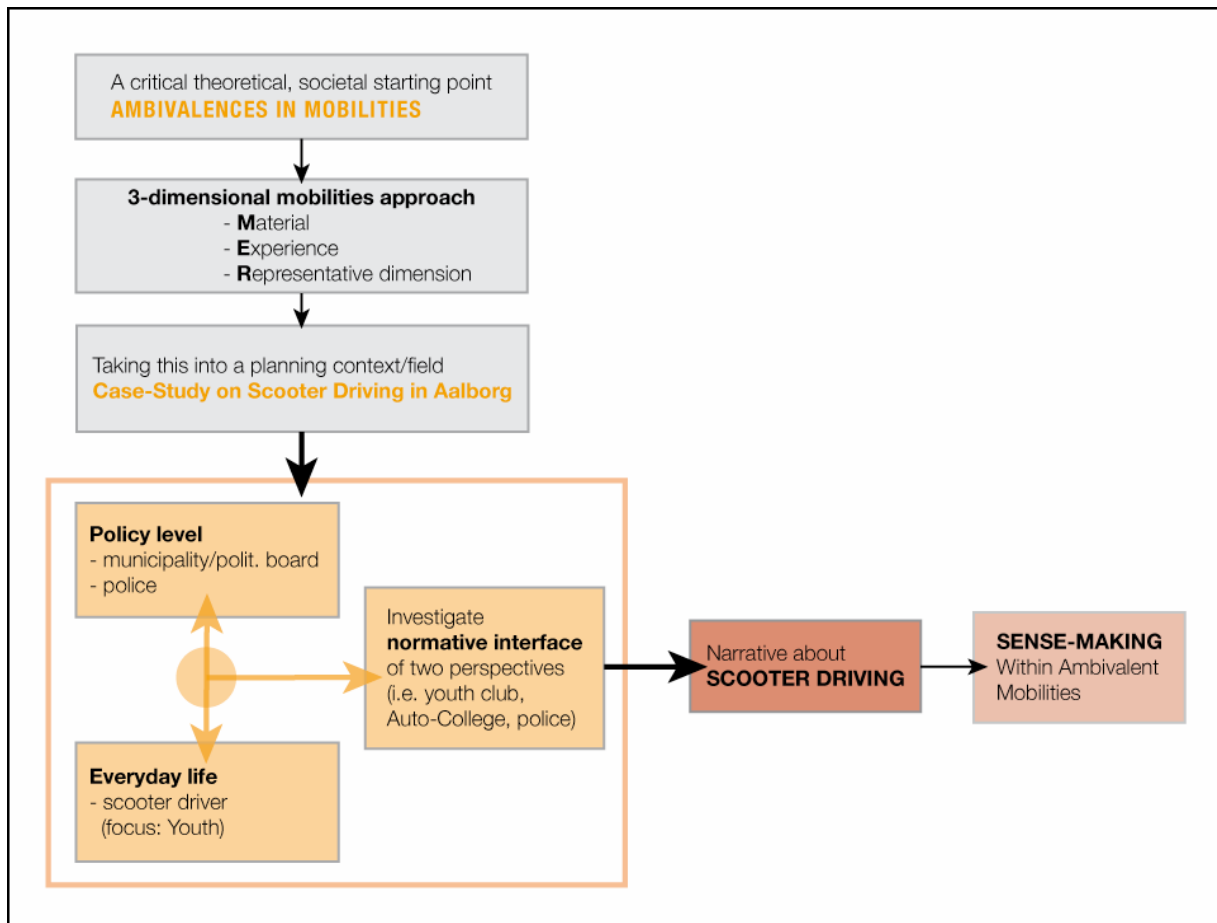
Figure 3: Research Strategy

The research strategy reflects the theoretical frame and the methodological design of this study. The complexities of current mobilities and the occurrence of ambivalent conditions were the initial interest for this research project. At first a multi-dimensional mobilities approach was developed and presented that enables a profound understanding and investigation of mobilities such as in this case the three dimensions: material, experience and representative dimension.

This approach addresses the complexity of mobilities and beyond that it can reveal the dominance or balance of dimensions and their attributes values. Such an in-depths interest is utilized by doing a case study on the ambivalent appearing mobile practice, namely scooter driving in Aalborg Municipality. This mobile practice takes a marginal position in the overall mobilities culture in Aalborg (and Denmark overall) but seems to generate disproportional conflict for this position it takes. Strong

stereotypical opinions are prevalent that present underlying normative beliefs. The case study respectively the applied methods in the study offered an investigation close to the research units, namely young scooter drivers, their performance and their social and normative environment.

Therefore, this mobile practice of scooter driving is investigated with an explicit interest in normativity on different research levels, 1) the everyday life with the actors performing this practice, 2) the policy and planning level as structuring professional for this means of transportation and finally 3) their interface that is the space of interaction for both. All these scopes create, receive and mediate a picture or narrative of the scooter driving practice. Such narratives will be identified and presented.

The decision for doing a case study (explained in the following chapter) is determining the relatively big portion of methodology in this report. The aim of learning more about the circumstances around scooter driving and the dimensions within the practice that condition the problems at hand (problem formulation) were crucial for this research design.

3   Methodology

In this section of the report I will argue for doing a case study based on the aspect of conducting research close to the unit of interest, namely scooter driving, to learn and gather knowledge in a context dependent manner that reveals coherencies, biases and dependencies. Especially because it is such a conflict loaded dispute with strong differing perceptions and actions, contextualizing and revealing relational conditions are even more important. Moreover a narrative approach according to Hajer will be introduced that serves this study with identifying the different values and meanings attached as well as arguments formed about scooter driving build in and communicated via storylines. These arguments are powerful in people's everyday life such as stories told, created, mediated and received. The conducted pilot phase of this research will be discussed and reflected on which offered the opportunity to test and learn from methods and to find a more precise focus for this research.

Moreover the methodological chapter will present in more detail the individual methods applied, they will be explained and related to their respective research question and level of investigation. Such relations are reflected through my research strategy presented in chapter 2.4 previously. The methodological section takes a fairly big proportion in this report simply based on size due to a theoretical debate in the beginning and an applied section of the methodological frame. Such in depth handling allows deeper insight and reflection, which is especially of value for a relatively understudied research field. Therefore the following five sub sections will be presented: 1) The case study as analytical frame, 2) Storylines approach, 3) The pilot phase, 4) The explicit case study with the methods used and 5) Methodological reflections

3.1   The case study as analytical frame

This section will examine on a meta-theoretical level the appreciation of case studies, their use and doubts concerning them. Thereby the value of case studies overall and in relation to this research will be discussed. To some extant case studies are questioned to serve scientific research with reliable and valid data. Such disbelief if often grounded in rather positivistic approaches that often build on facts generated through quantitative research methods such as surveys, questionnaires, samples or other methods to test hypothesis. Case studies can play an important role to identify coherencies and reveal possible research units. However this is not to say that they serve only as a pre-study or pilot phase for further inquiries but are themselves with diverse designs appreciated research strategies and in particular in social science (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This dispute should serve the study with taking a standpoint within the different meta-theoretical opinions. These issues will be now elaborated on:

- Case study characters

- Case study critique

- Learning from case studies

- Verification, generalization, context-dependency and bias

- Alternative perspectives

There are different uses or types of and opinions or valuations about case studies. In this work I will outline a relatively classical view according to Yin (1994) and enlarge upon and partially question critically some of his statements. Bent Flyvbjerg's (2006) critical article about 'Five misunderstandings about case-study research' will be drawn into the discussion. This rather theoretical discussion is followed by an in depths description of the explicit case study design that will give insight on concrete and customized use for this research (chapter 3.4).

There are at least three conditions which should help the researcher to decide for the appropriate method such as doing a case study for example. These conditions are 1) the research question, 2) the control over the events the researcher possesses and 3) the difference of dealing with contemporary or historical phenomena (Yin, 1994). The basic appraisal of case studies will take an overall influence applying this method as well which is just the issue at hand discussed in this section of the report. It's also worth mentioning that there are not always clear cuts between different research methods or they should be used in a joined manner. In the end, the previous mentioned basic conditions should help to answer the questions to be able to conduct good research.

After Yin "*the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events*" and can be "*both […] descriptive […] and explanatory*" (Yin, 1994: 3). Yin creates a

quite clearly structured overview of some research methods in comparison and the conditions to choose the most appropriate one. Such 'set of rules' can be quite handy to use but can tend to miss out on other possibilities that appear to benefit the research as well and probably fall out of that structure. Other strategies or methods such as experiment, survey or history study to mention some are not in focus, instead Yin's estimation of when to do a case study is appropriate is elaborated on. According to Yin:

> *"A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 1994: 13).*

Interesting and to pull out of this statement is the aspect of *context*. Context is appreciated and part of the research. It's influencing and moreover an essential element of creating conditions around and the phenomenon itself. Furthermore:

> *"The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical proposition to guide data collection and analysis" (Yin, 1994:13).*

This quote points out the comprehensive approach of case studies and hints at the help of having a theoretical argument that is leading the research process. Data triangulation and focus via theory or explicit research question for example is beyond dispute in any research design. Without any frame anything can be of interest or not relevant at all. Nevertheless just exploratory case studies with no clear outcome are relevant as well and in certain circumstances they can reveal interesting data and knowledge that could be used for further studies or triggers a new idea of research direction. The issue of *learning* contained in the just mentioned will be elaborated on in the following of this chapter. In the end a case study is both, data collection and design feature, therefore it's a research strategy that can cope most often better with complexities than some other research strategies do (Yin, 1994).

Moreover Yin is listing skills that should be possessed by case study users. Such skills reflect his estimation of case studies in an indirect way and are following listed: 1) the ability to ask good questions, 2) to be able to listen and not only to hear what is appreciated to hear (*in similar sense to John Forester's elaboration on listening*), 3) to adapt and react flexible on shifting circumstances, 4) to have prior knowledge of the research issue and 5) to "*be unbiased by preconceived notions, including those derived from theory*" (Yin, 1994: 56). This does not perhaps take in other important considerations such as: 1) all such skills are not bound to case studies alone. To be able to ask good questions and the value and need to listen carefully is desirable for every researcher (Forester, 1989);

2) some case studies serve the person conducting the research as learning process in regards to the field of interest it is embedded in. Such exploratory case studies don't have necessarily a knowledge base in advance but generate first or additional data to achieve more knowledge in a field; 3) In an epistemological understanding that any person is biased in it's believe and knowledge which is related to one's own attitude and knowledge embedded in experiences, context, values or meanings among others the discussion around bias takes a turn. Considering that the elimination of such bias is to an extent unreasonable. Instead a transparent handling of such biases and their origin would be worth striving for. This pispute is one to elaborate on and will be picked up again below where a critical discussion concerning case studies will be continued.

Finally one statement of Yin is quoted in the end of this section. He states that "*the 'softer' a research strategy, the harder it is to do*" (Yin, 1994: 16). Interestingly that statement relates quite well to the following critical discussion around misunderstandings about case studies by Flyvbjerg because such statements carries along a judgement concerning case studies overall. Calling them 'soft' relates to an estimation of data collected and methods in use that are less accepted in validity and reliability terms (Campbell and Fainstein, 2003). That such so called 'soft' methods or strategies are rather difficult to conduct could be true and perhaps plays into their level of acceptance; but this is not the issue itself.

3.1.1   Learning via cases

Bent Flyvbjerg (2006) points out that the *conventional wisdom* about case studies still quite prevalent is too narrow and therefore often misleading. He is reflecting on prejudices or misunderstandings concerning case studies. Mostly the validity and possible generalisations are questioned. But especially context dependency and acceptance of bias in the sense of being aware of it is in centre of this research interest (see below chapter 3.1.2).

Flyvbjerg is approaching the criticism or misunderstanding concerning case studies with reflecting on the role of human learning which is quite helpful to illustrate basic conditions and values in achieving and developing knowledge. It becomes clear that case studies have a fairly important role in such processes (Flyvbjerg, 2006). With the example of the development from beginners to experts within knowledge fields Flyvbjerg states that:

> "*Common to all experts, however, is that they operate on the basis of intimate knowledge of several thousand concrete cases in their areas of expertise. Context-dependent knowledge and experience are at the very heart of expert activity. Such knowledge and expertise also lie*

at the center of the case study as research and teaching method or to put it more generally still, as a method of learning."(Flyvbjerg, 2006: 222)

It is inevitable to build on such knowledge because human learning functions in this way and *concrete, context-dependent knowledge* can't be skipped so to say. It's the intrinsic basis for knowledge production. Precisely because of such condition case studies should be valued higher. They allow closeness to the units of research in real-life situations that serves the researcher with a nuanced view of reality (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Such real-life situations are rich of data and angles to take and can be quite complex. Sometimes they probably don't serve with answers wished for or don't prove a hypothesis but are still worth to observe and to learn from (see chapter 3.2.2). Unexpected shifts or conditions within a research process are perhaps more common in case studies but should be valued as a factor which makes the study more veritable. Here the validity discussion is touched upon that is continued below.

Coming back to the issue of 'soft' methods mentioned above; it's questionable if a methodological frame being capable of involving more complex conditions should be disrespected for such ability or attempt at least. Just to exemplify the concern with the terms 'soft' and 'hard'; that is not about the terms itself, certainly, but the associated value with such methods or skills assigned to them. Often communicative skills such as mediation for example within the planning context are associated with additional soft skills a planer can acquire and not as part of the traditional 'tool-box' with 'hard-skill-collection' so to say. The case study can contain quite a collection of different methods with qualitative and quantitative character (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Another point of criticism concerned with case studies is the generalisation of such. Firstly it depends of the type of case and the research field embedded in. Some case studies can add greatly to the generalization of findings and are often called critical cases. Furthermore an example could be the method of falsification by Karl Popper that allows generalizing from a (single) case due to testing respectively revealing findings against a hypothesis. Secondly the belief in acceptable scientific research has to have an appropriate level of generalizability is an issue. Herein Flyvbjerg's statement based on Thomas Kuhn could be incorporated that says:

"[…] the most important precondition for science is that researchers possess a wide range of practical skills for carrying out scientific work. […] And formal generalization is only one of many ways by which people gain and accumulate knowledge. […] A purely descriptive, phenomenological case study without any attempt to generalize can certainly be of value in this process" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: pp. 226.).

The latter quote relates to the previous elaborated conditions of learning and knowledge generation. It can be a chain or collection of single cases and exemplifying experiences that create a more profound knowledge in a field and not necessarily the aim and need for generalizing.

But such realities are not enough if there is no belief in them. This relates to a more context related condition of 'research spirit' so to say. The factors of validity, reliability and bias are the most common critical discussed doubts. Nevertheless a broader condition will determine these factors and the estimation of case studies as well.

> *"The value of the case study will depend on the validity claims that researchers can place on their study and the status these claims obtain in dialogue with other validity claims in the discourse to which the study is a contribution" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 233).*

That quote contains the aspect of study context and discourses around and within the field of interest. That can relate to the research community, the unit/s studied or a broader public. Such groups of actors or receivers of the study will be correspondingly their position within the discursive field open or adverse towards the inquiry. If there is openness and interest in the inquiry reader will appreciate a nicely conducted case study even though the initial focus or aim was probably shifted. This does not mean that the case study necessarily failed (which certainly can be the case as well) but revealed unexpected issues that result in change. The quote below just ads to possible shifts in a study with pointing out the value of narratives told in a case study and that these can be already a prized result than the need of having a theory approved.

> *"Case studies often contain a substantial element of narrative. Good narratives typically approach the complexities and contradictions of real life. Accordingly, such narratives may be difficult or impossible to summarize into neat scientific formulae, general propositions, and theories. […] The question, therefore, is whether the summarizing and generalisation, which the critics see as an ideal, is always desirable" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 237).*

This relates to the introduction of narratives as a research method and communicative tool hereafter (see chapter 3.2).

Finally the issue of *bias* is picked up again. It will be discussed additional in a more applied manner concerning this research in the next sub section. Case studies are not the only research method to be aware of biases but: "*the bias toward verification is general*" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 234) Interestingly case studies are in particular better suited to realize such bias and to be confronted with it than some other methods. This is due to the character of case studies itself being in closeness to "*real-life situation and test views directly in relation to the phenomena as they unfold in practice*" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 235; Yin, 1994) and therefore the ability to correct biased opinion if intentionally reveals easier being confronted

with the research units. Because of such conditions and learning processes while conducting a case study some researchers "*end up by casting off preconceived notions and theories. Such activity is quite simply a central element in learning and in the achievement of new insight*" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: pp. 236). As mentioned already before it's not about eliminating bias as such, it's instead about making it transparent and therefore able to handle.

3.1.2   Bias and context-dependency

Having conducted this case some of the above described conditions were experienced. To start with bias that shifted while conducting the case study; already in an earlier state while doing a pilot phase. Mainly due to a learning process concerned with the research interest assumptions shifted or got in a sense revealed. Based on personal experiences, interestingly a researcher is not always aware of the bias he/she carries but can be confronted with it via such profound research strategy and methods applied. One example would be the tendency while focus group discussions to wait to get a specific answer which was assumed to come up based on media coverage or other sources of evidence concerned with scooter driving. On the one hand bias can occur due to being researching a relatively understudied phenomenon, such as scooter driving in Aalborg, and therefore being sensitive and suggestible to any data receivable. Additionally the widespread negative picture has quite dominant effect even for an outside observer, the researcher, who is carrying personal ethics and norms as well. On the other hand the context dependency is crucial and could favour bias to appear. To close down some research directions which opened up during the inquiry based on the research frame via the theoretical interest excluded certainly other data and knowledge which could affect this study differently. A balance between research frame and openness is probably an ongoing practice in any research but becomes more explicit in case studies. Exactly the ability to be more profound in the inquiry reveals such challenge and could be judged as positive, being an evaluation in an early stage of scientific research. Chapter 3.5 presents some further reflection in this line of thought in the section: research topic understudied.

Nevertheless it's not only about the researcher's bias alone even though that is kind of the yardstick in the critique so to say but the identified biases in the research field and its units as well. Interestingly such revealed biases can serve as reflection for the researcher's own bias. Through such in depth research, integrating contextual themes and actors, possible bias can be traced towards an origin more likely. With the narrative approach introduced in the following such stories of belief and persuasion in regards to scooter driving can be communicated in a capturing manner.

3.1.3   Alternative perspectives

Is a case study less valid because it can be read and used in different manners? That is probably not the case because if such possibility occurs the study was conducted well enough to identify different angles for analysis and focus. Such alternative perspectives should be evaluated as a positive opportunity and value of the study. Certainly the line of argumentation of the study itself should be conclusive but transparent enough as well. Precisely because of the transparency any reader can follow up on structure, analysis and conclusion or revealed questions. Once again the bias the study carries is acceptable as long as recognizable. It could be argued that each perspective contains a kind of bias and is partially reason for taking a different approach via such perspective. Flyvbjerg (2006) says it even more explicit:

> *"The goal is not to make the case study be all things to all people. The goal is to allow the study to be different things to different people." (p.238)*

These different people will have different knowledge and concerns and therefore will use and appreciate the study variously. Even though Yin represents a different line of thought concerning bias, he wants to diminish it; he appreciates the importance of reading case studies in different directions. He even says that: "*many times, if an investigator describes a case study to a critical listener, the listener will immediately offer an alternative interpretation of the facts of the case*" (Yin, 1994: 149).

3.2   Storylines and discourse analysis

Discourse analysis (DA) is a broad and diverse discussed and applied theoretical and methodological field. However, this report will apply a narrative approach primarily according to Hajer who offers a quite clear and practical use of one form of discursive methodology. Therefore storylines are introduced in the methodological chapter whereby generally speaking they could be in the theory as well dependent on research design and use of DA.

Recalling the research interest in ambivalent mobilities and the multi-dimensionality of mobilities the complex conditions are obvious. Norms create structures for people to simplify such complexities that origin from agreed values towards social behaviours. Now the storyline approach serves this study with the opportunity to 1) reveal complex reasoning for action and belief concerning scooter driving in a condensed form, 2) the meanings given to experiences and the argumentative strands built can be identified in their contexts and 3) different storylines put in interrelation unfold the issues or actors struggling, dominating or correlating regarding scooter driving and drivers. Thus storylines are an

appropriate method to identify the normativity attached, produced or counteracted in regards to the mobile practice of scooter driving. Subsequently this methodological approach will be introduced.

To begin with, the notion of discourse used in the research will be explained precisely because diverse approaches to discourse analysis exist within this field. More explicitly the *discursive constructions* such as narrative, storyline or metaphor will be introduced. These definitions will be based on Maarten Hajer's work primarily but in addition some further concepts will be drawn in. Hajer defines discourse as follows:

> *"Discourse is defined here as an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practice." (Hajer, 2005: 300)*

Discourses are not always obvious or consciously produced by its performers but can be revealed by an analyst that investigates the *identifiable sets of practices* (Hajer, 2005). If the actors speaking a discourse don't recognize it then it will be difficult to generate change which is particularly relevant in the field of planning. Otherwise this is quite regularly the case especially if a discourse became already naturalized and regarded as normal. Then the discourse has reached the highest form of institutionalization and as such is quite dominant and powerful in its reproduction and thus existence (Hajer, 2005).

Hajer further introduces narratives, storylines and metaphors as main concepts within discourses. On the one hand these concepts are helpful to identify explicit conditions of a discourse for an analyst and on the other hand they are used/ applied in a meditative, receiving or producing manner by actors performing within a discursive field. Due to the complexity of social life and communicative conditions people simplify through shortcuts that can take the form of a metaphor or storyline. Often it would be just too complicated and perhaps even missing its aim to tell an opponent the many personal experiences, values and meanings produced and attached to an opinion and action within a conversation or performance.

> *"A story line is a condensed statement summarizing complex narratives, used by people as 'short hand' in discussions." (Hajer, 2005: 302)*

These simplified versions make it possible that people with different backgrounds can communicate. Further the *discursive affinity* allows understanding of complex routed actions and thoughts because "*arguments may vary in origin but share a similar way of conceptualizing the world*" (Hajer, 2005: 304). Based on such conditions a storyline can be produced, received or mediated due to different reasons and actors are not necessarily aware of being part of a joined reproduction of narratives. Certainly

storylines can be competing or critical to each other as well. They are no fixed condition instead a continuous processes of making sense to action and belief and communicating that (Hajer, 2005).

Applying discourse analysis in the form of identifying narratives which are supported or kept in 'position' often via metaphors is one method within this research. The narrative approach will be linked or integrated into the case study itself and is an analytical tool and result of the inquiry. Recalling the previous chapter narratives are often an essential part of case studies. In this case it's about identifying the different stories told, lived and believed about scooter drivers. Especially in relation to the research strategy with analysing the normative field and addressing the topic of Ambivalent mobilities such method can be quite interesting. It serves with the opportunity to confront people with perhaps hidden storylines which they follow, adopt or compete with. That could facilitate reflection.

> *"Academics use the story as an explanation and as a critique of planning practice. These stories can make a difference, can question the status quo. Stories and storytelling are also, as we have seen, central to planning practice – Sandercock argues that planners think about planning as a performed story. Stories can work in planning processes and stories can work as catalysts for change. This includes stories told as inspirational examples or stories that shape new imaginations of alternatives" (Marling, 2005: 25).*

The aspect of change and criticism is interesting for the mobile approaches identified in the research. To present opinions and assumptions which circulate in the minds of people and finally in their action, to communicate these and to produce a discussion around is an aim of this research assembled via a narrative approach. Which stories around scooters are lived or experienced in everyday life and which on the planning level? One quote from Hajer exemplifies nicely one of the insights through using a discursive approach:

> *"Illuminating discourse(s) allows for a better understanding of controversies, not in terms of rational argumentation, but in terms of the argumentative rationality that people bring to a discussion." (Hajer, 2005: 301)*

The latter presents that rationality is not alone an issue and therefore can't be the measure of all (some) things. In terms of the interest in Ambivalent mobilities that quote simply ads to the explanation of ambivalent or contradictory conditions within mobilities due to underlining the power of the argument rather than the rationality itself. People act after their argumentation they built up or want to follow and these don't have to be rational. Therefore storylines are providing and explaining argumentative strands that are often deeply rooted in belief systems or attached to personal values and meanings. The storyline reveals some of these issues in a condensed form or connects different

themes or even creates coalitions of actors or topics that seem not proper in the sense of being ambivalent for example.

In this paragraph the narrative approach will be linked again to the section concerning case studies as analytical frame (section 4.1) that touched upon such discursive concept already. As Flyvbjerg (2006) stated case studies often entail a good element of narratives. Especially the detailed experiences, statements and practices embedded in a context create the content for stories. Therefore:

> *"Several observers have noted that narrative is an ancient method and perhaps our most fundamental form of making sense of experience." (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 240)*

Probably everybody knows about a situation when someone tells a story, speaks from personal experiences or political discussion for example and there is quite instant agreement due to relation to own personal experience in similar or same manner. Some listeners even interrupt the storyteller '*yes, yes exactly…*' and underline the just spoken. Here a lot of diverse issues come together that are not explicitly communicated but assumed to be understood. This form of simplification allows quite some level of consensus. Not that narratives are free of conflict they can be contested and unfold in several ways. Recalling the issues of 'reading' cases differently relates to storylines in so far that they can be the reason for rejecting arguments developed from a case and offer some different in opposition or alternatively make a receiver agree on presented results but out of different reasons. To separate the origin of such reactions it is again important to value the context and in depth research possible in a case study.

3.3   Doing a pilot phase

The decision for doing a pilot phase is based on 1) the relatively little studied case of the scooter driving practice and thus rare information, 2) an interest in the context the practice is embedded in, 3) the aim to test and try methods to experience their advantages or disadvantages for this research and 4) finally to be able to find a more precise focus for the study. Furthermore the learning experience for the researcher, especially concerning the methods used and the reflections on personal abilities are positive reasons for piloting in critical reflection. Subsequent I will elaborate about the empirical value, methodological use and the conceptual help of doing a pilot phase (Yin, 1994). Additionally the results and consequences of conducting a pilot phase in this research will be presented. The latter will lead to the applied methodology section whereas the previous part was rather theoretically discussed.

3.3.1   Benefits of piloting

Empirical value

Empirically doing a pilot phase offers a more profound research option. Methods and the analytical framework can be tested and further the own abilities to conduct methods and learn from difficulties. The learning effect should be underlined. The issues of validity and reliability though are affected as well. With trying methodological tools and opening up the research field the capability to build up a valid and reliable research structure is rather high. This phase can help as a decision guidance and furthermore as explanation for the final research design.

