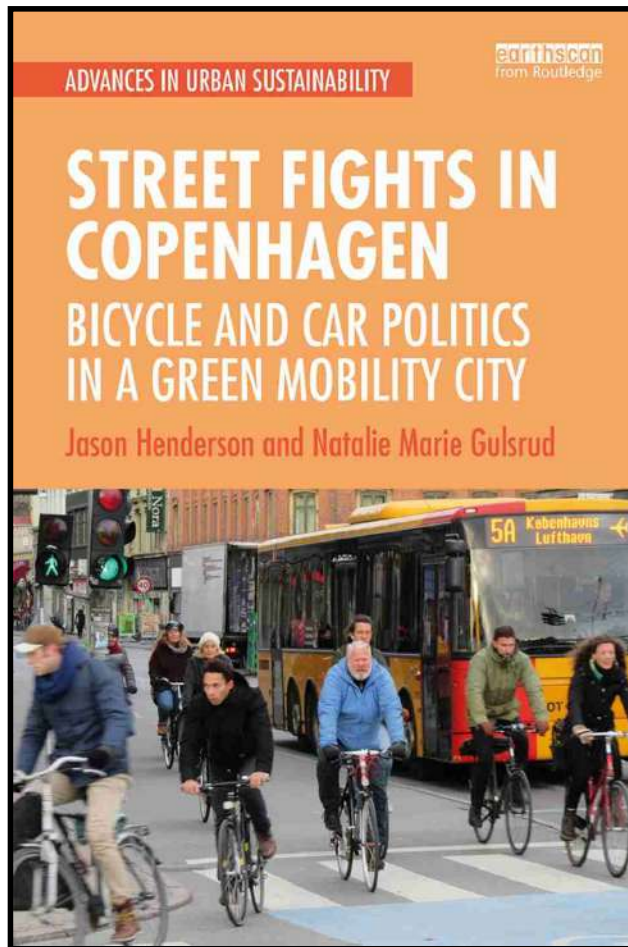


# An inclusive politics of urban mobility



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&

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# About us



# Why we wrote this book

How can thinking about the similarities rather than differences, and situating Copenhagen comparatively, enable scholars, policy makers, and advocates to identify hopeful paths forward for sustainable mobility?

# Main take aways

- Copenhagen is an iconic bicycle and green mobility city and provides a politics of hope
- Yet there is much to learn from the "street fights" or political struggles
- Talking openly about these struggles will help other cities learn more about how to realize a bicycle city
- We can learn from Copenhagen about an inclusive politics of mobility

# Overview

- Overview of the book
- Focus on select street fights
- Outlining a politics of hope
- Defending inclusive politics of urban mobility

# Mobility & Climate Emergency

IPCC 5<sup>th</sup> Assessment: “Transport Daunting”

IPCC (2018) *Global Warming of 1.5 °C*

“Rapid and far reaching transformations”

“Deep emissions reductions”

“Unprecedented in terms of scale”

