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MOBILITY AND THE ELDERLY : SUCCESSFUL AGEING IN A SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORT SYSTEM

"MESsAGE"

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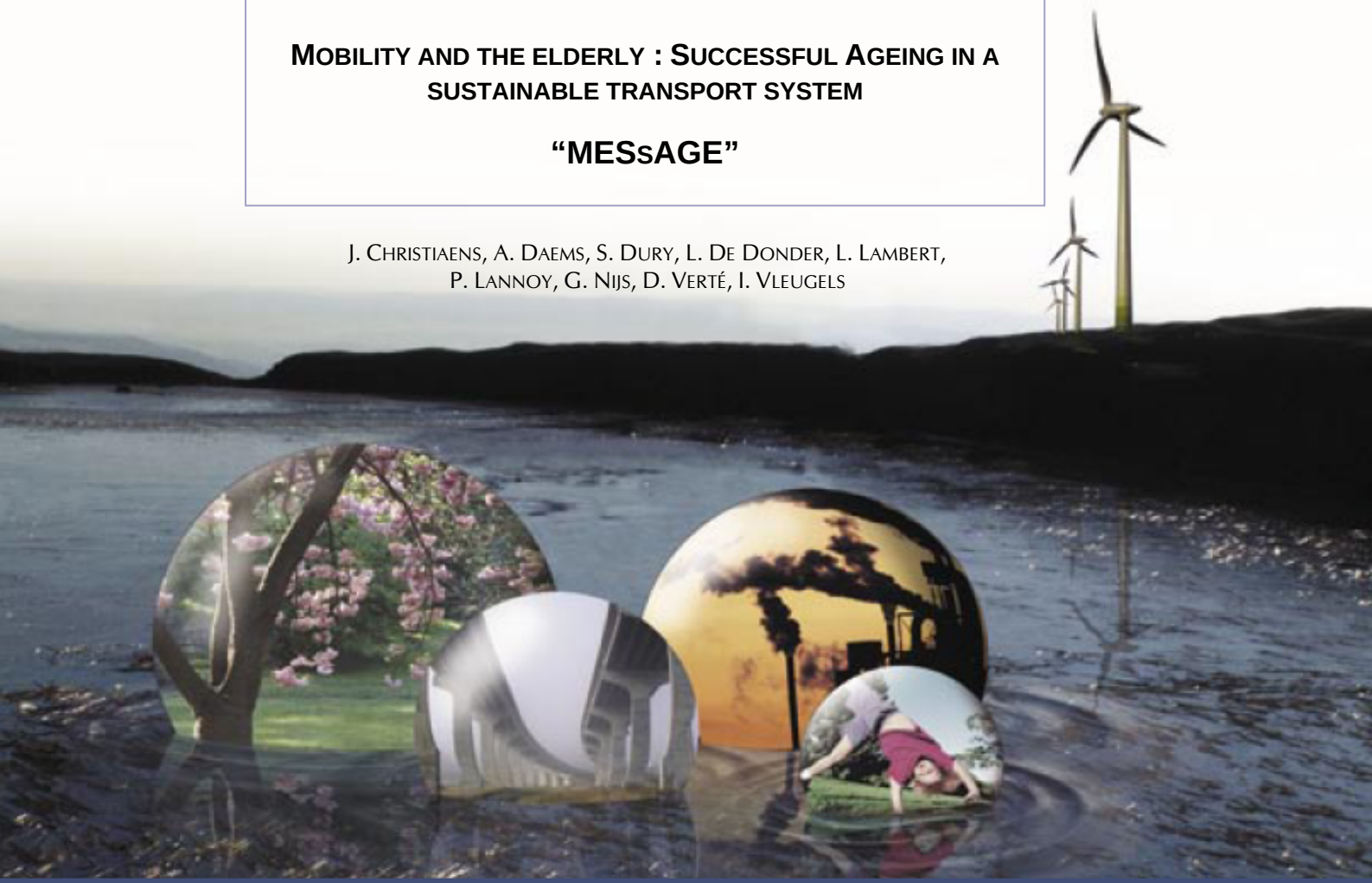

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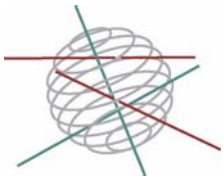

Transversal actions

FINAL REPORT
SUMMARY

MOBILITY AND THE ELDERLY : SUCCESSFUL AGEING IN A SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORT SYSTEM

"MESsAGE"

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Objectives

The research project MESsAGE (Mobility and the Elderly: Successful AGEing in a Sustainable transport system) aimed to contribute to the extension of the transportation autonomy of older people and to increase the use of sustainable transport modes within this target group. Therefore, young senior citizens need to be made more aware of the possibilities to organise their lives in a way to lengthen their transportation autonomy. Local policy makers must be addressed to raise awareness about specific mobility needs of elderly persons. These needs have to be translated into concrete mobility measures on the field.

