TOD IS RUR

NOVEL TOD PLANNING APPROACHES:
Local Landscape Values
[draft handbook B]

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INTRODUCTION

The handbook aims at raising awareness on the challenge of extending TOD to RUR, the social and environmental challenges, and offers planners, NGOs and interest groups hands-on methods and approaches to understand and analyse prototypes of environmental sustainable mobility-urbanisation processes (part A), as well as local landscape values of station areas in RURs (part B). It presents different research approaches, as well as their implementation in research of TODs in different European contexts.

Namely, ESR1 uses a historic approach to explore the relationship between urbanisation and planning through time, with focus on planning discourses and practices promoting social welfare in the metropolitan regions of Paris and Rome. Through a context-specific and spatial approach, ESR2 researches socio-political, ecological and economic dynamics, and points out frictions and interactions of TOD projects. The research emphasises the ability of research-by-design methodology to analyse complex multidimensional relations and focuses on the rural-urban edges of cross-border metropolitan regions of the Great Geneva Agglomeration, and the Flanders / Bruxelles Metropolitan Region as a comparative study. On the case studies of Belin-Brandenburg and Randstad, ESR3 researches strategies towards sustainable mobility transition focused on decreasing of individual car use. The research highlights the importance of integrated approach to sustainable mobility based upon collaboration across government levels, as well as productive alliances with the civil society. Combining a political-economy perspective and organisational theory, ESR4 presents a methodology for critically analysing the design and implementation of state-led planning, policy and tools for TOD. More specifically, the research follows the role of deal-based instruments in planning integrating transport and land-use planning in Sweden and aims to identify risks and tensions in top-down efforts to implement TOD. ESR5 researches the notion of place and its value for local station areas. Based on landscape analysis, the research goes beyond typical interpretation of place, grounded in analysing the physical features, and sets a framework for conceptualising the value of space through its site-specific complex processes and relations. Further, ESR6 proposes participatory reimagination as an approach for generating spatial imaginaries for mobility and land use in rural areas. The research calls for experimental co-creation processes as an alternative to existing spatial concepts and imaginaries, predominantly focused on the city. The research of ESR7 focuses on understanding how technological development has affected TOD, specifically in creating inequal access to public transport services in rural areas. The project proposes a critical approach to the TOD model, questioning the urban-centric principles applied to RURs. Building on insights from transport geography, feminist geography, and mobility studies, using concepts like transport poverty and mobility justice, ESR8 proposes an interdisciplinary method to overcome inclusion in transport and mobility. ESR9, in continuous feedback with the other ESR projects, aims at developing an interdisciplinary, relational approach to TOD. Through a historical research of Scandinavian socially oriented transport policies, the research aims to understand and theoretically develop how TOD can address marginality and social. Finally, ESR10 proposes the use of art, more specifically filmmaking as an approach to re/produce and translate knowledge on TOD from research to practice. The research utilises notions and concepts explored and developed in the other ESRs projects.

TOD
IS
RUR

LANDSCAPES FOR TOD

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How can we better capture what makes a place valuable for local station areas? This approach attempts a different way of considering how the notion of place is understood in transit-oriented development (TOD) beyond what is often measured or interpreted through the physical environment, most typically through bounded understandings of the site. By building on the practice of landscape analysis, a means through which site-specific qualities and values are identified as a basis for planning, this approach seeks to emphasise that place can be thought of differently by paying attention to everyday (recreational) mobilities. This pertains to scrutinising how people and things move, relate to and enable a place by their activities, particularly with regards to everyday recreation that is essential to the rhythms of everyday life. Yet these other mobilities are often overlooked in matters of TOD, which places much emphasis on work-related or commuting mobilities. This is despite TOD's objective not only to enable densification but also to provide quality of life. By opening up how place is comprehended, different interpretations of values and place are allowed to emerge, which in turn are vital for capturing specificities of local contexts for TOD planning.

The ways of characterising and understanding place remain static and confined to perceiving objects and their values as merely suspended in space. If we are to consider TOD as a concept and model for sustainability and for planning places, a thorough endeavour must be considered in order to grasp how place and its values are conceptualised. TOD has to open up for alternative ways of thinking of place in the planning process beyond conventional approaches, and this approach is one that, in taking hold of place, digs into the matter of paving the way for contextualising TOD that cater to or build on site-specific values emerging and negotiated through complex processes and relations.

TAKEAWAYS

(1) TOD thinking and practice must open up for alternative ways of perceiving place beyond the conventional idea of place and space as bounded and geometrically organised, if we are to capture the intricacies of how place is constituted.

(2) We must pay attention to other everyday mobilities within TOD thinking and consider how these constitute place.

(3) Landscape analysis is an instrument to characterise and identify qualities of place, but there remains the need to examine how it is practised and how we can bridge new perspectives in order to develop methods for knowing place more broadly through everyday recreational mobilities.

TOD IS RUR

TOD has stressed the importance of bringing in site-specific values to facilitate the interrelatedness of both node and place (Bertolini 1996). It has been critiqued, however, that recent work on TOD has instead reduced place studies as being 'inconsequential', failing 'to embrace the dynamism and heterogeneity of place' (Qviström et al. 2019). This then persistently limits the TOD discourse on place qualities to land use, density and accessibility, or the TOD-ness of a station area (Singh et al. 2017) based on similar factors. If TOD is to facilitate sustainable development, there is a need to take place qualities more seriously within TOD planning.

To this end, as 'the process of determining what matters' (Dalglish & Leslie 2016), landscape analysis can be seen as one of the ways that ensure that place is brought in to serve as a basis for planning. Landscape analysis is a means through which knowledge about place, landscape, its character and values are described, studied or assessed (Stahlschmidt 2017). Today it is an instrument used to tackle landscape challenges and aid in decision-making and communication for sustainable development for planning (Dalglish & Leslie 2016; Stahlschmidt 2017; Fairclough et al. 2018). Different understandings of landscape and place are brought into practice, and therefore have proliferated different ways of landscape analysis (Primdahl et al. 2019), which inevitably have implications for what values are considered essential for how place is understood. In practice, there is a gap in the knowledge of methods in translating what method fits best, with a tendency to follow tradition over theory (Herlin et al. 2018). This necessitates the need to investigate how landscape analysis is practised, and reframe how values can be more carefully captured by a more relational thinking of place.

The study draws from a relational approach to place that enables a (recreational) mobilities perspective to deepen understandings of place. More simply put, the ways in which we move is one mode in which we facilitate a relation to and make sense of place differently and thus allow for different interpretations of place qualities and values. By freeing place of this bounded, static understanding that has stemmed from a geometric thinking of space, we can imagine ways in which place can be understood as constituted of various relations that do not rely so dominantly on measured distances and that place is instead changing and mobile.

The desired data consists of insights into practice and knowledge on landscape analysis from landscape practitioners concerning how it is carried out, and its implications for how landscape and place are understood and how the intended approach can build on and influence such practices. It also consists of studies of place that help to situate the study concretely and evaluate site-specific values through a mobilities lens. With the place-based studies, the approach might also look at past transformations of place and its qualities (i.e. how was a place used before and how has that changed? What relations have changed to influence place?). By doing so, it is intended that insights from these studies will widen current ways of looking at place and place values. The data will be analysed through ethnographic methods and place-based studies concerning everyday recreation and landscape amenities. Prelimi-

TOD
IS
RUR

nary results would account for broadening ways of knowing how values pertinent to place are captured in the practice of landscape analysis that go beyond conventional practices of analysis (i.e. supplementing and moving beyond cartographic methods of conceptualising place). They would also account for ushering in alternative readings of place with a local station area as a case study.

Capturing place through landscape analysis: implications for TOD practice
The European Landscape Convention (ELC) has placed emphasis on the importance of promoting landscape protection, management and planning in Europe; it recognises that developments such as in planning, transport, infrastructure and recreation vastly accelerate the transformation of all sorts of everyday landscapes (Council of Europe 2000). Beyond its physical topography, landscapes are holistically perceived as sites of identity, individual and social well-being, culture, and everyday life— for these reasons the ELC calls to improve knowledge of landscapes that take into account its characteristics and values. Essentially, landscapes, in these terms are also places or assemblages of places. As such, the approach offered here allows for strengthening the role of landscape analysis (or characterisation) as a tool that provides a basis for situated, place-based knowledge for TOD.

Much work has been done to explore possibilities in local planning situations in relation to land use planning and local transit areas as well as illuminating considerations of landscape in relation to transport planning. Within the Swedish context, there have been efforts, particularly on a regional scale, to examine and develop frameworks for landscape analysis for infrastructure planning, particularly with regard to road and railway projects (Berglund et al. 2013; Antonson & Åkerskog 2015; Trafikverket 2018). At the more local level, ways of characterisation tend to become nebulous. Regardless, much research points to a need to scrutinise and work on the ways that landscapes are being assessed and characterised, which arise from assorted ways of conceptualising the landscape from the onset. Current methods of undertaking landscape analysis remain entrenched in static ideas of place, and so understanding and representing what is valuable tend to be limited to pinpointing qualities that fit within the understanding of space as contained. Unsurprisingly, 'different methods for describing landscapes involve specific sorts of reduction, with exclusion of some types of knowledge claims, clarifications of some types, and prioritisation of others' (Löfgren 2020) and inevitably not all realities are conveyed. As such, what about values that are missed because of a confined set of methods for knowing place? By offering an alternate entry point into knowing place through a mobilities perspective, this approach might inform the ways of doing landscape analysis more inclusively. Consequently, this also nudges the argument further for more explicitly taking into account landscape amenities and recreation in planning for TODs.