Need for immediate and rapid de-carbonization by 2030

Inequity between North & South needs to be addressed



# Structural Change

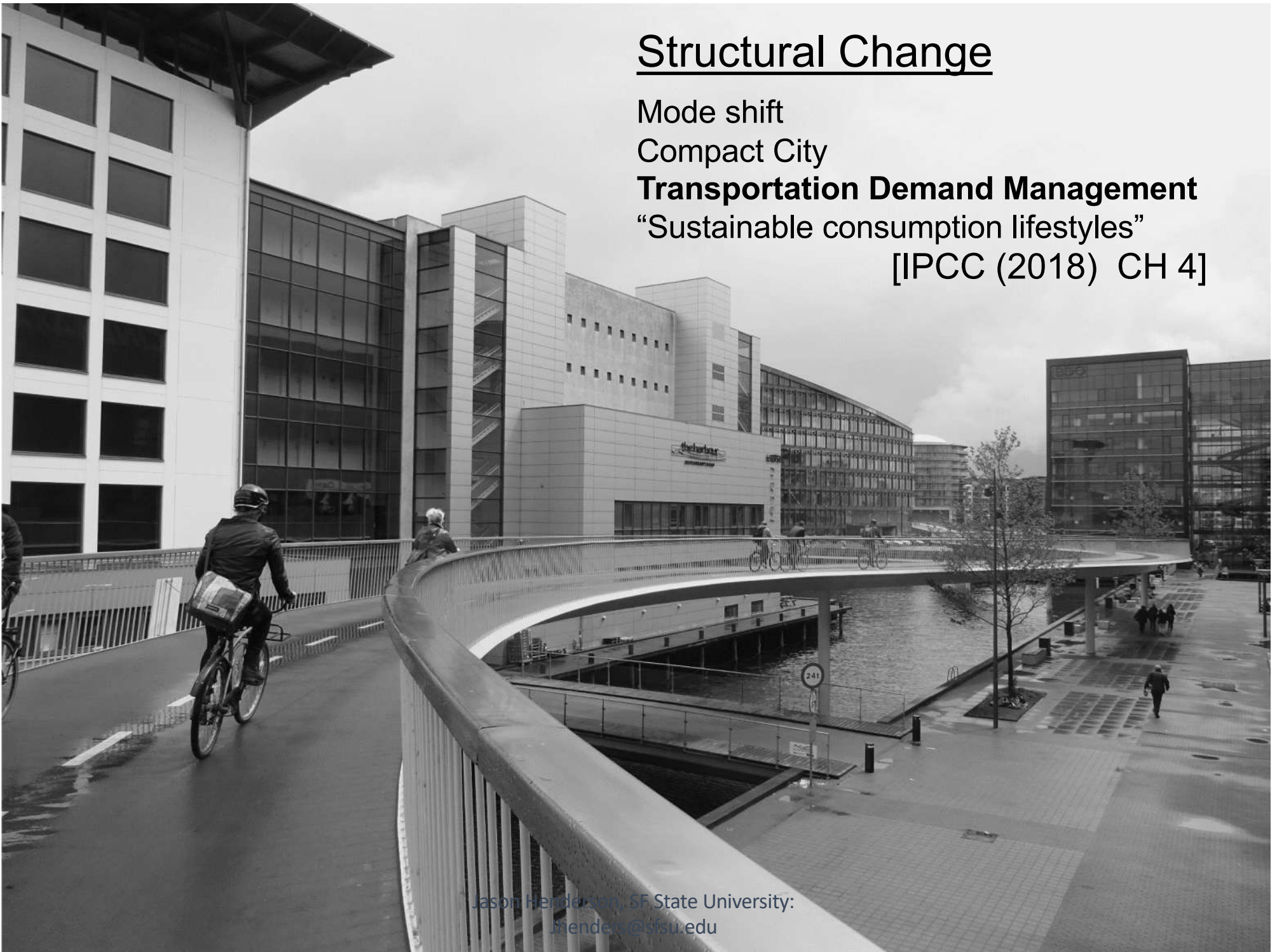
Mode shift

Compact City

**Transportation Demand Management**

“Sustainable consumption lifestyles”

[IPCC (2018) CH 4]

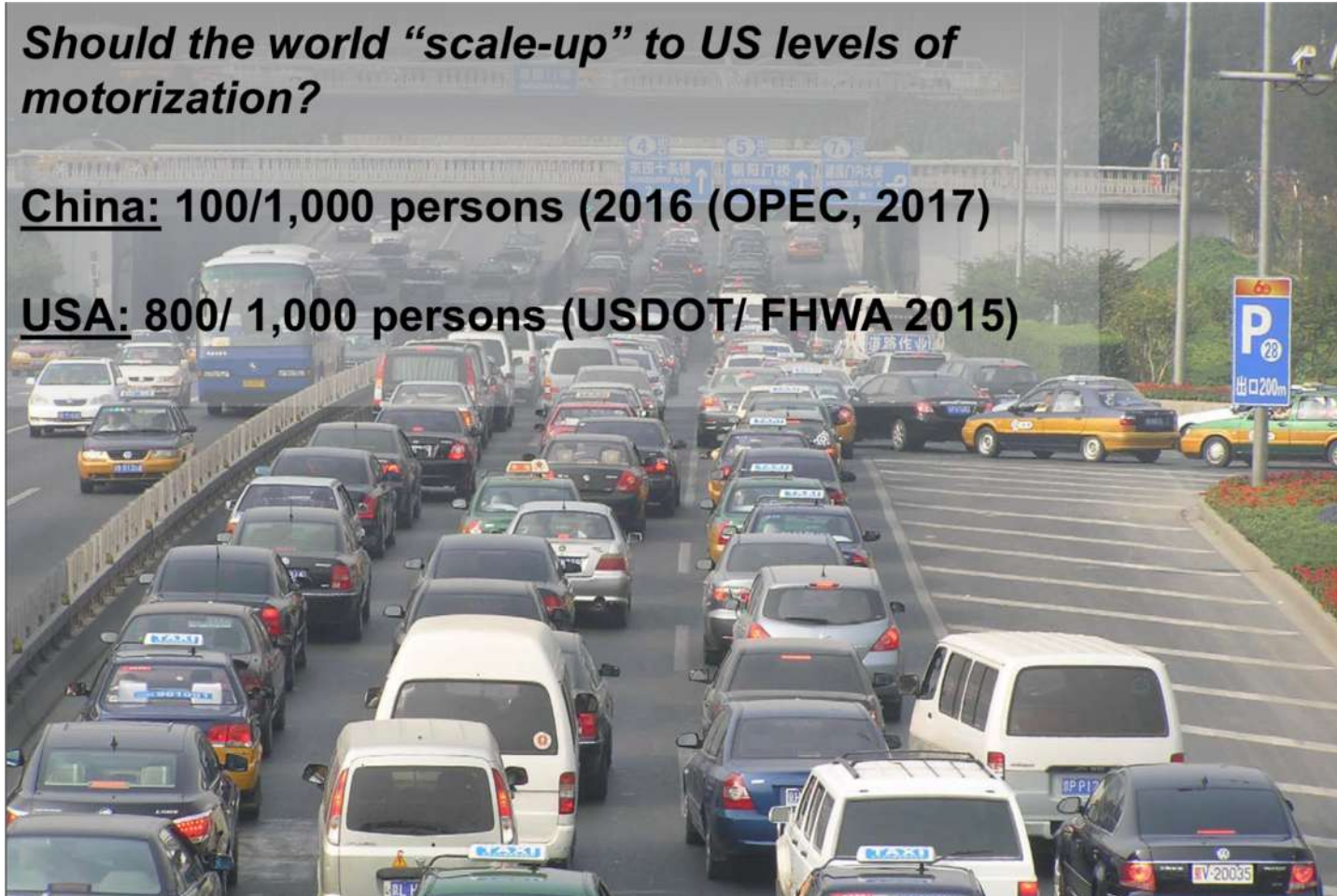


# Global equity

*Should the world “scale-up” to US levels of motorization?*

**China: 100/1,000 persons (2016 (OPEC, 2017))**

**USA: 800/ 1,000 persons (USDOT/ FHWA 2015)**





# Why Copenhagen?



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# In Sum.....

