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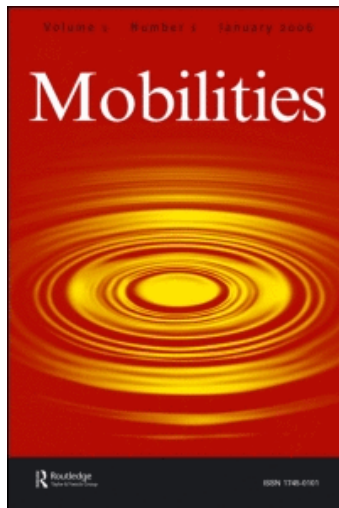
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### Mobility, Space and Power: On the Multiplicities of Seeing Mobility

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# Mobility, Space and Power: On the Multiplicities of Seeing Mobility

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**ABSTRACT** *Mobility as a key modern phenomenon can be seen in multiple ways and this article raises the question of how mobility becomes visible and real through diverse ways of seeing mobility. Mobility's different aspects appear and take place in particular spatial settings under the workings of diverse forms of power, and recognizing this informs us about the making of spatialised mobility. It is shown how mobility intermingles with perceptions, experiences and desires of the modern self. Such workings of power relate, among other things, to framing and imagining, practising and experiencing mobility. Capturing ways of seeing mobility thus widens our language for engaging with questions of mobility and its political and social reality and possible futures.*

**KEY WORDS:** Power; spatiality; representation of mobility; non-representation of mobility; sensing mobility; automotive emotions; governmentality

## **Introduction: Seeing Mobility through the Lenses of Space and Power**

From Gilles Deleuze we learn that things must become visible to the mind and body before we can conceive them. Notably, seeing a phenomenon is epistemologically different from 'saying' this phenomenon; seeing entails distinctive ways of perceiving the phenomenon and making it accessible and as such is constitutive for the becoming of the phenomenon (Deleuze, 1988). In his reading of Michel Foucault, this differentiation is presented as crucial in order to understand the modern workings of power as a process and an enabling force in the social. In addressing the driving forces of mobility in late modernity, and building on Deleuze, we may learn from how subjects and communities *see* mobilities. Seeing mobility involves the subjects whom mobility concerns and who as (im)mobile people or policymakers act on mobility.

The point of departure for this article is the questions of *seeing mobility* and it addresses the still very open question of the role of power in mobility. As indicated by Mimi Sheller and John Urry, power is among the key issues at the core of the emerging field of mobilities studies (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Power is by no means absent in the

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new mobilities literature; indeed, a considerable body of literature takes power to be fundamental to mobility in late modern societies, whether in the politics of mobility, political rationalities or in everyday mobilities (Jensen & Richardson, 2007). In these studies, power is however often taken for granted, though with notable exceptions. At the same time, mobility is often taken to deal with the twin notions of space and time. Time is included as acceleration and speed of movement (Cresswell, 2006) and is tucked into the modern quest for the frictionless (see e.g. Hajer, 2000). Often the relation between mobility and space is assumed to be central, or rather, the ‘spatiality in people’s ... social practices’ (Bærenholdt, 2008b, p. 6) is treated as immanent to the analysis of mobilities. Viewed in conjunction, however, approaching mobility as intertwined with space and power promises additional insights into the driving forces of mobility.

When we recognise that mobility is seen in multiple ways, our language for talking about power in mobility is expanded, thus enhancing our ability to understand mobile lives, politics and cities. In this perspective, the above observations call for an exploration of mobility, space and power and this article opens such an exploration. It investigates how the making of mobility intertwines with spatialities and is played out under the workings of multiple forms of power. The starting point, however, is to clarify how power and space are covered in the mobilities literature.

### *Power and Space in Mobilities Literature*

Mobility, space and power are all notions at the core of modernity. Tim Cresswell captures this succinctly when he observes that:

[m]obility seems self-evidently central to Western modernity. Indeed the word *modern* seems to evoke images of technological mobility – the car, the plane, the spaceship. It also signifies a world of movement on a global scale. Perhaps most importantly, though, it suggests a way of thinking in terms of mobility – a metaphysics of mobility that is distinct from what came before it. (Cresswell, 2006, pp. 15–16)

Moving from a metaphysics to describing the contemporary social world, flows and movement have become defining features of the late modern city (Castells, 2000). Cities are planned and (also) practised in the face of the movements of its citizens, goods, information, ideas and images (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Urry, 2007). It therefore becomes apparent to Sven Kesselring to stress mobility as a basic condition in the social when he coins mobility a ‘general principle of modernity’ (Kesselring, 2006, p. 270). Mobility’s foundational role in modernity naturalises this as a fact of (modern) life and as a ‘general principle’ which rarely needs further justification. With the notion of ‘motility’, Vincent Kaufmann bridges the gap between what he terms spatial mobility and social mobility.<sup>1</sup> Motility captures the potential movement and its dependence on individual and collective capacities, and backed by a ‘mobility capital’, motility integrates a mastery of complex mobilities and mobility systems (Kaufmann, 2002; Kaufmann *et al.*, 2004). Mobility thus denotes the actual and potential movement and flows of people, goods, ideas, images and information from place to place, entangled in networks and in tensions between fixity and motion,

territorialisation and de-territorialisation and over which (im)mobility for whom and when (Cresswell, 2006; Hannam *et al.*, 2006).