(Recreational) mobilities, place and TOD: implications for TOD theory
This approach seeks to develop the discussion of place within TOD research. Place-making, for example, has been

TOD
IS
RUR

taken up in TOD studies and more generally in transport studies. However, critique of TOD research has shown that place has remained wanting for a deeper engagement with the heterogeneous relations and processes that constitute place (Qviström et al. 2019). This critique points out that place is limited to the built form or relegated to questions of good urban design, conceptualised in relation to the station area functioning as a node, or understood (often statistically) through safety, accessibility, preferences for living in a TOD area, etc. As such, this suggested approach seeks to depart from the idea that space and place are bounded and fixed, but is instead open, changing and relational (Massey 2005; Agnew 2011). What such a relational perspective offers up to TOD theory is that insights into place are broadened, based on the bundles of networks that negotiate place (Pierce et al. 2011) and beyond mere cartographic readings of place. As such, the implications can lead to more context-sensitive applications of TOD that have always called for the necessity of specificity in order to implement good TOD (Thomas et al. 2018). Furthermore, by thinking about place as such, this opens up a wider dialogue on place and enables bringing in the potential of deepening understandings of place through everyday mobilities. This is rooted in the view that mobilities, as part of everyday life, constitutes place (Sheller & Urry 2006; Cresswell 2015; Bissell 2020). On the everyday level, TOD studies have tended to bring up benefits of walking, of the liveability and accessibility that TOD affords. However, much of TOD research tends to overcompensate for discourses on sustainable mobility, travel behaviour or everyday mobilities comprehended through, for example, patterns of work trips (Laham & Noland 2017; Ibraeva et al. 2020). There remains a need for a deeper discussion on other mobilities in relation to the conceptualisation of TOD; in other words, does it benefit or take into account other mobilities? This approach argues for a focus on recreational mobilities within studies of TOD (Qviström et al. 2016; Engström & Qviström 2022) This approach reinforces place through mobilities, and by doing so attempts to broadly contribute to filling the gap in TOD research on non-work related mobilities (Ibraeva et al. 2020) of whose related activities impacts notions of and values of place and have a say in how TOD can better function, especially at the level of station areas.

Place-based studies
Selection of Swedish and German case study(ies) is ongoing at the time of the writing of this piece. Local station areas will be chosen. Bålsta in Sweden and Potsdam in Germany have been preliminarily selected as potentially interesting places to examine. For Bålsta, its history as a station community and its municipality's recent commitment to developing it into 'a garden city with station proximity' (in Swedish, Skapa trädgårdsstad med stationsnära Läge) (Habo kommun 2020), with conventional qualities commonly associated to TOD mentioned explicitly, might be promising to scrutinise as a place that has conventionally been seen as a home to many who work in the Stockholm region.

Figure 1: A photo of Bålsta from the 1960s with its spatial form that developed parallel to the railway that was established in the nineteenth century.(Håbo Marknads AB, 2010)

TOD IS RUR

BREAKDOWN ESR 05

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TOD
IS
RUR

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TOD
IS
RUR

CO-CREATING SPATIAL IMAGINARIES

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This perspective advocates for experimenting with participatory re-imagination of spatial imaginaries for mobility and land use beyond cities. Over the decades, many spatial concepts and imaginaries have been developed within mobility and land use planning, among which the "15 minute city" is perhaps the most recently lauded example. However, mobility and land use planning – in both theory and practice – tend to focus on cities as the prime objects of interest, while largely neglecting other forms of urbanization, such as rural, peripheral and hybrid areas (Brenner, 2021a; Brenner & Schmid, 2015). Nonetheless, it is especially in these kinds of places – let's call them "diffused urbanization" (cfr. Viganò et al., 2017) – that some of the biggest challenges are located. How and where do we organize life in a way that is more environmentally sustainable and socially inclusive, while respecting and celebrating the unique qualities of, for example, the countryside?

This perspective posits that the existing spatial imaginaries (i.e., shared mental models about space, see Davoudi et al., 2018) that circulate, do not suffice to tackle this question. There are currently just a few mental models available, such as the compact city or transit-oriented development, and they all buy into the false dichotomy of the urban versus the rural, promoting either (often overly generic) city-like concepts, or pastoral illusions. That these models are not working for a large share of the population is evident in the fact that for example in the Netherlands, after decades of transit-oriented development, car dependence is still on the rise (Zijlstra et al., 2022).

Moving beyond concrete concepts and models, this perspective explicitly focuses on the spatial imaginaries that underlie them. These spatial imaginaries, that describe how we as a collective think about space – in general and for specific (kinds of) places – are largely invisible and taken for granted, and thus, are able to go unquestioned (Davoudi et al., 2018). Nonetheless, they are not just representative, but also performative, meaning they are not just influenced by, but also influence, the present, past and future spatial reality (Watkins, 2015). This can be seen as a broader take on the central premise in the futures literature, that our ideas about possible futures influence the decisions we make in the present. New spatial imaginaries for diffused urbanization are needed. Given their elusive nature, it is not always straightforward to uncover how spatial imaginaries are created. Often, prominent figures like artists, writers, architects, politicians and academics bring forth ideas that somehow find their way to the public at large and become shared – the original idea often being reshaped throughout the process (Hajer & Versteeg, 2019). Dominant ideas start overshadowing and pushing out more marginal ones, which can make it seem like there is only one possible path ahead. This perspective calls for consciously creating experimental processes of ideation and imagination that reflect the diversity in (1) the plurality of actors that could and should shape imaginaries; (2) the plurality of possible ideas and visions; and (3) the local environment in all its distinct qualities and challenges. These processes can be conceptualized as democratic precursors to Hajer and Versteeg's (2019) "techniques of futuring", through which novel imaginations are spread among the masses and become shared imaginaries.

TAKEAWAYS

(1) SPATIAL IMAGINARIES, AS COLLECTIVE TAKEN-FOR-GRANTED BACKGROUND UNDERSTANDINGS OF SPACE, PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN SPATIAL PLANNING, AND SHOULD BE UNCOVERED, TRANSFORMED, AND RE-IMAGINED.

(2) WE NEED TO CONSCIOUSLY CREATE EXPERIMENTAL PROCESSES OF IDEATION AND IMAGINATION THAT REFLECT THE DIVERSITY IN (1) THE PLURALITY OF CITIZEN ACTORS THAT COULD AND SHOULD SHAPE IMAGINARIES; (2) THE PLURALITY OF POSSIBLE IDEAS AND VISIONS; AND (3) THE LOCAL ENVIRONMENT IN ALL ITS DISTINCT QUALITIES AND CHALLENGES.

TOD IS RUR

Humankind's biggest challenge of the 21st century will arguably be the "green transition" to an environmentally sustainable and socially inclusive society. Spatial planning has an essential role to play in this evolution, shaping where and how we live, work, meet, produce, recreate, and travel. Once seen as the epitome of progress, extensive car use – and car dependency – are now linked to climate change, poor air quality, unsafe road conditions, social exclusion, and seen as a strain on public space (European Commission et al., 2020; van Wee, 2014; Wiersma, 2021). Acknowledging the importance of the interplay between urbanization patterns and transportation systems, the integration of mobility and land use planning has been put forth as a promising planning strategy to deal with these issues together on a spatial level (OECD, 2018). Scholars and practitioners have produced, applied, and investigated numerous planning concepts for transforming cities into pleasant and accessible environments. Transit-oriented development (TOD) can be seen as the most notable example (Ibraeva et al., 2020). It concentrates walkable or cyclable mixed-use developments around public transport nodes (and vice versa), making active modes and public transport more convenient, desirable and affordable than the use of private cars, and countering urban sprawl by clustering development. These "pedestrian pockets", interconnected by public transport, form together a "daily urban system" in which people can fulfill all their needs without depending on private cars (Ibraeva et al., 2020). Particularly TOD's powerful financial logic, coupling expensive investments in public transport with lucrative real estate development, has managed to already produce some notable results in practice (Bertolini, 1996; Ibraeva et al., 2020; Thomas & Bertolini, 2014).