Copenhagen's reputation as green mobility icon is deserved

Copenhagen is truly a **hopeful city** and shows the politics of possibilities

Impressive challenge to the car

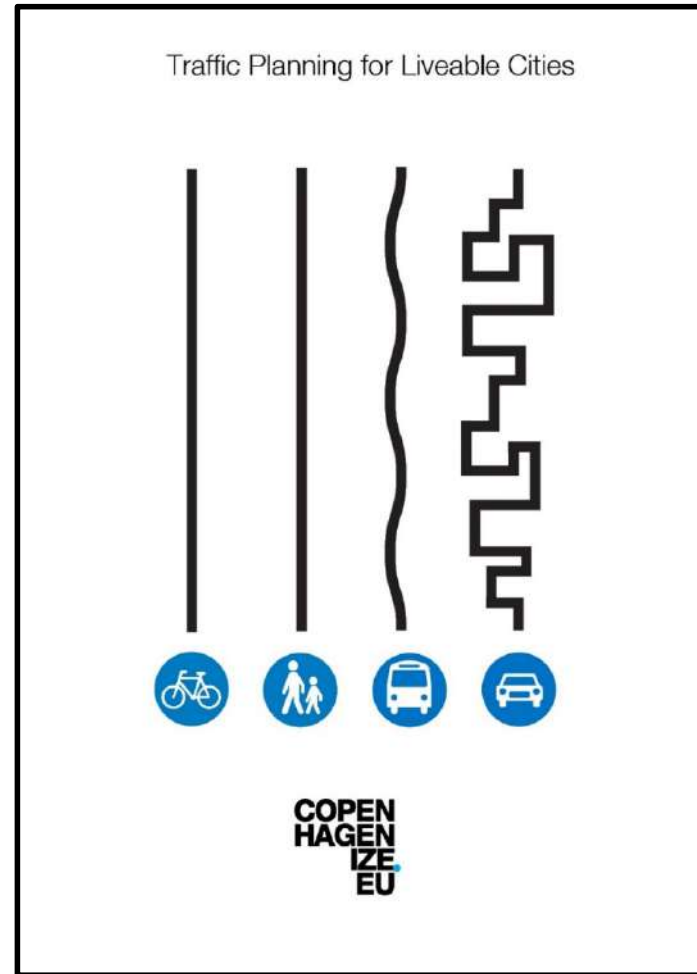
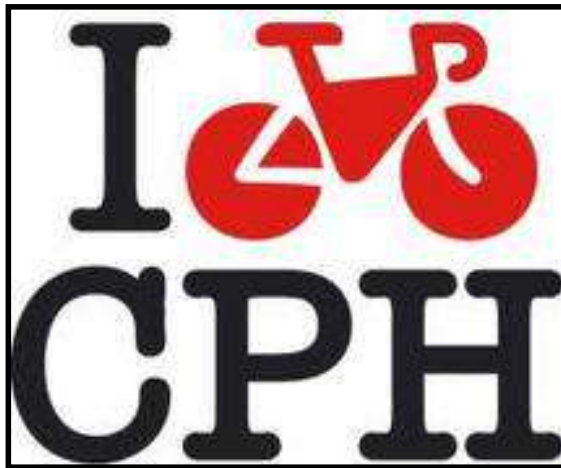


**Queen Louises Bridge at morning rush hour.**  
48,500 cyclists cross it each day (vs. 10,000 cars) (CPH, 2017)



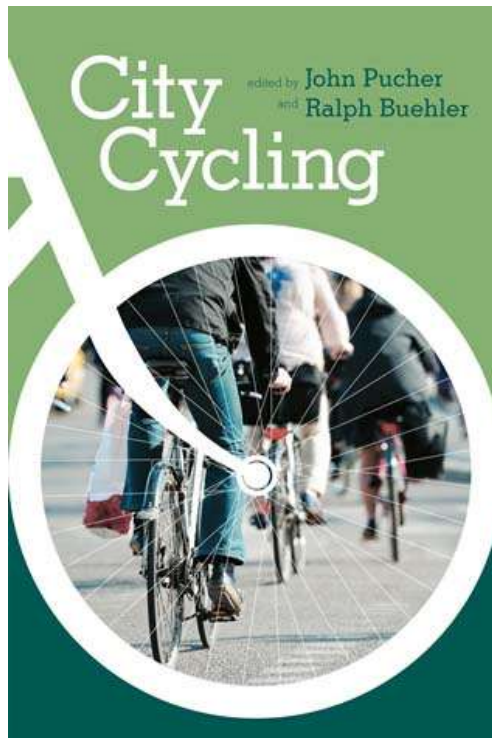
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# Study Tours & Branding





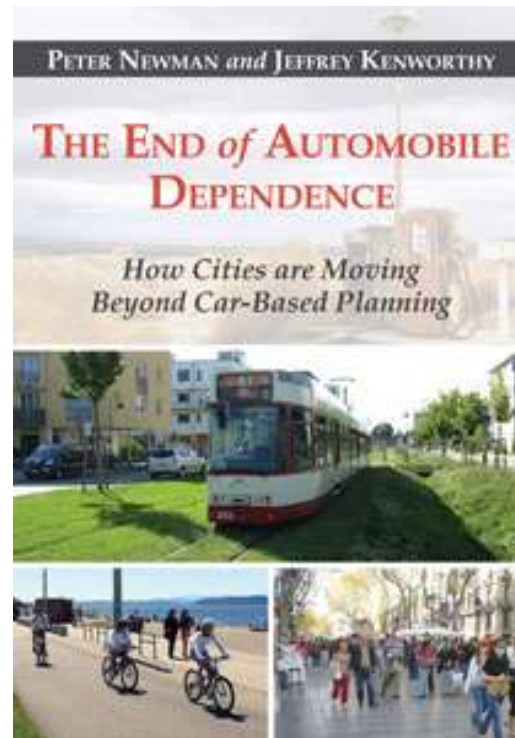
# Copenhagen: Iconic Bicycle City



Pucher & Buehler

“World’s best”