With the inclusion of social mobility and mobility capital, the notion of motility thus deals with questions of social inequality. The social inequality embedded in uneven distribution of mobility is also a theme emphasised by Urry, with strong connections to power: '[w]e might say that unforced "movement" is power, that is, to be able to move (or to be able to voluntarily stay still) is for individuals and groups a major source of advantage and conceptually independent of economic and cultural advantage' (Urry, 2007, pp. 51–52). Social inequality is also a theme in the first editorial of the journal *Mobilities* (Hannam *et al.*, 2006). Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller and John Urry emphasise how particular mobilities induce social differentiation. They raise questions of social inequality through showing how social inequality is (also) produced by abilities to master mobility systems and access to different modes of mobility. This social inequality is greatly amplified by the social networks and goods that the masterful use of such mobilities enables. In pursuit of this, Jonas Larsen, John Urry and Kay Axhausen advocate for 'network capital' to be considered in mobility studies, thus merging the ability to move with a notion of power and stressing a strong link to social inequality (Larsen *et al.*, 2007). Cresswell presents a very clear example of how access to movement in times of crisis also connects to a politics of mobility. In a case study of the way Hurricane Katrina was dealt with by the city authorities in New Orleans, he demonstrates how the politics of mobility, i.e. deciding whom to move and when, how and where, had severe, at times fatal, costs for the under-privileged population of New Orleans, while the wealthier citizens were able to escape the disaster (Cresswell, 2008). Furthermore, Katharina Manderschied presents a way to combine perspectives of mobilities and space in the study of social inequalities. Drawing on a relational approach to space and social inequality, she shows how mobilities are immanent to spatial means of creating, maintaining and deepening social stratification, or social inequalities (Manderscheid, 2009). There are thus multiple ways of approaching the unequal distribution of mobility and subsequent opportunities for going to work, upholding family ties, using leisure activities, etc.

The politics of mobility moreover includes aspects which articulate mobility as related to freedom-based 'rights' and innately concerned with socio-spatial contexts, co-forming public presence (Sheller, 2004b, p. 42; Sheller, 2008; see also Cresswell 2006). To approach mobility from these perspectives also indicates a democratic dimension, evident in Sheller (2004b, 2008) and Cresswell (2006, p. 147). Such perspectives further lead to considerations over rights *to* mobility, including questions of mobility for whom, at what cost (individually and for others) and with which obligations attached (Sheller, 2008). Cresswell here adds another critical layer when he repeatedly stresses how mobility for some is based on and assumes the immobility of others (Cresswell, 2006, p. 249). Additionally, the politics of mobility have been addressed in investigations of how mobility and logics of mobility appear in political rationalities, ideas, representations and images (see e.g. Jensen & Richardson, 2004; Cresswell, 2006; Jensen, 2006; Jensen & Richardson, 2007).

Noting that 'as people, capital, and things move they form and reform space itself' (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p. 216), Sheller and Urry emphasise how the diverse power effects of mobility relate strongly to space. Here, space is included in the analysis of

mobility in a mutually constitutive manner. Another take on the relation between mobility and space is to place both in a relationship ridden with tension, as e.g. when a sedentarism that is intimately tied to place and community is opposed to a nomadism that establishes mobility as a progressive force (Cresswell, 2006). To others, mobility and space are linked in a productive sense that builds on a relational conception of power (Jensen & Richardson, 2007) where for example Ole B. Jensen and Tim Richardson demonstrate a key role for mobility in the 'making of European space'. Their analyses of the emergence of a European planning field show how the very relational and socially constructed character of (transnational) space makes this a site for power struggles and political tensions (Jensen & Richardson, 2004). Building on these insights, this article tracks such workings of power in the making of spatialised mobility.

### *Investigating the Powers of How to See*

Above, I have outlined different ways in the mobility literature to consider aspects relating to power and space. These have very real and re-enforcing impacts of power and spatialities that deny and delimit particular social groups from welfare and social goods through e.g. limiting access to mobility. This article tracks additional workings of power in the study of mobility which have no less real effects. Its basic Foucauldian conception of power sees power as a productive, enabling and local force in the social rather than something that denies and can be possessed. Power as a non-subjective force works in networks and numerous ways and may be approached as a diverse and moving field of relations of forces which when exercised constitute 'mode[s] of action upon the actions of others' (Foucault, 1982, p. 221; see also 1978, 1979). Within this relational thinking, space denotes a dynamic and immanent dimension of the social which is heterogeneous and continually produced in multiple points and relations (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Massey, 2005). This implies a continued 'openness and ... condition of always being made' (Massey, 2005, p. 39), and we may thus see space as something inherent to the ways mobility works in modernity; mobility is always spatialised (Cresswell, 2006).

In the remainder of the article, two workings of power are scrutinised in relation to mobility and urban space. At first, the article discusses a governmentality perspective in relation to mobility and space, which includes logics and practices of mobility and of ordering urban spaces. Then, the article turns to examine emotions, sensory experiences and ambiances as additional ways power works and which are immanent to particular urban spaces and modes of mobility.