Beyond city walls: diffused urbanization as a place of enquiry
The integration of mobility and land use planning has great potential for improving the inclusivity and sustainability of urbanization-transportation systems. However, the field thus far remains rather concentrated on cities (Nigro et al., 2019). This "urban bias" is in stark contrast with Europe's spatial reality, and many Europeans' lived experiences. Diffused urbanization amounts to no less than 98 percent of the European land area (and more than 70 percent of the artificially surfaced area), and houses half of the European population (Piorr et al., 2011, data p. 27 for "peri-urban" and "rural"), while only receiving a fraction of scholar's attention (Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2015). Brenner, within his work on "planetary urbanization", appropriately calls for an "urban theory without an outside", beyond the rudimentary urban/rural divide (Brenner, 2021b). Cities can then be understood as just one of many forms of urbanization, albeit showered with a disproportionate amount of attention. This false dichotomy then, becomes very real when looking at scientific and professional output, and this is what needs to be questioned. Diffused areas, when considered at all, are often subjected to "citifying" projects, e.g., through highly urban station area redevelopments, in the spirit of TOD, that are primarily focused on achieving density and a mix of highly urban functions, with little attention to the existing spatial, social and historical context (Nigro et al., 2019; Qvistström et al., 2019; Staricco & Vitale Brovarone, 2020).

Figure 1: Advertisement irony at the bus station of a smaller city: "need a car?" Buses from and to neighbouring villages exist, but they run infrequently, as they are often dependent on voluntary drivers. Inhabitants of the region who do not own a car are very limited in their movements.

Underpinning this city-focused lens is the widespread idea of the compact city – the dense, mixed-use urban center, bounded by pristine landscapes – as the ideal urban form, which allegedly every place should be striving to become (Breheny, 1996). While being a powerful abstraction that is used as a backbone for a plethora of planning concepts, the compact city is not uncontested (Westerink et al., 2013). Aiming for accessibility and land use efficiency, the compact city concept assumes a clear divide between the urban and the rural and leaves little room for the many hybrid constellations that cover over a quarter of the European territory (Piorr et al., 2011, data p. 27). The "tabula rasa"-like wish to mold these real, messy urban forms into a clear-cut urban-rural dichotomy holds little promise (Breheny, 1997). More importantly, beyond the question of feasibility, drawing a clear frontier between urban and rural negates the many nuances, relationships and dynamics that exist along the urban-rural gradient (Allen, 2003; Tacoli, 1998). Furthermore, it renders useless the vast infrastructure and heritage that these spaces entail and neglects the unique opportunities that a hybrid rural-urban landscape could provide (Viganò et al., 2017). Finally, viewing diffused urbanization as merely "not yet city" disregards the many inclusive and sustainable practices that already prevail there and could inspire positive change (Mobile Lives Forum, 2013).

Challenging our mental models: creating new spatial imaginaries
The compact city can be understood as an example of a spatial imaginary. Spatial imaginaries, as collectively held understandings of space, are the invisible mental models that operate in the backgrounds of our brains to make sense of space and how it is organized (Davoudi et al., 2018). They represent, in a simplified and often idealized manner, real (kinds of) places – like the compact city, the countryside, the smart city, Europe – carrying a range of associations with them. A seminal paper on the topic by Davoudi (2018, p. 101) clarifies the concept, and defines it as follows: "Spatial imaginaries are deeply held, collective understandings of socio-spatial relations that are performed by, give sense to, make possible and change collective socio-spatial practices. They are produced through political struggles over the conceptions, perceptions and lived experiences of place. They are circulated and propagated through images, stories, texts, data, algorithms and performances. They are infused by relations of power in which contestation and resistance are ever-present."

What differentiates imaginaries from imagination, is that they are collectively shared (Davoudi et al., 2018). Furthermore, although (and because) they are largely unquestioned background understandings, they hold real so-called "performative" power. Watkins (2015, p. 519) emphasizes this performative role of spatial imaginaries, or how they not only represent people's ideas of spatial reality, but also "influence the material practices producing our geographies". In this way they not only underpin our collective understanding of reality in the present, but also "perform the future in the present" (Davoudi et al., 2018, p. 103). This is important because the futures we deem possible and/or desirable strongly influence the decisions we make in the present (Hajer & Versteeg, 2019) – the central premise in the academic literature on futures.

TOD
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RUR

Recognizing the performative power of spatial imaginaries, this perspective urges to look beyond tangible plans and visions, and calls attention to the ideas about diffused urbanization that underpin them. Crucially, the aim is not finding the perfect imaginary to, for once and for all, "solve" the issue of inclusive and sustainable mobility and land use in the fringes and countryside. Rather, celebrating the plurality of realities that make up diffused Europe, this perspective asks for acknowledgement of the need for a multiplicity of ideas that fit their respective contexts, and to make clever use of what already exists. Thus, avoiding the pitfall of the often one-size-fits-all TOD models, we should not only be interested in alternative imaginaries, but most of all in context-sensitive ways to create them, exploring what inclusive and sustainable land use and mobility could mean for each unique place. This perspective thus aims to contribute to the development of tools and methods to increase planning's visionary and strategic capacity (ESPON, 2018), following Davoudi (2018, p. 105) in that: "Planning as politics of place is a key site where alternative spatial imaginaries can originate and flourish through dialogue and practice, and, crucially, through the acts of imagination."

Given their elusive nature, it is not always straightforward to uncover how spatial imaginaries are created. Often, prominent figures like artists, writers, architects, politicians and academics bring forth ideas that somehow find their way to the public at large and become shared – the original image usually being morphed and reshaped throughout the process (Davoudi et al., 2018).

Hajer and Versteeg (2019) analyze the route from individual imagination to collective imaginary, through what they have called "techniques of futuring", and illustrate it with the historical example of the modern city, which I shortly summarize here. The concept of the modern city, largely attributed to Le Corbusier and other like-minded architects, consisted of building orderly, strictly zoned, high-rise cities, centered around car transport, to replace the overcrowded slums of the nineteenth century. The modern city went from imagination to imaginary through its massive distribution during the World Expos. The idea of the modern city in all its progress optimism was music in the ears of car manufacturers and oil production companies, who gladly took the opportunity to sponsor exhibitions and launch advertising campaigns, spreading the idea to the masses that the future was inevitable and car-based, silencing other possible views of what the future could be like. Once the public was on board, the government saw to providing this wanted future e.g., through the construction of superhighways. It goes to show that a carefully chosen and well-marketed idea, by becoming a shared imaginary, has the power to radically transform our landscapes as we know them.

This example serves as both an inspiration and a warning of the power of imaginaries. While the idea was born out of the genuine idealism of (elite) innovative thinkers to create cities that are safe and healthy, they failed to integrate the parts that actually make urban life thrive, and lay the foundation for many of urbanism's worst projects (Hajer

TOD
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RUR

& Versteeg, 2019; Jacobs, 1961). Furthermore, "the initial planner's ideas (…) were repackaged, twisted and turned, often to fit better the commercial interests of project developers" (Hajer & Versteeg, 2019, p. 128). What would the modern city and its derivatives have looked like if they had included ordinary citizens in its conception? If trust was placed not in technology, but in the people? In this light, today's buzz around "smart" solutions, giving technological entrepreneurs almost free reign over the production of imaginaries for the future, with public administrations hurrying to adjust policy, sounds all too familiar (Hajer & Versteeg, 2019; Kaika, 2017).

Corporate actors are quick to recognize and utilize the selling power of an inspirational imaginary, and spread them highly effectively through e.g., massive advertisement campaigns. Hajer and Versteeg (2019) call for more transparent and democratic forgings of imaginaries, that engage societal actors such as artists early on through e.g., competitions, visualizations or experiential installations. However, this perspective aims to go one step further, and invite society at large to participate in the acts of imagination on which these imaginaries are based.

Re-politicizing planning: three shifts towards greater diversity
Especially when considering the great performative power of spatial imaginaries (Davoudi et al., 2018; Watkins, 2015), it is important to ask: who creates these imaginaries (or the imaginations that precede them), and for whom? Otherwise, we run the risk – as documented in historical (see above) as well as contemporary (see e.g., Kaika, 2017) examples – to default to letting corporate interests direct our futures, aimed primarily at creating commercial value. Given the enormous challenges that we face, both locally and globally, in creating a sustainable and inclusive future for all, it seems rather unwise to continue in the same direction as we have up till now. This perspective fits in a larger research agenda, calling for a radical transformation of planning practice towards more democratic processes – and away from technocratic expert-led decision-making, kept out of the public and political sphere (Albrechts et al., 2019; Metzger, 2011). Because "to declare that an issue is technical is effectively to remove it from the influence of public debate" (Callon et al., 2009, p. 25), this depoliticization – or, according to Metzger (2011, p. 193), the "displacement" of politics outside of the formally political – of planning practice merely masks a deep entanglement with the state and its contemporary neoliberal policies (Albrechts et al., 2019). Without space for contention or debate, the market-oriented "growth" agenda has become the default backdrop against which all other decisions are made (Albrechts et al., 2019). Instead of allowing corporate interests to once again hijack the future, the quest for a more sustainable and inclusive society should not be left to the highest bidder, but treated as the political question that it is (Albrechts et al., 2019; Metzger, 2011). This calls for a shift towards greater diversity, in three directions: moving from experts to citizens (in all their diversity) as central actors; embracing the plurality of possible ideas, visions and futures; and localizing the process to avoid (further) generifying once distinct places.