The operational objectives of this research project were to gain insight into the current mobility patterns of elderly people in Belgium and their determinants; to assess the impact of this mobility behaviour of the elderly in terms of sustainability now and in the future, to gain insight into older people's perceptions regarding the problems of sustainable mobility, their own responsibility and opportunities for action and to test and evaluate new methods to enhance elderly participation into the local mobility policy.

Methodology

Within the period from January 2007 until March 2009, the MESsAGE research network with three partners studied this topic from different angles and fields of expertise.

The department of Agogics of the University of Brussels (VUB) analysed the mobility behaviour, the perceived problems and needs of the elderly population in Belgium in relation to a number of socio-demographic parameters. The team conducted statistical analyses on three datasets: MOBEL, OVG and BAS.
MOBEL is a dataset with information about the mobility patterns of 7025 Belgian individuals in relation to their socio-demographic profile anno 1999. The secondary analysis within MESsAGE were conducted on a subset of 1401 respondents aged between 60 and 99 years. OVG is a survey dataset with information about the mobility patterns of 22 351 individuals in Flanders. The survey took place in 2000-01. The analyses within MESsAGE were also conducted on a subset of 3 244 elderly respondents aged 60 and over. BAS (Belgian Ageing studies) is a dataset based on a survey among 44 431 elderly persons (60 and older) in 93 cities and municipalities in Flanders. Within the framework of MESsAGE, the survey was extended towards one Walloon municipality Gouvy (n=202 respondents) and towards Brussels capital (n=307). The BAS-dataset delivers information on elderly needs and perceptions about quality of life factors such as housing conditions, health, well being, quality of facilities, participation at the socio cultural life. One of the areas covered in BAS is transport and mobility.

The **Centre de Récherche Urbaine, a research team of sociologists at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB**) investigated the various and evolving experiences and meanings of daily mobility along processes of aging. They intended to scrutinize those experiences from the discourses and practices of the actors themselves. This work was meant to echo their mobility perceptions and expectations in order to find ways to prolong the period of transport autonomy. From its first steps, the qualitative research in MESsAGE attempted to turn the mobility question "inside out", looking at what happens during daily moving about, instead of talking about mobility as something rather abstract. In a sociological landscape proclaiming the "generalized mobility", ordinary journeys are still often "black boxed" in mobility and transport studies. Like mobility, the meanings and experiences of growing older or oldness are never given in advance, nor are they independent of our accounts and representation of them. They are here considered as built and negotiated in specific relations, socio-material practices and situations. Three qualitative methods were combined: in situ observations, more than 50 face-to-face interviews and 15 sessions of collective discussions in 5 sites. The selection of these five sites was prompted by the concern to explore the same questions in several spatial contexts, differentiated in terms of urbanization, transport connections and proportion of 65+ population. The selected sites were Brussels Centre and Berchem Ste Agathe in the Brussels region, Braine-l'Alleud and Leuze in the Walloon region and Brasschaat in the Flemish region. Group composition was carried out based upon different ways of recruitment (associations, institutions, personal contacts, …).

Mobiel 21 conducted an action research at five different sites with small groups of 6 to 8 elderly people in the role of research subjects as well as researcher. The idea behind an action research is to examine together the current situation – which is felt like a problem: what problems and needs do you perceive during your daily movements outside? - in order to change and improve it. The decision about the research focus, the planning and implementation of the action is done by and for those to be helped, the elderly persons. Within the action research process the MESsAGE network partner M21 took up the role of change agent. The five action research sites were Sint-Truiden, Leuven, Mons, Gembloux and Brussels Capital. These sites are spread over the three regions and show a diversity in geographical context. All five action research experiments followed the same cyclical process of problem and needs analysis, planning action, implementation of the action and evaluation. The action research processes and outputs at the five sites were described and analysed following a common monitoring and evaluation framework to allow for cross site comparisons.