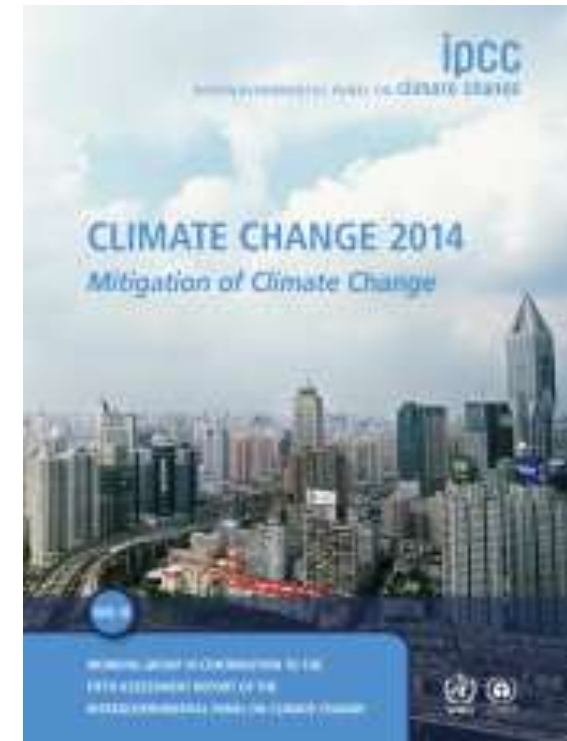
Captured the imagination  
of the US in 2007



Newman & Kenworthy

“Pin-up city”

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IPCC 5<sup>th</sup> Assessment  
CH 8 Transport

Mode shift to cycling



**Table 1.8: Copenhagen’s city center and suburban density compared to the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles, California.**

	Population	Density (Pers./Mi <sup>2</sup> )	Density (Pers/ Km <sup>2</sup> )
<b>Copenhagen</b> (Stats Denmark 2017)	611, 822	18,318	<b>7,071</b>
<b>San Francisco</b> CA Dpt. Finance (2017)	874,228	18,500	<b>7,111</b>
<b>CPH Bridge Districts</b> (City of CPH, 2017 & Fred 2016)	383,171	25,545	<b>9,876</b>
<b>SF Market &amp; Octavia</b> (2010 US Census)	30,800	27,000	<b>10,424</b>
<b>LA: Korea Town- Westlake-East Hollywood (LA Times)</b>	<b>320,000</b>	<b>37,311</b>	<b>14,440</b>
<b>Greater CPH Urbanized Area</b> Stats DK 2017	1,319,996	6,554	<b>2,530</b>
<b>SF-Oak Urbanized</b> (2010 US Census)	3,281,000	6,226	<b>2,403</b>
<b>Los Angeles Urbanized</b> (2010 US Census)	12,150,000	6,999	<b>2,702</b>

*Copenhagen has remarkably similar density to major California urban areas*

# Opportunities for Mode Shift

## Europe car trips (WHO, 2014)

50% of all car trips < 3 mi.

30% < 1.8 mi. (3km).

## US car trips (NHTS 2017)

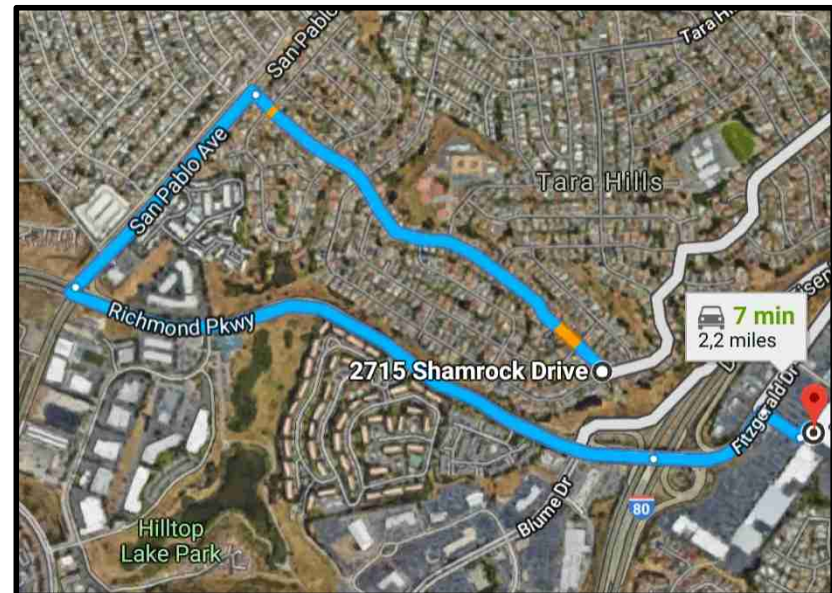
21% < 1 mi

46% < 3 mi

60% < 5 mi.

## Bay Area car trips

72% < 3 miles



Drive: 7 minutes  
Walk: 46 minutes  
Bike: 17 minutes

## Remarkably Similar

Thinking about the similarities rather than differences

There was, and continues to be, a political struggle in all cities.

Yet there is little to no information in English literature about the political conditions that have enabled cycling to appeal to such a wide swath of citizens and how this can be replicated in other places.

# How did Copenhagen Happen?

Historical Inflection Points:

Social democracy and “safety through separation”

Car Tax: Left Wing/ Social Democrats

Left/progressive politics: Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century



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# What is Social Democratic mobility?