Particularly in a relatively understudied field of research the pilot phase can help to identify research units and actors as well as topics involved which are not necessarily obvious or perhaps hidden. Therefore it's important to be quite open in that phase and to put the research design (if already developed) to the side for that period of time. Certainly there has to be one kind of structure or red line and research question/s to relate to because otherwise everything could be relevant or worth nothing. However a pilot phase could give new input and perhaps leads to an evaluation of the current research design. In any case the experiences of the pilot phase should be taken into consideration and encourage reflection on state and aim of work.

A challenge could be to decide between quite a few angles identified which offer interesting research frames. But rather pick from a few options than to believe there are no more angles than the one chosen. The additional data or perspectives identified can serve as context information in which the research is embedded in and besides support validity and reliability. To be reflective in the research and to see coherencies should be essential in general.

Methodological use

As already mentioned above in the section about the empirical value a pilot phase is helpful to try methods for a research frame. It can be tested which methods generate the relevant data and which are less appropriate or if there are some other methods missing not even thought of. Especially if being relatively inexperienced in doing research due to being a student for example this possibility is appreciated a lot. To spread the methods in that phase and to try perhaps some not so common once is interesting. To give some time to think through, reflect and experience different methods in more depths is fruitful in the sense of getting to know the tools for a researcher and to generate data on a less superficial way. The latter relates to the ability to use methods. If there is a typical tool box so to say which is becoming generally valid in methodology it will be more difficult to try new methods which are probably not in that box and as such less accepted. Being able to conduct or having tried

such 'other' methods increases the potential for broadening methodological approaches. Beyond that the data generated could be different too and research becomes rather diverse which could be valued positive.

Conceptual help

Next to experiencing and trying methods it is about taking decisions as well. Broadening the research field gives the opportunity to see the context of the research topic and the different units involved. This does not mean to incorporate all this information to do the research but it should be a decision what is rather relevant concerned with the research question/s and interest. It is about narrowing the mass of data and to find a focus which is leading the research.

3.3.2   Carrying out - piloting in this research

The pilot phase was a rather open investigation of scopes and actors involved with scooter driving in any sense. Some data or sources are not in focus anymore and act as framing or context related issues which help to understand and relate aspects to each other. Beyond I had the opportunity to reflect on which method on which level of investigation will serve me with data to answer my research questions. Following the main consequences for this research listed in short:

- Focus within the mobile practice of scooter driving: Youth

- Approaching the research units via the normative field: Norms

- Form of analysis and communicating the case study results: Storylines

- Overview of context via brought data acquisition: Coding and order of data and methods

One consequence for this research is to approach the mobile practice of scooter driving and moreover ambivalent mobilities via *norms*. Such approach evolved due to the deepening knowledge acquisition starting with the pilot phase. That means not only was the methodological approach of the research influenced by the piloting the theoretical interest as well. The confusion about the conditions around scooter driving, the relatively unclear planning (or non-planning) for the mobile practice, the shifts in traffic laws, the violation of laws as main criticism or the various forms of performed 'scootering' observed led the focus towards norms. Additionally the strong stereotypical criticism of a specific type of scooter driver directed the research interest towards the normative field.

The latter relates to another result of pointing the research in a direction; that is the focus on *youth*. This age class became critical for my research design based on the societal picture of a specific type of scooter driver framed as *young, male and criminal* to say it in shorthand. The older generation of scooter drivers, often male and partially alcoholics who lost their drivers license for the car were excluded of the case focus.

The table 5 with the 'separation of data sources according to their relevance' is another result of the pilot phase which helped to overview the field of research. The pilot phase offered the opportunity to reflect on the different data sources and to separate them in main, background and context related data which corresponds with different use of methods as well.

To continue with exemplifying the consequences of the piloting the media and more specifically the print media is not a unit of analysis but serves the research with some interesting input regarding context. Likewise the private household; family backgrounds have not been investigated specifically. However, the young scooter drivers are probably quite influenced by family rules and norms concerning scooter driving which determines a lot of their behaviour. Further the parents got mentioned as actors involved by various sources of evidence (Nørgaard, 2009; Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009; et al.). Nevertheless this background condition can be shown through the interviews and ends up as one set of data collected for the context of this mobile practice with the focus on youth.

The decision to work with a narrative approach revealed in the pilot phase as well. At first via negative framing language wise such as calling scooter drivers *pestilence*, *criminals* or overall lazy and annoying road users (Interview, Serup, 2009; Nørgaard, 2009) sensitization concerning discourse analysis got an issue. Such negative framing is reinforced in press articles. Some evidence takes itself a narrative character and acts as educational or shocking story it seems like and most often points out the danger involved with scooter driving explicitly for the youth.

3.4   The case study

Recalling the elaboration on 'The case study as an analytical frame' (section 3.1) it is not about one determinate definition of a case study. At first there exist different types and secondly such types can overlap. I will explain the type of case study of this research based on helpful experiences due to the piloting and more essential in regards to the identified research units exposed in this chapter. Moreover relations to existing types of case studies described in literature will be drawn. These themes will be elaborated:

- The explicit case study with

- Its research units,

- Methods in use,

- Selection of primary and secondary data, and

- Overall reflections on research experiences

3.4.1   Type of case study

This case study is a single-case study with an exploratory character. In the end case studies are always exploratory cases but with further defined aims or explicit design the case is put in a more explicit typology. Such issue of naming a case or to say it differently categorizing cases is not always clear (compare Flyvbjerg, 2006). There are different types of cases such as representative cases, extreme cases, critical cases or paradigmatic cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006). The latter is a rough list which can be filled with more detailed typologies of cases (compare Yin, 1994). However, that will not be elaborated on in detail because the main dispute for this report was already discussed on a rather theoretical level previously. But still to mention some main differences; these are made 1) via level of (new) information and 2) in their strategic use or form of communicating the results. Both is mostly dependent on the research design of the case that determines units of analysis, methods conducted and finally the data collected.

Coming back to this explicit case; the research strategy introduced in chapter 2.4 reflects the frame in which the case study is embedded. This frame formed by the mobilities field and more precise the interest in ambivalent mobilities is kind of hovering over the case. That interest was one of the starting points for the research and is a crossing point in the end as well. Moreover according to Yin (1994) this could be an embedded single case meaning in a modified way: 1) it contains different levels of analysis, namely the exploration of mobilities dimension from two main perspectives such as policy level and everyday life, and additional the narrative approach with identifying storylines concerned the case. 2) different techniques for data collection are applied that are assigned to the levels of analysis and will be described in the following of this chapter. Based on Flyvbjerg (2006) the case could point in an 'information-oriented selection' that entails the interest in information maximization/gathering based on the expectation to find that data (content) in the case. Perhaps this is partially a reason but there has to be added another aspect.

Certainly the interest and curiosity in ambivalent mobilities had influence on selecting the mobile practice of scooter driving with some expectation of finding evidence or examples for such conditions. On the other hand the case study alone became such valuable result with its narrative face. The

stories or storylines revealed will give interesting insight in this mobile practice and the normative structures around and therefore hopefully adds something to a more profound mobilities understanding. The latter relates back to the aspect of learning discussed in chapter 3.1.1. To allow such basic but certainly essential experience in research and moreover for effective planning is underlined herewith. Finally the case study should be simply called an exploratory single case study. Nevertheless this case study is defined more specifically with its explicit research units. These units are ascribed to three research levels which will be explained in the following.

3.4.2   'In search of norms' – Linking of research units

Finally there are three main research levels defined each related to a research question and appropriate methods. All will be approached with a particular critical focus on normativity in relation to the mobile practice of scooter driving. These are:

- Policy level

- Everyday life

- Interfaces between policy and everyday life

The research levels take different positions in the case study. They are balancing the research in various manners. Below table 2 gives an overview of the levels with the various sources of data and their integration in the research design. The column concerned with research methods within this case study will be elaborated on in more detail in the following section. The methods will be structured based on their relevance for each research level. The levels are introduced hereinafter.

Research levels	Research questions	Sources of data	Methods
Policy level	Which norms of mobility are in operation within the scooter driving practice?	- municipality of Aalborg/ political board - police of Aalborg (traffic section)	- document analysis (Policy papers) - Individual interviews
Everyday life level	Which norms are created within the everyday life of scooter drivers?	- scooter drivers → focus on youth	- focus group discussions - observations
Normative interface	What is the normative interface like and what is mediated by whom?	- youth club (care-taker) - police (traffic section) - Auto-college (director)	- in-depth interviews

Table 2: Linking of research units

The *policy level* was an initial focus with the expectation to find policies for the scooter driving practice. It was a departure point and contained some ambiguity from the researcher's perspective about handling scooter driving and unclear statements concerning specific action. The assumption was to find regulatory structures in this planning scope. The policy level is mainly including the Municipality of Aalborg; more precisely the Department for Roads and Traffic is the professional for the scooter driving practice. The political board the department is embedded in, namely the Technical and Environmental Department or Board of Aalborg Municipality. Further the Aalborg Police as one main actor for this mobile practice is in focus for investigation on this level. It should be remarked that the police is actually present on two levels. Next to the policy level the normative interface is influenced too. Certainly the traffic section of Aalborg Police is involved and responsible for surveying/persecuting the adherence of the regulations concerned with scooters. Regulations are fixed in the traffic act decided on parliament level (transport ministry). Within the Department for Roads and Traffic of Aalborg Municipality no specific policy or plan exists for scooters.

The *everyday life level* is in focus in this research. Aiming at understanding the subject of concern is at heart in this case study. The scooter drivers themselves within their everyday life react on and interact with existing regulations; even though it is not necessarily clear where regulations are based on or which means actually have structural power. The focus is on the youth within this mobile practice and how such young scooter drivers make sense of traffic laws and moreover of (societal) norms concerned with the practice and its performers. The normative field seems to be confused because there is no explicit plan for scooters. The municipality is planning for bicycles and the police is prosecuting misconduct of the traffic act.

The latter will involve not only the experiences, performances, values and meanings of the youth as centre of attention but of other actors and levels of research as well. Here the influence of everyday life and thus the value of studying such field is affirmed.

As third research level the *normative interface;* this space created or offered for the sense-making and reaction on norms can be viewed differently. To note, space is not understood in a strictly physical/spatial manner rather concerned with interaction and networking of institutions, norms and individuals. On the one hand the research is concerned with: How do others make sense of scooter driving? What could be learned and observed from such arena for the planning professionals? On the other hand: What should or could be mediated and how could this interface be used for both levels of perspective? These questions mention both a rather observant and further an active utilization of such arena.

3.4.3   Research methods

This section will introduce the explicit methods applied in the case study. Some methods were tested in the pilot phase such as doing a questionnaire for example but excluded for the further inquiry. These will be not explained in the following. Afterwards only the methods used in the research are explained. There is no real order in the listing; it's slightly oriented towards the three research levels introduced above. Previously the decision for the research levels was introduced; now the methods itself will be explained more formally. In the end the table 5 will give a summed-up overview. The methods introduced are: *Document studies, qualitative interviews, focus group discussions, observations* and a customized form of *mapping.*

Document analysis

Document analysis has been an ongoing process in this project. Certainly such method can be done on different levels and in various depths (Bryman, 2008). Again the pilot phase offered the freedom to scope in quite diverse direction and therefore to study, examine or glance through documents which defined more clearly the final material to use (see appendix D). Documents contain a collection of opinions, assumptions and interpretations of conditions and developments. Some formulate objectives for development directions and others principles and policies that are rather binding. Being working with the normative field it was surely of interest to find or search for defined normative structures or plans in written material.

Different types of documents

Based on my growing knowledge and experiences during the pilot phase documents and all in all the applied methods could be coded into major, background and context related value for the research (see below table 5). As previous introduced the main responsible for planning for scooter driving as a mobile practice is the Department for Traffic and Roads within the municipality. Such department is therefore author for possible policy papers concerning this practice. As already mentioned in this report there exist no explicit policy for scooter driving. Instead bicycle policies can be included even though they only relate to the so called small scooter (30km/h). It got obvious that there need to be a search in different fields of responsibility or interest to find actors who occupy their work to scooters more explicitly. Traffic safety for example is such issue or field. Different authors and sources of evidence can be collected which deal with the danger and mostly accident history of scooter driving. One main source to mention is the web page 'sikkertrafik' which translated means 'traffic safety'. Such

source gives a relatively brought collection of data and links actors involved in this mobile practice (see: www.sikkertrafik.dk).

Approaching the context of such documents more overall aims of Aalborg municipality's development plans got viewed. Certainly these documents formulate more superior aims for a region's development and don't necessarily point out specific assembly steps but nevertheless can be interestingly involved in argumentative conclusions. To give some examples following documents became of interest:

- municipal policy papers concerned with bicycle plans/policies/campaigns,

- traffic safety policies/plans,

- environmental concepts/plan,

- statistics about scooters (i.e. sikkertraffik.dk),

- and additional the SSP-network (school, society, police); an annual report

The latter is mainly concerned with social problems such as criminal youth for example. However, such scope is related to the research considering that the focus of investigation within the mobile practice is the youth and moreover criminal actions within the dispute about scooter driving take one dominating role. The exact documents can be found in an overview in the appendix (appendix D). Due to reasons of space and level of detail this review will not be shown here. That overview separates more qualitatively into types of documents respectively fields of knowledge they are concerned with such as scooters itself, bicycles, traffic safety, overall development aims for the municipality, traffic laws, driver's license text book or a society-school-police network for example.

In-depths interviews

In this research qualitative interviews with experts respectively actors identified being crucial got conducted. The interviews are semi-structured and take an interview guide as leading frame (see below). All interviews have taken place by personal contact of researcher and interviewee. Such face-to-face contact gives the possibility of ascertaining if the questions are understood correctly or allows the estimation of unspoken opinions via behaviour or atmosphere during the interview. Such additional observations can be of high value for interpreting the spoken statements and are an essential part of the whole interview process (Kvale, 2007). The interviews have been recorded on digital sound files and transcribed in a relatively detailed manner. Due to reasons of simplification and moreover not having planned to analyse the interview in such depths like in conversation analysis for example some aspects such as breaks between thoughts or unclear mumbling is not adopted in the

transcriptions. However, each interview was reflected on afterwards and issues such as tension, breaks, laughter, searching for terms etc. were recognized. This information is part of the collected data from the interview and gives a rather precise picture of the interaction and helps to understand and analyse the interviewee's statements.

Selecting respondents

The respondents listed below were chosen due to different reasons which will be elaborated on in this section. These respondents are mostly concerned with the policy research level and the normative interface. The everyday life level is mainly investigated via the perspective of the youth as subject group of concern and focus group discussions were applied. Nevertheless the interviewees introduced in the following will contribute the research sphere of everyday life as well. Interestingly all respondents had once a scooter themselves and can therefore relate to the mobile practice in such a self-experienced way and furthermore some have personal experience with their children being/ want to be or were involved with this mobile practice as well.

Respondent	Field of work	Profession	Place of work	Professional interest
Mariann Nørgaard	Urban & traffic planning	Counsellor	Technical and Environmental Department; Aalborg Municipality	Previous counsellor for environment & public utilities; Current fields: urban & traffic planning; Political leader of Venstre (party)
Claus Serup	Traffic police	Police officer; drivers license instructor (motorcycles)	Traffic department; Aalborg Police	Traffic regulation & control (i.e. speed, environment, freightage); driving instructor for Denmark's Police
Jens Gjødsbøl	Educational training in (auto) mechanics	Director	Auto-College Aalborg/ technical college	Institutional management; structuration of training programs for mechanics
Jens Amtoft-Christensen	Educational domain (focus youth)	Teacher	Youth club and school in Aalborg municipal region	Teaching; leader of the youth club & care-taker; (being a mentor for the youth)

Table 3: Interviewees participating in this study

Mariann Nørgaard has been selected as respondent in the light of the position she holds. As counsellor for the Technical and Environmental Department of Aalborg Municipality she is the political leader of the Department for Traffic and Roads which is the professional for the scooter driving practice. Further the departments for Planning & Building, Park & Nature, Environment, Management Secretariat, and for Construction Unit are assigned to this superior board. She is the political leader for the Venstre party as well that is the biggest, liberal party in Denmark. Mariann Nørgaard has fairly long experience within the political field of work being a member of the city council for already 17 years. She was a counsellor for eight years and is currently in her third period for four more years. Within her counsellor period previously she was responsible for environment and public utilities for five years. At the moment she is working in the field of urban and traffic planning which is just the main responsible for the case of this report. An additional reason though for having chosen her was the rejection of the Department for Traffic and Roads in the first place. The department was contacted a few times but based on missing policies specifically concerned with scooter driving the employees argued not to be able to help or contribute this research. Therefore the next level of responsibility, the political board of the department became an interest to get estimation and opinion concerned my case. Certainly this political board has a different approach scale wise and will address scooter driving differently but context related some positioning could be expected at least. More detailed the analysis chapter 4.3.1 (storyline 1) will elaborate on the latter mentioned rejection and positioning.

Claus Serup got chosen as respondent based on being a police officer in the Traffic Department of Aalborg Police. The police and especially the traffic section is one main actor identified for the mobile practice and performers of scooter driving. His first education was actually in computer programming before he came to the police. His current position involves traffic regulation & control concerned with speed, environment or freightage for example. Next to that he is the internal security representative of the department. Additional he is a driver's license instructor for motorcycles for Denmark's Police overall. Based on the latter, using the motorcycle as main work vehicle he is rather occupied with scooter driving as a mobile practice due to practical persecution aspects than other colleagues.

Jens Gjødsbøl as director of the Auto-College Aalborg became an interesting respondent based on the educational institution he is responsible of. Auto-College is one of the technical colleges in Aalborg municipality and educates pupils/ students to become mechanics. Such technical colleges take in students with the age of 16 and are therefore within the range of the subject group youth for this case study. Based on information during the pilot phase these colleges got pointed out as being one institutional area with quite some scooter drivers attending (Interview, Serup, 2009). Furthermore the education itself, becoming a car mechanic and having scooter mechanic courses for example, and the line of mindset within this education was of interest for the case. A group of students were participants in two focus group discussions conducted in the research (see below) and the decision to interview the director Jens Gjødsbøl developed related to this initial interest. Involving the director of

this college offered the opportunity to get an estimation of the scooter driving practice from an educational field. Further investigating the approach mediated in regards to normative structures concerned with scooter driving and overall for a mobilities understanding within this institution was expected to be valuable.

Jens Amtoft-Christensen is a teacher and head of a youth club in Aalborg municipality region which he is managing and working in as a caretaker. These two spheres of work take a 50/50 position in his professional life. The decision to interview him and further conducting a focus group discussion with five of his members was mainly based on the focus in youth as subject group of concern. He is kind of representing a pedagogic (role) model for youth all in all and specifically for young scooter drivers as well. Quite a few members of the youth club are scooter drivers and this mobile practice takes a big role in their life. He is aware of it and respects their values and meanings attached to this practice. He is often consulted by his members and has fairly much knowledge about the case issue and its context. He is networking between actors such as school and other educational institutions, police, and private household. Based on these conditions he was a valuable respondent for the research.

The interviewees contributed a lot of valuable and interesting data and opinions for this research and linked units or pointed out further coherencies that helped to understand the case in more depths. For further details the analysis chapter should be looked at.

Interview guide/s

The interview guides were structured around the three research levels of policy level, everyday life, and normative interface concerning scooter drivers. In the course of the research some new insight came up and therefore influenced the interviews as well. Moreover the different respondents require (slightly) different frames for the interview and collection of questions based on their professional position and influence on the scooter driving practice and its users. All guides have in common that they are structured around one type for conducting interviews (Kræmer, 2007). They all involve an introductory phase in which the interviewee should speak about its own person and relation to the issue of scooter driving. This gives the interviewer an idea of connection to the issue at hand and functions as a warm-up. This is followed by the main body of the interview which contained the three research levels respectively specific questions concerned with the scooter driving practice on three mobilities dimensions. Finally a so called cool-off phase in the end offers some space for additional questions with a broader perspective for example or issues the interviewee wants to contribute or underline as crucial. The interview guides can be found in the appendix (appendix A).

Focus group discussions

Focus groups are defined by different authors in different manners. But most often they have in common that they are a moderated discussion which focuses on group interaction to generate data as the name implies (Krzyzanowski et al., 2008). The researcher is not the one asking questions first and foremost instead he/she acts as a moderator between the participants and can use a stimulus to evoke discussion or interaction for example.

> *"The aim of the focus group is not to reach consensus about, or solution to, the issues discussed, but to bring forth different viewpoints on an issue. Focus group interviews are well suited for exploratory studies in a new domain since the lively collective interaction may bring forth more spontaneous expressive and emotional views than in individual, often more cognitive interviews." (Kvale, 2007: 72)*

This statement points out the appreciated diversity of viewpoints and to allow conflict or is even stimulating these. Most often a bigger group of participants (i.e. 6 to 10 people) attend which share an interest in or are connected via an issue (Krzyzanowski et al., 2008; Kvale, 2007). In this research for example the connective issue would be to be a performer of the scooter driving practice within a specific age group. It is a little bit confusing that Kvale names the focus group an interview in the just mentioned quote. Others explicitly want to exclude focus group (discussions) from interviews (Krzyzanowski et al., 2008). Additional to this statement by Kvale focus group discussions can be used for testing assumptions as well such as the following quote will entail:

> *"Focus groups are used (1) whenever one is exploring shared (collective) or individual opinions and (2) whenever one is willing to empirically test whether those beliefs and opinions are well grounded and stable, or whether they are prone to change in the situation of interaction with others, who are possibly seen as equals (hence excluding the principle of power) and are able to challenge and modify a participant's view." (Krzyzanowski et al., 2008: 163)*

Stimulus and guide

Instead of having an interview guide as described previous focus group discussion can have a leading structure too. Such guide is rather open and works with overall fields of interest that should be covered. Due to the character of focus group discussion respectively the aim to create a possibility to exchange opinions about an issue in an open manner too much frame would be hindering. However, to have a collection of stimulating topics or questions ready (if necessary) is effective as well. Mapping was used as a stimulus to generate group action for example (see below). For this research

interest following issues were of interest: 1) the mobilities field with the three-dimensional frame, their use, meaning, values, experiences or wishes related to scooter driving and 2) the normative sphere with norms being identified, norms being followed or created; in a collective or individual manner, experienced confusion or sense-making within the scooter driving practice (see appendix B).

Finally three focus group discussions were conducted. These are listed in the table below. The focus group discussions included additional methods such as questionnaire, mapping and a paper to fill with additional context information about their person. The questionnaire got rejected after being applied once in the pilot phase. This decision was based on reactions received by the participants who were partially confused and contradictory in their answers and further out of efficiency reasons to focus on the interactive and communicative part in the focus group than to collect data in such a disconnected way even though they seem to like the active part of filling the questionnaire. The paper to fill with additional context information about the person and a feedback section for example was in a way a development from the questionnaire. One possibility offered via such not interactive data collection is the chance to write some information down not mentioned in front of the other participants and to give a feedback to the experienced discussion. Such additional material can be found in the appendix C. It should be noted that this method was conducted the first time and therefore contains fairly much learning processes. Each focus group revealed new experiences that were reflected on and can be followed up on with the data on the enclosed CD and partially in the last chapter of the methodology section below (chapter 3.5).

Participants	Institution	Size of group	Age; sex	Date/ Timing
Youth club members	Youth Club in Aalborg Municipality	5	15; all male	22-11-2009; ca. 40 min.
Students	Auto-College Aalborg	6-7	16/17, one 20; 1 female, 6 male	17-02-2010; ca. 1 hour
Students	Auto-College Aalborg	6	16/17; 1 female, 5 male	15-03-2010; ca. 30 min.

Table 4: Participants in focus group discussions

Observations

The type of observation applied in this research is an unstructured, non-participant observation. Such observation has: "the aim to record in as much detail as possible the behaviour of participants with the aim of developing a narrative account of that behaviour" (Bryman, 2008: 257). In this research and case the reactions or interaction with normative structures concerned the scooter driving practice are observed. How do scooter drivers use their physical surrounding that has embedded normative structures? To observe the behaviour of scooter drivers within their physical surrounding and further even the reactions towards them of other road users or actors within the field serves me as a researcher with additional information and perhaps a deeper understanding and possible reflection on

what was transmitted via statements in the inquiry. However, observations are a background method in this research and do not take a major role in the inquiry but offered intensified contact to the field of study.