Throughout the article, it is argued that seeing mobility may take multiple forms, each of which makes aspects visible that are central to the making of mobility, and which are intertwined with particular spatialities. Hence, expanding our language for engaging with analyses of mobility develops our understanding of the political reality and the sociality in which mobility is enmeshed. Concurrently, the very establishment of ways of seeing, be it by policymakers, urban people or academics, is itself a productive exercise of power. The article suggests practices, rationalities and imaginaries, feelings and sensations relating to mobility as ways to expand our repertoire for talking about power of mobility in its spatiality.

### Governmentality: The Power of Mobile Practices and Logics

In his later texts, Michel Foucault's interest also centred on a notion of governmentality that brought the rationalities, logics, forms of knowledge and practices of government into the analysis of power (see e.g. Foucault, 1991, 2003b). Governmentality is intimately connected to modernity, as a working of power which grows out of the modern form of rule through defining, producing and controlling subjects (populations) just as much as territory (Foucault, 1991; Miller & Rose, 1993). It deals with the modernity era where mobility emerges as a general principle that has become enmeshed in multiple sides of modern governing and lives. Foucault thus expanded his perspective on the workings of power also to include the shaping of the modern self. This evolved as a supplement to the power mechanism relating to disciplinary practices and surveillance that was crafted as 'a political technology ... through which we come to control the social body in its finest elements ... [these are] techniques of the individualization of power' (Foucault, 2007, p. 159).

Questions of power and space are central in this section's discussion of governmentality, which draws upon that moulding late-modern subjects takes place also through her or his mobile practices. The section further draws upon the way the production of space is included in evolving mobile practices, in addition to the production of particular forms of knowledge. It presents a way of analysing the workings of power relations that leaves power decentred, local and embedded in both politics/policies and citizens daily lives (Foucault, 1978, 1979, 1982, 1991).

A now well-known shorthand definition of governmentality is to see it as the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault, 1982, pp. 220–221). In other words, governmentality coins 'government [as] an activity that shapes the field of action' (Dean, 1999, p. 13) for its subjects and which builds on 'convictions about how people can govern themselves' (Pløger, 2004, p. 73). In this sense, governmentality refers to the logics and practices of government as these unfold and show in forms of knowledge, 'truths', practices and techniques of government. It highlights how governing is always embedded in particular rationalities which are local and historically produced. Those rationalities provide a blueprint for logics, i.e. what can meaningfully be seen as (policy) problems, as causes and effects, and who can legitimately govern and who can be governed. One key insight here is that this rationality is equally entwined in particular forms of knowledge that frame the area and through which it makes sense (Jensen, 2006) and which are 'inextricably entangled with governmental practices ... also because practices and truths are mutually constitutive' (Huxley, 2007, p. 189). The practices in question are daily and often routinised ways of carrying out particular forms of governing, and in the perspective of rationalities they can be seen as governing techniques. Via particular forms of knowledge, framings and practices, the subjects of governing are informed on how to behave, perform and shape their identities in ways that align with taken-for-granted knowledge and accepted true perceptions of the field, rather than commanded to particular behaviours. These subjects are thus produced in historically particular ways that become taken for granted, e.g. as urban citizens who want to behave in certain ways as they move around urban space (Rose, 1999: p. 22; Huxley, 2002, p. 145; Jensen, 2006). Put simply, these forms of knowledge and techniques become enmeshed with the daily practices of the urban citizens and so to say inform them in their 'free' moulding of their own selves through

being internalised during the exercise of ‘practices of freedom’ (Foucault, 2003a). The rationalities and logics, the practices and mundane routines in politics and daily lives, and the selves these assume, encourage and produce subjects in suggestive ways rather than dictating them.

This realm of forms of knowledge, practices and rationalities and its suggestive modes of producing subjectivities condition ‘saying’ and ‘seeing’ and thus mark out a key environment for perception and for the mental maps that are vital for interpreting and reflecting on perception. As indicated by the Deleuzian ‘seeing’, it is however understated how perceptions of reality – ‘seeing’ it – also work through and is equally conditioned by the total stock of senses, movement and emotions; an aspect treated below. The compelling conditioning thus provided by forms knowledge, practices and rationalities can be accessed through denaturalisation of the truths and subjectivities that become taken for granted.

### *Governing Logics and Urban Space*

Over the decades, Foucault’s lectures on governmentality have stirred interest over a range of academic fields. Recently, governmentality has also been introduced as a promising perspective within the mobility literature. Urry stresses how ‘governmentality involves not just a territory with fixed populations but mobile populations moving in, across and beyond “territory”’ (Urry, 2007, p. 49). For Bærenholdt, this suggests a new notion, ‘governmobility’, which accentuates mobile practices involved in society building (Bærenholdt, 2008b). Jensen, A. and Richardson (2007) and Richardson and Jensen, O. B. (2008) investigate how imagined mobilities for the subjects of a territory are among the concerns that lie at the heart of late modern regional and urban planning. Integrated in the rationalities of policies and planning, ideas or imaginaries of mobility co-produce urban subjects as well as legitimise costly transport infrastructure, for instance (Jensen, 2006), here producing imagined mobile subjects and transforming the conditions for actual mobility of subjects.