- Sharing: space & resources
- Caring: social welfare system
- Public/Collective solutions
- Egalitarian
- Inclusive
- *Multiethnic or multicultural*



# Something's Rotten in Denmark!





# Copenhagen & the Car

**57% of all journeys that cross city limit of CPH are by car**

***“City likes to cycle but region likes to drive”***

**City of Copenhagen (2016). *CPH 2025 Climate Plan: Roadmap 2017-2020*. Copenhagen, Technical and Environmental Administration: .**



# Bike space & capacity in CPH



# Flere unge tager bilen og dropper bus og cykel

Unge fravælger i stort tal cyklen og den kollektiv trafik for at køre i bil, viser analyse fra regionerne.



action...



# Has Cycling Plateaued in Copenhagen?

Goal of 50% for jtw/edu trips has stalled around 49%

Absolute number of cyclists is increasing, as city population increases but...

System is at capacity and potentially can't absorb much more – so hovering at 28% all trips and 49 % JTW/Edu trips

To increase cycling numbers there is a need for increased allocation of space to cyclists – street fights!



# Politics of Mobility in DK: Variegated & Inflection Points

Ideology	Role of Government	Politics of Mobility
<b>Left/Progressive</b> Enhedslisten Socialist Workers Alternative <i>Radikal Venstre</i>	Reduce car space through <u>government</u> intervention  Pricing: public/redistribute	Mobility is systematic problem, livability is social responsibility  Slow down, reduce consumption
<b>Neoliberal</b> Venstre Social Democrats <i>Liberal Alliance</i>	<u>Government</u> investment for capital accumulation  Pricing; private/ “efficiency”	Market is best way to organize mobility; livability as economic development  Privatized, non-union creative class consumption
<b>Conservative</b> Danish People’s Conservative	<u>Government</u> should preserve space of automobility  Little/ no pricing	Automobile is way of life/ car is culture  Individual responsibility/ spatial secession

# Neoliberal Politics of Mobility

## Venstre

A city with economic growth and development and the possibility to own a car.

## Radikal Venstre

We want Denmark to be the global leader in cycling.

# Conservative/ Right Wing Politics

Essentialize the Car – natural, universal, indispensable

Car is responsibility towards family

Cars must be cheaper, people want bigger cars



# Danish Right Wing Car Politics



Taastrup, outside of Copenhagen

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# Right Wing/ Neoliberal Mobility Consensus

No Congestion Toll Ring

No more Parking Removal (without 1:1 replacement)

No more increased parking charges

More Off-street parking

**Harbor Tunnel**



# Flashpoints:

Congestion pricing debate

On-street parking removal

Off-street parking ratios

Harbor Tunnel

Car taxes (Denmark)



# Politics of Parking



**New luxury housing in Copenhagen  
Island Brygge (2016)**



# Future Car Ownership in CPH (2025) (Municipality of Copenhagen (2016) Annual Parking Report



**New luxury housing  
Island Brygge (Iceland Wharf) (2016)**

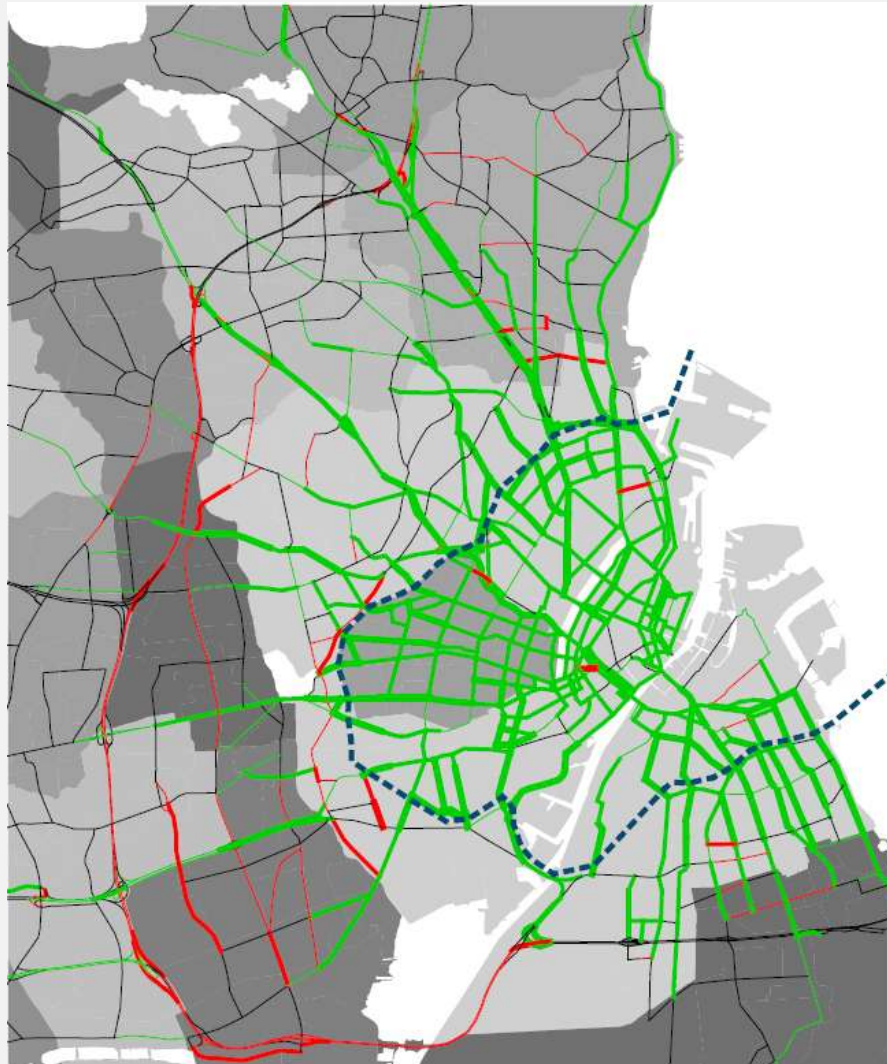
*City states desire to stop increase  
in car ownership in redevelopment areas?*