The decisions for locations to conduct observations were based on different aspects. Interviews and focus group discussions offered partially explicit areas which were identified as scooter-dominant locations. Overall stereotypical opinions about scooter drivers are concerned with a specific municipal region as well; namely Aalborg East. Further the everyday life surroundings of the participants of the focus group were of interest. It should be noted that the Auto-College students live further away and quite a few outside the municipal boundaries. Therefore the region around the college was incorporated only. Finally the areas of interest for this research in the Aalborg municipal region are:

- Aalborg Øst/ East – Area around Astrupstien and Smedegårdsvej
- Nørresundby/ North – Area around the Auto-College
- Aalborg/ South – Area nearby the Youth Club
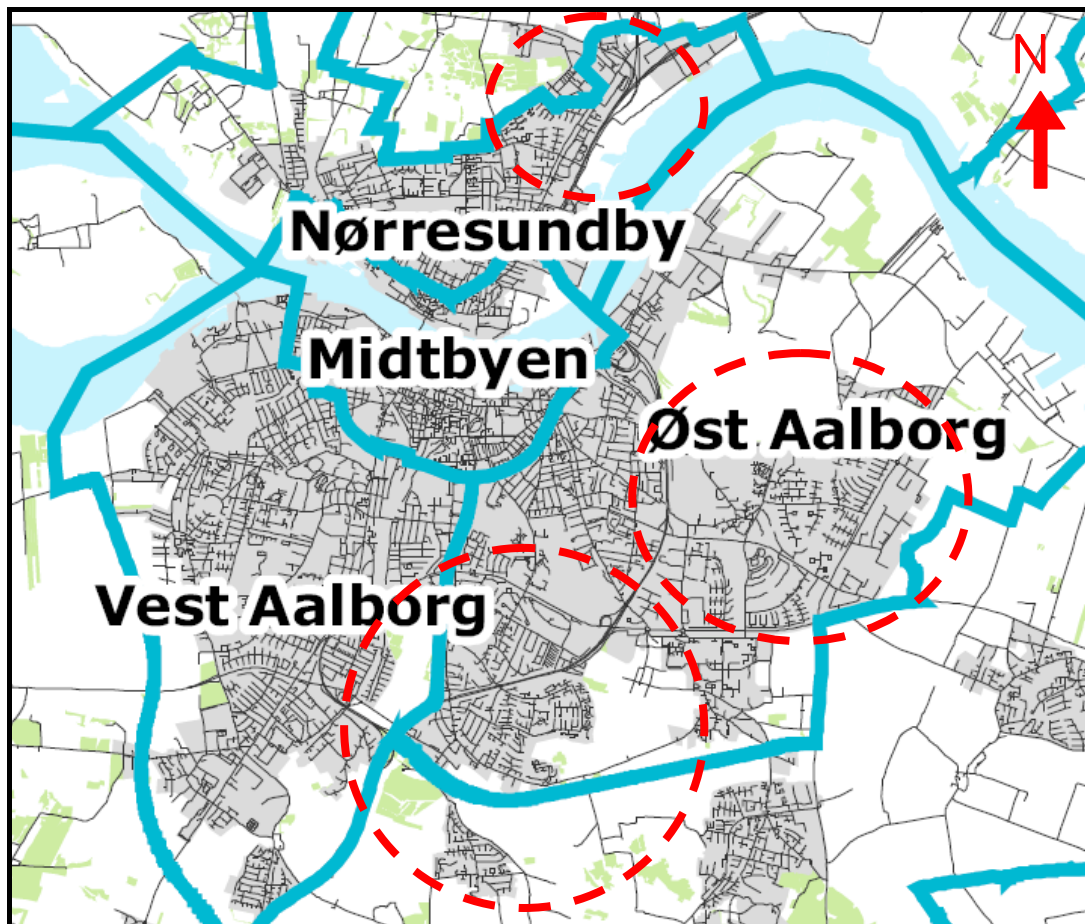
Map 1: Overview of observation areas (Aalborg Municipality, Kommuneplan områdeinddeling)

Observation categories

As previously defined this form of observation is a quite open design and perhaps would speak against using any strict categorization. Nevertheless an additional list with categories to observe possibly was developed. This list is meant as a supportive help and not as limiting frame. Categories such as wearing a helmet (or not), type of license plate (or none), sound of the scooter, feeling of speed or age and sex of the driver are listed to mention some. Some of these categories have a normative character already or at least relate to a normative structure and therefore expected behaviour. This observation support-list can be found in the appendix (see appendix C).

Mapping

Mapping was used in a quite customized manner within the focus group discussions. Mainly in the beginning of the focus group mapping served as a kind of 'ice-breaker' so to say. However, beyond that the data generated could help for identifying possible observation areas on the one hand and on the other such base of information was helpful during the focus group discussion; or even to come back to it in a follow up meeting. Sometimes it's just easier to relate to a visual product and furthermore it could be the foundation to start a story or to remind people of experiences they had. The location or physical relation via such map is not the issue alone; it's actually more a mnemonic devise in a way. Experiences, opinions or feelings can be recalled and are often communicated in a narrative form.

Picture 3: Exemplifying mapping   Picture 4: Mapping tasks

This was at least the aim for the use in this research. Especially with the focus on youth and concerning the focus group as method the mapping helped to activate the participants in a way which was one most important issue to conduct such discussion at all.

Selection – primary and secondary data

Finally a structure was created to overview the many and diverse data sources and possible directions to enlarge upon. That helped to handle the information and relates them to each research level. Below table 5 presents such an overview with the selected data. The selection into background data or rather context related data in comparison to major data helps to give the research a frame with identifying relevance levels. Moreover with this overview it's possible for a reader to follow up on the research design and structure (here based on the use of data) and perhaps to identify other possible research focuses not investigated in this report.

The three main research levels are incorporated to embed this overview in the research design. This table adds to the previous table 2 (above) and presents more detailed the separation and hierarchy of data sources for this research.

Research level	Methods	Major data	Background	Context
Policy level	- document analysis (Policy papers)	Documents about: - bicycle policies Statistics about: - scooters (traffic safety)	Documents about: - overall aims for traffic development (modal split, traffic safety, environmental concern)	- Press media - Police web page
	- Individual interviews	Aalborg Municipality: Department for traffic and roads Aalborg Police: Traffic section	Political board: Technical and environmental department Traffic laws concerning scooters	- SSP-network (annual report) - Families of scooter drivers (parental influence)
Everyday life level	- focus group - observations	Focus group discussion with scooter drivers (focus: youth)	Observations of norms embedded in physical structures	
Normative interface	- in-depth interviews	(Police) Youth club: caretaker Auto-College: director	- diff. types of scooter drivers	- Institutional influence (role models, authorities, …)

Table 5: Separation of data sources according to their relevance

3.5   Methodological reflections - Challenge and trouble

The methodology chapter has taken a fairly dominant part in this report. Working in two semesters on a project, the decision for doing a case study, including a pilot phase and overall having the time to go more into depths with the research and the methods applied are some of the reasons for this. This research design contained quite some learning effect for conducting it. Therefore this section will present further reflections on experiences during this project work.

I want to point out some of the issues I could identify and experience as challenging and partially troubling and some unpredictable concerned with methods and the empirical work of this research. Once again, the piloting was enabling for evaluating experiences in more detail and to reflect on these in this section. Moreover the saying 'skill comes with practice' applies very well for research overall and I could experience quite some learning effect personally.

3.5.1   Concerning methods in use

Loss of recorded data

Most often interviewer record their interviews and transcribe the data afterwards to have a detailed data set and further as source for analysis and approval for drawn conclusions. The level of detail of the transcriptions is different and depends on the use of data and how interviews as methods are approached overall. In this section I want to point out the danger of losing the recorded data and in this case having to recall the focus group discussion from own memories. A few aspects come together such as the issue of taking notes while moderating, to take time after the focus group to reflect on the just experienced or the amount of the participants which all have influence on the level of memory of the focus group data and experience itself. Further to avoid such loss of data double recording could be recommended as well.

In my case I had one of such experiences and did recall as much as possible after the focus group discussion. Unfortunately I had an interview scheduled right after that discussion and some time passed. With the help of my discussion guide and with running a few times through the focus group session I could collect quite some data in relatively detail. It helped to have a structure such as the discussion guide but at first I was recalling my memories on a blank piece of paper, imagining each participant and the different discussion phases. Surprisingly a lot is memorized running through your focus group in such a mental way. Repeating this with the guide and involving additional experiences of atmosphere while the discussion and factors such as laughter, tension, concentration level, layout of the room, seating arrangements among other issues a quite explicit picture can be recalled of the

focus group. Nevertheless it is not the same and my personal estimation and experiencing of the focus group situation is dominating all the memories and notes collected this way. On the other hand rather impressive aspects will be collected rated from my perspective because these seem to stick to a person's memory. As such it could be said that this fortune of losing the recorded data and recalling the focus group from memory is kind of a selective process. This selection can be used reflective. In this case I should reflect on the issues I could recall and relate them to my research interest.

Moreover this experience showed the multiple issues a person is able to absorb in such a situation and that focus groups (or interviews) comprise more than an answer-question-situation but rather an interaction of multiple people. Here the whole situation should be captured even though if that happens not necessarily consciously.

Size of focus group

Within this research focus group discussion was an appropriate method. The focus group discussions were conducted with groups of the size from five to seven participants. This was an interesting experience for me; especially because I had never conducted a focus group discussion before. Previous experience with interviews for example involved most often a second person helping, over-viewing and if necessary getting involved in the interview – next to the main interviewer. Such additional management help wasn't available and therefore I had to overview everything myself. Here the size of the group becomes crucial. To keep 7 participants in mind meaning getting at first an idea of them, realizing who says a lot and which person could be animated a bit. Moreover if there are different positions of thought clashing which could be discussed or if it is better just to wait for a while and give space for listening and thinking. As a relatively inexperienced researcher I could realize the difficulty respectively the skill to develop to keep track of all participants involved and the content mentioned and behavioural action investigated. The job as a moderator rather than an interviewer asking questions was the aim for me as researcher in the focus group discussion. I could realize my personal development; being able to give more space and time, to wait and listen and to keep my person in the background. That seems to be not the most difficult action but I experienced it as challenging and not so easy.

Overall with a critical reflection, there could have been too much involvement from me as a moderator. But this had a few underlying influences as well such as language difficulties and age of participants and certainly the experience level of applying the method.

3.5.2 Concerning the research overall

Working as a single researcher

As mentioned earlier doing a prolonged thesis as a single person is a challenge – at least in my personal experience. Nevertheless I wouldn't want to miss this chance and am happy to try my skills or probably identify new ones and to improve my weaknesses. Working without a team is maybe most obvious concerning decision taking and scheduling and furthermore methods could be applied differently based on number of people and personal skills. Some research teams develop a good distribution of work meaning everybody gets a position/role in the group which fits the person good/best and due to such division synergy effects are quite possibly or desirable. Despite working alone enables other worthwhile experiences such as getting to know your person as a researcher from another perspective and being compelled so to say to conduct all levels of a research project.

Research topic is understudied

This master thesis deals with the overall topics of mobilities which is a wide field of possible studies and perspectives. The rather sociological perspective and the mobilities approach described in chapter 3.1.1 offers new angles and specifically concerned with ambivalent mobilities the field is narrowed. Subsequently the decision to do a case study on scooter drivers is focussing the research even more. The mobile practice seems to be a relatively understudied topic due to different reasons. Most likely one explanation are the conditions for scooter driving in Aalborg and moreover in Denmark. This mobile practice is not in focus and explicit planning isn't conducted and not intended it seems like. Therefore only little amount of data is available and the opinions and interest of identified actors varies a lot. First and foremost various interest levels are nothing special but reflects their valuation of the practice.

Accordingly the consequences for this research are that an exploratory case study is quite appropriate and can offer a set of data which helps to identify coherencies and would extend the possibilities for effective commerce or handling of this mobile practice. Even though there are diverse opinions about the necessity to deal with such vehicle and practice attached but however scooter drivers are out there and simply exist, act and interact with their surrounding. To ignore an issue or to keep something hidden in the shadow is one way of executing power over such issue but to offer information and to enable a discussion around an issue empowers more people to have an opinion I believe. Thus I am curious about the knowledge to gather concerned with scooter driving.

Ethical concerns in this research

Based on the subject focus youth different ethical concerns are present such as collecting data from underage actors. Based on the institutional frame, namely the youth club and the technical college, the focus group discussions with the underage teenager were ethical acceptable and permitted. Moreover the content of discussions and questions is crucial. Asking about economic aspects such as income of their parents for example would need permit by these persons. Additionally the criminal actions as central investigation issue are sensitive. Therefore the aspect of anonymity was fairly present, reasonable and wished for by respondents in this study. The aspect of anonymity affects some methodological illustrations such as observations and mapping and only a rough description is offered. However, both of these methods were used rather processual and in addition to the main ones.

Language

Based on investigating a Danish case language issues become (even more) a subject-matter. Any documents, statistics, newspaper articles, web pages or policy papers are most commonly in Danish. Actors identified, contacted and involved in the research project differ from their ability and willingness to communicate in English. Focussing on the age group youth it involves further language related aspects concerned with terminology and its acquaintance. Therefore being a single researcher and being not able to speak Danish was limiting the research in different ways. Barriers concerned with the level of detail in document studies or newspaper articles to mention some and the facets of expression on both sites, the interviewees' and interviewer's or focus group participants, constraints concerning the use of and decision for methods or the establishing of contacts for the research (via phone or e-mail) are some examples for the impact of language.

Cultural differences

Being a foreign researcher and investigating something in another cultural surrounding creates the need for a more reflective processing of data and related analysis. Concerned the conditions understanding of terms (*such as 'scene' for example; quote from interview*) can differ from the own. Moreover societal norms are produced and accepted within a specific context which could be unlike the personal cultural background. Unconscious belief in same understanding or reception of a topic can create barriers or is misleading. Again an awareness of such conditions is the starting point and will help the analysis or overall the validity of a statement.

Researcher's personality

Finally I assume that the researcher's personality itself has influence on the research process and more precise on the interaction with interviewees or focus group participants as face to face contact. I believe, being a woman, a foreigner, the way I dress and act and the way of communication is influencing the counterpart/s. These assumptions are not investigated but mentioned for the sake of completeness. Further I believe that in relation to youth as a subject in focus of this research and the slightly male dominated practice of scooter driving at least in the sense of more extreme performance and violation of the laws it could have been an issue in the focus group discussions. Such statement is related to the focus group experiences and a rather 'soft-fact' so to say but still can have influence on the interview process and thus the data collected. (*The issue of researcher's bias is discussed in chapter 3.1.2.*)

4 Analysis and interpretation

The analytical part of this report reflects the conducted case study and the narrative approach chosen. Four storylines will give insight and represent the current situation of the scooter driving practice. The different perspectives from policy level to everyday life estimations and experiences of scooter driving are demonstrated in regards to the three-dimensional mobilities approach, namely material, experience and representative dimension of the scooter driving practice. These storylines are built on and with all three mobilities dimensions. The narratives are therefore created respectively identified during the case study and reveal the various normative structures different levels. They add to the previous dimensions and explain forms of sense-making or no-sense-making in regards to the scooter driving practice. Additionally this section will outline the dynamics of the narratives identified, their different mobilities approaches based on differing balance of the three dimensions and how these are used. Finally the gap between the planning level and the everyday life sphere will be discussed as well as the normative confused space around the mobile practice of scooter driving and the consequential ambivalent conditions will be presented.

The four dominant storylines analysed are 1) a storyline on the planning professional level, 2) a storyline in the professional domain of traffic safety, 3) a storyline on societal level respectively the individual everyday life of non-scooter drivers and 4) a storyline of the scooter drivers' everyday life with the focus on youth within the mobile practice.

4.1 Scooter driving in Aalborg – An introduction to the case

This case study investigates the scooter driving practice in Aalborg Municipality. Aalborg is one of the four biggest cities in Denmark next to Aarhus, Odense, and Copenhagen, and is located in Northern Jutland. Aalborg's population comprises 196,292 inhabitants in comparison to 5,511,451 in Denmark overall (based on city statistics from January 2009) (Aalborg Kommune, 2009). The case study focuses on the urban area of Aalborg and does not include further incorporated regions of the municipality.
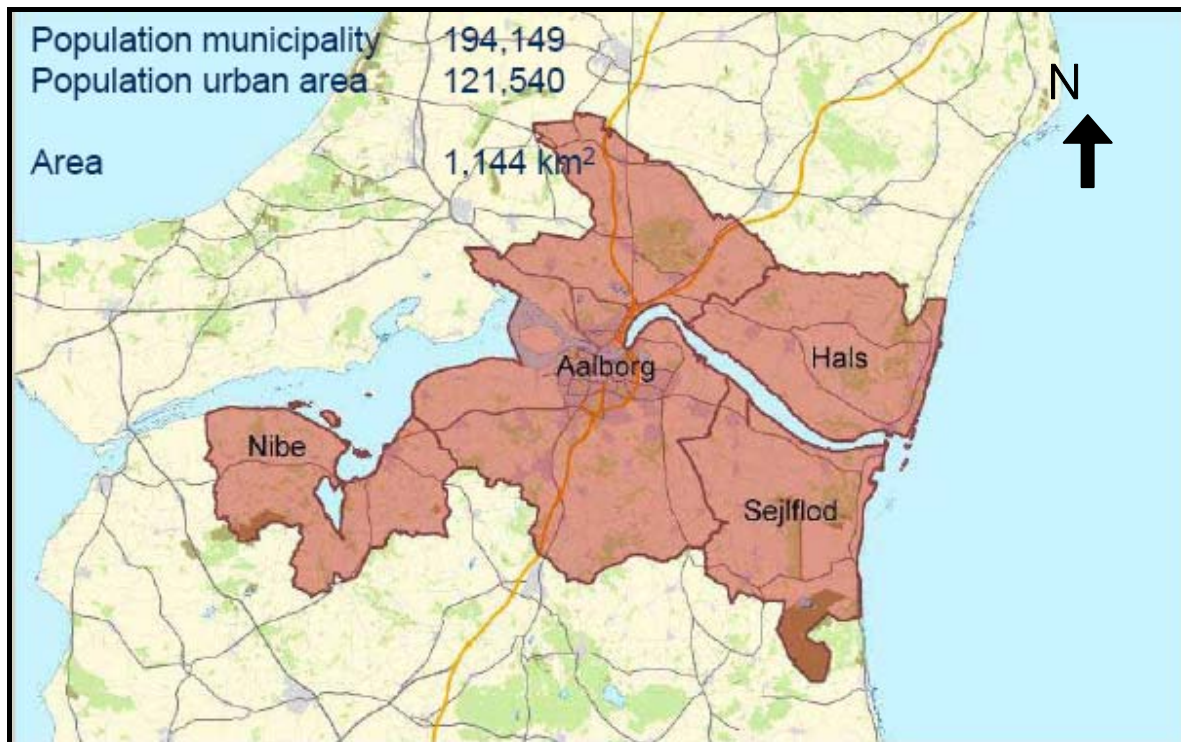
Map 2: Aalborg municipal region (Markworth, 2008)

4.1.1 Tales from the scooter-world

The introduction to this report shed a light on the Danish mobilities context the mobile practice of scooter driving is embedded in (chapter 1.1). Hence the analysis will go into detail with specifically scooter driving related information that got collected within the case study of this research. Various methods were applied and offer different sources for data. Nevertheless, the knowledge about scooter driving on the policy level and precisely most transport planning is based on data presented as 'facts' that are observable or countable data such as reflected by the material dimension of the applied mobilities approach. It should be noted that these so called 'facts' are critically viewed in this

research and are not estimated as an objective context, rather already as part of the framing of this mobile practice. Therefore such knowledge claims are not presented in a separate introduction but part of the analysis.

The analysis is using a narrative approach as introduced in the methodology (chapter 3.2). Via storylines identified on different levels meanings, estimations and valuation of this mobile practice are revealed and presented in their contexts. Arguments built by different actors are embedded in their storylines and represent the different perspectives of the policy level, the everyday life experience and furthermore their interface(s) where most confronting and interchange processes of different perceptions concerned scooter driving and drivers are taking place. The storylines enable to identify complex coherencies and underlying reasons for attitudes towards scooter driving. Finally the dynamics of storylines will be discussed; who and how are storylines used and which action results from such dynamics.

Four selected storylines

The narratives from 'the scooter world' give an insight on how this mobile practice is produced, reproduced and mediated via storylines. These storylines are built on and with all three mobilities dimensions. The narratives are therefore created respectively identified during the case study and relate the revealed conditions to the interest in sense-making processes in normative confused spaces and moreover in Ambivalent mobilities. The storylines are:

1. Much ado about nothing! – a storyline on the planning professional level

2. Most dangerous means of transportation – a storyline in the professional domain of traffic safety

3. Scooter drivers as 'misfits' – a storyline on societal level/ individual everyday life

4. We are just like anybody else – a storyline of the scooter drivers' everyday life

4.2   To detect stories

To have an idea about the background and recent conditions around the scooter driving practice this paragraph will give some insight and demonstrates roughly the general framework for the storylines revealed. The scooter driving practice seems to be frowned upon the Danish mobile culture by quite some people and is associated with annoyance and danger in the traffic system, misbehaving youth, or disturbance and pollution through noise and fumes etc. (Lindevall Hansen & Krog, 2008; Kronberg, 2009; Nordahl Friis, 2009). Periodical occurring press articles exemplify these opinions hold by quite some individuals, some political parties, and a few administrations in the Danish society such as by the Ministry of Justice aiming at intensification for scooter driving regulations (Kronberg, 2009; Loren, 2010). A recent article in 'By&Liv Aalborg', a local newspaper, exemplifies the anger and fear of residents; in this case in Vejgaard, an eastern part of the city of Aalborg, concerning scooter drivers in their neighbourhood. The speeding on the residential roads and the tuning of the vehicles on private property seems to be difficult to control (Nørrelund Sørensen, 2010). To offer an alternative to scooters one newspaper article presents the increased presence of electric bicycles and assumes this form of transport as replacement for *scooter-enthusiasts*, even though it is stated that there exist no plan to organize such shift by the Danish Transport Minister (From et al., 2010). Altogether the planning level for the scooter driving practice seems to show no interest or need to deal with this practice in any different or intensified manner. A gap exists concerning alertness and involvement with this practice on the planning level compared to the everyday life experience and action.

This research selected four (dominant) storylines for analysis but there are certainly other stories and storylines as well such as the environmental dispute in transport planning for example. This dispute would relate to scooters concerning their high emission level and noise pollution as well as the wanted alternative of increasing presence of electrical bicycles for example. This dispute is not in focus in this research, even though it would be relevant and interesting. The following storylines are chosen based on their dominance in their occurrence compared to the latter that wasn't presented prominent. That itself is an interesting aspect to realize.

The point at issue is what people do with storylines, how they are used and facilitate action or arguments for valuations and framing of actions such as through policies or everyday life behaviour. The power of arguments becomes obvious instead of 'the truth' presented in so called 'facts' (Flyvbjerg, 2006). These facts are used in a specific and perhaps various manners and might be built into storylines.

To exemplify two following quotes:

"It's just that everybody in Denmark, at one time or another has seen a scooter driver, a young boy riding recklessly and wild and insane and without any regards for any other's health." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

"The problem with scooters is very much larger than the press would like to write about. It's really, really something that bothers any kind of house owner in Denmark who's got a garden and wants to sit out and enjoy the silence at night and have the young children being able to walk without any hazard from scooter drivers."(Interview, Serup, 2009)

These two statements from an Aalborg police officer illustrate storylines around the scooter driving practice and moreover around Danish culture. Opinions and attitudes are carried out and used for argumentation. Both of these statements relate to a societal context and present the assumption that anybody (in the Danish society) can relate to such stories. A result of such storylines could be that a scooter driver is associated with or becomes a metaphor for 'an unconcerned and strange individual who is a danger for Danish family life and culture'.

4.3   Portrayal of storylines

To have a better understanding and to relate the revealed storylines to the current conditions of the mobile practice of scooter driving, some contextual information about scooter driving will be presented subsequent.

Users, laws and types of scooters

There are technically two different types of scooters which are related to their speed limit of 30km/hour and 45km/hour. The requirements for driving these scooters are respectively different as well. It should be noted that this research project uses the terminology 'scooter/s' (in Danish 'knallert/er') in a broader manner. Some would perhaps specify and call older vehicle types *mopeds* and only the new models *scooters*. In this study is no specific separation made between different types of engines and construction even though these conditions have effect on today's scooter practices because new technical equipment opens up new possibilities for use and function. Since 1997 new types of scooters are available and enable easier tuning of the vehicle. Tuning relates in this case to changes of the engine that the scooter is driving much faster. Some scooters drive more than 100km/hour (Focus group, Youth Club, 2009). Tuning can be related to sound and visual style effects as well but the most common criticized form of tuning is concerned with the speed and fumes increase due to

technical changes on the scooter (Sikkertrafik, 2010). However, with the focus on youth within this mobile practice, the newer models are fairly dominant.

The scooters driving 30km/h, so called 'small scooters', are mostly in focus in the discussions around this mobile practice and relate to younger drivers. To be able to drive a 'small scooter' (30km/hour) a person has to be 16 years old, having obtained a driver's licence, getting the scooter insured, and behave appropriate to the traffic act such as wearing a helmet and driving as single person on the vehicle. These scooters are only allowed on the bicycle paths; that is their traffic infrastructure (Interview, Serup, 2009). The faster scooters instead with 45km/hour can be driven when being 18 years old. If a person has already a driver's licence for a car then this person is allowed to drive such a scooter as well. These scooters have to drive on the street within the motorised traffic. The 45km/hour scooters have a white licence plate whereas the licence plate of scooters with 30km/hour is yellow. Additionally there are quite a few scooters without any license plate. This is based on the fact that the regulation of separating these two types of scooter in a more obvious manner is relatively new. If the scooter is owned from the time before this regulation around 7 years ago then the driver needs no licence plate and is technically only allowed to drive 30km/h. Moreover the scooter with 30km/hour can be driven by any person older than 18 with no driver's license at all (Interview, Serup, 2009).

Recently there is a discussion to lower the speed limit from 30km/hour to 25km/hour and additional to allow people to drive already with the age of 15. Furthermore 16 years old should be allowed to drive 45km/hour such as the 18 years old in current regulations. Through these renewals an improvement in traffic safety is assumed (Loren, 2010; Larsen, 2009). Nils Petter Gregersen, the director of the sister organization to the Council for Safe Driving in Sweden, is sceptical about these new laws and warns against their implementation based on Swedish experiences. In his opinion this is a youth problem overall (Gregersen, 2010).

Main users of the scooter driving practice are private persons. Both sexes and different age groups are represented. Nevertheless there are specific groups that seem to be rather dominant such as the youth and elder men. Within the group of youth specifically young boys are noticeable concerning violation of the traffic act. Within older age groups some elderly men are conspicuous who lost their driver's license for their cars due to alcoholism and switched to scooters as a means of transportation. These two sub-groups of scooter drivers are more likely to be perceived based on their illegal behaviour (Interview, Serup, 2009). Overall there is a distribution within the mobile practice of scooter driving based on law-abiding behaviour. According to the Danish police there are in national terms so called 85% green, 12% yellow or orange, and 3% red scooter drivers. These colours represent their level of following and accepting regulations such as laws and norms (Interview, Serup, 2009).

This mobile practice is rarely used as official respectively work vehicle. Only the Danish post has a few scooters in use. Further more there are probably examples such as a kind of commercial taxi service offered in Copenhagen. An extract of a blog input on denmark.net exemplifies:

> *"This company offers Denmark people a unique and helpful service notably in the Copenhagen area. City Riders will partner initially with 10 bars and restaurants. With just one call, the company sends a driver right away to the establishment on board a fold-out motor scooter. The driver then gets behind the wheel of the customer's car and with their scooter in tow drive the car to the home of the tipsy customer. After bringing the customer to his residence, the driver rides again on his scooter to the next client awaiting his service. […] City Riders will start operating in October [2009] in the Greater Copenhagen area. Each trip will cost 100 kroner and an additional 25 kroner will be charged for every kilometer traveled thereafter." (Janne, 2009)*

Certainly this example is uncommon and possibly untenable but illustrates another (imagined) use of the scooter driving practice.

Hence, the 4 storylines identified will be presented. These are approached through the three-dimensional mobilities framework of this research. The material, experience and representative dimensions (M/E/R) within mobilities are differently balanced respectively dominant in each storyline. It's assumed that this leads to different mobilities approaches present on different levels such as planning versus everyday life level.