First, citizens should be central actors in the making of imaginaries and their imaginations. We need to "change

TOD
IS
RUR

interlocutors" and make space for voices that have hitherto been unheard or even silenced in the process of imagining the future (Kaika, 2017, p. 94). While public participation in transport planning is often "limited to informing and consulting" (Gil et al., 2011, p. 1312), this research project explicitly aims for methods that appear on the higher rungs of Arnstein's (1969) "ladder of participation". The moment of creation of spatial imaginaries – preceding any possible planning processes in all their implications and complications – presents an ideal opportunity for citizens to intervene in business-as-usual, and actively re-imagine the kinds of futures they wish to inhabit. Otherwise, planners unconsciously work towards realizing the imaginaries that are already present, without necessarily critically reflecting on their desirability. In other words, efforts are directed at figuring out "how we could", instead of wondering "whether we even should". While experts are arguably better equipped to tackle the former, citizens could and should play a key role in the latter.

Second, instead of striving for consensus, we should embrace the inherent diversity of ideas and viewpoints. Processes of "othering", that naturalize one representation as "truth" while pushing out competing views (Watkins, 2015), can make it difficult to imagine the existence of plenty of possible paths. However, it is exactly this plurality that allows society to escape dangerous lock-ins and path-dependencies, helping us change course when necessary or desirable. In the practice of imagination, this comes down to inviting respectful disagreements, productive dissensus and agonism between actors, and holding off on consensus-seeking for as long as possible. An equally important aspect is to maximize the diversity of actors on socio-economic factors, since different people have different values and different ideas.

Third, combatting the generification of the world, imagination processes should be localized. Policy mobility through adoption of "best practices" from elsewhere might seem efficient – why would we keep re-inventing the wheel? – but they can (and do) also lead to a certain generification of the world, where a lot of places start resembling each other, even when they have different peoples, histories, landscapes, cultures and resources. One size should not fit all. Just like persistent pests common in agricultural monocultures reveal their inherent inefficiencies, mismatches between imaginary and place appear in inefficient use of resources, waste of intrinsic qualities, and aversion of local populations.

TOD
IS
RUR

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MOBILITY DEPENDENCY IN RUR

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Over the last decades, the development of speed and the improvement of travel conditions have led to socio-spatial transformations of the territory. This was characterized by a continuous growth of cities, where the distances between homes and activities became much more important. Rural urban areas have welcomed new populations in search of more affordable housing or a less urban, more natural living environment. These spatial transformations led to significant social inequalities of access to amenities, either in terms of access to fast travel modes which highly depends on personal characteristics such as age, revenue, gender, etc. (Geurs, Van Wee, 2014), or to residential locations with good amenities or efficient public transport services. Both of these spatial transformations of urbanized areas and the social valuing of mobility have led to the increased need to travel more frequently, sometimes further, and faster (Kaufmann, 2008). This process of "mobility dependence" results in two forms of prejudice for precarious social groups: lack of accessibility for those who do not have access to mobility, or significant financial costs, difficult and long travelling time for highly mobile people but severely constrained in their movements. (Fol, Gallez, 2017).

With the climate emergency, the increase in energy prices and the increase in social inequalities, access to amenities for precarious people is becoming more challenging, particularly for people living in sparsely populated areas. This research project examines the potential of TOD-based development to mitigate mobility dependency in rural urban areas by improving the conditions of access to the local and regional amenities, especially for the less advantaged social groups.

This project aims at providing a critical approach to the TOD model, in theory and in its application. This research points at challenging the urban-centric doctrines applied to rural urban regions. These regions are planned and thought through their position towards the urban; highly dependent on the metropolis. For a more sustainable development of the territory, it would be necessary to improve the conditions of existence of these towns so that they can develop their own centrality. By investing in bigger railway infrastructure like TOD projects it reinforces this idea, which can make the local territory lose progressively in accessibility. We suppose that public actors can play a major role in this situation. The reinvestment of public actors on the question of accessibility at the local scale is a means of acting on the moderation of mobility dependency and fighting inequalities of access. Thus, moderating dependence on mobility also consists in moderating the hierarchy of dependencies in which these territories are confined.

Understanding the territory and past projects that have been established are key elements to understand the territory. This research project aims at producing relevant policies guidelines and recommendation in order to reduce mobility dependency, which can be used by local actors and practitioners and be transferable to other projects.

TAKEAWAYS

(1) The reinvestment at a local scale is essential in order to reduce mobility dependency, in terms of transport and development of local amenities. Public actors can play a salient role in the development of the local accessibility.

(2) Accessibility is very unique to each personal experience. The needs and practices of the inhabitants should be more carefully taken into consideration in planning processes.

(3) The territory should be approached in its local, social and environmental context. The development of the railway network does not necessarily mean a development of the amenities in the territory.

TOD
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RUR

Low density areas are usually stigmatized as fragile territories, marked with unsustainable way of living, mobility habits primarily based on the use of cars and defined by the great distances between activities (Fourny, Cailly, 2012). These imaginaries still emerge from the way these regions are planned and thought through the lenses of "urban". We hypothesize that in diffuse urbanization spaces, the application of urban-centric planning doctrines (i.e., densification, polarization, massification of flows) tends to maintain or aggravate mobility dependency, especially for less advantaged people. How can we adapt the planning of these regions with a more local and context approach. We are taking the approach of looking at the needs and practices of the residents of the area. In order to understand and measure the mobility dependence of the people, it is important to look at the way of living and mobility habits of each individual, in order to implement a more context-based approach to the territory. In TOD project, the variable of the people is, most of the time, completely absent. Who is using the station? Where do people move? For what reason? What are their needs and practices? In addition, TOD projects are generally based in urban dense areas, where the main factor of success of this model is still the "density". In rural urban regions "density" is not always possible, which questions the adaptability of this model in rural urban regions.

In this research we are tackling two main gaps. First of all, the scale of intervention of this model that we consider unadapted especially for rural urban regions. And second of all, the needs of the people that are lacking consideration in planning strategies.

We observe that the TOD model is organized around a dual-scale approach: the micro-scale, which promotes access to the station area, and the macro-scale, which promotes access to the regional territory. In rural urban areas, this approach tends to focus primarily on regional accessibility before organizing local accessibility at the municipal and inter-municipal levels. In peri-urban and rural regions, the railway service tends to link these small towns and villages with large centralities such as a metropolis. If we look at TOD literature, we can see that from a regional planning perspective, there is an effort to concentrate population and employment growth in transit areas (Wang et al. 2016). Yet, in terms of outcomes, TOD is generally applied to transit station planning and development, where the optimal radius remains a topic of debate (Canepa 2007; Canepa 2008). The "D" in TOD has successively taken on definitions other than the "3Ds" initially defined by Cervero, which are density, diversity, and design. Several researchers have linked the D to "transit destination" which corresponds to regional accessibility enabled by rail node, (Renne, Hamidi, and Ewing 2016) and "distance to station", i.e., access to the transit hub as well as the first-last mile issue which is also linked to the walkability issue (Akbari et al. 2018; Chakour and Eluru 2016; Ratner and Goetz 2010). Indeed, we observe a development of a regional accessibility possible by the transit, and a micro-local accessibility around the station limited to a radius of 800 meters.

TOD
IS
RUR

Considering that, it is notable that the territory is planned through transit corridors, where the territory as a whole lacks importance in planning. As hypothesized earlier, in TOD we have a regional accessibility possible with the transit and a micro accessibility around the station. This vision of planning can indeed reduce mobility dependency or the use of cars for reasons such as work or study, for example, due to the presence of regional accessibility. But these mobilities represent a small percentage of the mobility of the residents, where daily mobility still takes the bigger part. Regional accessibility, which is possible by TOD developments, makes it difficult to rethink daily mobilities, which remain long and increasingly constrained. Considering that, local accessibility, which is what we consider the accessibility at the municipal and inter-municipal levels, is not taken into account and still lacks in the planning of rural urban regions.

In addition, looking at the principles of TOD, the notion of accessibility is only considered in relation to the notion of transportation or even reduced to a question of distance from the transit station. The people are completely absent from this vision, where the personal characteristics of each individual (Geurs et Van Wee, 2014) can play a salient role in people's access to the amenities and services of the territory. We rarely look at what the people need. Where are they going? How do they go to the places they need? Where are the available amenities? For what purposes do they use the train station, if they use it. Reducing mobility dependency will help improve people's access to services and amenities, but also help regulate mobility needs in face of the environmental crises.

The case studies
 The research is based on the comparison of three case studies based on the French context and corresponding to contrasting types of urbanization, and to different situations from the point of view of questioning the principles of coordination of urban planning and transport focused on the "urban model".