2025 CPH will add 100,000 more people, at 1,000 persons/month

- Car ownership will increase 1.2% annually
- 20,000 new cars in Copenhagen between 2016-2025
- The largest increase in new cars is in the **Harbor** and redevelopment areas where parking is being built with new housing



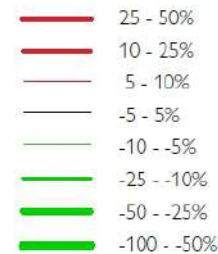
# Congestion Toll Ring



*Social Democrats “love their cars”*

*“The Social Democrats are all-in on carbon neutral discourse but when it comes to parking, invoke rhetoric that a single mother with two children must have a car and parking”*

Percentage change in car traffic in relation to Basis 2015. Vehicles per 24 hours – weekdays



Source: Tetraplan, Traffic modelling, April 2008

# Harbor Tunnel



Politiken (2018)



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Politiken (1960s)

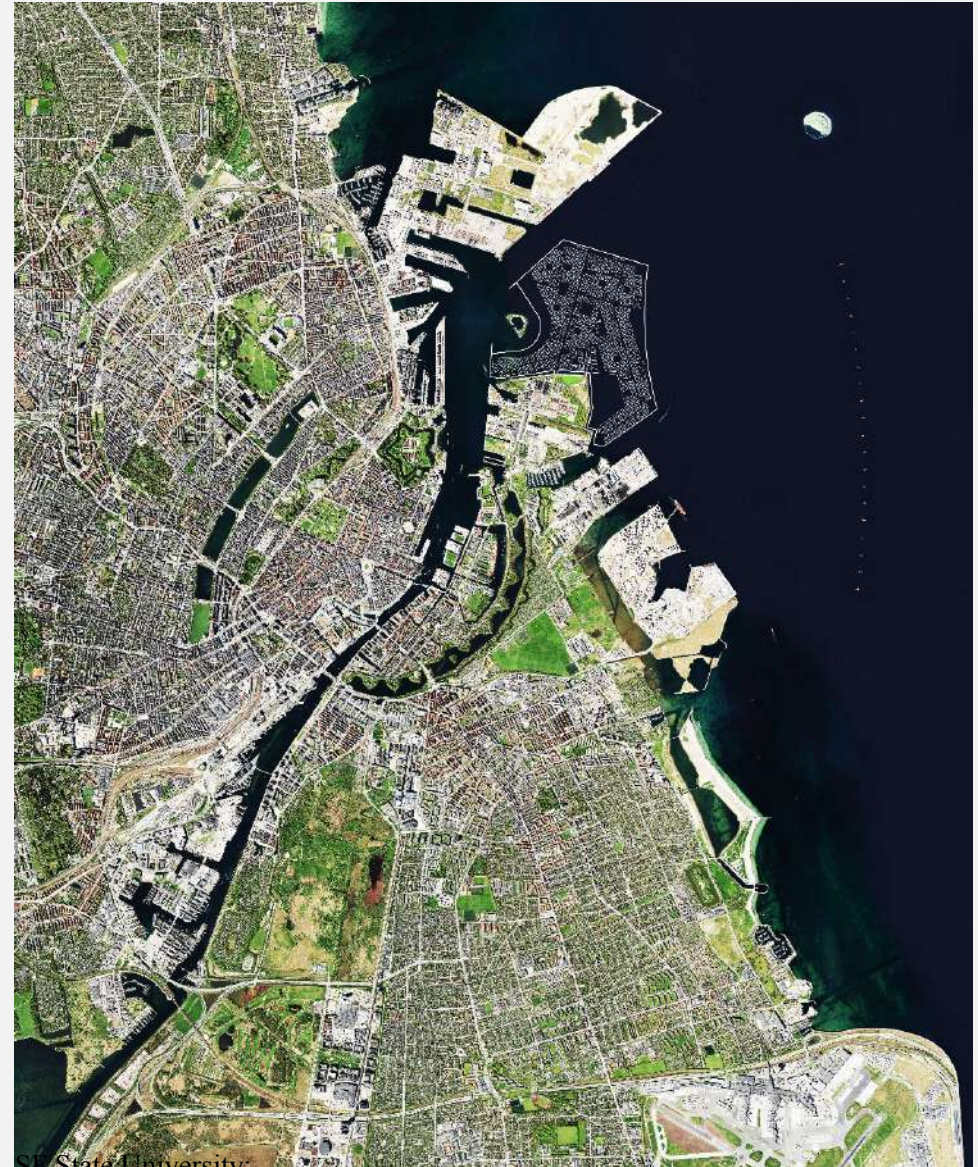




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# Lynetteholmen: 2070



Jason Henderson, SF State University.  
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Danish Broadcasting 2018





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# **A politics of hope**

**Tendencies to over-glamorize Copenhagen's iconic stature may hurt, rather than help, efforts to create cycling cities around the world.**

**Scholars, planners, and activists seeking to create bicycle cities can benefit from understanding that there was, and continues to be, a political struggle – a street fight – in Copenhagen.**



# **Left/Progressive Politics of Mobility**



**Challenge Neoliberalism**

**Redistributive**

**Ethical responsibility including mobility**



## **Unity Alliance Enhedslisten (Ø)**

“Car Free City Life”

## **Socialist People's Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti) (SF):**

“Leave the Car at Home”

## **The Alternative Alternativet (Å):**

“2020-203 is our last chance”

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# What Does Left/Progressive Mobility Look Like?