4.3.1   Storyline 1. Much ado about nothing!

> - Planning professional level -
>
> *"In Aalborg and in Denmark generally scooters haven't got the same status as in the southern part of Europe and outside Europe. Therefore we haven't special plans or policies for scooters in Aalborg." (Nielsen, 2009)*

The indifference concerned scooter driving as a mobile practice on the planning level is mainly based on the argument of a trivial number of scooters in the modal split and their minor status ascribed to

that practice. The responsible planning department sees no need in planning and dealing differently with the mobile practice of scooter driving and they "*do not have any specific action plan for the reduction of the number of accidents involving scooters, or in relation to scooter driving. [...] no campaigns regarding scooters are planned in 2010*" (Nyrup, 2010). However scooters are present in Aalborg and different actors on professional and everyday life level experience the mobile practice as rather noticeable and even problematic. To understand the opinion mediated from the planning level, their knowledge and estimation of the scooter driving practice is investigated.

Material dimension – There are no scooters

The policy framework in Aalborg includes for the transport planning following policy papers "based on the principles of Sustainability: 1) Aalborg Commitments (2004), 2) Municipality Master Plan, revised every fourth year ([last] in 2009), 3) Local strategy for Sustainable Development (2003, 2008), and 4) Climate Strategy Plan (2009)" (Markworth, 2008). Accordingly more explicit plans that matter are: "the Action Plan for Traffic and Environment (1994, 1999, 2005, 2009), the Road Development Plan, the Traffic Safety Plan, the Cycling Plan, the ITS Plan, the Public Transport Plan, the Parking Strategy, and the Noise Strategy" (Markworth, 2008).

The professional data available concerned with the scooter driving practice is mostly joined with policies and planning documents that deal with bicycle traffic. Moreover traffic safety is a planning theme which contains concerns with scooter driving. These are the main scopes that interact on a planning level with this mobile practice. Therefore the policy papers that mention scooters respectively are concerned with that mobile practice are the Action Plan for Traffic and Environment (Trafik- og Miljøhandlingsplan), the Traffic Safety Plan (Trafiksikkerhedsplan),
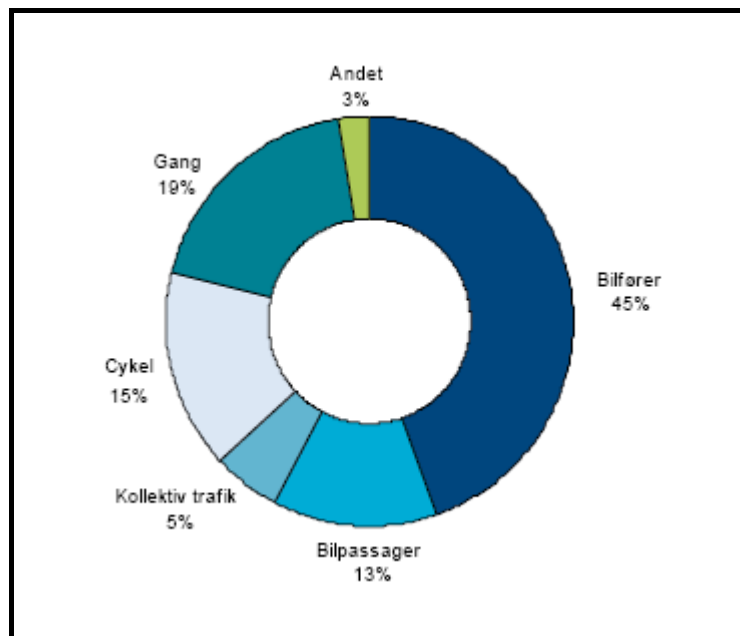

Figure 4: Modal split of Aalborg Municipality from 2007 (Aalborg Kommune, 2009b)

and the Cycling Plan (Cykelstihandlingsplan). Specific scooter policies don't exist and overall this practice is rarely documented separately from the bicycling practice. Statistics regarding scooter driving occur mostly within traffic safety debates in the form of accident documentation. The municipal Traffic Safety Plan 2008 is separating most precisely between different modes of transport (see figure 7) which is frequently not the case in data regarding scooter driving.

The traffic volume and distribution is presented in the Traffic and Environmental Action Plan (Trafik- og Miljøhandlingsplan) 2009. The same plan from 1999 doesn't mention scooters once and this current policy paper offers only a quite rough overview of the means of transportations. The amount of scooter drivers is not clearly presented in the modal split figure and differs from other sources of data. Scooters take 0.5% of the journeys every day; compared to bicycles with 15.4% and cars with 57.7% based on information from the Department of Traffic and Roads (Nielsen, 2009). The explicit number of scooters is additionally complicated by the fact that the registration of the vehicle is blurred; meaning there is no consistent system for registering and depends a bit on the users and dealers self-reliance (Gjødsbol, 2010). In the modal split figure scooters driving 30km/hour are joined with the bicycles and take 15% of the means of transportation in Aalborg municipality. The scooters driving 45km/hour are most likely part of the 3% presenting 'others' which could include motorcycles as well. But the statistical data leaves open questions and only assumption can be formulated.

The scooter as a motorised vehicle could be assessed to cover longer distances than a bicycle for example. Quite a few statements in the interviews reflected the belief that scooters are rather dominant in rural areas and not so much in the city of Aalborg.

"We are not really much aware of scooters in Aalborg." (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)

Based on the need to overcome longer distances to reach destinations in rural areas a scooter could be handy (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010). "*We almost doesn't see any scooters in the city. I think scooters is more in the countryside for the young people who live far away from everything. In the city the young people take the bus. It's much easier for them. So I think the scooters depends on where you live*" (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010). The figure 5 though states that the scooter (*knallert*) covers approximately 5km distance and is trivial different to the distance coverage of bicycles (*cykel*). The argumentation that scooters are used for longer distances is questionable even though there are probably a lot and perhaps even more scooter drivers in rural regions. But there seems to be more to the mobile practice than the distance coverage to come from A to B.
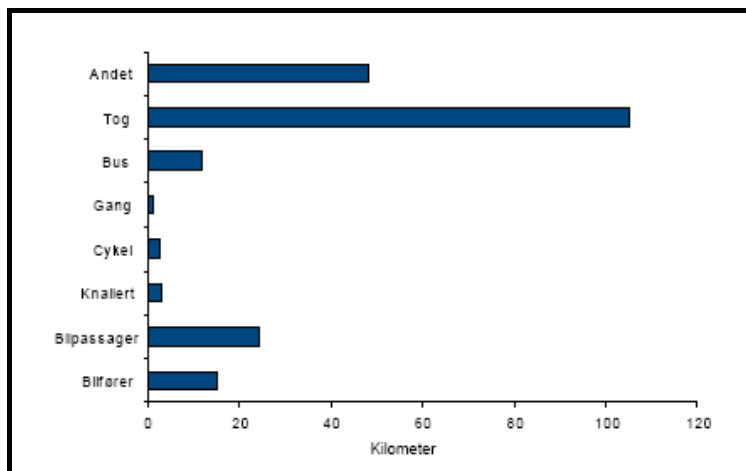
Figure 5: Length of an average journey by mode in km, Aalborg Municipality (Aalborg Kommune, 2009b)

The estimations of the planning level that scooters are trivial in their presence and moreover not really an urban mobile practice is experienced nearly opposite from the Aalborg police as a first hand actor for this mobile practice:

"In the summer time they take up a lot of our time. And they are very well represented here in Aalborg. But if you take Copenhagen for instance for some reason, I was just over there two weeks ago, for some reason there is not very many scooters in Copenhagen. As soon as you enter near the inner city. But there is a lot of them here in Aalborg and they are everywhere and they drive too fast, or too noisy – so in this department we get a very big amount of complaints from citizens. Calling or mailing us. 'in their little city outside Aalborg or in Aalborg, they got a lot of disturbances and they are scared to put out their small children in the back garden to play because there is a … there could be a path in the back end of the garden where scooters drive by too fast." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

Moreover there are fairly a lot press articles documenting issues concerned with scooter driving. Again different opinions about this information are clashing. The counselor thinks that "*it's when the media doesn't have enough to talk about*" (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010). She has the feeling there is much ado about nothing and the media is pushing the topic. The police instead are experiencing pressure due to the reoccurring articles and complaints. "*Every summer, in all of Denmark the newspapers gets filled with articles from journalists describing one or more episodes, all kinds of episodes with scooters doing all kinds of stupid stuff; dangerous accidents and young boys on scooters getting killed and killing others by their scooter*" (Interview, Serup, 2009). Scooters are differently experienced by different actors. The media seems to have no influence on the planning level.

Experience dimension – There is no problem

The young scooter drivers are in focus in the scooter driving dispute based on accident statistics and press releases. The political leader of the Department for Traffic and Roads, Mariann Nørgaard, advocates for more trust in the youth and says:

> *"You can always find problems if you don't want something to be a success. But you shouldn't make 15 year old kids or young people, you shouldn't make them worse than they are and you should also trust them a bit. " (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)*

Furthermore she doesn't see such a problem with scooter drivers and would think that "15 year old kids can drive just as well as 16 year old kids or young people" (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010). In her opinion "it varies who drives the scooter. Most adults who have the possibility to have a car would not drive the scooter. But the young people it's all around" (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010). The aspect or preference to drive a car seems to be quite related to the scooter driving practice that appears to take a temporary status before being able to drive and own a car. Especially the youth is associated with the next car driving generation. The young scooter drivers "[t]hey wish they could have a car, they wish they could have a driver's license but they can't until they are 18. That's why they want a scooter" (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010).

The car culture as mobile preference or even mobilities aim was clearly represented in the research and moreover not necessarily consciously thought of. Interviewees illustrated their personal necessity of having a car, "it's absolutely necessary for me to have a car. I drive a lot, also in my job, from place to place" (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010) and demonstrated the nearly 'natural' consequence of scooter drivers becoming car drivers:

> *"[W]e don't plan especially for scooters. And actually we don't see that many but I know 16 year old kids, a lot of them want a scooter. And of course it's practical for them until they can get a drivers license." (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)*

The planning level and the political administration don't see a need to have any specific policy for scooters (at the moment) and the counselor clearly states that:

> *"Well, it's not a problem today. If we could see that there, that it would be necessary to be aware of the scooters, we would. But it's not a problem. It's not concerned as a problem. We don't see it as a problem." (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)*

Representative dimension – No planning needed

> *"[T]hey don't plan for them. They are just following the rules for bikes. They are planning for the bikes. A lot of times. The problem is in my opinion that the scooters driving way too fast for driving on the bike lane. Way too fast. But they didn't if they were driving 30. Then it would be fine. [...] but it's not reality." (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

This statement reflects the experience mediated from the planning level towards society. There is no planning for scooters happening and furthermore the perception of the existing gap becomes obvious. The policies miss the target and 'reality', the everyday life constitutes a fairly different picture than addressed on the planning level. This existing gap and why this might be the case will be taken up again later (see chapter 4.4.1).

As previously presented there is no need for intensified planning experienced on the planning level. Different argumentations were demonstrated such as trivial amount of scooters, spatial distribution with dominance in the rural areas or representing Aalborg overall as a bicycling city and with a focus on safety and health. The following quote exemplifies:

> *"But fortunately we are very much aware of health and therefore a lot of young people also want to exercise and that is why lots of the young and everybody is bicycling. So I don't really think that the scooter can compare [meaning compete] with the bicycles anyway. But in the countryside it could be handy for the young people to have a scooter. " (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)*

This statement makes reference to the Aalborg Commitments (Markworth, 2008). Next to this overall framing of Aalborg as a safe and health oriented city concerned their transport policies; a political liberal representation of mobility choice is presented:

> *"[T]he reason why I think it's ok with the scooters is that the people and the population; we don't have to be … we have the right to be different. We shouldn't all be alike. [laughing] " (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)*

This statement illustrates that freedom of choice and mobility justice are political communicated values and might be underlying influences for planning action. The individual behavioral attitudes and mobile preferences of people are thus put in a political perspective that would translate into loss of freedom or be understood as descent upon personal mobility rights if restrictions would be imposed.

4.3.2   Storyline 2. Most dangerous means of transportation

- Professional domain: traffic safety and operator/ first-hand actor: Aalborg police -

"It is something like it's 80 times as dangerous to drive a scooter as driving a car, and two to five times as dangerous to drive a scooter as driving a motorcycle. So it is very much more dangerous to ride a scooter." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

Traffic safety is an overall concern within transport planning. Moreover it is specifically pronounced by the municipality of Aalborg as a focus for their planning objectives. As this research revealed, it is one field of planning that deals more specifically with the scooter driving practice. In the following section some of the main actors are introduced.

Sikkertrafik.dk is a web based platform for traffic safety discussions and information nation wide. This platform or discussion and information forum got revealed as one of the most precise sources concerned with scooter driving. The main actors behind that web page and responsible for the content are the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Transport, and the Ministry of taxation. The Ministry of Justice is responsible for the Highway Code regulation on traffic behaviour and for the road traffic act. The Ministry of Transport is responsible for inspection, design and equipment of a vehicle. The Ministry of Taxation is responsible for the registration, licence plate and road tax (Sikkertrafik, 2010).

Moreover the police became revealed as an actor/ institution to be experiencing the subject-matter of scooter driving at first hand. The police are commissioned to follow up on this mobile practice; they are contacted by the planning professional, by residents, and are mostly the first in contact with the scooter drivers and their action. The police have in a way two tasks to fulfill; on the one hand they persecute the adherence of standards and laws and on the other hand they mediate between individuals and authorities. Even though the police are an authority itself and often regarded as 'the power' on the streets, the police are the executive power of other authorities.

Material dimension – Need for improvement

Statistics and data overall concerned with scooter driving is mostly related to traffic safety and often presented in accident statistics. The following statistics are based on inquiries from the time period 2003 - 2007 and reflect all an increase in accidents towards the year 2007. This increase is not only related to scooter accidents, it is a growth in traffic accidents for all means of transportation as figure

7 exemplifies. However, it is one thing to produce the statistics and another to use them. Furthermore the upcoming statistics use total numbers in their accident statistics and not the relation to kilometre travelled as it is a case in some other statistical data sources.

The municipal Bicycle Action Plan 2009 presents a joined accident statistic of bicycles and scooters (30km/h) and reflects the increasing trend. This statistic does not illustrate if these accidents are related to each other. These two means of transportation are framed alike policy wise (30km/h scooters only) and use the same infrastructure and therefore might be listed together. Most often accidents take place at junctions rather than on straight routes (Trafiksikkerhedsplan, 2008).
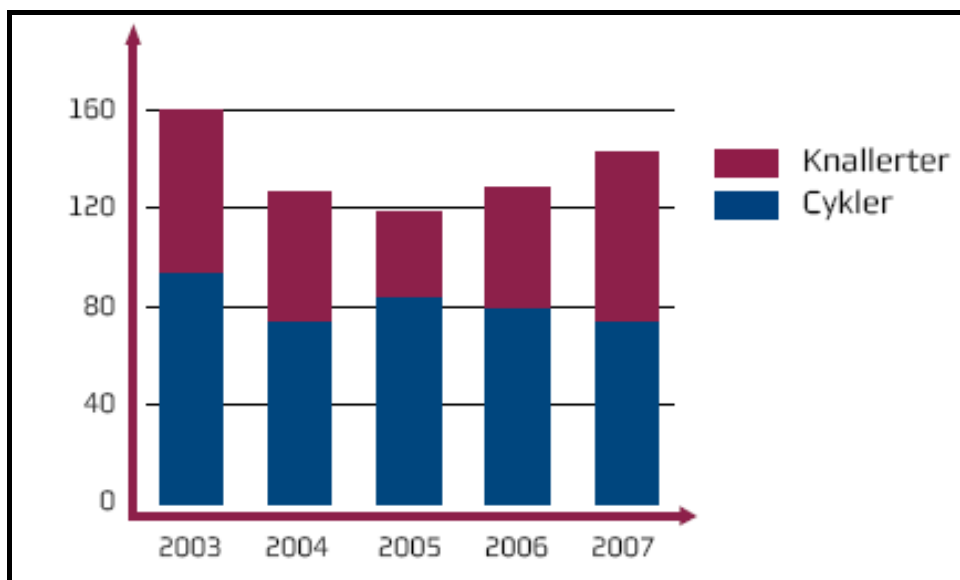
Figure 6: Accident statistics with total numbers of bicycles and scooters in the period 2003-2007 (Aalborg Kommune, 2009c)

The Traffic Safety Plan from 2008 is the only policy paper that specifies between modes of transportation. Scooters are listed for both types (30 and 45km/h) separately and motorcycles are mentioned as well (see figure 7). This detailed illustration allows more insight about the scooter driving practice and its accident progression and represents quite divergent development. The scooters 45km/h have a fairly consistent progression in the time period 2003 - 2007. The 30km/h scooters instead reflect rather variation, especially in the years 2004 – 2006, and illustrate a slope upwards since 2005. The year 2004/5 seems to be a crucial phase for changes that are reflected in this figure. Especially the scooters 30km/h and the bicyclist are interesting to compare because firstly they are framed alike as transport vehicles and secondly they are sharing the same infrastructure path. Most distinct is the drift of bicycles having a peak with more than 60 accidents that year and scooters 30km/h dropped to around 20 accidents. Both means of transportation shared the same position with around 50 accidents in 2004.
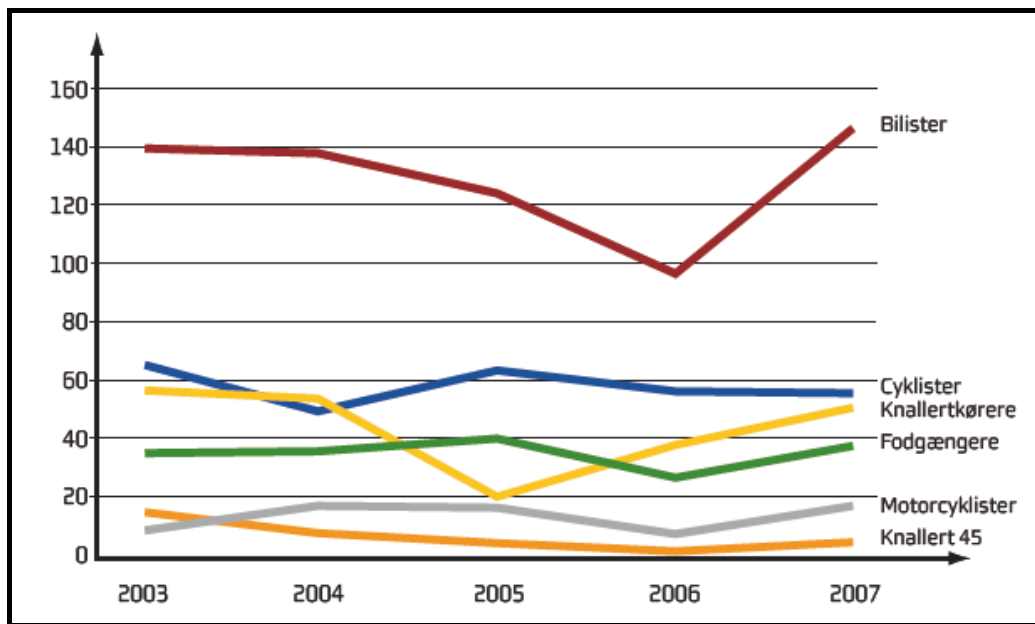
Figure 7: Accident statistics (in total numbers) of different road users in the period 2003-2007 (Aalborg Kommune, 2008)

The following figure 8 clarifies additional the difference between these two types of scooters; here concerned with rates of injuries. Overall there were 1.429 people injured in the time period from 2003 – 2007 and nearly the half is represented by car drivers with 46%.
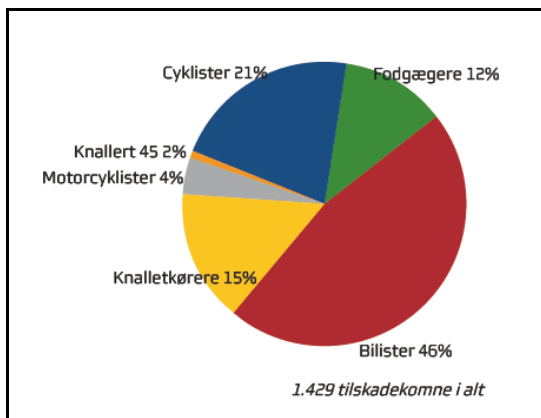
Figure 8: Injured road users by comparison (based on the period 2003-2007) (Aalborg Kommune, 2008)

There is an immense different between scooters driving 30km/hour being presented with 15% in comparison to the scooters 45km/hour with only 2% (see figure 8). Even though the scooters with 45km/hour are driving faster and within the motorised (road) traffic the accident involvement is lower.

Furthermore these drivers are older than the scooter drivers on the so called small scooters. There seem to be much more danger involved with the latter group of drivers.

The following three figures demonstrate more precisely the status of the youth within the scooter driving practice and their accident progression.
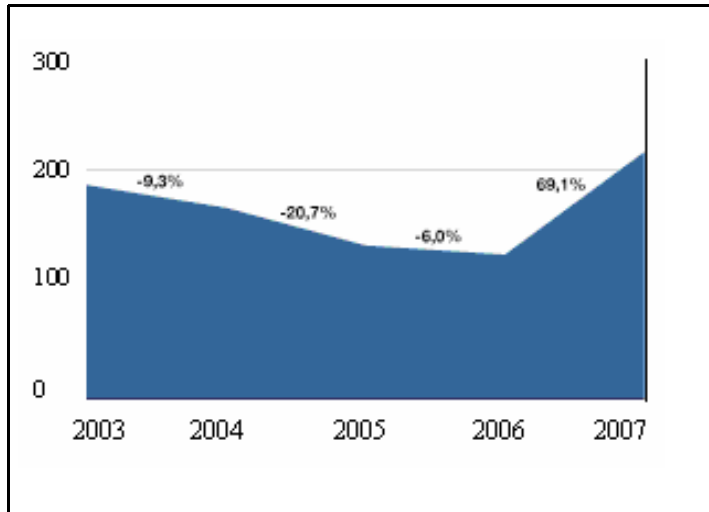
Figure 9: Trend of the numbers of young scooter drivers (15-17 years old) being seriously injured or killed (Sikkertrafik, 2010)

The scooter accidents are most often related to recklessly driving with too much speed, no helmet use or drunk driving. In the end it is about the interaction of all road users. Car drivers for example might not be able to estimate the speed of a scooter and don't take the vehicle seriously. This increases the danger.

The figures below represent with the blue bar the 15 – 17 years old scooter drivers and in green the other (older) age groups. The young age group is accounting for one third of the accidents within the scooter driving practice. To drive a scooter is estimated as 50 times more dangerous as driving a car. The increase in accidents for this young age group totals in 70% in the year 2007 (see figure 9 above). Some inquiries though, reflect again a decrease in deaths and injuries in the year 2008 for all means of transportation (Sikkertrafik, 2010). These statistics illustrate a fairly drastic picture that should lead to worries and action to improve the situation. But none of these detailed sources of data is used in the policy papers. The necessary focus on youth seems to be obvious.
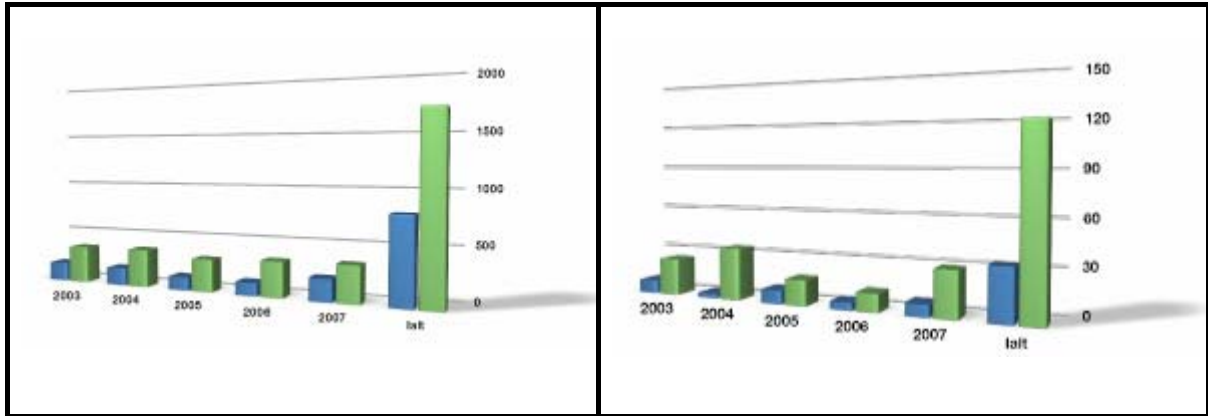
Figure 10: Seriously injured in scooter accidents (Sikkertrafik, 2010)

Figure 11: Killed in scooter accidents (Sikkertrafik, 2010)

Beyond, speed seems to be a framing factor for the definition of a means of transportation. For example "the electric wheelchairs for old people […] if they can enter the speed of 30 km it's a scooter, but some of them can only go 3-5 km/hour and that's regulated as a pedestrian" (Interview, Serup, 2009). These are the same conditions for scooters technically driving 30km/h being framed as bicycles. It could be questioned if such a form of regulation makes sense for the traffic system.

Even though not a lot of attention seems to be paid to the scooter driving practice some renewals in the regulations were claimed to improve traffic safety within this mobile practice. Already in 2009 the liberal party Venstre among others called for new speed limits and entry age regulations for scooter drivers. These claims included that 15 years old people should be able to drive 25-30km/h scooters and 16 years old should be able to drive already 45km/h such as the 18 years old in current regulations. With such renewals a decrease in tuning the vehicles is assumed. If these regulations would make a difference is differently discussed or received. The young scooter drivers of one of the focus group discussions think:

> Moderator: […] makes that at all any difference?
>
> Participant (P) 3: No.
>
> P2: It wouldn't help at all.
>
> P1: I don't think either because then the young people just wane do something about that it goes faster like we are doing now.
>
> P2: It's about … you know that it's illegal but it only makes it funnier to do. […]

> *P1: They say it's fun to change it and then it goes faster and stuff like that and then if we make the rules then with 15 they start with 14 do the same because its fun because it is illegal.*

The director of the Auto-College illustrates the main issue at hand with saying:

> *"It's accepted that you don't have to be 16 to drive a scooter. 'It's ok you can drive it if you 14.' 'if you big enough, it's no problem … you can reach the handles? Ok, drive.'" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

This acceptance is a family and society based norm, mostly on the private level but even sometimes on the professional level when the police is ignoring smaller violations. The current regulations are already perforated so to say and do not function necessarily as any constraint.