The first case study is Creil, located outside the administrative region of Ile de France but right on its fringes. It is presented as strongly dependent on the Ile-de-France metropolis (looking at the importance of daily commuting). By analyzing the case of Creil and most importantly doing in-situ observations, we were able to develop the research questions and hypotheses. In this case study we are targeting the dual scale of the TOD model. Creil's rail service promotes the territory with a good regional accessibility and micro-local accessibility restricted to a limited perimeter around the station. This is a case where the increasingly good regional accessibility is gradually emptying the city of all its local amenities. By looking at the TOD project that is going to be implemented and by listening to the local actors and practitioners it is clear that the vision of the inhabitants is missing. The needs and practices of the people are missing and the ambition of the project is different from the needs of a very precarious population. By conducting semi-directive interviews with inhabitants and go-alongs it can help understand every person's situation.
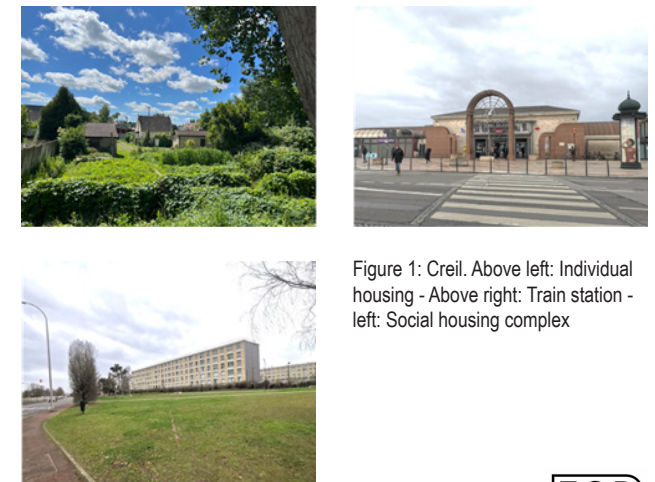

Figure 1: Creil. Above left: Individual housing - Above right: Train station - left: Social housing complex

TOD
IS
RUR

The second case study is located within the Ile de France; it is the town of Dourdan which is a predominantly rural area. Through this case, we are targeting the capacity of this territory to develop its own autonomy and local proximity, despite its very good connection to the metropolis. We are challenging the adaptation of the railway service in rural urban areas, and rethinking the adaptation of this model without only considering the density factors.

The third case study is "La Roche sur Foron", we are approaching the railway node linked to the infrastructure of the Léman Express (the transborder French-Swiss infrastructure). The network has been conceived as a corridor dependent on the metropolis of Geneva specially in terms of daily commuting. However, we postulate that commuting, alone, cannot regulate this dependence on mobility. It is necessary to rethink and focus on daily trips in order to develop local accessibility for the territory.

Methodology - To tackle these territories, we are adopting a qualitative approach. This will help generate more information on the specific needs and how we can improve the implementation of such a model in order to respond to the territories and people's needs; looking at more context-based approaches other than the urban-centric planning doctrines This methodology is theory and practise oriented, based on a double approach. On one hand there is the vision of the local actors, practitioners and elected officials. And on the other hand, we look at the vision of the inhabitants and the users of the territory.

First of all, a series of semi-directive interviews with local actors, technicians and elected officials will be conducted in each selected territory. The purpose of these interviews is to understand and analyze the vision of the planners, their representations, tools and means of intervention, but also to understand how they apprehend the notion of accessibility and the imaginaries around the territory.

Second of all, as accessibility is specific to each person, we assume that a qualitative approach can allow us to understand the real need and to examine the practices of the inhabitants and users of the territory. This will allow us to understand how these people perceive their accessibility to different amenities, services of the territory, their neighbourhood and the public space. By understanding the needs of the people, we can improve the coordination of land use and transport of the territory in order to adapt it to each and everyone's needs.

The first phase consists of a semi-structured interview with participants. Ethnographic interviews can provide unique access to informants' biographies and future plans, their subjective interpretations of others and social interaction (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Seidman, 1998). The purpose of this interview is to get to know the person, to learn about their socio-professional situation, their access conditions (perceived difficulties), their travel patterns,

TOD
IS
RUR

their life course, etc.

The second phase consists of doing go-alongs with them. If they accept, we will accompany them on their daily activity of their choice. While the interview method is widely used in the social sciences (Alvesson, 2002; Minayo, 2004; Rollemberg, 2013), some authors (Payne, 2013; Pink, 2009; Rollemberg, 2013) perceive the traditional interview as a method with certain limitations, not being appropriate for the field of sensibilities. As people's accessibility is very specific to each individual and their perception of their space, a methodology aimed at the human experience will be more suitable.

The method of the go-along aims to understand the conditions of access of people and to experience with them the difficulties they may face during this journey. With this methodology, we will be adding the tool of photography and illustration to recreate and analyze the daily experience of each individual.

The aim of this double approach is to observe the difference that exists (or not) between the "effective accessibility" of the inhabitants in opposition to the "potential" accessibility of the inhabitants as observed by the local actors. On one hand, we will be providing a critical lens on the discourse of the local actors and the elected officials. We will be looking at their perception/vision of planning in the peripheral and rural regions and the imaginaries that arise around the perceptions and planning of these territories. On the other hand, we will be analyzing the daily experience of the people. In addition, we are organizing focus groups, which will help get a general view of the territory on the question of mobility, accessibility, land-use, TOD project, etc. as perceived by the inhabitants.

This methodology aims at researching the territory at different scales. Even though we are focused on the local scale, we are also looking at the opportunities available for the residents at the regional scale due to the presence of a TOD project. By looking at the planning strategy of the territory, we can understand the past evolution that led to the implementation of new developments in the territory such as the implementation or the improvement of a railway node. By understanding the territory, we can also understand the behaviour and experience of the people. With this methodology we try to look at past and present behaviors of people and how they changed during time. What affected their mobility? What affected their residential choice? How their past experiences affect their present and how, maybe, their actual experience can affect their future.

TOD
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TOD AND TRANSPORT-RELATED SOCIAL EXCLUSION

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Can TOD be truly sustainable when not socially inclusive? Some scholars have raised concerns that the implementation of TODs may have exclusionary consequences.[1] Still, TOD research explicitly tackling justice-related issues remains limited. The few studies in this domain usually focus on spatial issues related to housing, like gentrification and displacement.[2] Social exclusion related to transport and mobility, although extensively researched in other fields, has been under-explored in the TOD literature. Building on insights from transport geography, feminist geography, and mobility studies, using concepts like transport poverty and mobility justice, this research aims to fill this gap and enrich the TOD scholarship.

Transport-related social exclusion has been put on the scholarly agenda ever since the 1960s.[3] Even though different terms and conceptual differentiations have been used to describe the problem, from transport and accessibility poverty to transport and mobility justice, the core is always the same: some people are not able to fully participate in public life as they wish, simply because they lack the necessary transport/mobility options to do so.[4] What causes this lack may differ (financial constraints, physical limitations, or a transport system that does not support one's daily routines). Its outcomes are essentially the same: people risking social exclusion.

To prevent transport-related social exclusion, it is crucial to understand how transport policy has treated the topic. Policies not only define how mobility is organised, they also reflect particular worldviews, prioritising some issues while overlooking others. Assessing transport policies can shed light on why mobility could become a source of social exclusion. Several studies have shown that transport planning prioritises economic (and to a lesser extent environmental) concerns, overlooking the social aspect.[5] Even public transport, often presented as potentially the most socially inclusive transport mode (just as in TOD), is mainly organised according to economic principles.

Despite the fact that the issue of transport-related social exclusion has been discussed for over half a century, it remains unresolved. Yet, things seem to be changing. The topic has recently been receiving growing attention and, over the past five years, a number of books has been published on the topic.[6] The question is whether this will be picked up by policy makers. And if so, how? How will policy makers perceive transport-related social exclusion? What problems will they identify? What social groups will they include? What solutions will they propose? Answering these questions requires a critical assessment of transport policies in general, and, related to TOD, public transport policies more specifically.

TAKEAWAYS

(1) TOD can have exclusionary effects. It is important to not only focus on economic and environmental concerns, but also consider the social aspect of sustainability.

(2) When pursuing social inclusive TOD, it is crucial to also look at transport-related social exclusion. Transport geography, feminist geography, and mobility studies can offer useful insights in this regard.

(3) Discourse matters. It is not only relevant to look at what is discussed in documents and speech, but also how certain topics are treated. Through discourse we can understand what ideological perspectives (implicitly) undergird TOD practice and how these affect potential exclusionary outcomes.

TOD IS RUR

As stated above, the TOD scholarship generally lacks a social inclusivity perspective. More specifically, it could gain from insights about social exclusion related to transport and mobility. Transport-related social exclusion has been discussed within different scholarly fields. First, scholars within transport planning and geography have raised awareness for issues like transport poverty, accessibility poverty, and transport justice.[7] As Kębłowski et al. indicate, this school of thought builds upon Marxist insights, focusing on the unequal distribution of material resources, services, and population.[8] Second, feminist geographers and planning theorists scrutinize the gendered and more recently also intersectional nature of transport planning.[9] They seek to enrich transport planning with feminist insights on systemic marginalization of groups and people based on their social identities. At the beginning of the 2000s, third, the new mobilities paradigm expanded the notion of transport, which indicates trips from A to B, to (im)mobility instead, indicating the heterogeneous and dynamic cultural and political meaning of movement in general.[10] This mobilities paradigm led to the emergence of the field of mobility studies. Explicitly presented as a transdisciplinary field, mobility studies seeks to bridge different disciplines from the humanities and social sciences. Mimi Sheller's concept "mobility justice" fits into this tradition.[11] Despite their different conceptualizations and emphases, scholars within these fields essentially all make the same claim: transport planning and policy can induce social exclusion.