In order to integrate the results and recommendations from the three research parts, a common theoretical framework was set up built on the basis of three concepts: motility, mobility practices and moving around.

Motility is the mobility potential of a person or a group which can be translated into mobility but does not necessarily do so. The motility of a person or a group can be described and assessed mainly through three inseparable features:

- Access: the residential location and what it proposes in terms of access to shops, services and transportation systems; communication and transportation means at disposal: owning of a car, of a driving licence, of a PT season ticket, of a bike; characteristics of the social network, …
- Skills: savoir-faires, physical abilities, acquired skills and knowledge –to be able to fond one's bearings on transport networks, to be able to drive a car
- Appropriation : expectations, values, attitudes, perceptions, …

The concept of **Mobility practices** focusses on the logics of daily mobility behaviour, the sedimentation of various logics and rationalities in daily practices. Which logics are at play in mobility behaviour? Why are some mobility potentials activated and others not?

With the concept of **Moving around**, we aimed to grasp aspects of mobility situations in the course of situated action, on the move and in circulatory scapes. While getting from A to B, one is confronted with various forms of interactions with other people (other passengers, accompanying persons,..), with objects (bags, seats, ..), with techniques (metro, car, mobile information techniques), with invisible realities (souvenirs, imaginaries, …) and so on. What do people actually feel, do and think as they move?

Each of the three concepts allows considering various aspects of the question of the experience of daily mobility while ageing and analyse it from several perspectives. At the same time, the 3Ms point at various decisional levers and fields of action in the scope of a sustainable mobility policy.

Results

Mobility and Elderly: Facts and figures

The most cited **shortages in the immediate neighbourhood** by elderly people 60 and older that might hinder them from going outside are the absence of public toilets (42,7%) and the absence of benches (38,9%). More over about one quarter of the elderly respondents in BAS - especially the oldest old - indicate that they experienced difficulties accessing bus stops and that the crossings are inadequate in their neighbourhood.
According to OVG data more than 70.7% of the elderly respondents dispose of a **driving license** but this is more likely for men (90.8%) than for women (50.4%). More over possession of a driving licence drops down with age from 77,5% (age group 60-69) to 39,8% (age group 80+).
Following BAS, 60.1% of the elderly population is **physically restricted**, with a dramatic increase of the number of restricted persons when one becomes older. In the youngest age group only 47.2% is physically restricted, 67.1% in the age group 70-79, while in the oldest old the number of restricted elderly raises to 83.9%. Following BAS again, 26.4% of the elderly respondents state that they have **fallen** at least once in the past year. Although in the lowest age group only 19.4% had fallen at least once a year. In the oldest old the number increased to 41.8%.
In general 29.1% of the elderly never experienced **problems with transportation**, 16.6% rarely did, while 12.4% frequently experienced problems (BAS). Once aged 80 or above more than one quarter of the elderly frequently experienced difficulties in transportation, while in the youngest age group only 7.5% was confronted with this problem. In the youngest age group (60-69) only 7.7% was in need of assistance while moving outdoor. In the oldest age group more than half of the population needed assistance to move outdoor. In general **feelings of insecurity** increase with ageing. In the oldest old (80 and over) feelings of insecurity are more pronounced than in the age category 70-79 and the youngest old respectively. However differences in feelings of insecurity are spectacular between Brussels and Flanders.
Traffic insecurity, perception of traffic and transport policy. 31% of older people included in the BAS-study sometimes or quite often feel insecure in traffic. Although differences between age groups are small, especially in the oldest old the number of respondents which felt insecure in traffic doubles compared to the youngest age group. Moreover almost 40% of respondents mentioned that in the neighbourhood the traffic is too busy and 21.5% wasn't satisfied with the transport policy in their community.
Immobility rate. The percentage of elderly people that not moved outside during reference days differ between OVG, MOBEL and BAS. In the MOBEL study 39.9 % of the elderly didn't go out during one reference day, in OVG only 35 % never moved out on the two day reference period. Following BAS - with a reference period of one year -, 3.2 % of the elderly aged 60 years and over never moved out in the past year, while 26.8 moved less than twice a week outdoor. In all sources, immobility rate grows with age. Although there is a drastic decline once age 80 years or above, more than three quarters of the oldest old moved at least once or twice a week outdoor (BAS). For those who didn't leave the house (elderly respondents of OVG), 54.5% stated there was no need to leave the house. Staying at home due to sickness or restriction was mentioned by 19,4%. The importance of this latter reason increases with age. Most results match quite well with the ones of the MOBEL study.