The police officer interviewed elaborates on his opinion concerned the implementation of such new regulation. He clarifies that it is about a combination of regulations, punishments and persecution which would lead to an effective change:

> *"but not because they say you are only allowed to go 25. At the same time they are planning to make the young people to take a drivers license for scooter, when they do that in the future if it goes as planned the young people will have to commit an ethics course and to a morality course. That's not all they have to take… because if you even after you have taken all this and you still get caught in doing some heavy duty violations at the traffic on a 30km scooter you will not be allowed to take a drivers license for car quite some time. In Denmark you can take, just like in Germany, your drivers license for car when you're 18. but that could be pushed out perhaps until you're 21 if it shows through your criminal record on a scooter that you're not really good at driving morally and ethically on a scooter at an early age then you're not [able to do that with a car] is the conclusion. […] So if people make heavy violations when they are young they get punished severely in the end. Because all those young, especially boys, wants is to drive a car." (Interview, Serup, 2009)*

Quite a few issues are mentioned in the latter statement. He points out the dominant car fixation of many young scooter drivers which would be probably one of the most effective weapons to use to reach shifts in behaviour. With the ethical and moral courses respectively commitments an educational aspect is pointed out. Moreover the estimation of the scooter drivers, their societal picture is represented and illustrates overall a fairly negative characterisation of scooter drivers.

Experience dimension – Too fast/too slow … they don't behave right!

A need for better education of the young scooter drivers appears to be an issue. The drivers licence courses are quite cheap and "*it's normally [done by] the youth school […] in Denmark. It will cost you […] 100 DKK; it's more or less symbolic*" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010).

> *"But I think it's a good idea that it's only 100 DKK you could say because then it's not an issue 'I couldn't afford it.' It's more or less paid by the community you could say, via taxes and so on. Everybody pay for it. So it's more or less symbolic because it doesn't cover the expenses for the driving instructor and so on and his car and everything. But if you do it the right way you will get the information about how to behave, first aid, how to behave in the traffic, how to drive a scooter …" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

The Council for Road Safety in Denmark ordered in the year 2003 a study on scooter drivers based on the interest to improve the educational conditions for young scooter drivers (Rådet for Større Færdselssikkerhed, 2003). Interestingly it appears to be a quite profound investigation concerned the mobile practice and the focus on youth. The aim was to hear respondents' views on scooter driving, to understand their habits and behavioural patterns, their interest in taking the driver's licence, investigating current theory books and finally to educate becoming scooter drivers in a better way (involving the youth's estimation) (Rådet for Større Færdselssikkerhed, 2003). Additionally a film got produced based on that study which should be used in driver's licence classes. This film is called 'Nanna og Peter' and is intended to address attitudinal aspects of scooter driving rather than only the technical driving requirements (NeedFindings ApS, 2003). That reflects the comprehension and need to involve more dimensions when talking, planning and in this case educating people about mobilities and mobile behaviours. The film is not mandatory though and can be found on the web page sikkertrafik.dk as well. It can be downloaded for a fee and it might be voluntarily used by some educational institutions; at least it got evaluated as good (enough) to target an improvement in scooter driving education (NeedFindings ApS, 2003).

This educational concern is most likely addressing young drivers who are identified as one problematic group within the mobile practice. Certainly there are other drivers as well but they are not associated with being a real issue of concern even though they violate the laws too. The police officer from the traffic department exemplifies:

> *"The old people [are] never a problem for us. […] They can drive too fast because they don't know that they scooter is illegal. They don't know that their engine has been changed so they can go 40 instead of 30. Or on a license scooter go 50 instead of 45. But they are never the once who want to run away from us. They are never the one who drives uninsured. 99% of the mature people have got their insurance in order. Even though they can drive too fast they*

never drive wild like a young guy does at 17 who just wants to escape from the police because he puts something like 10.000dkr […] in tuning." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

This quote underlines the different levels of violations. It is not only about the fact that laws and norms are violated; instead the level of consciousness and the mindset behind that action is judged as well. The boundaries of what is still right and what is wrong are stretched or blurred. A normative judgement of what is the tipping point for an action to fall out of the frame of being still accepted can appear quite subjective. That elderly male can be drunk while driving on scooters seems to be of no concern for anybody. This issue will be continued in the next storyline. The overall societal focus on a specific type of scooter driver, a developed stereotype does not include the older generations or female drivers of that practice as much such as the following quote represents as well:

"Actually we got a lot of girls who drive scooters and drive too fast. But they never try to run away. They never drive wild, they just drive too fast. They don't take chances in the traffic, they don't speed across red lights or push away bicycles. They don't act stupid, they just drive too fast. But they can still go without an insurance." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

The Auto-College director has two main thoughts in mind when thinking about scooters and says: "*I think, [pause] Being positive I think: MOBILITY for young people. [pause] As a driver I think: DANGER with the youngsters driving around on scooters, driving way too fast*" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010). Asking if he means being a car driver he affirms. He is elaborating on these two categories:

"When my son got his scooter or bought his scooter […] suddenly more than that city opened up for him. You could reach the town placed 7km east of or west of where I live and start playing handball there. Otherwise I would have to drive him to and from. So regarding that independent mobility you could say for younger people. Normally when you reach 18 you can get your drivers licence and borrow your father's car. Now you actually have a possibility to transport. Still within … normally the local area but you widen the areas where you are able to go to and from without involving or being dependent on anything else. Public transportation in our area is very limited. It's a bus once every hour until 5/6 in the afternoon and then it's nothing. So it's in that perspective, I think, mobility. Freedom, more freedom for the young … you could say." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)

"I know that there are a lot of youngsters below 16 driving a lot of scooters, driving way too fast. That's when I am thinking, when I am driving, I am thinking: danger! Because they not just drive 30km per hour as they allowed – they drive 80/90km per hour!" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)

The latter quote concerned the danger associated with scooter drivers is most often in regards to their high speed. The actual pace is difficult to estimate by other road users and people "*tend to think they drive slower*" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010) than they actually do. This problem and danger is concerned with the violation of the traffic act by some scooter drivers. But another issue mentioned regarding scooters generating problems, is build into the current regulations. The scooters driving 45km/h are committed to drive on the road within the car traffic. "*Then you actually have a scooter now creating a traffical issue because it's too slow. […] it ruins the traffical pattern*" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010). Interestingly it is now the opposite argumentation; first the scooters are driving way too fast and now it is about them being too slow for the traffic flow. The director of the Auto-College thinks:

> "*They are placed on the road but they are not suit to drive on the road because they block the system. If you have 60km speed limit somewhere in the city, again you have a scooter driving 45, that's a problem. I think, that's really one of the main problems why many … I think, many Danes are actually annoyed by the scooters because they break up the fluent traffic system. I think, that is one of the main problems. So if they were allowed to drive 60 or 50, so they could follow and if they out on the main road where they drive 80, well then they have to drive […] [on] an extra path, […] where the bicycles drive or something like that. They should, in my opinion, follow the same rules as the bicycles. But that is not a political statement that is me as a person thinking that because I think that is one of the main issues.*"*
> (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

Certainly this statement has to be treated from the point of view of a car driver. It can be assumed that a bicyclist would argue for another and would present a differently conditioned situation. The director is aware of that and says further:

> "*I think if you ask the once who use a bicycle a lot in Aalborg, they would answer differently than me because I am driving a car. And I want the scooters [laughing] away from the road because they're annoying. [laughing] If I was to take my bicycle to drive from here to the other site of Aalborg every day I probably want the scooters away from where I am driving out on the road because they are annoying me. They come, they overtake all the time, they use their horns, they pollute – there is a lot of arguments that you probably could find from someone who bicycles.*" *(Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

Representative dimension – Morally and ethical not mature enough

There is a kind of a disciplinary appearance in this storyline. The educational aspect is not only focussed on the scooter drivers themselves, parents are addressed as well. The web page

sikkertrafik.dk offers a lot of information and even a template for a contract for the parents and their children to agree on behavioural codes and to create a private commitment so to say (see: http://www.sikkertrafik.dk/Paa%20MC%20og%20knallert/Knallert/Foraeldre%20til%20unge%20knallert. aspx).

> *"[T]he fact that those who drive around who doesn't have an insurance and also are driving too fast is pretty much, also all the time pretty young and not mentally prepared to take a mature look on things." (Interview, Serup, 2009)*

Many of the young scooter drivers are experienced as not mature enough. A picture is mediated that young drivers need more intense moral and ethical education. The youth is not taken serious it seems like and thus further distance is created to this group of the mobile practice of scooter driving. The dominant focus is on the people driving the scooter and moreover on one specific age group within the practice. The additional regulations and structures such as physical infrastructure and policy papers aren't addressed in a same manner. They appear to be in the background. Moral issues and behavioural norms of the youth and their families are the main dispute and that relates to the next storyline concerned with these attributes.

4.3.3 Storyline 3. Scooter drivers as 'misfits'

> \- Societal level and individual everyday life -
>
> *"I think they think about us that we are just some dumb young kids who is driving on some really noisy things and then we are drinking in the same and we are in danger for people on the street – stuff like that. I just think they think like that." (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)*

Scooter drivers seem to be looked upon as misfits in the mobile culture in Denmark. The statement that: "*scooters [are] also just a pestilence for 'trafik og veje'* [Department for Traffic and Roads]" (Interview, Serup, 2009) or head lines in press articles that use 'Scooter Terror' or 'Plague' render this attitude and exemplify the experience of scooter drivers in Denmark as kind of hooligans in the traffic (Interview, Serup, 2009; Nørrelund Sørensen, 2010).

Material dimension – Mobile criminals

Even though there are quite diverse types of scooter drivers as this study already demonstrated, the societal picture is dominated by only a few. This unbalanced judgement is relatively obvious but seems to be maintained. Interestingly, the following statement reflects some doubts respectively the questioned justification of such opinions about scooter drivers:

> *"I think, without knowing … I don't know but I would think there is a lot of … especially … and now I really have to [break] be careful of what I say … no, ähhh I think there is a lot of … I think we have … it's almost the few are ruin it for the many. So if you have 10% of scooter drivers, making them extremely noisy, driving too fast without helmets on and trying to grab bags from old ladies on the sidewalk, … so they form the opinion." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

This quote carries a kind of uncomfortable feeling from its composer, the utterance reflects uncertainty, but otherwise he states the criminal experience or notice concerned scooter driving in a story with a clear negative picture. There is a distinct statement by the police that identifies two criminal groups of scooter drivers within the mobile practice:

> *"We got two parts of known criminals, if we can use that harsh word, if that's the word we have to use. We got two groups of criminals. We got the young people, the young boys, from 15 up to 19 who drive a very fast scooter. And then we've got a middle age, mostly male group, of men from 45 to 70 who have been driving under the influence of alcohol in their car and no longer have got a driving license for cars. But they don't drive wild; they just drive still under the influence of alcohol. They are drunk while they drive the scooter." (Interview, Serup, 2009)*

Knowing and communicating criminal records of scooter drivers creates negative attitudes in society towards this mobile practice. Moreover it seems to be rarely or never presented in any positive light. People are alert when scooters appear in their surrounding and some end up writing complaints to the municipality or the police (Interview, Serup, 2009; Interview, Nørgaard, 2010).

Experience dimension – Dangerous and uncontrollable

This negative terminology regarding scooter represents how they are experienced. People develop fear and annoyance, associate criminals with this mobile practice and scooter drivers should be banished. This leads to further reactions, actions and terminologies in use such as 'catching', 'hunting' or 'chasing' scooter drivers (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009; Interview, Serup, 2009; Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010).

Scooter drivers become hunted mobile subjects. Individual residents as well as professionals seem to have an eye on scooter drivers. Overall there is a present level of control by the police related to this form of transport; some rather organized and in an institutionalised manner in cooperation with schools for example, but others situational or during daily patrols in the urban region of Aalborg (Interview, Serup, 2009).

> *"C: I think the kids that feel that they are hunted they deserve to have this feeling because it's the worst of them because it's the kids driving with no helmets, it's the kids driving very noisy scooters, it's the kids driving scooters way to fast. I think there is a kind of unwritten rule from the police. If they are not driving too fast and wearing helmets – so the police won't stop them. Of course they have these big controls in the schools in the morning then they stop everybody. Normally they don't get hunted.*
>
> *Interviewer: If they follow the laws…*
>
> *C: almost follow the laws." (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

This statement underlines again the blurry character of norms and the permeability of rules in this mobile practice. There seem to be quite often an 'almost' involved when it is about scooter driving. No clear boundaries on different levels confuse the picture.

> *P1: He [P2] is saying that over 50 % of the time the accidents happen when you are being chased by the police.*
>
> *Moderator: Ok. So you feel chased by them?*
>
> *P2: yes (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)*

Around the half of the focus group participants at Auto-College feel chased by the police. One explanation by one of the participants is as following:

> *"I just think if someone gets stopped by the police time after time, after time and some others just don't get stopped. And I don't really think it has anything to do with if I am following the rules and he isn't because I don't follow the rules either and I've never been stopped by the police. Just think it's they are taking it out some few and then they think 'ohh, that one, I think I have stopped that one before' and then they just keep on going because they know there is something … I don't know." (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)*

Additional to the previous described negative experience of scooter driving, there is another issue that creates even more distant to this mobile practice and its performers. It is assumed and experienced that a lot of scooter drivers just don't cooperate when something is in any form related to

governmental structures or offers. Some alternatives such as racing areas to rent are rejected and not accepted as a convergence or negotiation:

"You cannot offer them anything that smells like it's the government trying to control them because they would just turn the other way. That is part of the culture." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

The rejection of authorities is one crucial point for the police controlling and prosecuting the mobile practice of scooter driving. There seem to be quite some communicative and bargaining part involved when young scooter drivers and police meet. At least the police as authority and representative of the law and norm system expects cooperative and obeying behaviour from the drivers. One example by the police states the experienced missing correlation in one municipal region of Aalborg:

"If you go into Aalborg East then there is a lot of Arabian boys. […] They are not comfortable around police at all. That makes a whole problem for itself. And also get a new kind of problem because we can not talk to them.[…] They speak Danish but very badly; but they don't correlate to us." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

The language is only one aspect but more important for the police officer is the feeling of being in communicative contact with the drivers which has more to do with interaction than with understanding only. If the drivers are not following the police's instructions, they are accounted as part of the so called 3% 'red-drivers' (Interview, Serup, 2009). Nevertheless some residents create a negative stereotypical opinion about Aalborg East and its inhabitants (see below).

Beyond spatial relations, institutional allocations or associations add to the picture or stereotype of scooter drivers. Especially the technical colleges are pointed out as places where a lot of scooter drivers can be found. Next to that the Auto-College students specifically are related to the so called 3% of red drivers (Interview, Serup, 2009):

"They are very well trained in making all the illegal scooters. It's a high percentage of them riding the illegal scooters. […] They are 16 to 18. That is the 3% …" (Interview, Serup, 2009)

Representative dimension – No acceptance

The scooter drivers seem to be hardly accepted as one mobile group using this means of transportation. On the one hand they represent negative mobile subjects such as being annoying, lazy and even criminal. This relates to the people using that means of transportation. On the other hand the scooter itself, the vehicle, seems to be not really accepted and mixed in with other means of

transportation such as the bicycle. That connection is done on the policy level and appears as well within the mind of individuals as the following statement exemplifies:

> *"And of course you are on a scooter, you think it's a big vehicle when you start driving it but it's only a bicycle with some extra stuff on it." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

The even stronger opinion concerned with the users of scooters was reflected while doing an observation in Aalborg East for example. This experience illustrates the consequence of the wide spread negative connotation of scooter drivers. During the observations a short conversation with one employee of a 'family house', an organisation or institute that helps young mothers and their children, revealed again this strong negative association with scooter drivers. The talk was about the presence of scooter drivers in the area. That woman couldn't say much about that issue, but mentioned directly that recently there were three burglaries in one week. Overall this municipal area seems to be connected to the scooter driving practice. There was a repeated opinion between many Aalborg citizens that scooter drivers, in the sense of young, wild and criminal drivers, could be found in the eastern parts of the city. Based on the interview with one of the police officers this belief got qualified and enhanced. Scooter drivers gather as well in Hasseris (Aalborg West) and in Nørresundby (North) for example (Interview, Serup, 2009). However, the counsellor of the Technical and Environmental department of Aalborg mentions as well only the area in Aalborg East as problematic at one point (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010). This form of spatial segregation is playing into the stereotyping of scooter drivers. But not only outside the mobile practice, the young scooter drivers from the youth club presented strong negative, already racist opinions towards the inhabitants in that municipal region (Focus group, Youth Club, 2009).

The aspect of stereotyping is getting obvious through different sources. The available (statistical) data and knowledge represents that it is just a small percentage behaving in the way the stereotypical picture represents. This information is rarely communicated to the public it seems like and especially the media is mediating the stereotypes or is used by residents to justify their estimation of scooter drivers.

The caretaker of the youth club criticises such stereotyping and is guessing that heir appearance, being kind of hidden behind their helmets and clothes, could intensify the superficial judgement of some:

> *"I think the problem is […] when you see 5 young people standing here in the street corner and smoking and some people says every young people are smoking. And when you see three crazy scooter drivers, driving like hell, and then when you see a scooter it's difficult to see what's behind this black helmet, black glass and black jacket … they are all looking the same." (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

Some of the scooter drivers themselves are aware of the stereotypes and of the actions of some driver maintaining and creating these opinions. One focus group participant is critical in regards to overall societal judgement that is convicting on a large scale.

> *"Yes, I know but it's not everybody who's like that. It's just some people who are that and then people are thinking it's all of them. You know like the dogs who are – the mussle dogs – there is somebody attacking and then it's just all of them. That's just the way people are today. If someone had done something then it's everyone in that group"* (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)

4.3.4   Storyline 4. We are just like anybody else

- Everyday life scooter drivers with the focus on youth -

"I think it's just like we are normal people like everybody else. We are just going on scooters instead of bicycles. I don't know, we are just like everybody else."(Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)

This storyline represents the picture some of the scooter drivers have about themselves. Certainly is has to be seen in the context with focussing on youth and the youth being in main critique in the scooter driving dispute. Their wish for normality might be based on the contrasting picture being 'not normal', being unaccepted. There is kind of a confusion between the scooter drivers where they should be positioned in the mobile culture. On the one hand they want to be viewed as any 'normal' road user and want to be accepted on their means of transportation. One the other hand they are aiming at getting a kick out of violation of the law and are aware of their misbehaving.

Picture 5: Scooters in Aalborg East

Picture 6: Example for path way systems for scooters

All three mobilities dimensions are nicely represented with one of the first statements of one focus group discussions. The participants were asked what they have in mind when thinking about scooter driving and their first thoughts were *speed, transport and style* (Focus group, YC, 2009). Scooter driving as transport would fall into the material dimension, speed is one of the strongest emotions for many while performing this practice and style is meaningful to represent an identity or belonging to a group or lifestyle. Nevertheless, it became revealed that each of the mobilities dimension contains kind of two sides of a coin so to say and appear ambivalent. The scooter drivers are involved in a balance process on all dimensions which will be demonstrated forthcoming.

Material dimension - Scooter driving as transport

The scooter is a daily means of transportation used to go to work or school most of the times. In this case study the work space is the firm related to the education becoming a mechanic at Auto-College. Next to that for some it's just the driving itself; driving around with friends; to be in a group with other scooter drivers. Some scooter drivers go into the forest and drive their scooters there to do some tricks such as jumps over little hills (off-road-driving) (Focus group I, Auto-College, 2010). A few describe a development within their own practice. In the beginning the practice takes over all emotions and time and the aspect of just driving around is in main focus. With the time this 'pure' excitement vanishes and the transport issue dominates the practice (Focus group, YC, 2009). Questions of time scheduling and flexibility are in the foreground.

"I am 17. The first time I rode a scooter I think it's five years ago. I started to drive on scooters before I got the card [drivers licence]. When I got the card I only used the scooter to get to work because then I didn't have to take the bus."(Focus group I, Auto-College, 2010)

The aspect of being independent, not to wait for the bus and being much quicker than on a bicycle for example were some of the arguments for the young scooter drivers for their choice of mode. Some bus schedules do not fit the schedule they have; it's just not often enough and with the scooter they spent less time to reach the destinations such as the Auto-College, school, youth club, work space or friends. To exemplify the time issue as an argument, one of the focus group participants uses 1, 5 hours with the bus and only 45 minutes by scooter to reach the Auto-College from home (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010). Most of the focus group participants of the Auto-College cover quite long distances with their scooters based on their home towns outside the urban boundaries of Aalborg. The focus group at the youth club instead represents a diameter for daily journeys of approximately 2.5 km and a typical tour takes around 10 to 20 min (Questionnaire (CD)/ Focus group, Youth Club, 2009).

The traffic infrastructure for scooters is divided into bicycle path and street. Fairly all participants of the focus group discussions use both path systems. That is related to the given infrastructure in the areas they drive through and dependent on the type of tour they take. Some mentioned to value the bicycling path system because the police can't follow due to the metal fences built in some entrance parts. It could be seen as *"[t]heir own Highway system where police cars can't follow them"* (Interview, Serup, 2009)**.** The majority of the participants of the focus group seem to drive on the street which might be related to their fairly high speed approximately around 40 to 80km/h and some still higher even though, except one, all of them are below 18 years (Focus group, Youth Club, 2009; Focus group I, Auto-College, 2010). That means they are violating the traffic act and should actually drive 30km/h and on the bicycle path if they are already 16 years old and obtain the driver's licence. Moreover in one discussion a participant mentions that: "*it could be nice if we could be treated like the cars for example. […] it's just like that we are, we can go faster and we are*" (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010). That adds to the confusion within the scooter driving practice being framed as bicycles but using the infrastructure and pace of motorised car traffic for example. The questionnaire in the first focus group discussion revealed the discontent of the young scooter drivers in regards to use the bicycle paths as physical infrastructure. All five participants rated it as negative (Focus group, YC, 2009). Moreover, as exemplified in picture 6 above, the scooters are excluded on the sign information systems for bicycle paths even though they are obligated to use this traffic infrastructure if being 30km/h scooters.

Most of the scooter drivers mentioned to feel quite save in the traffic even though some of them know people who had bad accidents or even died. This seems to have little or no influence on them. Only one participant of the second focus group discussion changed a little in her behaviour. She had quite some personal experiences with four accidents and is driving with a bit more concern – meaning wearing a helmet and being more aware of the danger involved. But the speed limit is still kept much higher than allowed. 60km/h is for many scooter drivers a normal pace that is not even questioned as being not the norm and moreover violation of the traffic acts. Some of the scooter drivers talked to drive drunk and seem to care little about the danger. For one of the participants it's all about the kick breaking some laws and going over the limits. But this is not the case for all of them. There are different levels of 'law-breaking' some more conscious others rather not. The speed limit issue seems to be quite accepted and not really realized as something wrong because this is part of the whole idea of having a scooter. There is an opinion between some of the scooter drivers that other traffic actors, especially car drivers, they are not aware of scooter drivers and don't see them in the traffic system. The bicyclists did not get mention to be a specific group for conflicts.

Overall many young drivers use quite some time around the scooter. Some approximately 4 days a week/ each day few hours and are building and repairing things on their scooters (Focus group I, Auto-College, 2010). Information can be found most often in the internet on scootergalleri.dk for example but there are a lot of web pages which inform any young scooter driver about building/changing parts of the scooter. The ability to tune the scooter can be enabled in such ways.

This virtual space offered due to various internet pages is widening the options for the scooter driving practice. The web page scootergalleri.dk is a virtual space for scooter drivers to exchange knowledge, stories, to show off, to create a status or buy and sell parts. The physical space is quite restricted for scooter drivers. This virtual room or platform offers an arena for this mobile practice and the practice is represented and formed via that space as well. For some scooter drivers it is about:

> *"[…] how many hits you can get on the homepage, […] you could say it's the most important room for these hard core scooter drivers." (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

> *"It's mostly used when you are going to buy or sell; also like, you know, a place to get information how to make driving it faster or if you got any problem with your scooter – so its like a place where you can get help." (Focus group/YC, 2009)*

Experience dimension - Freedom, speed and adrenalin

The scooter driving practice is experienced as a speed related means of transportation. This emotion is one of the main important driving forces to have a scooter. Moreover speed is connected to the

value of freedom. Freedom in regards to move whenever and wherever and being not dependent on other people, time schedules or systems such as the public transportation system or the parents for example.

> *"Of course it is a bit of the same as it was when I was a teenager. Because the most important thing for them I think is freedom because the mobility is very important for them. Because you know the internet and cellphones and all that stuff gives a lot of offers around but I think it's more a mental thing about this freedom because they are not using it. They are not driving to other cities; so it's just mental – they know they have the freedom. They are not using it."(Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

The latter statement illustrates the power of motility, here in relation to imagined freedom coupled to mobility that offers the potential to be able to leave some place respectively reach another place whenever wanted; at least as imagination. Freedom is one main feeling and attachment to driving cars, motorcycles or scooters. The caretaker from the youth club as motorcyclist can relate to that and describes his emotion of freedom as following:

> *"It is also something about status and it's a kind of you know .. it's of course interests but it's also, it's like […] For me you know I am a family father and it's my free room. I can just .. I have some friends also driving motorbikes .. it's something we have together like playing football or surfing" (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

So next to the feeling of having a free space, a time-out of the daily structures of family and work life, the group belonging is determining. To share same interests, to identify with a practice and a group of people creates a status for an individual. Interestingly there is a feeling of being part of a group within the motorcycle-scene – '*it's like being in a family*' – motorcycling is a lifestyle; represented by one of the older participants of one focus group discussion (Focus group II, Auto-Collge, 2010). But this is not the same case for scooter driving it seems like. The focus group participants represented on the one hand active scooter drivers but on the other hand the temporary character of this practice. Quite a few scooter drivers aim at having a car right when they are 18 years old and the scooter is bridging that time phase and acts as a 'starter' into the motorized world of mobility so to say. Furthermore the feeling of belonging to the scooter driving practice is overshadowed by its negative reception in society and makes a simple belonging difficult because people rarely want to be associated with criminal action and might have an additional act of seperating one's self of such action going on. More about identification and representation (towards non-scooter drivers) will be described forthcoming.