The mismatch between planning practices and people's mobility needs reflects tendencies in planning discourses. These discourses define what future mobility practices are deemed reasonable, desirable, and possible, and what issues are considered problematic and require a solution (and which ones are not).[12] Assessing these planning discourses matters not only because it helps us understand how the mobilities of particular groups of people are obstructed. It also matters because these discourses will continue influencing transport policies and practice and affecting the mobilities of people. Those groups that are represented in planning discourses are more likely to have their mobility needs met. Others are more likely to lack mobility options and risk social exclusion. In order to make mobility planning practices more socially inclusive, we need to understand how current planning discourses account for social inclusive mobility. Critically assessing these discourses, focusing on transport and mobility planning, can expand our understanding of exclusionary processes embedded in TOD planning.

Methodology - The data used for this research consist of public transport policies and public reactions to those. Both of these sources contribute to discourses around TOD in general, and public transport more specifically. Concretely, the data consist of Dutch (public) transport policy plans and related documents from civil society organizations, mainly ROVER, the Dutch passenger federation. The research starts with an assessment of public transport planning and policy on a national level, as the Netherlands have a longstanding tradition of TOD planning.[13] These data cover a time span of approximately 45 years, allowing a long-term analysis of public transport policy in

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3.3.3. *Landelijke gebieden*

In deze gebieden met geringe bevolkingsdichtheid, waar herkomsten en bestemmingen van het verkeer een grote spreiding vertonen en waar ruimtenood niet dwingt tot beperking van het particuliere verkeer, zijn de fiets, de bromfiets en de auto de meest in aanmerking komende vervoermiddelen voor het overgrote deel van de bevolking. Het openbaar vervoer kan hier slechts een beperkte rol vervullen mede omdat door de geringe vervoersvraag het voorzieningenniveau veelal slechts aan minimaal te stellen normen kan voldoen. Wanneer door de lagere overheden een beleid vastgezullen in deze gebieden een belangrijke rol blijven spelen. Niettemin zal er – waar mogelijk – voor worden gezorgd dat in de landelijke gebieden openbaar vervoer aanwezig zal blijven. Dit ten behoeve van de groepen die niet over een auto kunnen beschikken of niet in staat zijn zich per fiets of bromfiets te verplaatsen. Dit behoeft niet een voorziening door streekbussen in te houden.

Structuurschema Verkeer en Vervoer, (1977), p. 29 & 51.

Door het toenemende autobezit, de vergrijzing en het verder afnemen van de bevolkingsgroei kan de markt voor het openbaar vervoer in landelijke gebieden teruglopen. Daardoor komt het voorzieningenniveau onder druk te staan. Zo dreigt voor sommige groepen mensen vervoerarmoede. Het blijft daarom van belang dat in samenwerking met de

Tweede Structuurschema Verkeer en Vervoer, (1989), p. 36.

Gericht aanbod op het platteland

Op het platteland zal de groei van het regionaal openbaar vervoer beperkt zijn. Hier is de gezamenlijke ambitie een goed alternatief te vinden waarmee efficiënt, gericht en betrouwbaar kan worden ingespeeld op de geringe en gespreide vervoersvraag. Efficiënt omdat in dunbevolkte gebieden de vraag naar openbaar vervoer niet met een lijndienst hoeft te worden opgevangen. Gericht omdat verschillende vormen van openbaar vervoer, bijvoorbeeld een buurtbus of een vorm van collectief vraagafhankelijk vervoer (CVV), geschikt zijn voor de bereikbaarheid van activiteiten zoals scholen, medische hulpposten en winkelcentra. Betrouwbaar om te waarborgen dat mensen die niet hun eigen vervoer kunnen regelen wel kunnen deelnemen aan maatschappelijke activiteiten.

Nota Mobiliteit. Naar een betrouwbare en voorspelbare bereikbaarheid, (2004), p. 66.

TOD
IS
RUR

the Netherlands. A long-term perspective can lay bare systemic injustices embedded within public transport policy and practice. For this part of the research, critical discourse analysis will be applied on archival sources.

A first look at Dutch public transport policy documents shows a general lack of attention for and a proper understanding of transport-related social exclusion. The policies have been focusing on economic growth, and to a lesser extent on environmental concerns. This is in line with findings from previous studies, as mentioned above. The only topic that has been tackled consistently through time is the matter of rural areas. All the documents analyzed so far state that demand levels for public transport are dropping in those areas, but they all realise that some people are still dependent on public transport. Two strategies have been proposed to deal with this problem. From around the 1990s onwards, first, policy makers have been proposing flexible and demand-driven public transport alternatives. Second, in the 2000s and 2010s, there was a clear tendency to decentralize public transport policy. This way, the national government shirked its responsibility over socially inclusive public transport outside of urban cores. Regional and, to an even bigger extent, local governments had to carry the burden of this task alone. According to a 2022 study conducted by the Dutch passenger federation, ROVER, these policies have led to a continued decline in transport provisions and a lack of funding in those rural(-urban) areas. As a result, local public transport is mostly dependent on community-based initiatives, organized by untrained volunteers.[14]

Still, attention for social inclusivity in public transport policy is suddenly rising in recent years. Not only does Dutch public transport policy dedicate specific attention to this issue. Compared to the previous 45 years, the understanding of potential risks of transport-related exclusion seems to be expanded. It now not only includes rural areas but also underserved urban areas, people with low incomes, people with disabilities, youth and elderly. This rise in interest is supported by images, representing different kinds of people. Still, the question remains how policies will put this into practice. Moreover, public transport policy is still predominantly organized according to economic principles of growth. Central in this regard is the focus on connecting economic cores. This is also apparent in the images, where everything in between the nodes is presented as empty land.

After focusing on the national context, the research will zoom in on the Eindhoven Metropolitan Region to do a more fine-grained, in-depth, and contemporary analysis of processes of exclusion embedded in TOD practice in general, and public transport planning and policy specifically. This region is receiving much government support for the development of the high-tech industry. Part of this support consists of funding specifically aimed at improving mobility in the region and making it more sustainable. At the same time, however, the region is also facing a growing number of people in precarious (economic) situations. Here, the discourses of planners and policy makers, as represented in planning and policy documents, will be contrasted with the insights of the people in precarious living conditions. A first look at this case shows a clear focus on highly skilled workers, providing for example a

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aan verbindingen met een hoog oplossend vermogen en een hoge vervoerswaarde. De betrokken decentrale overheden geven in de PVVP's en RVVP's concreet aan op welke wijze mensen die niet zelf in hun mobiliteit kunnen voorzien, een vervoersvorm wordt geboden die de bereikbaarheid waarborgt van voorzieningen die alleen in gemeenten met een centrumfunctie voorhanden zijn. Rijk en decentrale overheden zorgen voor monitoring van de realisatie van deze doelstellingen, evenals van het aanbod en gebruik van het openbaar vervoer.

Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte. Nederland concurrerend, bereikbaar, leefbaar en veilig, (2012), p. 120.

Dit vergroot hun ontplooiingskansen en toegang tot de arbeidsmarkt. Met name in meer landelijke gebieden – waar bijvoorbeeld het voorzieningenniveau van kleine kernen daalt of de dichtheden zo laag zijn dat een markt voor OV ontbreekt – bestaat een reële kans op vervoersarmoede. Zonder goede alternatieven ligt sociale isolatie op de loer.

Ontwikkelagenda Toekomstbeeld OV, (2021), p. 12.

in streken waar de vraag naar vervoer bescheiden is kunnen vraagafhankelijke systemen voorkomen dat een situatie van vervoerarmoede ontstaat. Door inschakeling van taxi's kan het mogelijk zijn tegen lagere kosten meer kwaliteit te bieden. Dit kan bij de openbaar-vervoerbedrijven tot betere bedrijfsresultaten leiden. Dit geldt in het bijzonder wanneer de taxi's aansluiten op de hoofdlijnen van het openbaar vervoer. De bedrijfstakken van het

Tweede Structuurschema Verkeer en Vervoer, (1989), p. 96.

Flexibele alternatieven bevorderen voor lijndienstvervoer
Vaste buslijnen zijn op het platteland, vanwege de kleine en gespreide vraag naar openbaar vervoer, meestal niet rendabel. Het is logischer kleine woonkernen bereikbaar te houden met alternatieve vormen van vervoer die flexibel kunnen inspelen op de vraag: de buurtbus of collectief vraagafhankelijk vervoer. Dat laatste is bijvoorbeeld een op afroep beschik-

Nota Mobiliteit, (2004), p. 68.

doen aan de maatschappij en in de economie. Zoals geschetst in de Contouren van het Toekomstbeeld OV is het ook nodig om een vorm van flexibel vervoer aan te bieden in gebieden met een lage vervoervraag. Waarbij we de (financiele) middelen van openbaar vervoer en doelgroepenvervoer moeten combineren.

Ontwikkelagenda Toekomstbeeld OV, (2021), p. 12.