50% Bicycle Mode Share

Congestion Toll Ring: \$4.00 to cross

25% Car Mode Share

On-street Parking Permit: € 1,500/ yr.

30km/h citywide

Car Free Core

Transit First

Car free/ car light housing (Off-street parking reform)

Social Housing

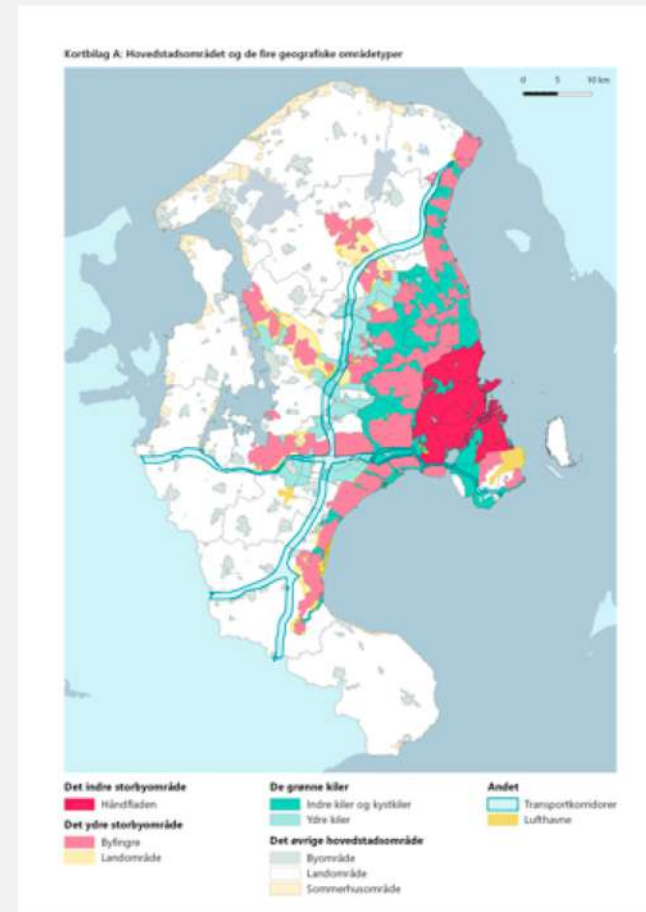
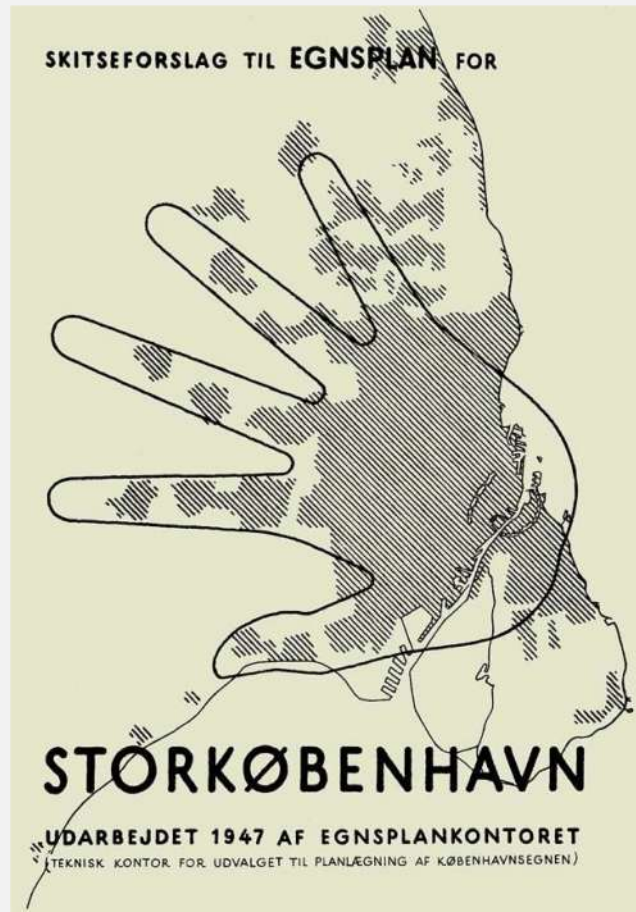
Free/reduced fares on public transit



# Defending just mobilities



# Avoiding "carbon gentrification"





# Free parking for electric vehicles



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Michael Svarer: Vellykket bog om den globale ulighed  
25. februar 2020



DEBAT: Simon Emil Ammitzbøll-Bille: Velfærdslov er spild af penge  
25. februar 2020



Jonas Herby: Regulering dræber prisernes magi  
25. februar 2020



Ulovlige dataoverførsler fortsatte i næsten et år trods henvendelse fra Datatilsynet  
25. februar 2020

## Engelbrecht: Forbud mod benzin- og dieselmotorer er helt afgørende



Kim Rosenkilde | 17. februar 2020 kl. 6:37 |



# Low-carbon gentrification

- is seen as a politically embedded process of changing the social and spatial composition of urban quarters under the pretext of climate change and energy efficiency imperatives.
- Is ideologically driven
- Supports specific institutional and economic driving forces