In modern governing, rationalities and practices also include reflections on space.<sup>2</sup> Spatiality and space constitute a focus which received significant but indirect attention in Foucault’s own texts, especially as affected by and enabling the mundane disciplinary techniques of schools, clinics, prisons, etc. (see e.g. Foucault, 1978, 1979, 1984, 1986). From the perspective of governmentality, paying attention to space reveals additional aspects, since ‘[g]overnmentality is also indelibly spatial, both in terms of the spaces it seeks to create and in the causal logics that imbue such attempts with its rationality’ (Huxley, 2007, p. 199). Stuart Elden and Jeremy Crampton in particular promote the spatialities of governmentality in emphasising how particular ways of ‘thinking out space’ are embedded in the constant and complex formation of social/political institutions and rationalities, and, also, forms of knowledge.<sup>3</sup> ‘Thinking out space’ produces and is co-produced by the spatial distributions where institutions and rationalities find themselves (Elden & Crampton, 2007, p. 9). In a governmentality perspective, it becomes apparent that the population, i.e. the body of subjects to be governed, has ‘to be known in its spatial dispersion’ (Elden & Crampton, 2007, p. 7). Techniques to create fields of knowledge that can make the population known in these ways, as spatially dispersed, push a growth of governing tools such as statistics, personal identification numbers, GIS mapping and zoning of cities. Such spatialisation



tools have made particular forms of rule possible and have very real effects, as Elden shows in a study of Nazism's use of calculations and statistics to codify and categorise groups of people, e.g. Jews and homosexuals (Elden, 2006), and as in the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate immigrants in contemporary politics of immigration in Europe.

Enhancing the effect of such spatialised forms of knowledge is addressed in studies of urban planning and politics, e.g. urban regeneration (Huxley, 2006, 2007; Osborne & Rose, 2004), which opens links to different mobilities. To Margo Huxley, systematic employment of such forms of knowledge in particular involves ordering of urban spaces in particular ways. Discussing examples of urban planning, she stresses how 'underlying logics of multiple and dispersed practices for the conduct of conduct' (Huxley, 2007, p. 194) inform not only the urban citizens, but also shape and are embedded in the buildings, infrastructures and green areas of the city. When a city is designed on the basis of a certain logic where e.g. 'order and visibility operate as moral registers in calls to combat the chaos and evil of the city at the end of the eighteenth century', this, for example in the minds of contemporary planners, intertwines with the city's 'layers of experience and memory embodied in the natural and built environment' (Huxley, 2007, pp. 195, 198) and thus uses causal qualities of urban space to achieve social ends, such as social coherence, order and hierarchy. Barry Osborne and Nicholas Rose show how design and planning of urban space are also about creating particular 'truths' in the city. The key point is that such 'truths' serve to underpin, enable and sometimes make desirable particular kinds of urban existence, including what it means and how to be, say, a modern urban cosmopolitan (Osborne & Rose, 1999; see also e.g. Foucault, 2003a). Such urban existences and subjectivities are to be found in urban citizens' unrestrained readings of urban architecture, city squares, infrastructure and transport systems as well as in the logic of plans and urban visions.

### *Mobile Subjects in Logics of Governing*

Hence, governmentality offers a way to include space, and subjectivities, in the study of a productive power. When focusing on contested rationalities and mundane practices in particular cases, this also applies when including mobility. In a study of the contested making of a European space through e.g. 'thin simplifications' and the actual, nitty-gritty planning of transport infrastructures, Tim Richardson demonstrates the very tangible consequences of governing rationalities and particular governing practices related to European mobility (Richardson, 2006; see also Jensen & Richardson, 2004; Jensen & Richardson, 2007). The notion of 'mobile subjects' demonstrates how the governing rationalities and particular practices inherent in urban/regional policymaking embed perceptions of modern urban citizens who are assumed to crave for more mobility and more cosmopolitan networks at higher speeds and with less friction (Jensen & Richardson, 2007). Meanwhile, other mobile subjects are rendered bi-products in not being fit to use, lacking the resources to use or being denied access to the high-speed trains, airports, etc (Richardson & Jensen, 2008). This implies a focus on the particular ways in which mobility, places and subjects are part of imaginaries, rationalities and related practices of modern life and urban policies/planning. What this amounts to is a persistent emphasis on a clear power character and spatiality of mobility and mobility related practices.

This way of conceiving a mobility related power mechanism finds a parallel in Cresswell. He stresses how '[m]obility ... as a thoroughly social facet of life imbued with meaning and power is composed of elements of social time and social space' (Cresswell, 2006, p. 4), and thus points to those ideas that are embedded in and which are shaped by mobility. And significantly, such ideas are not innocent but crucially linked to particular categorisations of people (subjectivities), e.g. tramps, dancers, cosmopolitan workforce, US citizens, migrants, female car drivers, etc., and to particular morally good or bad, correct or wrong, legal or illegitimate mobile practices, whether these are dancing, travelling, working or a way of life. Considering mobility's significance as a basic principle for the rationalities embedded in urban development, this further indicates that mobility is an ingredient in a basic social and political logic, where e.g. the politics of mobility plays an active part in the constitution of the city (Kesselring, 2001, pp. 183–184). The technologies of automobility are in this respect particularly powerful in imprinting 'their' logics on the making of modern selves, as stressed by Urry (2007, pp. 127–133).