TOD IS RUR

direct high-speed bus line between the central station and the main factory site of the region, at the expense of low-skilled workers. Despite the region's branding as a high-tech "expat" center, the number of low-skilled foreign workers is much higher than the highly educated knowledge workers. Still, the former appear to be facing the highest risk of becoming homeless and already make up the biggest share of the homeless population. The contrast in treatment between these two groups could not be bigger when the region decided to open up a winter shelter for homeless people five kilometers outside of the Eindhoven city center without any transport provisions to reach that place.

Stakeholders - This research assesses and compares public transport planning and policy discourses with those of civil society organizations and people whose everyday mobility is affected by the public transport policies and planning practices. Policy makers and planners are thus key stakeholders in this approach. The Dutch and European passenger federations provide contrasting discourses to those of the policy makers and planners. For the regional case, people in precarious living conditions, often dependent on public transport, will be the other key stakeholder group. As this research is explicitly critical of public transport planning and policy, it might face opposition from planners and policy makers. Still, I believe there may be willingness among this stakeholder group to make public transport, and thus TOD more inclusive. From the part of the passenger organizations, I do not expect any opposition as there are already collaborations going on and this research would support their cause. People in precarious living conditions is the most sensitive stakeholder group to work with. Despite my best intentions, they might oppose this approach because of the limited benefits for them. As a researcher, I will need to be extremely aware of my privileged position and make sure not to impose my own interests on them.

vast in hun plannen. De decentrale overheden kiezen de voor hen geschikte vorm(en) van openbaar vervoer: regionaal spoorvervoer, de metro, de tram, de bus of een vorm van CVV. In hun plannen geven ze aan hoe ze de activiteiten op het platteland bereikbaar houden voor bewoners waarvoor de auto of de fiets geen reëel alternatief is. Ook hebben de regionale
Nota Mobiliteit, (2004), p. 68.

aan verbindingen met een hoog oplossend vermogen en een hoge vervoerswaarde. De betrokken decentrale overheden* geven in de PVVP's en RVVP's concreet aan op welke wijze mensen die niet zelf in hun mobiliteit kunnen voorzien, een vervoersvorm wordt geboden die de bereikbaarheid waarborgt van voorzieningen die alleen in gemeenten met een centrumfunctie voorhanden zijn. Rijk en decentrale overheden zorgen voor monitoring van de realisatie van deze doelstellingen, evenals van het aanbod en gebruik van het openbaar vervoer.
Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte, (2012), p. 120.

vanuit het klimaatakkoord. Deze gaat uit van zorgeloze mobiliteit, voor alles en iedereen in 2050. Geen emissies, uitstekende bereikbaarheid, toegankelijk voor jong en oud, arm en rijk, met of zonder functiebeperking. Betaalbaar, veilig, comfortabel, makkelijk én gezond. Slimme, duurzame, compacte steden met
Ontwikkelagenda Toekomstbeeld OV, (2021), p. 12.

Welke ontwikkeling zien we? Voor vervoerarmen, die om wat voor reden dan ook niet over een auto beschikken of niet mogen rijden, is toegang tot betaalbaar en goed bereikbaar OV van grote waarde. Dit vergroot hun ontplooiingskansen en toegang tot de arbeidsmarkt. Met name in meer landelijke gebieden – waar bijvoorbeeld het voorzieningenniveau van kleine kernen daalt of de dichtheden zo laag zijn dat een markt voor OV ontbreekt – bestaat een reële kans op vervoersarmoede. Zonder goede alternatieven ligt sociale isolatie op de loer.

Hoe draagt het OV bij? Het OV is betaalbaar voor minder draagkrachtigen en beschikbaar voor mensen met een functiebeperking. Beter OV zorgt ook voor betere ontsluiting van stadswijken die op afstand liggen van de hoofdknopen en daardoor beter toegang krijgen tot werk, onderwijs en voorzieningen. OV is daarmee medebepalend voor de kansen van een grote groep burgers om volwaardig mee te kunnen doen aan de maatschappij en in de economie. Zoals geschetst in de Contouren van het Toekomstbeeld OV
Ontwikkelagenda Toekomstbeeld OV, (2021), p. 12.

TOD
IS
RUR

Ontwikkelagenda Toekomstbeeld OV, (2021), p. 8-9.

Ontwikkelagenda Toekomstbeeld OV, (2021), p. 38

BREAKDOWN   ESR 08

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TOD FOR RURS FROM RESEARCH TO PRACTICE

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Part I: The book
If we think of Transit-Oriented Development (TOD) as a book. Traditionally, the authors of the book have been "experts", the form of the book is a single quantitative model, the content is based on density and travel times, and the approach for it has been mainly top-down and city-centre based. The target audience of the book is especially planners. In all this process there is a distance between those being studied and those who read the book.

But in the first place: should it be a book?
My project proposes the inclusion of art, specifically filmmaking in the generation and reproduction of knowledge to amplify the debates and diversify the knowledge in TOD. We don't need to erase the book, but maybe we need a film version, an oral version that allows us to include the "textures missing out" (Law, 2016)-

We follow the line of thought which emphasizes that not only the knowledge content matters but also how, by whom, and from where the knowledge is produced. The project will first focus on "epistemic justice" around TOD, producing local and liminal knowledge with bottom-up approaches and co-creational methodologies that aim to empower the communities where they are made. The first phase will generate audio-visual materials that aim to, in the second phase, open dialogues with diverse audiences (practitioners, researchers). One hypothesis underlying this research is if the resulting audio-visual pieces could be used to shorten the distance between research and researcher and practice by "imagine oneself in a

different skin, a different story, a different place." (Sandercock, 2002: 8) as quoted in (Metzger, 2010, p. 216).

Part II: Why filmmaking
To answer this, in the following session "WHY" we will argue that there is 1) first a need to include other ways of knowing, then 2) we follow the line of thought which emphasizes that not only the knowledge content matters but also how, by whom, and from where the knowledge is produced. And then 3) we will argue that we need art and filmmaking to help us defamiliarize from taken for granted concepts in TOD.

Part III: How are we challenging the book as a network?
Each ESR is vertically studying a particular case, generating situated pieces of knowledge. Haraway proposes that we need vertically deep knowledges, but we also need to connect this knowledge horizontally with interdisciplinarity (Haraway, 2018 p.72). Then, my project aims to understand how we as a TOD-IS-RUR network are challenging the book and how we can interconnect this research.

Maybe we are challenging who can be the author of the book or the co-authors, by asking whose knowledge counts (ESR 4, ESR 8). Including broader perspectives in the discourse, such as ecological landscape an, beyond the concentric circle of 10 km around nodes (ESR 5, ESR 2). We are using different forms of understanding the book, including a relational approach (ESR 9). We are challenging who are the protagonists of the story while including non-work-related mobilities and the rural part of the regions (ESR 1, ESR 3). We are not only focusing on the content of the book, but also on the shape of the book, using non-conventional and bottom-up methodologies (ESR 1, ESR 6, ESR 8, ESR 10). Finally, although we are exploring bottom-up there is also an interest in the role that the state has to play to change in the equation (ESR 4, ESR 9, ESR 10).

TAKEAWAYS

(1) Not only the knowledge content matters but also how, by whom, and from where the knowledge is produced

(2) What if the resulting audio-visual pieces are used to shorten the distance between research and researcher and practice by "imagine oneself in a different skin, a different story, a different place"

(3) What if we (researchers) are not there to excavate but to imagine new worlds together?

(4) What are the concepts we need to be defamiliarized from in TOD?: "Thus – through the work of defamiliarization – an audience is forced to look upon something previously perceived as well known, assimilated and unproblematic with new eyes" (Metzger, 2010, p. 219).

(5) How would the book of TOD after this three years look like?

TOD IS RUR

"Other ways of knowing" - Many TOD studies focuses on how people move rather than the impact on people and their community life (Ibraeva et al., 2020). Moreover, most studies use technocratic lenses with little or no attention to the human experience of mobility (i.e. everyday mobility, sensory and emotional experiences) (Ryghaug, et al., 2020). To contrast this, there is a rich tradition of research that searches for "other ways of knowing." In an example from urban planning that advocates the need for an epistemological shift, this was described as: 'Experiential, intuitive… local knowledges; knowledges based on the practices of talking and listening, seeing, contemplating and sharing; and knowledges expressed in visual, symbolic, ritual ... An "epistemology of multiplicity" ' (Sandercock, 1998, as cited in Sandercock & Attili, 2010, p.25)

Producing alternative knowledges is not just about content but also about different forms, formats, subjects, and methods, with art being one way to explore and generate different types of knowledge. The film has been seen as an interesting medium since it offers more degrees of freedom and a more holistic approach than traditional academic texts, whose content is partly shaped by the process of writing (Feyerabend, 1999). Erik Viskil uses film as an auto-ethnographic research tool, and while introducing his work he quotes Arthur P. Bochner: "research on human life should be oriented towards meanings, instead of only facts" (Viskil, 2021, p. 262).

Films with who and how? - "Keeping in mind that we are not there to excavate and objectify, we are there to imagine new worlds together" (Mckittrick, 2020. Time: 00:47:21)

Traditionally documentary filmmaking has been use to understand in detail the "subjects" of the study. In this sense we question our role as researchers, and there is a call to "stop the autopsy"where the purpose is rather construct worlds together.