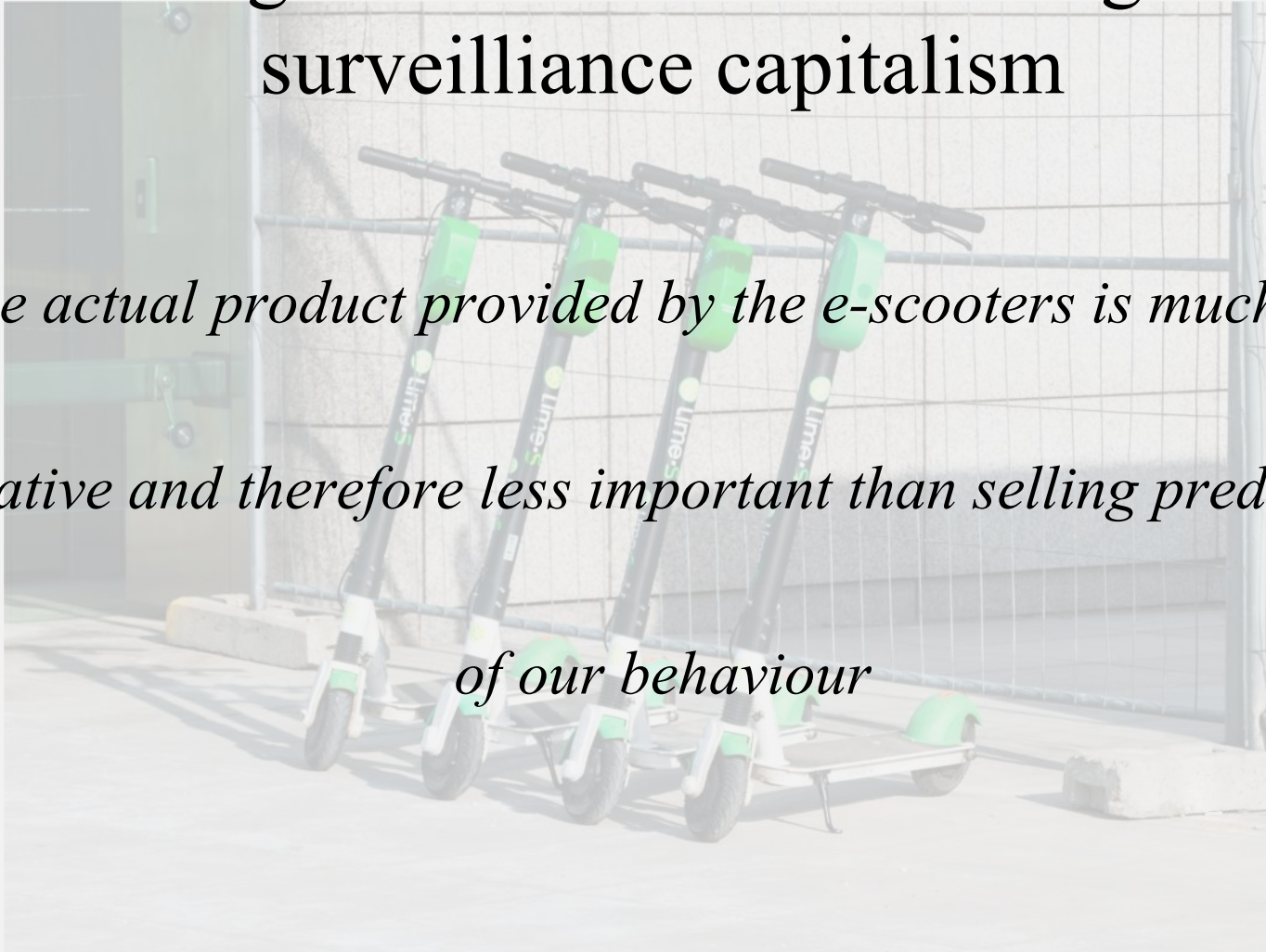
# Tech mobility and the smart city



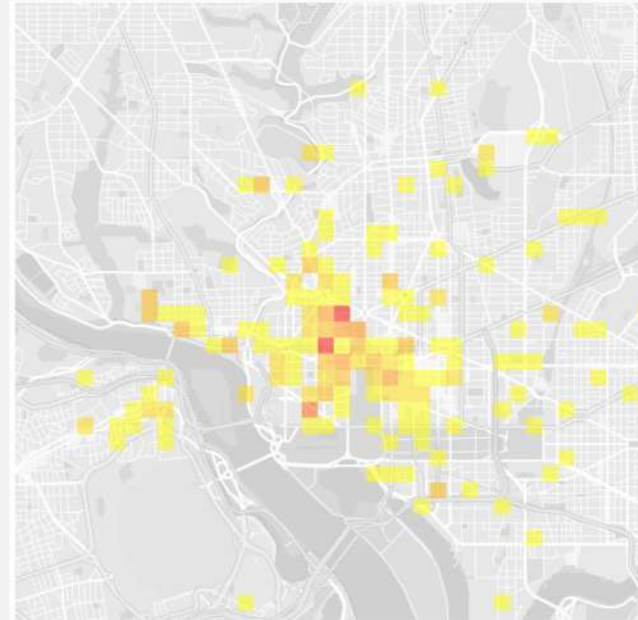


# The logic of e-scooters is the logic of surveillance capitalism

*The actual product provided by the e-scooters is much less lucrative and therefore less important than selling predictions of our behaviour*



# From "regulatory capture" to data harvesting



## Workshop Part 1 (20 min)

- Reflect on a city that you and your group know well. How does the politics of mobility matrix apply to that city?
- What kind of street fights exist in your city? And how do these street fights help us understand about just and inclusive mobilities?
- Who is able to exercise rights of mobility? Who governs or controls mobility systems?



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## Workshop Part 2: Discussion

- Reflect on a city that you and your group know well. How does the politics of mobility matrix apply to that city?
- What kind of street fights exist in your city? And how do these street fights help us understand about just and inclusive mobilities?
- Who is able to exercise rights of mobility? Who governs or controls mobility systems?
- **How can we support building greater mobility justice?**