Average number of trips (MOBEL & OVG). We notice that in the oldest old not only the amount of non mover increases strongly, but the number of trips made a day decreases as well. Male seniors make more trips than female seniors irrespective of their age. Moreover senior citizens who dispose of a driving license make more trips than those without. Also income of the elderly has an impact on the trips older persons make a day. Elderly with a lower income tend to move less.
Trip motives (OVG and MOBEL). The most common trip motives of elderly respondents are shopping, followed by visiting someone, and leisure/culture/sports.
On average a trip takes 71.1 minutes according to OVG, 62.5 minutes according to MOBEL. The **duration of the trips** decreases as age increases. Moreover men travel frequently longer distances than women and subsequently spend more time on their movements. Considering chain movements, elderly frequently leave their homes for a trip between 9 and 10am, or around 2pm.
Trip distance. The average number of kilometres travelled by elderly per day is 28.8 km. Considering age, we conclude that the average total trip distance becomes shorter as people grow older. Looking upon the average trip distance, the analysis demonstrates that trip distances for the young old are

significantly bigger (11.7km) than for elderly between 70 and 79 (10.2km) and elderly over 80 (7.8km). Men travel longer distances than women. Finally, income plays an important role here too as elderly with the lowest income have the shortest travel distances.

Effects of demographic, individual and contextual variables on being mobile or not (BAS). We found a positive association between mainly socio-demographic variables and the degree of mobility. Being male and physical healthy increases the odds of being an often mover the most. In addition, the frequency of falling plays an important roletoo in the differences between never movers and regular/often movers. Age is also a significant determinant, but solely for regular movers. For the other categories it appears that it is not age 'an sich' that plays a role, but it is especially physical health that is the most important predictor of mobility. Having a monthly income above 1500euro is associated with a higher degree of mobility. When often movers are compared with non movers, it is income that makes elderly able to heighten their degree of mobility to the top. Looking at contextual variables, particularly the influence of the degree of urbanisation is significant. Elderly who live in municipalities with a concentration of economical activity are clearly more mobile than older people who don't. Whereas in bivariate analyses areas with insufficient bus stops, with heavy traffic and with poor sidewalks appeared to be significant contributors of mobility, in multivariate analyses their influence is not significant. These relationships proved not to resist when we controlled for age, gender, physical health, etc. This, however, does not suggest that the built environment is not important in relation to mobility. However, simply adding bus stops or purely improving sidewalks will likely not be enough.

Transport modes per age, gender, health, income, urbanisation rate. In daily use the car isthe most popular transport modes (OVG). Only 12.5% of the elderly never uses the car when they move outdoor. The figures of MOBEL show lower frequencies of car use. Public transport is seldom used on a daily base. Although 33% never made a trip by bus, this transport mode is frequently used occasionally. All studies indicate that if persons go out, they most often use private modes of transportation such as car, bicycle, walking. Public transport plays a role when no other alternatives are available or when the public transport system is very well organized, which is more often the case in urban areas.

The use of transport modes is strongly related to age: the older the people get, the less often they 'walk' as transport mode. Moreover, the car is the most popular transport mode in all age categories. When age increases the use of the car decreases and the number of bikers decreases dramatically once 80 years or more. The use of individualized transport modes such as taxi, call bus or a taxi for less mobile persons increases when age increases.

In the study of transport modes important gender differences are found: men more often dispose of a driving license and consequently drive their car more frequent on a daily basis than women. In OVG and BAS, we found that women rely more on public transport, the call bus, a taxi for less mobile persons than men.

When they move outdoor we notice elderly with a lower income drive the car or the bike less often than their counterparts who can rely on a higher income. Poorer elderly are more likely to move as a passenger in the car than those with a higher income.

Following BAS, physical restriction impacts strongly on trips by bike and on foot and are less outspoken in their impact on transport modes as car en train. However we have mentioned before that once people exceed the age of 80 their loss on mobility in classic transport modes is compensated through a more individualized transport mode. It looks like public transport can compensate partly the loss of classical transport modes such us moving outdoor by car, on foot or by bike. Moreover physically restricted elderly are more likely to use the call bus, a taxi or a taxi for less mobile persons. Collective organized, but more individualized transport modes are clearly helping physically restricted elderly to move outdoor.