A special twist to this is represented by Deleuze, who in his persistence with regard to Foucault's twin conception of power picks up on power's ability to make things 'sayable' and visible, as introduced above (Deleuze, 1988). Perceptions and daily practices of mobility rest on a special gaze that produces particular social aspects of mobility while simultaneously silencing others, and which is embedded in governing and planning a city/region. It is a matter of seeing mobility in particular ways, thus also delineating how future mobility can be imagined. Such imagined mobilities and e.g. imagined mobile subjects emerge and take shape also through the aspects of the city and urban life that its users and designers see mobility as part and parcel of, assume or neglect. This is for example the case when new regions are pushed through representations of moving people as cosmopolitan, knowledge intensive workers who desire easy access to opera houses in Berlin and Oslo and shopping in New York, or when bicycle mobility is pictured as a future oriented, rational, trendy and smooth urban mobility for all which advances the urban identity, vitalism and liveability of Copenhagen (Jensen & Richardson, 2007; Jensen, forthcoming). In this sense, 'seeing mobilities' also defines what is actually within the realm of mobilities and for whom. Thus a governmentality perspective offers a way to see mobility as part of a governing logic. In this perspective, the mobile subjects and their real practices, based on logics of mobility and ideas of wants, needs and desires among particular people can be included in relation to the spaces they inhabit, enact, produce and move around, give meaning to and are shaped by. This shows how governmental practices of normalising, disciplining, forming modern selves and also rationalities relating to mobility rely on particular measurements, conceptualisations, imaginaries and productions of urban spaces. Further it stresses how such – contested – ways of seeing modern selves as e.g. 'mobile selves' in urban spaces also possesses the potential to become part of urban subjects' own shaping of their selves, under the constraint of freedom and individual autonomy.

### **The Power of Experiencing Mobility and Space**

A further way to approach seeing mobility as interwoven with space and power is inspired by Mimi Sheller's explorations of emotions of automobile movements (Sheller,

2004a) and captures non-representational and embodied aspects of movements and flows. The embodiment of mobility is further unfolded when it is supplemented with Monica Degen's insistence on the significance of sensory experience for the constitution of urban spaces (Degen, 2008, 2010) and John Allen's demonstration of how the very ambience of places influences movements around those places (Allen, 2003, 2006). Each building on their body of literature, they argue that emergence and normalisation of particular spatial/mobile practices are deeply embedded in experiences of space and mobility through emotions, sensing, feeling and ambiances.

### *Automotive Emotions*

Sheller conceives what she terms 'an emotional agent' as 'a relational entity that instantiates particular aesthetic orientations and kinaesthetic dispositions towards driving' (Sheller, 2004a, p. 222). Emotions and motions related to auto-mobility are not only a kinaesthetic bodily and sensory experience; they are also entangled in cultural, social and family practices. Feelings, affection and emotions between subjects and automobile technology are interwoven with the steering of peoples' dispositions, in particular towards car use through use of e.g. car commercials and culturally formed perceptions of traffic safety (Sheller, 2004a, pp. 229–235; see also Fotel & Thomsen, 2004). Further, she notes how 'the car materializes personality and takes part in the ego-formation of the owner or driver' (Sheller, 2004a, p. 225). The cultural embedding of the generative relation between gendered identity and car practices is discernible in, for example, many American movies using the car as a personality marker; prominent in the Disney cartoons of the 1950s and 1960s, where the female character admires pink cars with flower pots and curtains while the male character boosts his masculinity through fast and at times aggressive cars.

With the focus on emotional dimensions of auto-mobility, Sheller thus follows lines of enquiry that address concerns of the formation of the modern self, parallel to Foucault as discussed above. Sheller further notes how '...the car ... transforms the way we sense the world and the capacities of human bodies to interact with that world' (Sheller, 2004a, p. 228). It is the movement itself, but embedded in a particular technology, namely that of automobility, which becomes embodied in the car driver or passenger; a key insight which Nigel Thrift for example also emphasises (Thrift, 2004).

Interestingly, Sheller's personal account of her daughter's joyful emotions and happy reactions towards moving in a car at a very early age, presented as an example of how deep-rooted the kinetic-technological experience of automobility is, is presented as an offspring of a car-dependent culture.<sup>4</sup> Sheller's baby experienced the car as part of life on a daily basis from infancy. The story points at how the 'seemingly "instinctual" disposition' (Sheller 2004a, p. 227) towards moving with the technology of the car is so deeply embedded in American culture that it naturalises car driving as a human desire. Raising a child in Scandinavia and not owning a car, however, teaches you that being concealed in a moving metal box needs to be learned. Living in Copenhagen when my children were small, the bicycle and metro catered for our daily transport needs and as babies my children only experienced automobility on rare occasions. When they did travel by car, they hated being strapped in to the

technology and the involuntary movement of the car before eventually learning the skill of being a car passenger. Now, at the ages of six and eight, they merely dislike the smell and noise of the car, but like the movement, the changing view and the private space on the backseat. Being placed in the bicycle did however stir the same joyful reaction as Sheller describes in the case of being a car passenger. Both examples indicate a significant element of socialisation within cultures of (auto)mobility and exemplify that movement and (auto)mobility stir strong emotions connected to the movement itself and its technologies.