This research also engages with liminal populations in-between positions belonging to "here" and "there". This research will include a diversity of communities at the margins, where their knowledge might not have been included in this mainstream discourse of transport and urban planning. Rural women in Ecuador (Ambato), Latin-American women in the Randstad region, and possibly persons who clean the train stations.

Films for what: Defamiliarization - A key element of art is to question the apparent obvious assumptions. For example: "People want to access to jobs, and they will value getting faster to their destination". Metzger brings into debate the process of defamiliarization "Thus – through the work of defamiliarization – an audience is forced to look upon something previously perceived as well known, assimilated and unproblematic with new eyes" (Metzger, 2010, p. 219). The real question here, is what are the concepts we need to be defamiliarized from in TOD?

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Films for what: Opening debates - To bridge the disciplines of filmmaking with more traditional research (transport and urban planning), the genre "Essay Film" was chosen. This genre has evolved as an alternative to combine academic writing with audio-visual materials. This form allows the researcher to combine personal reflections on the process, and encourages the reflection of the audience (Pascaroli, 2017). The goal of the essay film is to raise questions rather than give a definite answer as traditionally done in documentaries. This type of genre has been used for example by Agnès Varda (Corrigan, 2011) and is characterised by its experimental forms. This will allow me to think of filmmaking not as a straitjacket but as a form of exploration.

Matthijs van Port is a visual anthropologist who uses essay film as an alternative to observation cinema. On the AISSR Harvest Day, a video was used to open dialogue with the audience[1]. He propose that there is an open approach to the interpretation of the film produce "remind the viewer other stories are possible too" (2:01). A sort of agency that is given to the person viewing the material: "In my writing I am in control about which of me the reader gets. Not here. You can hear me, but you can see… and you can decide: I am highlighting that or hiding that?" (3:44)

The methodology is a loop that starts with 1. Bottom-up approaches, 2. it explores filmmaking as a methodology to co-construct and empower communities, 3. it aims to combine bottom-up with top-down approaches, and 4. opening dialogues with different audiences. Case 1 (Ecuador) and case 2 (Randstad) will have a bottom–up approach, focusing on the "epistemology of knowledge" from populations in liminal positions. Tentatively, the Randstad case could be combined or contrasted with top-down approaches (e.g. contrast with data generated in national statistics, non-academic partners of TOD-IS-RUR). The role of the Flemish and French cases will be defined during the following year. They could be included in the phase of opening dialogues around the already generated audiovisual material or to open dialogues around diverse thematic (e.g. commons and transport for the Flemish case)

The "(un)learning while doing" methodologies to co-construct and empower communities is under developement. It is based in the following "academic" and "non-academic" knowledge: conversations with audio-visual anthropologists that work with co-creation methods and essay films;, reflections after participating in discussions with documentary directors at the IDFA 2022 (international documentary film festival) and being inspired by documentaries, and finally, it includes the thoughts after participating in a workshop around "camera work as a care work" with the Post-Collective (an activist group that works around filmmaking and diasporic feelings).
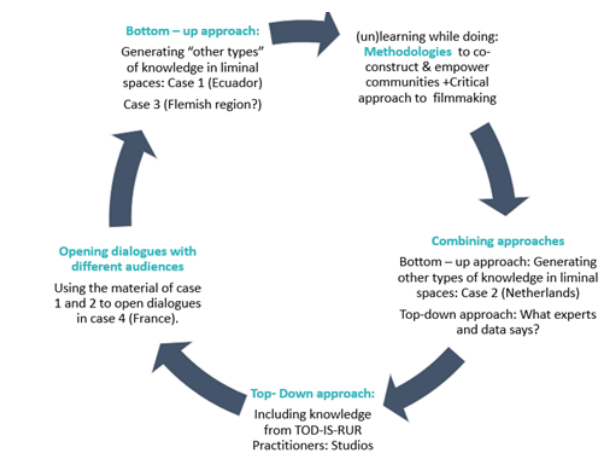

Figure 1: Methodological loop

Users could be Researchers/NGOs/Urban agencies and activists interested in community building and opening dialogues. The groups that can benefit from the implementation are those in liminal positions and possibly policy-makers.

For the first case (Ambato, Ecuador) a diversity of actors were involved: the winners of the documentary participants cultural houses, NGOs, a diverse of government representatives, activists and rural women's collectives, international agencies.

For the second case (Randstad region): different spaces and networks that already work with Latin-American women in the Netherlands will be included.

For the cases in Paris and the Flemish region and actor mapping will be developed to include artists' collectives and spaces to project the audio-visual results. Preliminary for the case in Flemish region: the commons lab organization could be included.

Is there a risk of opposing voices? The idea is precisely bringing into the table dialogues but also debates that challenge the current narrative of TOD. Opposing voices, specifically for the methodology, may raise from the academia itself since art is not yet a well-established discipline in transport studies.

Traditionally, the starting point of the research would be to develop a literature review to identify the GAPs on it. But due to the nature of this ESR, we started this research with a practical approach. Three strategies were done: The first strategy was to study a previous experience of the ESR 10 in Ecuador, which combined art, transport, and rural women. The underlying question was to generate knowledge from liminal spaces using audio-visual languages. A second strategy was to be a participant observant in the TOD-IS-RUR spaces and develop questions around 1. the role of academia and 2. gaps in practice to achieve social justice in TOD-IS-RUR that could be addressed by the network. A third strategy was to explore non-traditional methodologies, specifically filmmaking, to co-create alternative narratives with the objective of empowering and giving a voice to marginal populations.

The aim, in all cases, is to build on what has been built. Avoid starting new processes, and work with established organisations on the ground to support their processes; overall the cases aim to challenge the narrative of TOD:

Case 1 (Ecuador): knowledge generation in liminal spaces. Using the experience of the filmmaking competition of "rural" women's transport in Tungurahua, Ecuador. A first article is being co-authored by Thomas Vanoutrive and Sandra La Rota. The final discussions focus on women's agency in the way they transport or in-transport them-
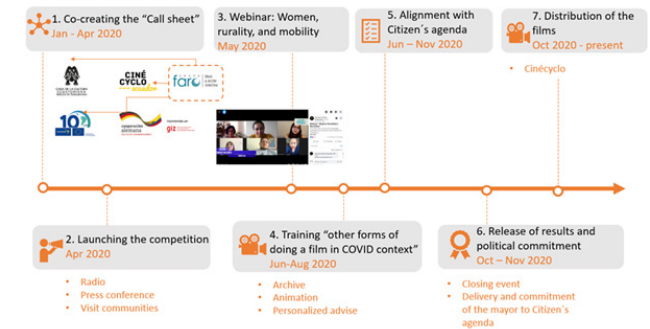

Figure 2: Process of the contest. Between the countryside and the city: stories of rural women's transport" in the province of Tungurahua (Ecuador).

Figure 3: Image of the documentary Muévanse by Belén Guerrero: "I feel happy to live in my community because I can walk barefoot, and my feet on the ground that tells me about the deep connection with my roots".

selves. And they amplify the narrative by including as important elements not only the mode of transport but also the relevance of "dignity and autonomy" in transport. Understanding transport from a corporeal perspective leads us to question whether the body includes burdens, for example. And the communal role that transport plays in these communities, where feelings and food are shared, leaves an open question as to whether this could be a role for transport. A latent debate takes form during the process, a discussion that started on the webinar on whether one is a "rural" woman or not and is retaken in one of the documentaries on possibilities to rename oneself.

Case 2 (Neatherlands):
Part 1: Apply a co-creative audiovisual methodology to understand the daily mobility practices and services that Latin-American migrant women in isolated spaces in Randstad region value. Accessibility is at the intersection between transport and urban planning. The discourse is well-established: Accessibility to markets, jobs, and health. But which jobs are we talking about? Is everyone able to access these jobs? Are other services valued?.
Part 2: Can we consider a person who cleans the train stations as an expert? What public policy suggestions would this person have for TOD?. Echoing methodologies such as "walking along", can we "drawing along" with a person who cleans the train? What would we see, is it just a person who cleans the station, or is it the information point?, perhaps a key person in knowledge generation who is never consulted for policies?

Case 3 (France): In France, connect with actors and spaces to present different audio-visual materials in order to open conversations around mobility, planning and social justice.

Case 4 (Belgium): Define the methodology to be followed for the Flemish case, and define the place it can have in the research loop.

TOD-IS-RUR network as a case study
This ESR 10 also has the challenge of thinking in an overarching framework for the local part of the project. For this, ESR is a participant observant in the TOD-IS-RUR spaces and develops questions around 1. the role of academia and 2. gaps in practice to achieve social justice in TOD-IS-RUR that could be addressed by the network. As part of the training program, several outcomes are generated. ESR 10 analyze these outcomes, using for example, the TOD-TALKS and the different studios.

Figure 4: Images of the documentary TATKI by Inti Chicaiza: "women living in cities, there are just a few women who have a vehicle to transport". (Sylvia voice)

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