According to BAS, in urban areas and especially in large cities the car is more often banned, while in residential and rural communities the car stays in pole position as transport mode. Moving outdoor on foot is very popular in coast communities and large cities, while especially in rural communities or in those with a concentration of economic activity elderly rather cycle than walk. In rural communities, small cities as well as in communities with a concentration of economic activity public transport is rarely in sight when elderly move outdoor. However in large cities, but especially in coast communities it is the most popular transport mode. Making a trip by train is rarely done in rural and semi urban communities as well as in communities with a concentration of economic activity. Probably because of the proximity of a railway station and the availability of a taxi in large cities and coast communities moving by train or calling a taxi have a more prominent position.

Mobility and elderly: from an antropological point of view

The guiding framework built along the qualitative research in MESsAGE was made up of four guiding ideas, namely that of multiplicity, pragmatism, reflexivity, and the principle of generalized symmetry:

The idea of **multiplicity** appears to be blatant in the process and experience of aging as well as in the process and experience of moving. During this report, multiplicity was talked about in terms of possibles and brakes of/ on mobility, multiplicity of the actors, actants and dimensions involved in mobility and aging processes, multiplicity of diachronicities acting upon mobility potentials, behaviours and experiences (situational, biographical, historical). This leads to an orientation towards multiplicity in policy.
The idea of a **pragmatic approach** to questions of mobility and ageing offers another lens on both, and generates knowledge that is embodied, dynamic, singular, in addition to articulating the different dimensions of the daily mobility.
Giving voice to the people themselves, to people moving into old age, as well as having faith in their **reflexivity** resulted—surprisingly or not—into reflexive accounts. The ongoing thickening of biography and the actual experience of growing older simultaneously give rise to a certain awareness, as if they open up the black boxes that make up daily mobility practice.
Taking up socio-materials into the research allows yet another enrichment of the understanding of mobility behaviour while ageing. The idea of **symmetry** makes present and even emphasizes the often complex relationship of and in interactions between humans on the one hand, and between humans and nonhumans (objects, configurations of objects, the built environment …) on the other.

The resulting analysis has most of all to do with the social and ecological pillars of sustainable development. Without talking about "emissions", "ecological footprint", and the like, we looked into the behaviours, the practices, and the logics that make up the daily outdoor moving in order to identify levers that are susceptible to favour or promote sustainable mobility behaviour. In this context, we have looked at the ecological in the sense of 'what holds things together for a long period', along the lifespan, as well as the 'durable-sustainable'. In a political sense, as is recalled in the following lines, it underlines the infinity of sites of political intervention upon the practices of 'aging movers'. The main conclusions drawn from the empirical material leading to policy recommendations were organized in the three interacting fields for political action: motility or potentials, mobility or practices, moving around or situated identities.

The work around the concept of motility highlighted the variability and differentiation of potentials and constraints between persons and collectives and their respective transformations as time goes by. Motility is considered as a fluid configuration made up of elements of distinct nature bond together: human relations, transport devices, localizations, accessibilities, physical status and so on. Through this work, more than detailing those already well known mobility potentials or constraints, a deep attention was dedicated to analyze how those elements are bond together: what holds them as a whole or, on the contrary, what unties them, urging for a reconfiguration: meanings, mutual help systems, changes and transitions stimulating reflexivity, preconditions to the activation of potentials are the four main dimensions elaborated in this reflexion upon mobility potentials. This work led us to a translation of the concept of autonomy in the perspective of attachment: rather than a version considering the autonomous subject as someone that lives and moves without the intervention of the others (an 'auto-mobile'), a sustainable mobility system should favour a definition of the autonomous user as the one which is sustained by an efficient and well related set of technical, institutional, and social ties.