Sheller thus stresses an influence of car technology which is hard to control for subjects and which produces an inclination towards the automobility of the car. Movement-induced feelings and emotions also play a role in politics of mobility, as Cresswell shows in his study of the production of 'correct' movements in 1920s ballroom dancing through otherness and exclusion. In the ballroom of the 1920s, a new phenomenon of shaking hips stirred strong emotions and was deemed inappropriate and morally very provocative. Quickly, these innovative dancing steps, originating in black America in the times before the civil rights movement, became a site for moral struggles with racial and social undertones (Cresswell, 2006). Thus leisure time dance is exposed as intertwined with a politics of mobility which evolved around a struggle over the meaning of 'to dance', producing and defining racial, moral and social correct movement and carried forward by strong emotions. Atmosphere and affluence of particular modes of mobility become influential on the way these modes are experienced and taken in by people, and thus on how the movement gains meaning *as* mobility, potentially in ways that direct and conduct behaviour. This surfaces in Urry's discussion of how walking practices are significant for the atmosphere and the feel of the city and particular (tourist) places where 'atmosphere ... is something sensed often through movement and experienced in tactile kind of way, what Thrift terms 'non-representational practices' (Urry, 2007, p. 73). This points at a direct linkage between emotions and atmospheres and movement in particular spaces and places. With Cresswell and Urry, it is thus emphasised that emotions and affluence are just as deeply embedded in other forms of mobility as in automobility/the car. With Degen we can connect the way power works through mobile experiences to sensations.

### *Sensing Mobility and Space*

In investigations of how urban citizens experience the smells, sounds, sights, tastes and feel of urban places, Degen shows us that the mundane experience of the city is also highly spatialised. Through mapping particular regenerated neighbourhood's sensescapes, Degen shows how the sensory experiences of a neighbourhood, such as El Raval in Barcelona or Castlefield in Manchester, are actively integrated in the production of heterogeneous urban spaces, and that this production involves its citizens and users as well as its planners and designers. The sensory experiences offered by a particular place are a key element in framing this place as what it *is*; perceptions map places as a town square, a market place, a school, a home, an intersection (also) through sensory experience (Degen, 2008, pp. 36, 164). Sensory experiences however do not work on their own in an empty no-mans land but arise and unfold in the meeting between the material and social world and its cultural, discursive meanings (Degen, 2010).

To Degen, this emphasises a ‘sensuous power [that] operates through the intertwining of the human and the environment’ (Degen, 2008, p. 59) and which is connected to the flows and fluidity of present urban modernity. Such power works through how places are experienced as ‘presences’ (Degen, 2008, p. 173); offering in the perspective of this article a way to see ‘being mobile in a mobile world’ (i.e. mobile imaginaries and mobile practices) as mobile presences.

Mobility is spatialised and thus also embedded in not only the kinetic experience of movement that Sheller teaches us but also in the sensory landscape of movement; the smell of leather or warm plastic inside the car, the loud slams of train doors, the traffic noise and exhaust fumes enveloping pavements on a summer day, the feel of the wind brushing against your face on a bicycle, motorbike or skateboard, or the warmth of a blanket in the tram. Here we are back at the Deleuzian ‘seeing’. The sensescapes are crucial for how people find orientation in the world, since sensescapes configure ways to experience particular aspects of the world that go beyond what is visible to the eye and mind which suggests that the world is met also through bodily experience. Considering Sheller’s (and Cresswell’s) insistence on movement as basic for experiencing the world, the kinetic dimension of sensory experiences and of sensescapes are placed at the centre of ‘seeing’; movement is intrinsic to the embodied and sensory experience of contemporary reality and this crucial dimension of ‘seeing’ reaches well beyond verbal representations.

All these present sensory experiences add to defining what a particular way to move *is* and are intimately linked to mobility’s spatiality, namely the confined space of the car, the open yet private space of the bicycle or train and the bodily space created in a dance or a tram. With Allen we can relate these to the ambiances radiating from the design of particular spaces.

### *Ambient Power of Urban Spaces*

To Allen,<sup>5</sup> the decisive point is that also space and design, architecture and openness of particular places are part of the way power works. In investigations of ‘the experience of the space itself’ and ‘its *ambient* qualities’ (Allen, 2006, p. 442, emphasis orig.), Allen emphasises a mutual dependence between power and space which reveals a ‘[p]ower ... [which] is a relational effect of social interaction ... People are placed by power, but they experience it at first hand through the rhythms and relationships of particular places...’ (Allen, 2003, p. 2).