But within the scooter driving practice the conditions and values can be different in comparison to the representation towards the outside world. Especially in between the youth competition plays a role as

well. Within a group of scooter drivers it's often about who has the fastest scooter, newest styles and stories to tell from police chases for example. Especially the young males try to top each other within these different aspects of the mobile practice. Scootergalleri.dk as one main web page offers space for that and is perhaps the main platform for some to communicate and to create a status within the mobile practice. The so called 'hardcore scooter drivers' for example: "*for them it's quite important to have the fastest one or the newest one or the best-looking one*" (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009).

The scooter driving as a status symbol is nothing surprising for the caretaker at the youth club. He easily relates this form of identification and representation to car-culture related issues within the adult world as well and says:

> *"[…] it's quite funny. In a way what adults happens with cars. They have a Citroen Berlingo, that's just a car to get from A to B, and you have an Audi or something and than you are quite more important. So of course they are copying." (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

PGO would be one of such main scooter brands that are described as 'upper class' by the caretaker:

> *"[…] I think for them there are 3 or 4 different scooter that are 'upper class' scooters and the rest is just transportation. But it's ok just to come on a scooter that only shows transportation. But there is these two different things. .. but the most hard core drivers, in fact, maybe they are not coming here […] Because this scooter thing is their life, they are just driving around all the time. The most hard core, hard core, hard core scooter drivers …" (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

First associated aspects with the scooter driving practice revealed in the second focus group discussions reflect on meanings and values attached to that practice. These were: *fast, going on one wheel, beautiful, hit by a car – four times, money, time, cold, and look/style* (Focus group I, Auto-College, 2010). All these expressions represent the presence of the three dimensions of mobilities; whereby the experience and representative dimension perhaps even prevail. The aspect of speed is represented again and the symbolic meaning or to show off takes a dominant position. Money is related to the tuning of the vehicles which can be quite costly. The aspect of plain transportation is not so much represented by these first statements in the discussion.

The following collage created by scooter drivers in a focus group discussion within the study on scooter drivers delegated by the Council for Road Safety in Denmark (Rådet for Større Færdselssikkerhed, 2003) introduced above, represents nicely attached meanings and values of many young scooter drivers.

Picture 7: Collage of focus group participants (Rådet for Større Færdselssikkerhed, 2003)

Representative dimension – A problem of belonging

To some extent it seems to be a dilemma of belonging or identification within this mobile practice. The sense of belonging is related to physical infrastructure described earlier as well as to the practice and its representation. On the one hand the scooter drivers want to be accepted as 'normal' mobile subjects but on the other hand there are quite a few individuals within the mobile practice that use the practice for extreme and criminal actions and some even aim at provoking with their behaviour. This relatively small percentage is dominating the societal picture of scooter drivers as described above. The negative picture of the mobile practice is denying a simple belonging to that practice. It is for many about separating one's self from the illegal action even though the borders of legal and illegal action are often stretched and blurry.

By some other road users or within media articles young scooter drivers become called specific names such as 'scooter-faces' or 'knallert-bøller' which means 'scooter-thugs' and people relate some type of ignorant, aggressive and not caring young persons to them who have nothing else to do in life than scooter driving (Focus group I, Auto-College, 2010; Nørrelund Sørensen, 2010). Interestingly this is partially rejected. Following an extract of one discussion exemplifies (Focus group, YC, 2009):

> *Moderator (M): Do you think there is a stereotype or picture in society, in Aalborg – what people […] think about scooter driving?*
>
> *Caretaker (C): No, it's nothing special; there are a lot of different drivers, also some girls – mentions … [Participant (P) 2].*
>
> *M: so it's a mixed scene, you could say?*
>
> *C+ Ps: yes*
>
> *M: Do you think there exists a scene at all, like a scooter scene?*
>
> *C: no, it's not a culture. It's normally ...*

This extract from the discussion reflects an own picture or view these scooter drivers have or want to have about themselves respectively the caretaker of the youth club mediates in the conversation. Scooter drivers should be seen as a normal and diverse group of a mobile practice. However, the terminology 'scene' is connected to culture that is associated with being negative; in the sense of being not normal. Then again a group called 'Striben' is mentioned which means stripes in English. "[…] *They are driving at places around for example inside Kennedy Arcaden just to get the police attention*" (Focus group/YC, 2009). This scooter group is allied to so-called 'hardcore scooter guys'

and the focus group participants isolate themselves from such types of scooter drivers. These separation processes within the scooter driving practice became revealed a few times.

That separation can be simply based on the existence of different groups of drivers within the mobile practice. Next to issues related to sex and age, the way of performing, the meaning attached and finally the way of using the scooter differs as previously presented. Moreover the overall refusal of the mobile practice as accepted means of transportation and the attached negative stereotyping of scooter drivers has consequences for the users of this mobile practice.

The young scooter drivers communicated with presented a kind of disillusion towards their acceptance within the Danish mobile culture. Asking them in one of the discussions if they try to communicate their opinions about scooter driving, they react (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010):

> *P1: They are saying it wouldn't help at all if they talk to someone. And the adults won't listen and stuff like that.*
>
> *M: How is it with your parents?*
>
> *P2: They don't f***ing care...*
>
> *M: They don't care...ok*
>
> *P1: Not really.*

The focus group participants have an idea of what is annoying other residents about the scooter driving practice but indicate as well the aspect that only some behave in such extreme way and the majority is acting according to the rules. They can't understand the wide generalisation concerned the scooter driving practice and the exceptional aversion to scooter driving.

> *"I think it's because many people are getting angry over it. The noise it makes, the speed and how people, some people are driving, some people are driving the head under their arm, and now he is saying [pointing at one other participant] in Sæby, when he starts the scooter then someone is already calling the police; just when he starts because of the noise. So some people get really angry because they think it's really stupid thing who makes a lot of noise and people are acting crazy when they're driving on ..." (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)*

Even though the effort is taken to try to communicate with some of the people the young scooter drivers don't really believe in any shift of opinion concerning their mobile practice. The one participant said: *"He had tried to talk with them. This old man who is really mad about the noise but then he just called the police again. And he tried to talk to them so … I don't think there is anything to do about it."* (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010).

As a counter reaction or possibly as an explanation for such strong negative attitudes by some people towards scooter drivers the one participant elaborates:

> *P1: "He [P2] is saying that his dad is saying that some of the people who is nagging about the scooters and the young people on scooters, they only do it because they don't have anything else to do – so they are just going around and yelling at people on scooters and calling the police and then there is happening something in their life. Otherwise they just sit still and do nothing. ."(Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)*

A dynamic develops that creates judgement on both sides and rather extreme behaviours occur respectively. On the one hand individuals start to prosecute scooter drivers and their behaviour on their own behalf to collect evidence for their misbehaving and on the other hand intensified or provoking misbehaving from some scooter drivers can be experienced as well (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010). Certainly the focus on youth within the mobile practice of scooter driving has influencing effect and should be noted. The issue of age and being in a phase of life with quite some radical changes involved and new orientations can determine behaviour as well.

4.3.5   Summary – They just don't fit in?!

The storylines revealed that scooter driving and the drivers themselves are often associated with conflict in the Danish mobile culture. Scooters aren't clearly placed in the traffic system and the physical infrastructure splits the mobile practice on two paths way systems that are related to different traffic laws and behavioural norms. Bicyclists and car drivers wish the scooters away from each of their infrastructure system. Residents in neighbourhood communities don't want scooter drivers around based on associated negative attributes such as unconcerned and dangerous behaviours. Scooters are pushed back and forth between different infrastructures, different laws, and finally different identifications as mobile subjects.

To get an overview of the different storylines presented previously they are listed below in the table 6. Additionally their mobilities approaches used and formed in each storyline based on their balance of the three dimensions is displayed. A more detailed presentation of this last column concerned the mobilities approaches can be found in chapter 4.4.4 in the end of the analysis. Different manifestation of the three dimensions is influencing mobilities attitudes and behaviours. Different values and meanings as well as norms are mediated via each storyline. Some have providing character for each other and other are ambivalent. However, more about the dynamics between the storylines will be discussed in the following section of the report.

	Material dimension (M)	Experience dimension (E)	Representative dimension (R)	Mobilities approach (balance of M/E/R)
1. storyline PLANNING LEVEL	No scooters - Trivial numbers; - no policies; - framed as bicycles; - superficial data	No problem - Temporary action; - lazy youth; - (accepted) car-culture	No planning - Aalborg as bicycle city; - people act healthy; - mobility justice/ free choice	M is dominant
2. storyline DOMAIN OF TRAFFIC SAFETY AND CONTROLL	Need for improvement - 1/3 of the accidents with 15-17 years old drivers; - need for renewals; - most detailed data and coherencies	No behaving - improvement of education needed; - too fast/too slow/ they don't fit in; - 'green, yellow & red' drivers (typology)	Not mature enough - need for moral/ethical education; - context of influences/ i.e. parents; - disciplinary and confronting	M, E, and R are recognized and addressed; slightly focus is on M
3. storyline SOCIETAL LEVEL	Mobile criminals - small percentage but big problems; - negative terminology	Dangerous & uncontrollable - hunted mobile subjects; - spatial and institutional segregation	No acceptance - strong stereotyping; - no acceptance of the person and the vehicle; - negative press	E and R are dominant
4. storyline SCOOTER DRIVERS/ PERFORMERS	Transport - daily means of transportation; - critique in public transport; - split infrastructure; - virtual space	Freedom, speed & adrenalin - aspect of motility; - status symbol; - independence; - violating the law for getting a kick	A problem of belonging - separation processes from negative pictures; - difficult and split identity; - Are we car or bicycle?	M, E and R are all present - but confused and ambivalent

Table 6: Different balance of mobilities dimensions

4.4   Dynamics in between storylines

It's not only about identifying storylines, these fixations of meanings; it is about what happens with that meaning. What do people do when using the storylines? How do they mediate, use, produce, reproduce or change opinions and action?

The revealed gap between everyday life experience and the policy level's appraisal of scooter driving will be discussed in the next section (chapter 4.4.1). The occurrence of that gap will be related to the use and mediation of the different storylines by the various actors involved. The actions and actors of the interface of this two level framework become revealed that influence the mobile practice of scooter driving. Finally, the different mobilities approaches attached to the storylines will be compared that differ in their balance of the three mobilities dimensions. Based on this condition, different values and meanings are dominant assigned to attributes within the dimensions. As a result several knowledge claims about scooter driving are presented in each storyline with different underlying values that influence action or inaction concerned with the scooter driving practice.

4.4.1   Gap between the policy level and the everyday life

There is a gap between the politician's or planner's perception of scooter driving and the everyday life experiences. The different storylines represented the different cognitions of scooter driving and gave insight into argumentations and knowledge used to hold an opinion concerned scooters. This section will demonstrate coherencies and different opinions about the existence of this gap.

The respondent from the Aalborg police traffic section illustrates the situation as follows:

> "[S]cooters [are] also just a pestilence for 'trafik og veje' [Department for traffic and roads]…they can't do much about the scooters, nobody can do very much about scooters. Aalborg Kommune or any commune/municipality they've got no influence whatsoever on the rules. They cannot make their own rules. They are allowed to say that a scooter is not allowed on a path where bicycles are allowed, but that's the whole length they can go. They cannot do... no more than that." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

The municipality with its responsible planning department is described as being without any authority to influence the mobile practice. Moreover a general awkwardness is presented concerning handling of scooter driving. The gap between the policy level and everyday life conditions seems to be recognized by some of the respondents interviewed but is explained in different ways. Another explanation is based on the lack of knowledge described by the director of the Auto-College. In his

opinion the conditions could be described as follows: *"[Y]ou just have put a transportation, a vehicle into the traffic system. You just placed it but you actually do know it doesn't, it's not the right way to do it. But you don't know what to do about it because it doesn't fit in like it is right now."* (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)

The solutions thought of are related to the material dimension within mobilities. Physical infrastructure is an issue addressed. The space is missing to offer infrastructure exclusively for scooters. As suggested below this is an unrealistic idea for a solution, even though it is a typical transport planning solution of separating different modes to avoid conflicts:

> *"They don't fit in on the road and they don't fit in on the bicycle path. So where do you put them? Well, we don't want them to drive too fast because they are only 16. So we need to reduce the speed. But they are too big to fit on the bicycle path so they have to drive on the road. So you actually need that third path where they could drive and then you have to widen the areas or use more space for roads where you put these scooter paths on. I know it's not financially [possible] or [...] you don't have the space for it because ... just take a look around. You can't use a metre and a half on each side of the road. If you look at Aalborg for example that wouldn't be possible."* (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)

Additional speed is playing an important role and is acting in a way as a yard stick for conflict potential. But measuring against the yard stick that is concerned with a steady speed limit for cars, the unrestricted motorised road traffic is favoured compared against slower means of transportation. The following quote illustrates this issue:

> *"But I think actually that we have seen a lot of scooters coming into the traffic system and you have actually not have done anything to [Break] to find out how they fit in. you have the cars and you have the bicycles. And in between you have motorcycles and scooters and .... Well, motorcycles isn't that quite big of a problem because they can follow the traffic. But you have an issue with scooters."* (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)

The situation is presented here as difficult to find a solution to. It is described as a kind of locked-in situation based on the aspect of speed and safety that impede each other. Speed is mostly associated with the car traffic and dominates other means of transportation and their paces. The increasing potential for danger with higher pace is an issue in traffic safety and conflicts with the many young scooter drivers that seem to underestimate this aspect. Asking in the interview with the Auto-College director if there is possibly a policy missing to allow a better handling of the scooter driving practice, he answered:

"Yes, I think so. I think so. We need to be aware of … we have just, seen from my perspective as a citizen, it just made some rules in order to try to fit them in but you had to compromise because you didn't actually know what to do with them. So they don't fit in where you put them but they have to be there because you don't, you can't put them anywhere else … as long as you have the restrictions regarding the speed … and of course the age when you're allowed to drive them. You could argue they shouldn't be allowed to drive scooters until they're 18." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)

To put the scooter driving dispute on the agenda is encouraged by the director of the Auto-College. He sees that as one main starting point to make a difference and to solve the problems concerned with the scooter driving practice. His estimation of the actions by politicians and planners is as follows:

"[T]he main focus is that you actually evaluate what you're doing and that's what they are doing now. We have an issue, we have a situation we need to evaluate: 'Does it work or doesn't it work?' […] but the political system you know, we know as citizens things take time and we have to agree and discuss everything, turn every stone and .. so I think it will take time. The main issue is that we have a discussion about it because that might be the way to influence it." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)

Moreover he reflects on Danish focuses in traffic planning that is most often related to "*types of vehicles or situations [*which*] produce the most accidents […] because that's what in the mind of the population*" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010), but mentions as well the ambiguous use of data, "*So being a politician you can pick out an issue and argue for or against it*" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010). Interestingly, there is some data offered concerning the scooter driving practice that reveals the danger and relatively high rate of accidents specifically for the young drivers (see chapter 4.3.2) that could be used as an argument for action. As previously discussed the statistical data is used differently used by different actors. Gjødsbøl (2010) thinks that:

"the problem is if you don't have the statistics that shows that it's a dangerous vehicle, that you have other issue that is more dangerous then it will fade away. Because the population will focus [on] what is the danger? They agree that's a problem but we have more serious problems you could say. I don't know but that might be a mechanism in the way to think about it."

The danger involved with the mobile practice of scooter driving is fairly dominant in the media and one of the presented storylines is just exactly about this issue. The claimed renewals of some political actors as presented in storyline 2 (chapter 4.3.2) reflect the awareness and need for action postulated by some. Nevertheless the Department for Traffic and Roads is not aiming at introducing any policy to

improve the situation. The problems around scooter driving such as the fairly high rate of accidents involving young scooter drivers is noticed by the municipality but any further instructions to improve the condition are not formulated within the planning department. The problem is not identified as originating from planning processes or that planners could help the situation. If it is dealt with scooters, then technically the bicycle policies are mentioned whereby content-wise the scooter is not really mentioned.

This exclusion of scooters on the policy level is connected to their estimation of status. At the present time and in the future the scooter is not assumed to be a relevant means of transportation to think of or plan for more explicitly. Alternatives such as electric scooters or bicycles were mentioned based on the environmental dispute. The future of the scooters is not only conceived as limited on the policy level, other actors have doubts as well. The director of the Auto-College can't imagine an increase in use for that mobile practice. Based on cheap running and purchase costs nearly everybody can afford a scooter today and for him they are numbers-wise already quite dominant especially in the rural areas. But in regards to environmental conditions and expectations towards transport development he says: "*So I don't see that bright of a future for scooters in Denmark with the current technology*" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010). Technology refers to the fuel dependent engine. His estimation about electrical vehicles, concerned scooters and cars, is linked to technological development as well:

> *"If you can only drive for 30 minutes or 45 minutes you won't buy it. And that is the problem with the cars today that you don't have the batteries that you are able to charge that you can drive for 15km … sorry 500km. you have to recharge them. And that is an issue. That is one of the things, I think that is one of the main reasons why we don't have that many electrical cars."(Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

This statement exemplifies the linkage of shift in transport behaviour towards technological innovation. The aspect of changing mobile behaviour and standards or ideologies is not included even though these aspects and dimensions in mobilities determine mobile actions and decisions immense; just as the following statement illustrates again:

> *"They love the speed, they do and more … my students, my students at the Auto-College they live for speed and the smell of gasoline. You could actually say and that is of course […] if you can't do anything with it [the elcycle] then you would just have a bicycle because then you want to go by bicycle. So I don't think that the youth in Denmark will take the elcycle as a 'oh, what a great invention. I want to have one of those.' I don't think so." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

Moreover the trust or belief in technical development is used to explain or react on the non-involvement of the planners; it is even legitimizing the inaction because the future will bring shifts that can't be planned for now:

> *"And I'm not all that certain that they have to make plans for the [scooters] on any kind of short-term basis at least. If you take the environmental part of the picture with scooters … I think in 10 to 15 years they are history, because they pollute all too much. In 10 to 15 years I think it will all go by battery or electricity. And that could change the whole picture with both motorcycles and cars and bicycles and scooters to some sort of magnetism that will change the whole picture and make all kinds of plans you are making right now invalid." (Interview, Serup, 2009)*

Finally, the gap is reproduced when the scooter continuous to not be accepted as a vehicle in its own right. The ambivalent attribution of the scooters towards the bicycle or car system created not only a gap between policy level and everyday life performance of the practice, it produces ambiguity for the drivers to relate to one or the other system as well. Moreover this inconsistency in behaviour reinforces the negative opinion from non-scooter drivers because uncertainty about expected scooter driving behaviour is present.

> *"I think the main issue is that you have to consider it as a vehicle for itself and you need to find out how to. I think that is the main issue. Seen as a – both as a parent and as a driver, a car driver – that you have to fit it in to the society somehow. And I don't think we have the solution yet. Only the once driving the scooter loves it. Everybody else hates it." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

> *"So you will have to either raise the speed limit or lower it and put it on the bicycle [path] and then it will die or it will still be bought and they will tune it. Because they want the speed they don't want just the scooter. They want to drive fast." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

The scooter is not a bicycle even though some policies frame the scooter as such. That would be one of the first steps to accepting the scooter as a vehicle in its own right and to realize the attached meanings and values. These differ from the ones attached to the bicycle culture. The scooter as a motorised vehicle with a high pace, a sound and a smell were factors determining for this mobile practice. To accept the scooter as a distinct vehicle and mobile performance does not mean to favour this mobile practice but framing it as it is used in everyday life, and would help to plan more realistically.

4.4.2   Mediation of storylines and actors involved

As previously discussed the gap between different perspectives on the policy level and the everyday life concerning the scooter driving practice seems to be maintained. Some opinions regarding the differences in perceptions and estimations of that mobile practice were introduced and elaborated on in this section. Even though different storylines represent values, meanings, knowledge or appraisals that would give a more profound and complex understanding of scooter driving in Aalborg, stereotypes seem to maintain and no additional planning measures are expected. To understand the conditions and coherencies, the mediation of these storylines and the actors involved will now be elaborated on.

The two-level framework of the research in regards to the policy level and the everyday life was addressed throughout the project but beyond that the interfaces of these perspectives were revealed as well. Respondents such as the Auto-College director or the youth club caretaker represented interesting opinions and would contribute as actors to the interface of scooter driving. The interface as a scope is more in focus in this following discussion. The normative interface should help to identify more sensitively the correlations between different actors and variables that create conditions for the scooter driving practice. The processes taking place in interfaces and the actors involved that mediate between the two levels, influence storylines. Some storylines originate from interfaces and others become ignored or changed. This figure 12 represents the dynamics of storylines. The different interactions of them and the actors involved are illustrated. To recall, the four storylines are:

1. Much ado about nothing

2. Most dangerous means of transportation

3. Scooter drivers as 'misfits'
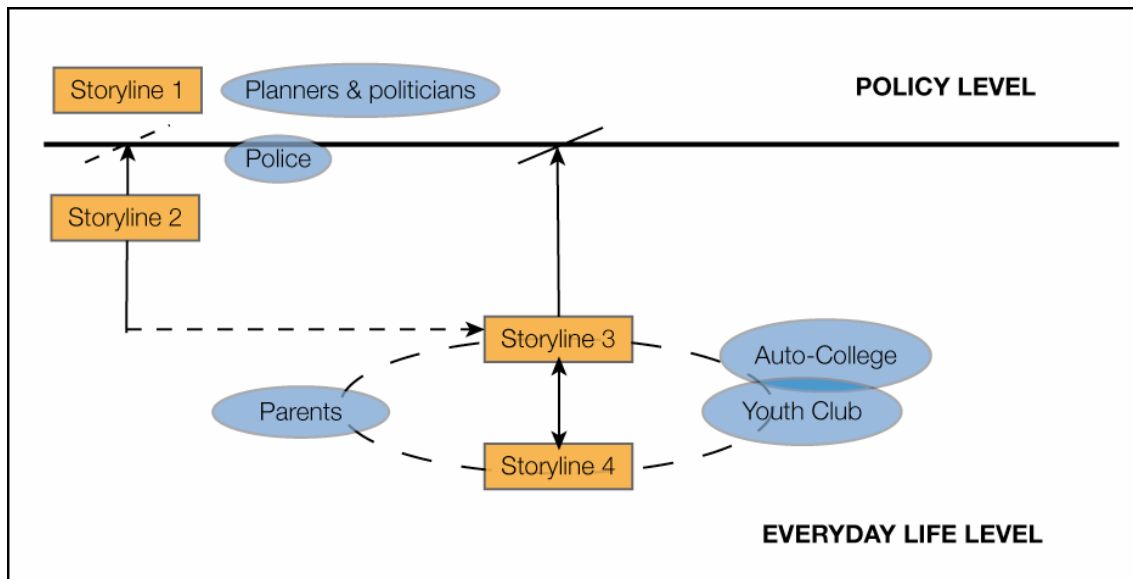
4. We are just as anybody else

Figure 12: Dynamic map of storylines

Storyline 1 and 2 contradict each other in a few aspects. Firstly in regards to their awareness concerning scooters, for storyline 1 they are having trivial status and are not really present, but are a central problem that needs improvement in storyline 2. Secondly, based on the attention given to scooter drivers, the appraisal of action and reaction towards current conditions differs. Especially the police claim for more strict rules and intensified action to improve the traffic safety and education of scooter drivers whereas the planning and political level does not see the need for intensified attention or different policies. The police follow the formal regulations from the policy level but estimate the conditions differently and as being more complex.

Storyline 3 and 4 seem to interact most strongly and even intensify each other and stimulate action in both realms. The negative framing of scooter drivers by many non-scooter drivers escalates even in private statements and actions against scooter drivers on a residential level. In turn intensified negative behaviour from some of the drivers results as consequence. Distance towards the scooter driving practice and the drivers increases with experienced conflicts. There is weak counteraction against formed stereotypes prevalent, even though the problems are in-fact based on only a small percentage of scooter drivers. The young scooter drivers are disillusioned and are not actively involve in changing the pictures about them circulating in some people's minds. Therefore storyline 3 can be maintained. These disputes do not influence storyline 1. Complaints concerned scooter driving, formulated by some residents and addressed at the policy level, are forwarded to the police as executive power. The storyline 1 seems to be the most isolated one.

Storyline 2 representing traffic safety has some influence on storyline 3, the societal picture of scooter drivers, in so far that it is used by representatives of storyline 3 to underline the negative picture they have about scooter drivers and the danger related to them. The need to improve the traffic safety for the sake of the scooter drivers is less present; instead the safety for other traffic participants has priority in storyline 3. Storyline 1 expressing the planning level opinion is rarely influenced by storyline 2 as described already above. The area of authority for storyline 2 seems not to be attributed to the policy level which means the problem around traffic safety is not related to the current policies for the practice. There is nearly none influence on storyline 4, the scooter drivers themselves. Even though quite a few experienced dangerous traffic situations, were involved in accidents and knew people that died, a positive self-assessment concerned their competencies in driving is dominant.

Actors involved

Next to revealing the different types of scooter drivers and having decided to focus on youth within this mobile practice, other actors were identified that influence the scooter drivers and their practice. These are: 1) the planning Department for Traffic and Roads and its political leadership, 2) the police, 3) educational systems such as schools, the Auto-College and the youth club, 4) families/ parents of the scooter drivers, 5) scooter dealers, and 6) residents of the city of Aalborg who are mostly not scooter drivers.

These actors were identified by the researcher during the case study on scooter drivers in Aalborg. The different respondents interviewed and discussed with have partially different views about who are the main actors for this mobile practice. Certainly the conflict loaded dispute influences this portrayal of actors and the different participants involved in the study gave other actors they identified different statuses based on authority and active influence on the mobile practice.

Interestingly the respondents of the study do not identify the planning level as an active and involved institution within the scooter driving dispute in the sense of having an obvious impact on the mobile practice. The Department for Traffic and Roads, as the responsible planning department, is quite inactive concerning the scooter driving practice and furthermore other actors do not expect action from that planning level either. It appears to be an exclusion of that level within the scooter driving practice from both sides so to say. The exclusion of the planning department as an actor with impact for this mobile practice is presented by the following statements of the respondents who mention their view on who is influencing and can wield authority regarding the scooter driving practice.

Mariann Nørgaard, the counsellor and political leader of the Department for Traffic and Roads, refers to the 'law-makers' if an issue is concerned with the traffic laws and environmental regulations. In her

opinion, the police are the main responsible to control adherence of the laws in public and the parents are responsible for education in the private sphere.