In the section on mobility practices and logics, we looked into what acts upon the mobility practices. Integrating the question of agency—the possibility to influence the control over something—into questions of mobility and ageing tells us more about why certain potentials are effectuated and others are not. What is more, it allows looking at how the question of agency is actually a question of distribution of agency. Whereas until recently, agency was situated within the head of a person, there is no reason not to recognize that agency is distributed over persons, their bodies, other persons and objects. Moreover, agency is not fixed once and for all in a configuration or in a design, scheme or setup. On the contrary, agency is continuously re-distributed, it is fluid, it implies work to make things fit. A second important actant in this section is time. The research looked into the plays of time and how they affect the relationship between ageing and daily mobility. Time can be seen as a multilayered phenomenon, and especially with an extensive biography, the plays of time can be very

complex. We explored how different times or epochs can be superimposed in circulatory spaces and sites of daily mobility (i.e. palimpsests); how things of several pasts can be remembered or forgotten, and triggered by elements or the absence of elements that are perceived during daily movements outdoor (i.e. souvenirs & oblivion). On another time plane, time can be considered as sedimentation and erosion, where the intertwining of the different time effects such as historical, periodical, and biographical also influence the actual, current mobility practices.

The third part of the work led us to consider mobility situations, how being 'inside' mobility situations, on the move, influences feelings of selfhood and how identity is fabricated in mobility situations. But also, and at the same time, how there is a play off and on identity during daily mobility. A play that can be one of resistance against being categorized as 'old', an elderly, or even 'disabled person'; of subtle displacements that come to interfere the enactment of old age; or still, on the contrary, of the acknowledgement of being seen and treated as an older person. Also, the interplay of human and nonhuman actors and actants that are implied in these identity processes: the built environment, mobility objects, objects tout court, other people … Together with the aspects of identity and moving around comes the experience of moving around. The experience of moving around is described by ways of three performative tools that can inspire policy action and allows the thickening of a plural apprehension of the experience of moving around: emotions, spatio-temporality and the umwelt. These three tools enlighten the plurality of experiences and, at the same time, ways to influence it.

To conclude, we could say that this whole work documents the multiple worlds inhabiting and coexisting in an ordinary journey. One can live it as a child, an adult, an old adult, one can live it as familiar or unfamiliar, exciting or stressing, difficult or not, the policy work consisting precisely in the building of a plural and common world.

Mobility and elderly: undertaking action with the elderly in a concrete local setting

The five action research groups showed a variety of backgrounds, group compositions and group dynamics. The total duration of one complete action research cycle varied between 7 months and more than one year. And also the number of meetings varied significantly between 5 and 10 meetings with preparatory homework in between. The table provides an overview of the results of the problems and needs assessment and action phase.

Sint-truiden	Leuven	Brussels	Mons	Gembloux
Results of problem and needs assessment in order of priority				
1. Tailored and targeted information on public transport 2. Courtesy	1. Courtesy 2. Respect on buses, focus on youth	1. Accessibility of public transport and information on PT-use 2. Courtesy 3. Congestion and noise pollution	1. Infrastructure 2. Courtesy 3. Citizen participation	1. Overall lack of information about needs and desires of elderly population
Actions developed				
1. Organisation of a survey among elderly population in Sint-Truiden to know their information needs and prefered information media 2. Writing of articles on PT-info, published in the city magazine	1. Campaign on courtesy in buses of De LIJN in Leuven (posters and postcards with a cartoon) 2.Awareness raising on mobility among peers during the annual "week of seniors citizens" in Leuven	1. Guided tour on Brussels' PT – network in the presence of the Ministry of Transport and local PT-providers in order to show deficiencies regarding accessibility	1. Composition of a scrap-book with pictures (a PPT-presentation) and explanation on black points 2. Organisation of a round-table with local policy makers (planned)	1. Organisation of a survey on needs and desires concerning mobility among elderly people in Gembloux

Access to information about public transport appeared to be an important constraint or problem for being mobile in two out of five action groups. In St-Truiden the participants indicated the lack of tailored and targeted information on the offer of public transport as particularly hindering them to use it. Nevertheless, in St-Truiden the public transport system is quite extensive and well established. However, the group stated that the needed information is sufficiently provided in the city centre but

that there's a lack of information in the parishes around the centre. The Brussels' group indicated the same problem but added the complexity of the public transport system and the problematic accessibility of the system.
Information is often disperse, difficult to understand and technologized by means of computers or automated machines. The action research groups state clearly that they want to take some steps forward in learning to deal with these developments but that they need back-up systems such as human interface possibilities, consistent and clear signage and assistance tools when they make a mistake or misjudgement. Some participants also indicated that they call in help from relatives or peers to get the right information for their trip. Doing so, they experience the ambivalent feeling of being dependent in one way but wanting to be independent in another way.
The participants of the action research in Sint-Truiden and Brussels developed a totally different sort of action. In Sint-Truiden the elderly detected a problem and looked for a way to solve it themselves. The participants in Brussels however decided to inform the authorities and the PT-providers. The problem there was of course far more complex than the needs in Sint-Truiden. Both groups felt to have made a difference with their action, although both actions were of a different type.