Scrutinising Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, Allen points at the fundamentally open and inclusive design of the public space. However, at the same time such particular urban designs mould not only where you can and cannot walk and move around, but also people’s desires and wants, their bare experience of the place itself. Here power practices work through ambience, feelings and emotions and include how power in particular spaces works through proximity and reach, through openness and non-coercion,<sup>6</sup> or, in other words by an:

*ambient power*, [by which] I mean that there is something about the character of an urban setting – a particular atmosphere, a specific mood, a certain feeling – that affects how we experience it and which, in turn, seeks to induce certain stances ... There is a certain quality about such settings, or qualities, which

show themselves in such a way as *both* to encourage *and* to inhibit how we move around, use and act within them. (Allen, 2006, p. 445, emphasis orig.)

This shapes the conduct of people also through what they perceive to be ‘the “truth” of their circumstances as by the physical layout’ (Allen, 2003, p. 83, emphasis orig.).

If we see the atmosphere, mood and feel of urban spaces as among the multiple ways that power is practised in modern cities, this links the automotive emotions of car use (and other modes of movement), to the workings of power and power’s spatialities. Different mobility practices and options are experienced and practised also through the ‘rhythms and relationships’ of those mobilities, including the child who is driven to school, the bus driver who greets the elderly regular and the worker who handles the business traveller’s luxury suitcase in the airport.

### *Emotions, Senses and Ambiences of Mobility and Space*

Degen’s and Allen’s parallel ways of seeing sensations and ambiances as built into the experience and design of urban spaces thus integrate emotions, atmosphere and the feel of a place in the intertwined co-constitution of space and power. Thinking this in conjunction with Sheller’s linkage of the kinetic experience of movement with mobile technologies such as the car demonstrates that there are additional aspects through which mobility is moulded, shaped and governed. This adds to substantiating how the car serves to shape cultures and modern selves and also work through ‘a coercive flexibility’ and seeming freedom (Urry, 2007, p. 120).

Hence, Sheller’s, Degen’s and Allen’s perspectives all emphasise the importance of emotions, sensory experiences and ambiances, and in so doing link spatialised mobility and power. The linkage between the unseen aspects of urban experience and spatialised mobility come into being when movement and space is evaluated as two aspects of power-ridden practices. This indicates how modes of mobility and their material, technological underpinnings as well as kinetic experiences, bodily movements and design and character of place induce pleasure and work on our desires, as much as they coerce, discipline and normalise.

What we learn is that in the politics and practices of mobility, emotions, sensing and atmospheres are part of the game and add another dimension to the multiple forms of power at work. Here, mobile experiences are embodied through emotions, ambiances and sensations.

### **Conclusion: Towards Seeing Mobility and its Diverse Forms of Power**

In this article I have traced questions of how to see mobility in an effort to expand our language for dealing with questions of mobility, space and power. There are, of course, no simple relationships between mobility, power and space. They constitute interrelated areas, each distinct from but also inseparable from each other, which is also evident in a number of contributions to the emerging mobility literature. The above discussed perspective each provide key insights on the way power work on spatialised mobility while they however only seem to go halfway. Thinking together these perspectives opens for approaching mobility in the linkage between representations and experiences of movement which directs attention to subtle workings of power.

The Foucauldian-inspired governmentality perspectives show how mobility as well as space are intimately linked to rationalities at the heart of late-modern governing as this is exercised by authorities and people, including the way cities are designed and planned, represented and lived in. Thereby, mobility and space do not primarily work through disciplining and normalising behaviour. Both are also powerful in the course of producing modern selves and modes of being through the very practices that are enmeshed in daily life and in urban policies and plans.

At the same time, imaginaries and ‘truths’, emotional, sensory experiences and ambiances are embedded in mobility and its technologies and spatialities. These power mechanisms work through moulding mobility as a modern desire and outlook on life when the embodied experience and perception of spatialised mobility is shaped in particular ways. In the perspective of mobility as a general principle, power contributes to shaping our emotions, desires and wants towards mobility dependency, e.g. as the sensory and ambient powers of especially automobility indicate.

The focus suggested in this article thus points at a powerful means by which particular behaviours are induced without coercion or force and equally without discipline and surveillance as primary ways to normalisation. Powers working through emotions, senses and ambiances emphasises how the experiences of mobile technologies and urban places play on nodes of e.g. inclusiveness and openness in shaping desires, senses and affections of urban subjects. As a way to shape conduct in particular ways and with particular technologies, this indicates that the atmosphere and feel of particular modes of mobility and particular mobile spaces are additional aspects of the workings of power connected to mobility.

Especially Sheller and Degen thus draw attention to a dimension of urban planning and urban life which slips expression and often also academic and professional attention. Mobility is strongly intertwined with emotions, feelings and ambiances which do not only relate to the bodily kinaesthetic experience of movement but also to the technologies and materialities of the world by and through which movement is made. As with automotive emotions, the sensory experiences are among the non-representational, and represent a different working of power than Foucauldian governmentality, which however also works unnoticed in ways of urban life.