"And of course it is the police […] they are responsible when people don't maintain the law." (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)

"But again it's the law-makers who have to make the decisions." (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)

"All in all it's, the parents have a big responsibility concerning their kids and their behaviour and the way they use the scooter." (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)

Jens Gjødsbøl, the Auto-College director identifies the police, the scooter dealers and the parents as authorities within this mobile practice:

"Well, of course, the main would be the police and of course the dealers selling the product. They should be, I don't know how the rules are today but I think they are , there must be some grey areas because that was what we experienced. They of course have a responsibility as well. I don't know if you have anyone else that [has] the authority to do something? Those would be the two main once. Of course you have the parents" (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)

Claus Serup, a police officer from the traffic department of Aalborg police, represents a quite broad picture of influencing actors such as the residents complaining, schools asking for controls, parents feeling helpless, dealers selling illegal scooters and the media creating pressure on the police as the executive power. The planning level appears to be marginal and only acts as a framework for action, namely prosecution of scooter drivers by the police.

"[M]ost of the time the school inspector, the headmaster is also … is many times who has contacted us. Because he wanted us to come to make a control and inspection at his school." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

The planners seem to be not identified as actors being powerful or authorised in the scooter driving dispute. "They've got a lot of complaints as well, but since they have got no means of controlling anything they take that kind of communication to us and say: Could you please do something about it?" (Interview, Serup, 2009) says the police officer interviewed. In regards to the media he is illustrating:

Serup (S): But the press has got a big part of it. […] Because every time the media is starting, every spring or summer, to write about this… the leaders of our police pressings has

to and wants to do something about it, so they get back to us and say: Now you have to get out and control…

Interviewer (I): So it's a pressure through the media.

S: Yes, very much. (Interview, Serup, 2009)

Jens Amtoft-Christensen, the caretaker of the youth club communicated a strong focus on the parents. He takes a quite pedagogic role and sees himself in a network position between schools, youth clubs, police, parents and the teenagers (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009). The SSP-network mentioned by the police is standing for cooperative work between school, society and police and reflects this kind of approach (Interview, Serup, 2009).

The scooter drivers themselves, in this study the youth of the mobile practice, identify by far the police as the main authority. Parents or adults all in all are experienced as rarely interested in their scooter driving practice (of their children). The diverse web pages concerning this practice function as a space for information, communication and representation, and seem to have an influencing power on the actions of scooter drivers.

It becomes obvious that the general actor for most is clearly the police. The parents follow with to some extent being held responsible; especially for the youth. Norm structures for right behaviour and surveillance are in the foreground than underlying policies. It becomes obvious that the structuration of the scooter driving behaviour is more influenced by various private norms or the supervisory police body than the planning level. The next section is addressing this normative confused space.

4.4.3   Confused normative space

Different actors produce, mediate or even deform norms for the scooter driving practice. Beyond the formal traffic laws, private norms created in families, web based 'rule-making' or socialization processes on scootergalleri.dk for example form a frame for orientation and restriction. So called 'free-zones' in the youth clubs (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009) or technical courses about chips for tuning at the Auto-College (Brink Iwersen, 2010) create additional normative structures or influence given norms at least. As a consequence of such various and ambivalent norm structures, the existing traffic laws are partially violated without being consciously aware of having committed a wrong behaviour. The laws or formal norm systems aren't accepted, being called 'stupid law' they lose their power, as the following two quotes illustrate:

> *"I think, […] one of the main, and that is overall you could say, one of the main problems I find is that if you have a law you have to be able to enforce it. If you make laws and you don't actually have the resources to enforce it will become what people will think as a 'stupid law' because there are no consequences." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

> *"[Y]ou have to be able to enforce the law and you have to be able to put that much pressure on the parents so they wouldn't allow it. You could actually, they are not adults yet, not 18; so you could actually if your son or daughter does something illegally regarding this, you might hit the parents somehow with kind of consequences. And that is one of the main problems that … you see it in the society in general: they drink earlier, they have sex earlier, they drive scooters earlier. We have a lot of youngsters driving cars before they're 18." (Interview, Gjødsbøl, 2010)*

The last statement is concerned with the individual family norms and parental influence as well which is a difficult sphere to control. The private sphere and decisions are often put under the right for privacy and can't be attacked even though they seem to confuse a clear understanding of normative behaviour regarding scooter drivers. Overall in mobilities the freedom of choice is attached to the right of the individual in their self-determination. This form of neo-liberal attitude was represented by the counsellor in this research.

The estimation from the youth itself is quite simple:

> *"They are saying there shouldn't be any rules at all. … and if there should be then it was us who is driving the scooters to make the rules." (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)*

The young scooter drivers weren't so conscious about their confusion. Nevertheless, they communicated a problem of belonging or identification more in between the lines so to say with struggling about being part of the bicycle or car system, with being one of the bad or good scooter drivers. The next statement presents an opinion about their own process of reaction towards norms that reflects the aspect of getting a kick out of violating the law and is probably more present within the youth than other age groups. One focus group participant explains the expected course of action:

> *"I think the smartest thing the police, the politicians can do is saying that we can go as fast as we can and then I think they will go 6 months and then people don't will go fast anymore because it's legal and so it isn't fun." (Focus group II, Auto-College, 2010)*

4.3.4   Ambivalences as consequences

Car ← Scooter → Bicycle

After this description of a normative, diverse and even confusing space for the scooter driving practice it can be understood that ambivalences occur. Ambivalences regarding this mobile practice were presented already earlier. One example is the aspect of the institutional level framing this mobile practice. The physical infrastructure for scooters is a split infrastructure related to split speed limits and different types of scooters with different requirements. These formal regulations are rarely adhered to by the scooter drivers as represented in the storylines. The planning objectives are becoming to some extent obsolete because the everyday life performance just contradicts these policies. This is a more structural ambivalence that certainly influences personal conditions.

With regards to behavioural norms, ambivalent conditions become clear and are revealed as well which the next statements exemplify. In short the statements will describe the condition of arguing at the same time for offering more freedom and trust in the youth handling this mobile practice on the one hand and intensified surveillance of scooter drivers on the other hand. The youth club for example is presented as 'free zone' for the youth where they can ask questions, try things and develop own opinions. This is a quite pedagogic view on youth advocated by the caretaker and partially by the counsellor as well. In contrast more control is postulated to make them understand and obey rules by the police. Clear enforcement of laws is claimed. In between in the private sphere families create different normative ideas additionally. Altogether this could result in a quite confused and ambivalent picture for the scooter drivers that try to make sense to their own action. This reflects the character of the normative interfaces for this mobile practice.

Free room ← individual and private norm system → more control

The caretaker from the youth club identifies himself as a kind of 'lawyer' for the youth. He illustrates the problem of stereotyping concerning scooter drivers and defends the young drivers:

> *"[S]ometimes there is a problem in this town because you know when we have a lot of scooter drivers they are driving up and down and up and down. So everyone in this town knows me and they are calling me and [say] 'can you do anything about these scooters?' I think in many ways I am kind of a lawyer for the youngsters because when I get a phone call like this I say 'hey, stop'. They have to focus on two or three scooters that are illegal and the rest they are old enough, wearing helmet, they can drive up and down all day long if they want. … it's quite difficult." (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

Moreover he tells a story about his experiences with surveillance of the scooter driving practice and how he estimates the youth club as a 'free space' for the members; a space where they can't be controlled or caught:

> *"I can tell you a funny example that maybe its 4, 5 years ago. One evening I was coming and by opening. And then there was a car parked outside here. I didn't knew it but there was a police officer in the car and he was with a camera and when the youngsters came without helmet for example he was taking pictures and then 15 minutes later he was coming into the club and said 'I need to talk to you and you and you. I have pictures you are driving without helmet. I got it on my camera'. And I got very angry with him! And he, the police officer couldn't understand why I was angry. And I said 'hey, you have to understand. This place here is the young people's free room. And you can't use my free room, the young people's free room as a mouse trap. It's not ok.' So I got extremely angry and he got extremely angry. And me and him were yelling at each other and the youngsters were standing there and said 'hey, what's going on?' and then I called the headmaster of the police. And I told him 'hey we got a problem. I would like to work together with you. You can come and show the youngsters and show them pictures and all that stuff.' […] But stop this. I don't know what he told his colleagues but they haven't been here doing this stuff since. So in a way it's working." (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

The next quote will illustrate the aspect of creating own rules and norms for the scooter driving practice that are mostly family based:

> *"I also think, if you are driving a scooter and you are not 16 then I also think it could be a good idea to give the parents a fine, a very big fine, because it's their responsibility and I mean it's very, very special with scooters – we don't see any kids driving around normally in cars when they are 17. But it's quite normal to drive scooters when you 15. Why? It's very interesting. I can't explain it. […] also a lot of parents have a story to tell by themselves: 'I also first start driving when I was 15'. My father said it was ok so 'here, my son, you can drive… just look, watch out for the police.' […] But it's a bit crazy because […] it's very, very easy to see how the rules are: you have to be 16, you have … but here we have, you could say it is ok to make your own rules. […] It's: You are ready for driving a scooter when your parents think you are ready. But the rule says something else …" (Interview, Amtoft-Christensen, 2009)*

The actor being most often in first-hand contact with the scooter drivers, the police, claim to need more manpower and overall to organize the control of scooter driving in different steps; to have a preventive role as well as an intensified prosecution of the ones breaking the law.

"One person or one department cannot change anything. To really make a difference you have to put a lot of control efforts into it. You have to start with a school; they have to put into the minds of the young boys that it's not wise to do this. And they have to do it on a level that they have no manpower for. And that's the preventive part of it. And then when they are still doing it, and then you have a lot of more, a lot more control for the police to be able to catch them and really make an impression on them that it's not ok and you will get caught. If there's no eminent danger of getting caught then you keep on doing it. And then there's this environmental part of it as well." (Interview, Serup, 2009)

This opinion to improve the conditions around scooter driving on different levels reflects more complexity than the opinion by the political level represented with the following to quotes:

"They make too many rules. […] Because you can't handle it. You also have to have a system that can be handled by the police who has the problem in the end. " (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)

"You shouldn't make laws for anything. Make something that is easy to look through for everybody. " (Interview, Nørgaard, 2010)

The political level seems to be confused by all the different laws and norms concerning scooters. The last two statements point out the wish for simplification and to create a transparent structure for everybody. Furthermore the dominant role of the police is repeated who should be responsible for implementation and abidance.

It could be assumed that more transparency in the sense of communicating more clearly the coherencies would put the scooter on the planning agenda. However that would reveal the embedded character of the mobile practice too and could result in shifts of structuration for other mobile practices. Whether these interrelated conditions become obvious, the alteration of dominant mobility systems such as the one of the car-culture is questionable. The scooter driving practice reflects quite typical car-culture related issues and clarifies the dominance of such preferences within the mobile culture.

4.4.4 Different mobilities approaches

The analysis reflects the different mobilities approaches attached to the storylines revealed. They explain and exemplify ambivalences and coping with such ambivalences in mobilities. The approaches differ in their balance of the different mobilities dimensions that contain different meanings and values attached and even different normative structures in some cases.

The storyline 1 representing the policy level is mainly arguing with knowledge based on the material dimension. Quantifiable data such as the trivial amount of scooters in the modal split is represented and used as main argument for marginal status and attention for this mobile practice. Scooters are not an issue and don't really appear on any dimension as something to deal with. On the representative dimension other mobile ideals such as Aalborg as bicycle city are put up front and frame a mobile approach that just ignores scooters in their presence. Overall politically there is a neo-liberal free-choice attitude formulated that ignores to an extant a normative standpoint towards mobilities.

The storyline 2 concerned with traffic safety is representing one of the most profound mobilities approaches in comparison to the other storylines. Different actors, different dimensions and different coping strategies for conflicts in mobilities are acknowledged and addressed. Information systems such as sikkertrafik.dk offer an overview and help. The webpage reflects the interrelated character of the scooter driving practice. All three dimensions are recognized with a slightly focus on the material dimension concerning the communication of knowledge and data.

The storyline 3 reflects dominance of the experience and representative dimension. The material dimension could be used to balance the produced and reproduced negative stereotypes of scooter drivers with relating the negative behaviour to only a small percentage of drivers. However, the negative terminology and symbolic meanings are used to maintain a rejection of this mobile group overall. This mobilities approach is representing the social space produced via mobilities and how such space can intensify inequalities and social degradation.

The storyline 4 represents the young scooter drivers' perspective. They certainly relate to all three dimensions because these are interrelated and contextualise the mobile practice. The experience and representative dimension are especially crucial for their identification with being a scooter driver. That is in particular in focus because of their negative framing from an outside perspective on the mobile practice. A simple belonging is difficult based on a normative confused space through the negative stereotypes, the split policies and private family rules. Their mobilities approach is ambivalent and torn between common values in mobilities such as freedom and independence and being controlled and rejected as bad mobile subjects.

The confusing and ambivalent part about scooter drivers/driving is the aspect that they disrupt the 'white-washing' of mobilities (Kaufmann et al., 2008). The scooter driving practice represents both, the danger and the excitement about mobility, the aspect of associated freedom and the issue of surveillance of movement. People can understand and relate to the desire for speed and freedom attached to mobilities. The dominant car culture was illustrated by different actors and different attributes throughout the research. Overall the aspect and aim to be mobile is beyond all questions. But there are some more dominant and accepted forms of mobility than others. The right to be mobile

is constrained by various factors. The case study revealed some explicitly concerned with scooter driving. Beyond that bigger discourses such as the ones around the car-culture became once again emphasized.

The critical point is concerned with a moral discussion in mobilities that is touched upon due to a more profound involvement with this mobile practice. The scooter driving practice becomes a moral dilemma in a way; arguing with (typical) traffic planning terminologies and beliefs such as the pace of the car traffic, to keep the traffic flow steady would translate into high speed in the scooter driving practice. This would be too dangerous for the quite young users of this mobile practice and ethically not justifiable. The systems of the other road users or traffic participants seem to remain untouched in their structuration (car drivers, bicyclists) when discussing the role of the scooter driving practice. That the scooters don't fit in was represented from different perspective but it is maintained as well. It is about an interaction of the road users and their infrastructure systems, their paces, their paths, their values and meanings attached to their mobile behaviour. Whether a solution is wanted or not; the aspect of interrelation reflects a tipping point for changes in mobilities. The car-culture dominates these processes of 'bargaining' about development and planning. Therefore this rather ambivalent and split condition on various levels concerning the scooter driving practice seems to be maintained.

5   Conclusions

This study approached the topic of ambivalent mobilities with a specific interest in normativity based on the case of scooter driving in Aalborg. The aim was to reach a deep mobilities understanding and to reveal the underlying factors for ambivalent conditions. This is achieved with the case study on scooter driving as an interesting case in itself that offered an important focus on normativity in mobilities. But it also served as an appropriate example for revealing overall mobilities dimensions and some common powerful values attributed to mobilities that create a steady mobilities demand in Danish mobile culture generally speaking as well as reflected in the mobilities literature discussed in the theory section of this report.

The different storylines analysed and presented in this study reflect the varied balance and dominance of the different mobilities dimensions. The different combinations of and focuses on the dimensions in each storyline form mobilities approaches and perceptions that can be contradictory and ambivalent. This is based on the different values and arguments used and formed in the mobilities dimensions: namely in the material, experience and representative dimension. The material dimension represents knowledge in the form of facts based on observed and quantifiable data. The experience dimension with a subjective character is most often based on emotions and feelings witnessed or expected by an individual. The representative dimension reflects the desires and (moral) standards to obtain or to comply in mobilities. All these three dimensions create normative structures based on their attributed values which will be explained below when answering the research questions. Furthermore it reflects the strong influence of everyday life experience and structures that determines mobile action and perception. The attributed values to mobilities such as individuality, independence, freedom or social status to mention some are present in the scooter driving practice as well.

Subsequently the main findings of this study will be presented in relation to the four research questions that structured this inquiry.

1. Which norms of mobility are in operation within the scooter driving practice?

The case study revealed the complexity in mobilities which is reflected in its normativity as well. It became obvious that the formal norms and laws are functioning weakly as structural power, instead the private and informal norms or rules of everyday life and the rather elusive ideals or symbols assigned to mobilities exercise power over mobile action and attitude.

Moreover the case of scooter driving in Aalborg is especially interesting because there are no explicit policies for this mobile practice and it is partially appended to the mobile practice of bicycling. Different regulations and requirements exist though, however they aren't unified and are not necessarily adhered to or shaped in a subjective manner.

The current regulations separate the scooter driving practice, its users, the infrastructure and types of vehicles based on following issues: There are technically two types of scooters separated through their speed limits, their registration, the requirements, such as age and driver's licence and their ascribed infrastructure; on the one hand on the bicycle paths and on the other hand on the street within the motorised traffic. The scooters driving 30km/h are framed as bicycles and policies should be used alike. The scooters with 45km/h are not attached to any policy. However, next to these regulations additional former (non-)regulations are prevalent as well such as no licence plate for scooters before the year 2003 or driving a scooter at 30km/h without any driver's licence when being 18 years old. The mentioned renewals aim at even more segmentation with calling for younger age for the driver's licence and further nuances in the speed limit regulations. All these regulations are predominantly concerned with the material dimension in mobilities. Through this division of the practice various normative perceptions of behaviour are produced.

The normativity is not necessarily strict or clear and reflects a weak acceptance with its permeability. Although the scooter driving practice is less represented than other mobile practices in Aalborg, it needs to be framed according to its performance in everyday life. While this mobile practice continues to be ignored by planning processes, the gap between policy level and everyday life – and between the planners and the scooter drivers - will be maintained and will increase these ambivalent conditions. In this case structural ambivalence is produced, working with regulations and values attached to other means of transportation such as car and bicycle system. This means that conflicts most likely occur within the daily city traffic between car drivers, bicyclists and scooter drivers; in the physical and social spaces.

2. Which norms are created within the everyday life of the scooter drivers?

Formal norms and laws do not unfold so powerfully but instead private, everyday life structures and norms influence the mobile practice of scooter driving immensely. They originate from the private sphere, based for example on family rules or group belonging, from societal stereotypes, through educational institutions like the youth club and school or via internet based platforms such as chat rooms or web pages. This leads to an ambiguous normative space that creates for many scooter drivers a split identity between law-breaker and mobile ideal, a split practice between bicycle and car, and certainly split norms that seem to be in constant deformation and formation according to requirements. By requirements, I don't necessarily mean formal regulations and laws. This can also refer to norms and attributed values of mobilities held more broadly in society, which can also create

demand or pressures. Social statuses attached to mobilities standards such as being an individual, self-determined mobile person in society or being one of the fastest and coolest scooter drivers within a group of friends can be more determining of identity than traffic regulations.

Norms within the scooter driving practice were investigated with the focus on the youth. Certainly this age group has some influence on values and meanings and furthermore on norms created and accepted in this phase of life. Statuses, roles and group pressures are influencing the young scooter drivers. Competition is for some another determining aspect for identification processes. Examples for achieving a status or maintaining a role in a group of scooter drivers would be the different types of scooters such as the prestigious PGO for example, the tuning of scooters to reach a higher speed, aspects of socializing such as being able to drive friends around on the backseat and the adrenalin when violating the laws or just through the high speed itself. Emotions experienced and representation through behaviour are dominating this age group and their performing of the mobile practice. More objective reasons are also prevalent such as time saving, flexibility and independence on other schedules such as public transport or the parents transporting them. Norms are most often created within the groups of practitioners of this mobile practice and are not necessarily affected by rather formal norms concerning traffic regulations. However they mirror norms present in mobilities based on attributed values targeted such as prestige, social acknowledgement or individuality.

The scooter drivers are torn between striving for common mobile ideals and being judged and restricted in their practice, so that they are continuously balancing ambivalent conditions.

3. What is the normative interface like and what is mediated by whom?

The interface between the everyday life of scooter drivers and the policy level is the space where most interactions take place. The storylines 2 and 3 concerned with traffic safety and the negative framing of scooter driving on societal level reflect actors involved, opinions formed, action and reactions towards scooter driving as mobile practice. Different norms are produced and persecuted as well as roles of authority are allocated that influence the mediation of norms. Individual personal opinions, broader societal morals, and formal laws concerned scooter driving meet and don't adjust in same directions. The portrayal of some young scooter drivers as criminals is most likely not appraised as such by their parents. Individual regulations within families for example are formulated that act more on a confidential level. Public and private spheres get mixed and reproaches concerning responsibilities are assigned between actors. On the one hand more freedom and trust in the youth performing this mobile practice and on the other hand intensified surveillance and consequences are advocated. The executive power presented by the police is identified and accepted as the categorical authority for this mobile practice. This authority is persecuting in principle the formal norms and laws

but based on their weak influence; societal pressure has quite a bearing on the handling of scooter driving. Altogether conditions are formed that represent an immature mobile group that needs to be controlled and educated.

The interface offered a contextual view on conditions around scooter driving. These conditions are in a way alarming because mobility is used as social positioning and in this case a picture of a negative mobile subject is created. Scooter drivers are used as metaphor for representing a type of misbehaving mobile person.

4. Which normative standpoint is to be taken in planning to cope with ambivalent mobilities?

This case study on scooter driving revealed a weak representation of planning. Not only the fact that there are no specific policies concerning the scooter driving practice or more attention is given to this means of transportation, planners are not identified as an authority to influence the conditions around scooter driving in Aalborg. This situation would be one of the crucial conditions to be changed if planning should have more influence on the normative standpoint for the mobile practice of scooter driving. Planners and their institutions should be a supportive force and expertise to enable proper development and help in conflicting conditions. They should be identifiable as actors and offer communication instead of having the police as the main actor that represents primarily control. The present surveillance of this mobile practice contradicts the ascribed meaning of freedom to this means of transportation and represents again the strong values associated with being mobile and the differing reality.

Next to this identification of planning as a duty for the mobile practice, planners should reflect on ambivalent conditions in mobilities. It is not about having one clear standpoint towards ambivalent mobilities, instead it's about the awareness of ambivalent mobilities. If a deep understanding of mobilities is aimed at, the focus on ambivalent mobilities could be used as a means to an end so to speak. They mirror competing attributes in mobilities that could be emotions, norms and social standards attached to mobilities. These reveal conflicts in different forms and on different scales, inequalities can be revealed and mobility standards are getting obvious that dominate development such as revealed in this case study. These young scooter drivers just aim at the same principle of mobility as liberty and associations with speed and independence as many others do and scooter drivers partially perform that dream. This action with its negative associations attached becomes a problem and reveals the restrictions in mobilities. Social inequalities and degradation are created via mobilities.

But these standards are not achievable by all people and some are illusionary. This leads to one of the main issues, namely the strong perception of mobility as something unquestionably positive. This connotation of mobilities has to be changed if the steady demand and even pressure to be mobile is to be altered. Awareness of the inequalities and consequences of such a 'blind' demand has to be communicated and involved in planning practice. This so-called 'white-washing' of mobilities reinforces ambivalences. Already on the national planning level, as introduced in the beginning of this report, the strong associations to mobilities in the form of competitiveness and economic growth create a necessary demand. The case study on scooter driving highlights the strong attachment of freedom to mobilities on a personal level as reported by all actors involved.

The three-dimensional mobilities approach of this study revealed clearly the dominance in influence of the experience and representative dimension in mobilities such as exemplified above. If it is aimed at to change mobile behaviours and the perception of the meaning of being mobile, the interrelation of all dimensions should be considered in planning. Certainly the planning process unfolds differently if it is dealing with emotions, social status and ideals. To influence feelings and values attached to mobilities is challenging and even more to state a normative judgement. However with identifying the underlying values behind mobilities push and pull factors to persuade people to act in a specific manner can be used rather strategically in planning.

A normative standpoint is needed from the planning perspective that at least offers reflection and transparency concerning the consequences of such positive connotations of mobilities. Mobilities can be certainly positive but likewise negative as well such as the social degradation of scooter drivers exemplified. An illumining role of planners is addressed. The research reflects the need to deal with rather elusive attributes in mobilities that have powerful influence. Therefore planning with and for mobilities is not only about the physical infrastructure, the access to this infrastructure and the regulations on behaviour throughout the infrastructure system, planning concerning mobilities is about visions, ideals, meanings attached and values produced that have to be communicated, critically reflected and formed. Standards for mobilities develop from the physical and the social space. However some visions and objectives produced in planning are not the same visions or in the same sense meaningful for people in their everyday life. Gaps exist and are created such as in the case of scooter driving in Aalborg.

6   Discussion and reflections

This section of the report will elaborate on a few issues touched upon during the research. The discussion of specific topics should demonstrate further reflections and additional thoughts that couldn't be investigated in depths but are relevant for the study and reflect the contextual framing of this research. The main focus will be on the mobility turn with a critical reflection on analytical debates concerning new forms of approaching and understanding mobilities. Given the fact that this study just exactly aimed at a comprehensive mobilities understanding, theories used will be discussed concerning their dispute around ambivalent mobilities. Beyond the explicit subject focus youth and the role of the planner will be reconsidered.

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6.1   Critical reflections on the mobility turn

The so called mobility turn describes the shift in dealing with mobilities, in investigating and theorizing not only the physical dimensions, instead to reveal and discuss the social dimensions and spaces formed with and through mobilities. More profound and interdisciplinary approaches to mobilities exist meanwhile as presented in the theory section of this report (compare i.e. Urry, 2008; Sheller, 2008, Cresswell, 2008; Canzler et al., 2008) and ongoing research and theorizing reflects the continuously arising questions and interests in this complex field of mobilities. This study just adds to this interest and aim to understand and explain mobilities more profound.

Implicit ambivalences

Having conducted this research, ambivalent mobilities are obviously a prevalent condition in mobilities. With a critical reflection on the academic debate around mobilities I was missing to some extent a concrete controversy with this circumstance and experienced the debate around ambivalences rather implicit. There are certainly some theorists that point out ambivalent mobilities such as Sven Kesselring for example. He is describing quite detailed the different handling of structural ambivalences in mobility concepts in relation to modernity. He developed a typology of modernity, namely first-, first/second and second-modernity and each of these concepts contain different approaches and characteristics (compare: Kesselring, 2008: 95). But other explicit research interests such as inequalities by Mimi Scheller (2008) for example point in directions towards ambivalences in mobilities as well as the mentioned reverse effect and interplay of mobility and immobility explaining given conditions of mobilities (Canzler et al., 2008). The 'mobility of standards' introduced by Kaufmann (2008) points towards reasons for the emergence of ambivalences based on the creation of a necessity to be mobile with the attachment of such standards to social statuses.