Both governmentality and experiencing spatialised mobility emphasise the intertwined character of power practices, spaces and modes of mobility. The qualities of places and technologies and the self-forming practices of mobility they invite to are performed and practiced in real life. And with a dimension of co-presence they work on the basis of an ever present option to opt out of the practices presented by mobile technologies, urban places and urban subjectivities. The key to the operation of power, therefore, here lies with how the different practices and logics in seemingly ‘innocent’ ways take hold in the imagination and serve to influence the timing and spacing of activities and the formation of selves. Such discursive understanding and spatial disposition and strategies have the potential to be absorbed by the people who plan and live the city and become part of daily life.

Practising and making mobility is hence also about producing and moulding the perceptions, imaginaries and experiences of mobile – or immobile – urban people, and thus involves mechanisms of power. These have implications for social (in)equality that potentially amplify the social inequality related to access and forced (im)mobility. In the governmentality perspective, inequality surfaces for example as not being

among those who partake in imagining mobile subjects. Further, it surfaces when subjects do not recognise their daily lives in the policy documents' imagined future mobile city, for example, when subjects desire other means of movement than car automobility or when ownership of a car is outside ones financial means in (American) cities void of pavements or bike lanes. Thus social inequality in the discussed workings of power concerns exclusion, but in ways that appear more governed by the free behaviours and experiences of subjects than by prohibitions, rules and surveillance. For mobility where freedom is a central signifier in many representations (Cresswell, 2006) (consider for example car sales or air travel advertisements), the sensory experiences and the representations of for example freedom on the road reinforce and rework the uneven opportunities and inequality connected to lack of access to mobility systems, to the use of sparse urban spaces and to the confinement, restrictions and limitations to autonomy, produced almost as a bi-product by in particular automobility.

However, and as pointed out by Foucault (1978), power is always joined by resistance. Through performing the lived imaginaries, providing alternative mobile imaginaries and sensescapes and shaping mobile sensescapes 'from below', the subjects whose actions and spaces for living are targeted, participate in shaping and making mobility and mobile practices. One example of this resistance is de Certeau's walking practices which produce the urban through lived everyday practices (de Certeau, 1984).

Thus when we integrate power and space/spatiality in the analysis of mobility then the discussed perspectives reveal a potential for the forms of power connected to practising, imagining and sensing mobility. It shows how mobile practices, mobile imaginaries and sensations relating to movement and mobile technologies such as the private car are imbued with particular forms of power. These (also) work in subtle ways and are potentially taken for granted to the extent where they slip from daily view and reflection. These mobility related forms of power hinge on the urban spatialities that grant them particular meaning and make them real. Without the particular spatialisations, sensing and experiencing movement loose significance as scripts for forming selves, perceptions, planning and behaviours.

What we see, then, is a mobility which is a powerful co-player in the shaping of modernity that may be used strategically by policy and social actors and which is taken for granted as a part of the fabric upon which the city and social relations are built. Focus on formation of modern selves through mobility related rationalities, on emotions and the feeling of mobile technologies and places, on ambiances and atmospheres thus suggests that power in relation to mobility and spatialities also works in ways that connect just as much to what we do as to what is put into words and which soon becomes unnoticed and taken for granted. Thinking together the power of conditioning how spatialised mobility is represented in forms of knowledge, rationalities and subjectivities and the power of shaping the emotional and sensory experience of the spatial, mobile world thus reveals certain workings of power. These concern seeing spatialised mobility in two dimensions. In one, it exposes how power as actions upon other actions is exerted through shaping particular ways to experience, engage with and make sense of mobility and specific mobile practices. In the other, it creates a language apt for 'seeing' spatialised mobility analytically which reaches beyond representations of mobility on the one hand and automotive (or more generally, mobile) emotions, on the other, and thus engages with Deleuze's 'seeing' mobility.



The arguments discussed in this article jointly add to a fuller understanding of how mobility is embodied as well as practised, perceived and imagined and how this embodiment can be worked on and be included in power's repertoire for making and shaping mobility. Seeing mobility as spatialised and including diverse ways of seeing may thus expand our language for engaging with questions of mobility, space and power.

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## Notes

1. Kaufmann defines 'motility' as 'the capacity of entities (e.g. goods, information or persons) to be mobile in social and geographic space, or as the way in which entities access and appropriate the capacity for socio-spatial mobility according to their circumstances' (Kaufmann *et al.*, 2004, p. 750).
2. However, as Huxley notes, in many studies 'space seems to be conceived as a series of surfaces and containers upon which governmental aims can be projected and within which certain practices can be enacted' (Huxley, 2007, p. 191).
3. For a Deleuzian inspired analysis of Foucault's inclusion of space, see e.g. Johnson (2008).
4. Many thanks to Mimi Sheller for engaged commentary on these issues.
5. Bearing in mind Bærenholdt's observation that Allen – in spite of his acknowledged Foucauldian legacy – misses a key point in Foucault's conceptions of power when Allen argues for specific modalities of power (Allen, 2003; Bærenholdt, 2008a, pp. 51–53).
6. In scrutinising the nineteenth century practices of walking, Urry also approaches this aspect. He points at the difference it makes for the constitution of space to walk it, with no maps or other spatial representations – it is the experience of the landscape, of roads and movement that changes the way the landscape and thus rural space was conceived and conceptualised (Urry, 2000).

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