Benefits through motility?

However, more dominant was the aspect of revealing the multi-dimensionality of mobilities that is realized in theories as well as the inequalities of mobilities that result from differently distributed abilities and potentials to have access socially and physically to mobilities. Moreover the aspect of motility was discussed and presented as mediator or coping strategy for individuals to react on the pressure to be mobile (Sheller, 2008). Kaufmann and Montulet (2008) discuss motility as capital, such as economic or social capital, that can be owned differently. Motility seems to be a management or coping strategy on personal level but can be difficult for a societal level and explicitly for the planning processes. Even though planning is always concerned with potentials but how to plan with and for motility that goes beyond the physical and actual performed mobilities? What would be equitable and how to offer or maintain such potential for people? Based on the fact that motility is formed and used via the multiple dimensions in mobilities, it could be difficult to reveal these diverse motilities of

individuals. It appeared to me as if the theoretical debate or use of motility seems to be in a nearly exclusively positive realm. Interestingly that repeats the critical aspect of mobility as something exclusively positive discussed in theories and in this study. I am critical if there is enough reflection on this potential to be mobile. Beyond that, such an imagined mobility can be part of maintaining ambivalences in mobilities as well. How much change and balance can take place in social contexts if people imagine being freed, sexy, successful and connected? Such as the quote from Bergmann (2008: 21) critically points out: "*Our body becomes more and more a passive non-moving container, which is transported by artefact or loaded up with inner feelings of being mobile in the so-called information society*". To investigate the aspect of motility critically would be something to point out for future research and for theorists to reflect on.

Coping with ambivalences

Certainly different forms of ambivalences exist. There are rather structural ambivalences such as build into institutional settings or created with societal ideals for example and more personal ones based on individual values and preferences for example. Certainly these are interrelated as revealed in the case study. Different coping strategies were mentioned by Kesselring such as one-best-way solutions, suboptimal solutions or acceptance of presence of structural ambivalences. Relating the discussion around coping strategies towards the everyday life the pictures could shift. It is questionable if most individuals could live in an ongoing ambivalent condition; at least not consciously I assume. Therefore arguments are formed and norms produced to explain and get help for decisions. Certainly best-way solutions would be favoured but most likely not always achievable. The study revealed the use of motility by participants of the research who associated positive attributes with being mobile and having potentially the option to achieve those as discussed in theoretical concern above. Moreover physical and social separation and exclusion processes to avoid ambivalences were predominant. Negative consequences from such coping strategies were revealed as well, namely negative stereotyping and social degradation processes.

Roles of Planners

This case study revealed a need to reflect on the role of the planner. It was quite obvious that the planning department concerned with the mobile practice wasn't present as an institution involved in the dispute around scooter driving. The conclusion discussed already the initial need to change such circumstance if planners would like to have an influence and understanding about scooter drivers. The normative discussion and confusion is maintained by inaction of the planning responsible.

To avoid or at least to react on negative processes of social exclusion described above planning should offer help with information, networking of actors and institutional space. Especially the interface of everyday life and policy level should be addressed based on the encounter of different

societal groups and the level of interaction. Gender studies might be a field for inspiration of theoretical discussions that addresses already the interfaces of actors and institutions more explicitly. Other examples could be a support of given social institutions such as youth clubs or the SSP-network (society, school and police). This is often organized via financial support but should be communicated in neighbourhoods as well. This process of mediation might help to work against negative stereotyping and offers contact points for residents to communicate their needs and problems. However, as long as the planner is not willing to involve more actively the conditions might just maintain.

However, it is not about having unified values and meanings, but to know and investigate the prevalent dominant ideals in mobilities of everyday life, to consider and reflect on them critically. What would be the yardstick for a planner to measure the conditions against to? Most likely there is not one answer but based on this study the underlying dominant scales became obvious, namely the omnipresent and dominant car culture. To take these underlying forces seriously and to identify their interrelations would be one starting point and could bring quite some effect. The more stories are told and how they are told might influence experts and individuals to start to shift or at least to reflect on own mobilities.

Youth in planning

The focus within the mobile practice of scooter driving was on the youth based on the clear presentation as negative and problematic within the mobile practice. General speaking, the youth is a rather complicated or extreme group of people. It is a phase in life where this age group is testing former norms such as family rules and is confronted with more societal spheres and other norm structures or lifestyles different to what they know or learned about. That results in new orientations, own identification processes and most likely in conflicts in the personal and social sphere as well. Politically though, they are not so powerful and easier to criticize based on being in this transition zone so to speak. Youth is often judged and stereotyped in a whole, but actually contains several groups and is quite diverse based on the actions of reorientation. Describing the youth as a condition in life where old structures are questioned, changed, deformed or ignored and new structures and opinions are available and form, it can be an ambivalent phase. Moreover it is always a context dependent process and thus reveals current conditions. This is linking again to the findings and arguments of the conclusion, as a planer to focus and use the opportunity to identify and work with revealed dominant or suppressed conditions that become obvious in ambivalent relations. The context dependency relates to having investigated a Danish case and Danish youth.

The previous reflections relate to thoughts concerned youth overall. Concerned the Danish youth in Aalborg explicitly could be added that the participants of the study presented young people growing up in an urban context in the western world, economically quite stable and have rather easy access to

non-essentials such as alcohol or tobacco or other aspects of adulthood. Some interviewees of the study represented their estimation concerned with youth development and two main opinions could be stated: 1) more trust and autonomy for the youth, resulting in more self responsibility and 2) doubts and critical opinions about early start of youth and being not mature enough for their actions and wishes. The scooter drivers act alike other teenagers but based on their mobile practice and with its negative associations attached, they become sub-grouped in the Danish youth culture as revealed in this case study.

7   Outlook

This chapter will expose topics that would be interesting and relevant for further inquiries concerning this study. The research proposals are partially referring to the explicit case study and its result of this research but additionally rather comprehensive research interests will be presented concerned with mobilities. Therefore this chapter will expose research proposals for: 1) virtual space, its use and impact on social and physical space, 2) 'activating/stimulating planning', (new) forms of participation and involvement of residents (especially youth) and 3) to draw international comparison and to learn from other examples coping with scooter driving in the traffic system and to identify possible cultural differences in mobilities that assumable influence action and values concerning mobilities. Finally 4) as a more general and comprehensive interest time research is mentioned. This broad and interdisciplinary field is definitely connected to and should be part of mobilities inquiries.

7.1 Advancement and additional research

This research revealed nicely the different mobilities dimensions. Social, physical and virtual space is determining in the case of scooter driving. To investigate the virtual space of the various web pages concerning scooter driving such as scootergaleri.dk for example, would be an interesting extension to this study. As this inquiry represented, socializing and identification processes can be strongly related to such virtual spaces and its users. Norms, values and ideals are produced that influence social and physical spaces as well. Language and terminology is developed, stories are told, identities and feelings of belonging become created and (virtual) realities form. However, these identities can be performed in the non-virtual space or presented at least by individuals. What is the specific impact of such mobilities on social and physical space? What are advantages and disadvantages of an increase in virtual space use and creation? What are normative structures like in such spaces and are inequalities in mobilities less present? What can be learned from virtual relations and which kind of mobile subject develop from such processes?

In addition to the virtual space and its mobilities and the close relation to the youth as one of the major users, another research interest is formed. How to interact and stimulate interest in planning processes to work against inequalities, stereotyping and political abilities in societies. These aims are no novelty but their contexts are shifting. This young generation of mobile actors is used to or growing up with different opportunities and mobilities surrounding them than decades ago for example. A lot of mobile devices such as mobile phone, portable computers, current youth language and terminology, the use of and knowledge via the World Wide Web to mention some, are part of everyday life patterns for many. Is planning in its implementation processes updated with these current developments? There is certainly a theoretical discussion taking place that investigates, reflects and explains contemporary mobilities, but how much theoretical knowledge or ideas for measures infiltrate the daily planning practice? The previous discussion and interest in investigating the aspect of motility could be joined with this research interest in planning measures, tools and participative processes.

For inspiration and learning purposes international studies in comparison could be interesting. Cultural contexts in mobilities are assumed that most likely influence mobile action and perceptions. Moreover explicit planning measures and policies for scooter driving would be an issue to investigate and relate these to their explicit physical and social contexts.

Concerned with mobilities research overall I would like to underline the interest in time research. Some first personal thoughts concerning time would be: Time as a determining factor in planning such as time is build in structures or structures build time like planning documents and their validity and evaluation phases, time as a personal value, 'time is money', clock-time or time as an elusive aspect in life formed and fixed differently by various people. Some examples for time research would be

Hägerstrand and the Lund School in general. Hägerstrand's time geography deals with dynamic maps of everyday life patterns and actions for example. Furthermore Parkes and Thrift (1980) could be named who deal with a chronogeographic approach, meaning they are interested in the coherencies of a person's knowledge in relation to his/her time perception. Time sovereignty is an issue addressed that relates to 'timer' such as shop opening times or calendars and bus schedules and 'time-receiver' such as any individual confronted with space-time structures. Planning should support a balanced relation to react on consequences such as health issues (stress), uneven access (inequalities) or ethical and moral questions (who is structuring?). Parkes and Thrift reveal different constraints such as capability, coupling and authority constraints that have different determining and restricting influence on action in space-time structures. Overall the processes of *timing space and spacing time* (Parkes and Thrift, 1975) and the theoretical reflections on such processes in time research seem to be quite appropriate for and similar to mobilities research. Terminologies and interrelations are used and realized that reflect a profound and complex approach. This short description reveals already the near connection to mobilities research and it would be interesting to invest more current time research and to join these disciplines for synergy effects. In short research interest is formulated for:

- Investigating virtual spaces and socializing processes and their impact on mobilities

- Mobilities planning in theory and practice – possible new measures and tools; aspect of motility

- International studies – scooter driving in different cultural contexts

- Time research – as comprehensive and interrelated research field

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Appendices

The appendices of this report include following material: 1) the interview guides of the expert interviews, 2) the focus group discussion guides, 3) the form sheet for additional context data in the focus group discussion, the questionnaire used in the pilot phase and the form sheet with supplementing observation categories and 4) the overview of the document studies. The transcriptions of the interviews and focus group discussions, observation results as well as the filled form sheets and questionnaires with context information can be found on the enclosed CD. Due to reasons of anonymity of the participants of this study the sound files are excluded but could be requested on demand. It should be noted that the methodological material presented was conducted and used in English. Based on the fact that this study is realised in a Danish context and with Danish participants some language difficulties and translation processes influence the use of the material and implementation as described in chapter 3.5 concerning methodological reflections.

Appendix A Interview guides for expert interviews

Counsellor at the Technical and Environmental Department of Aalborg

About the interviewee

- Name, sex, age, status, children
- Position as counsellor → main tasks

- What is your first thought in mind when you think about scooter driving?
- Did you drive a scooter yourself once?
- What is your most frequently used means of transportation?

Scooter driving as a fact

- What is in your opinion is the status/the position scooter driving takes in the transport system and overall in the planned urban region of Aalborg municipality?
[- Which political domains are affected by the scooter driving practice?]

- By whom and which information infiltrate into the decision making process regarding scooter driving?

(Based on no specific policies in use)
- Is there any guiding principle to relate to when handling the scooter driving practice?
- What would be a proper form of mobility?

Experiencing scooter driving

- How do you experience scooter driving on such political level?
- How do you communicate the issue of scooter driving in the technical and environmental department? (Role of the media?)

[- To what extent do you influence or intervene with the operating/ planning process concerned with scooter driving on the counsellor level? (As counsellor/Venstre-member?)]

- Which type of people/societal groups do you relate to this mobile practice?

- What do you think is their motivation to choose this mobile practice?

Picture of scooter driving

- Is there a specific image (and/or stereotypes) related to scooter driving? If yes, which?

- By whom and how are such pictures created?

- Do you agree with it/them?

- Does such image/s influence the political level?

- What does it mean for the scooter drivers themselves?

Demand for renewals

 [Based on press articles Venstre claims renewals]

- Could you elaborate a bit about your opinion why renewals are necessary within this mobile practice?

- Do you have any explanation why this conflict loaded dispute is repeatedly coming up?

[Based on ongoing violations of the regulation:

- What do you think are the consequences of a recurring disregard of rules?]

- Is there a scooter-policy missing in your opinion?

- Which actors are or should be involved in the process of improvement?

[- Is there a question of responsibility?]

Closing questions

- How would you describe the future of this mobile practice?

- Is there a historical impact on today's conditions? (different regulations, values attached, political estimation or purchase?)

- Would you like to add anything that we did not discuss yet?

Police officer from the traffic section of Aalborg Police

About the interviewee

- Name, sex, age, status, children
- Could you tell me shortly about your educational background and work experience?
  ('way of thinking'/ epistemology)
- What are the tasks of your department?
- What are the main tasks/ projects you involved with in your current position?
- Do you/did you drive a scooter yourself?
- What is your most frequently used means of transportation?

Overall - How present are scooters in your work?

- Which role does scooter driving take in your work?
- Is scooter driving a specific dispute in your department?
- What is problematic about it?
- How do you go about it/ what is your handling/ your solutions?
- Are there specific areas in the city you relate scooters to?

Data collection

- How do you gather data about scooter driving? (accidents, observation, ..)
- Which traffic laws/rules are concerned with scooter driving that you follow up on?
- Do you think that it makes sense to treat scooters (30km/h) as equal as bicycles?
- Which changes took place (i.e. speed limits, licence plate) and why? Are there further renewals planned?
- How much and by whom information infiltrate into the final policies concerning scooter driving?

Work cooperation with Municipality of Aalborg

- In which case/sense do you work together with the municipality – could you elaborate a bit? (specific department, organization, amount of meetings, ..)
- Who is it you working with? (contacts)

Assumptions/ knowledge about scooter driving

- Who/ which type of people do you relate to scooter driving?

- How do you understand/assume the experience of scooter driving?

- What do you think are the reasons for people to drive scooters?

- Are these assumptions the basis for the policy formulation?

- What does scooter driving means for you?

Images of scooter driving/ drivers

- Are there in your opinion any generalizations or stereotypes concerning scooter drivers in circulation? Why? Do you agree with them?

- Are scooter drivers viewed differently today than i.e. 10 years ago? Which development took place (mobile culture)? Why?
- Do you think these changes have influence on the planning level? If so, to what extent?

Closing questions

- What would you change to improve the situation?
- Is there anything you want to add before we finish this interview?

- Do you know any specific expert who I could contact for further information?
[→ Should I send you the material/data from the interview before I use it?]

Director of the Auto-College Aalborg

About the interviewee

- Name, sex, age, status, children
- What is your position at this institution and which main tasks are involved?

What do you want to achieve with the pupils at this school?

- Which space do you offer the youth in this education?

- What are common aspects they get taught in (next to explicit technical issues)?
- Are there typical interests?

- What would be main lessons they draw from their experience/education at this institution?

[mobilities approach?]

Estimation of the scooter driving practice

- What is the first thought in mind when thinking about scooters?

- Do you have any personal relation to scooter driving?

- How do you estimate the situation of the young scooter drivers?
- What is their status in traffic system in the city of Aalborg?

[Motivation, Societal picture, Conflicts?]

Estimation of the field of regulations around this mobile practice

- What do you think about the authorities concerned with scooter driving?

- What is in your opinion the normative influence from such level on the scooter driving practice?

[Sense-making, Confusion in policy-field, Missing policy?]

Closing questions

- How would you describe the future of this mobile practice?

[→ Article about e-bikes; possible shift?]

- Any questions from your side or do you want to add something before we finish?

Caretaker of a youth club in Aalborg Municipality

About the interviewee

- Name, sex, age, status, children

- Could you tell me shortly about your educational background and work experience?
- What are the main tasks/ projects you involved with in your current position?

- Do you drive a scooter yourself?
- What is your most frequently used means of transportation?

What knowledge do caretakers have about scooter driving of their members?

- Which position does scooter driving take in the lives of the members/ young people overall?

How do caretakers think about the experiences of scooter driving of the teenagers/young adults?

- How do you understand/assume the experience of scooter driving of teenagers/young adults?
- What do you think are the reasons for them to drive scooters?

- They speak about their experiences - Which stories do they tell?

- Is scooter driving a trigger/outlet for them and to what extent?

- What does scooter driving means for you?

Images of scooter driving/ drivers

- Is there in your opinion any symbolic meaning or stereotype concerning scooter drivers in circulation?
- Do you think they have influence on the teenagers/young adults? If so, to what extent?
[- Does there exist a scooter scene in Aalborg?]

Planning context

- Who is contacting you and shows interest for scooter drivers? (actors involved)
- What do they want?

- Is there awareness within the municipality of Aalborg about scooter driving and the connected issues we discussed? What do you think?

Closing questions

- Is there a shift in viewing such mobile practice?

- What would you judge positive and respectively negative about scooter driving?

- Do you want to add anything else before we end this interview?

Appendix B Focus group discussion guides

Focus group with youth club members

Opening questions

- What is the first thought you have when thinking about scooters? (→ Please write this down on that big sheet of paper.)

- Who drives a scooter? (since when)

- Do you remember your first ride on a scooter? How did that feel?

What is happening while you perform such mobile practice?

- What do you do with your scooter? (i.e. riding, tuning, …)

- When do you use the scooter?

- What are typical routes you drive? (→ Could you mark them on the map.)

[MAPPING PHASE]

What are the experiences while scooter driving?

- What does it mean to you to drive a scooter?

- What do you experience while driving? How does it feel like?

- Were you involved in an accident once? What happened?

Which symbolic meaning of scooter driving exists?

- What is the reaction of other road users towards scooter drivers?
- Are there any conflicts? Which and why?

- Do you think people have a specific picture/ stereotype of scooter drivers in mind? Which and why?

- Is there any scooter scene in Aalborg? Which? Are you part of that scene?

Closing questions

- What do you like/ dislike about scooter driving? (→ Please write this in the table over there.)

- Any question from your side or do you want to add something before we finish?

→ Before you leave I would like you to fill the questionnaires I brought. They are quite short – it just takes a few minutes.

Focus group with Auto-College students I

Opening questions

- Short introduction round (age, name, driving a scooter since…)
- Do you remember your first ride on a scooter? When and how did that feel?
[Could you tell me a little story from your first experiences?]

- What is the first thought you have when thinking about scooters? (→ Please write this down on that big sheet of paper.)

What is happening when you use your scooter?

- When do you use the scooter?

- What are typical routes you drive? (→ Could you mark them on the map)

[MAPPING PHASE]

- How much time do you spent with your scooter?
[What do you do? i.e. riding, tuning, buy/sell, web page scootergalleri.dk, …]

What are the experiences while scooter driving?

- What does it mean to you to drive a scooter? [Why not using a bicycle?]

- What do you experience while driving? How does it feel like?

- Were you involved in an accident once? What happened?

- What do you think about sharing the bicycle paths with the bicycle riders?

Reflection on mapping:

- Which paths you choose, why?

[types of paths (bike~, street), regulations involved]

[How do they deal, react on regulations?]

New regulations:

- What do you think about the claims to lower the age and change the speed limit for scooter driving? [15 years (25-30km/h) and 16 as 18 years (45km/h)]

- Why do they want that? What would be changed?

- Overall – do you know and follow the regulations?

- Do you think scooters have enough attention in the traffic system?
[Should there be planned for differently? How?]

Which symbolic meaning of scooter driving exists?

- What is the reaction of other road users towards scooter drivers?
- Are there any conflicts? Which and why?

- How do you react on it? (How to improve the situation?)
- What do they expect from you?

- Do you think people have a specific picture/ stereotype of scooter drivers in mind? Which and why?

- Is there any scooter scene in Aalborg? Which? Are you part of that scene?

Closing questions:

- What do you like/ dislike about scooter driving? (➔ Please write this in the table over there)
- What would you wish for?

- Any question from your side or do you want to add something before we finish?

Focus group with Auto-College students II

Opening questions

- How was it last time? Did you thought any differently about scooter driving after the discussion?

[Start with mapping results from last discussion]

- What is happening at these specific 'hang-out-spots'?

Negative picture of scooter drivers, i.e. "scooter faces"

- Why do people call you this? [What do the participants think?]

- Which stories or story should I tell about scooter drivers (based on this study)? What should people know about you?

Laws concerning scooter driving

[Based on articles that especially young drivers with the age 15-17 end up in accidents.]
- Do you know the laws concerning scooter driving? [How do they react, make sense of laws?]

Renewals planned

- What do you think about the renewals?

Norms

[Who is identified as 'norm-producer'/ What is identified as normative structure?]

- Who is deciding or controlling the scooter driving practice?

- Who should decide about norms for the scooter driving practice?

Spaces for scooter driving

- What is interesting about scootergalleri.dk?

- What would you wish for concerning the conditions for scooter driving? [needs, wishes, conflicts]

Appendix C Additional data collected

Questionnaire concerning scooter driving

1. About your person

Sex:　　　　☐ m　　☐ f

Age:　　　　_____ years

Status:　　　☐ pupil　　☐ student

[Income]:　　part time job　　　__ yes __ no
　　　　　　pocket money　　　_____ D. Kr./month

[Address]:　town: _____ postal code: _____

2. About your scooter

- Since when do you drive a scooter?　__ Years __ months
- Since when do you own a scooter?　　__ Years __ months

- Did you buy the scooter yourself?　　__ yes __ no

- Which type of scooter do you drive? __ 30km/h __ 45km/h

- How much money do you spent on gas in a month? _____ D. Kr.
- How often you have to repair the scooter in a year? _____ times
- Do you buy any extra-equipment for your scooter? __ yes __ no
  If yes, which: _____

- Does your scooter has a nickname? __ yes __ no

- Do you own a car?　　__ yes __ no
  Do you drive a car?　　__ yes __ no
- Do you own a bicycle? __ yes __ no
  Do you ride a bicycle?　__ yes __ no

3. Use of your scooter

- How often do you use your scooter?
  ☐daily ☐weekly (3-5x) ☐ monthly(every 2. week) ☐rarely ☐never
- I drive to …

☐ work ☐school ☐university ☐friends ☐leisure appointments

☐ youth club ☐other: _____ with my scooter.

- How long is a typical tour with your scooter? _____/_____ hours/min

- Do you drive alone or with other scooter drivers in a group?
 (scale; put a X)   (alone) 0   1   2   3   4   5 (with others)

- When do you decide **not** to drive the scooter?
☐ bad weather   ☐ long distance ☐ going out/party ☐others:
_____

4. Involvement in traffic planning

- Do you feel save on the scooter within the traffic?   __ yes __ no

- Do you think the scooter has enough attention in the traffic system?
__ yes __ no

If not; what would you wish for?
_____
_____
_____

- Do you think it is a good idea that scooters drive on the bicycle paths?
__ yes __ no

Any comment from you:
_____
_____
_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP!!!

Context information of the focus group

Age: ___
Sex/ male: ___
    female: ___

Housing area
City: _____
Postal code: _____

Education
Type/name: _____

Scooter driving
Driving a scooter since (age): ___
Owning a scooter since (age): ___

Bought the scooter myself: ___
My parents bought the scooter: ___

Own a bicycle: yes ___   no ___
Ride my bicycle: yes ___   no ___

Own a car: yes ___   no ___
Drive a car: yes ___   no ___

How did you like this interview?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING!!!

Observation categories as supportive tool

DATE: TIME: to   LOCATION:

	Number	Male	Female	Age (Youth / Older)	
Amount					
	Yellow	White	None		
License plate					
	Bike path	Street	Both ..	Type of area	
Paths they use					
	Yes	No			
Helmet			>1 person		
	As permitted	Fast	Really fast		
Speed					
	Silent	Loud	Really loud		
Sound					
	Name	Scooter	Moped		
Type of scooter					
	Sound	Light	Others …		
Special effects					
Further notes:					

Appendix D Overview of document studies

Comment: Scooters/mopeds are mentioned in all of these documents but to a different extent and partially not explicit.

SOURCE / THEME	Aalborg Municipality (Road and traffic department)	Sikkertrafik www.sikkertrafik.dk/ (authors: i.e. Ministry of Justice or Transport and Energy)	SSP-Network (school, society & police)
Scooters/ mopeds	---	- facts and statistics about scooter/moped accidents (max. 2008) - further topics: insurance, parents, draft for contract about behavioural norms/laws, rules, persecution, …	---
Bicycles	Cykelstiplan 2003 *(Cykle path plan)* Cykelstihandlingsplan 2009 *(Cycle path action plan)*	Hjelme i bytrafikken – en tælling blandt cyklister og knallertkørere i 2004. *(Helmets in city traffic – a census among cyclists and moped riders in 2004.* by Council for road safety*)* Cyklisters brug af cykelhjelm og knallertkøreres brug af styrthjelm I bytrafik – 2009 *(Report about the helmet use of bicyclists and small scooters/30km/h)*	---
		Council for Road safety	
Study on scooter drivers; focus youth (aim: improvement of traffic safety)	---	Undersøgelse gennemført den 10.07.03 for Rådet for tore færdselssikkerhed af NeedFindings ApS *(Study completed on 10.07.03 of the Council for improving road safety by NeedFindings ApS)*	---
Traffic safety	Trafiksikkerhedsplan 2008 *(Road safety plan)*	---	---
Traffic planning	Trafik- og Miljøhandlingsplan 2009 *(Traffic and environmental action plan)* (same plan from 1999 doesn't mention scooter once)	---	---
Environment	(see above; Trafik- og Miljøhandlingsplan 2009)	---	---

	Aalborg Municipality		SSP-Network
Crime (concerned with youth)	---	---	Year report 2006 – scooters shortly mentioned in the crime sector
Budget 2010-2013	Sektor: Skole- og Kulturforvaltningen 03.38.76 Ungdomsskolevirks omhed *(sector: school and culture – youth activities)*	---	---

	(Aalborg) Police	Ministry of taxation	Ministry of justice	Text book for scooter classes/ driver's license
Police reports	police webpage	---	---	---
Registration of scooters	Morten Fredskild/ Cph Police (knallert kontoret/ scooter office)	*Registration, license plate, road tax*	---	---
Guidelines, laws, norms for scooter driving	---	---	*Highway code regulations/ traffic behaviour, Road traffic act*	→ see sikkertrafik.dk
Educational film (for scooter classes)	---	---	---	'Nanna og Peter' by NeedFindings ApS → see sikkertrafik.dk