When talking with the elderly people about mobility there was a quick referral **to infrastructure in terms of sidewalks, cycle lanes, roundabouts, crossings, lighting, etc**… This was also the case in the action research. During the needs analyses, a vast amount of site-specific examples were given and extensively explained. Reaction were mostly quite similar and somewhat typical: "*Street X and the crossing of X with Y is extremely dangerous. There's no cycle lane and motorists drive really fast there. We should have a speed bump there, or a camera*." Mons was not the only group who raised questions and problems about infrastructure. Also in St-Truiden, Brussels and in Gembloux this topic was discussed. Only one group took up the challenge on infrastructure to take action. Why? Specific more technical expertise is needed to develop action on this topic which was not available in all action research groups. Also the complexity of the infrastructural environment was a threshold to develop action. The participation of the local mobility official was helpful in order to explain the current status and planned actions.

The problem of lack of courtesy. *"They don't respect us anymore. In our days, it was different".* This sentence was heard quite often in many action research groups. The topic was listed as one of the priorities in four out of five action groups. Only one, Leuven, took action on it. Firstly, it is believed in most groups that the responsibility for taking action on this lack of respect lies not with the elderly but with the parents and the schools. Most groups were reluctant to take action towards parents and schools because of various reasons: too time-consuming, too difficult, education is something personal within the family, … Secondly, today's society is blamed for the lack of respect that youngsters seem to have. Many participants referred to today's day and age as always hurrying, stressful and individualised. Many participants didn't think they were up to the task of changing society very dramatically on this particular topic. Last, the problem of lack of courtesy is often referred to as a complex and large problem in today's society that can only be solved by a massive change in mentality. An action on changing attitudes and mentality would take a lot of time and resources, according to most groups. Time and resources is something we don't have to spare.

Policy recommendations

…wrt motility or mobility potential of senior citizens

Take into account the **heterogeneity** of elderly people's resources and barriers to mobility while drafting policy and measures aimed at senior citizens. The quantitative analysis showed e.g, that income determines significantly whether elderly persons or mobile or not. Therefore policy makers should take special care of the weakest income groups among the elderly.

A sustainable mobility policy targeted at senior citizens should be based on a **multidimensional and dynamic understanding** of the question of the daily mobility of people growing into old age. This supposes that (existing) statistical databases should be mined in a way to identify a maximum of dimensions and their possible evolving scenario's based on identified points of transition. It also supposes that mobility & elderly should become a topic within different policy domains and not only within the transport policy domain but also e.g. housing, well-being,..

Sustainable mobility solutions for senior citizens (such as help systems) should build in a high level of **flexibility** as they need to be able to address perpetual changes in requirements. Help systems therefore need to be flexible and fluid in their offer on the one hand and allow for strong attachments between all actors involved on the other hand.

The notion of transport autonomy should be reconsidered from a notion of autonomy that detaches (and is self sustaining) to a **notion of autonomy that attaches** and hold things together.
This supposes:

- a simplification of existing local (mutual) helping schemes and the creation of new community based/proximity based supporting systems with the neighbourhood as crucial actor.
- tools that take into account that what makes things hold together.
- The development of human 'chaperone' systems to improve access to (information about) transport modes.

…wrt the mobility practices of senior citizens

Suitable transport modes are needed in every stage of life. For the frailest group of elderly and in rural areas, collective personalized transportation possibilities need to be considered (such as taxi's for less mobile persons, call busses). More over a clear communication and information strategy should be set up in order to persuade older people to switch from one mode to another. Communication might need to be added with a training project or chaperone service.

Agency, power relations and feelings of selfhood are very much at play in the mobility practices of older people (*shall I ask for help? How will other react, if I ask for help? …).* Raising awareness about this agency aspect in mobility practices of older people is needed and forms the basis for new measures and for rethinking existing ones:

- Creation of tools that can take into consideration the distribution of agency at play in different mobility practices, taking into account the local, situational, variable and relational dimensions of agency.
- Training of people that work with elderly in giving adequate advice in questions concerning agency and autonomy.
- emphasize the normative characteristics of urban places and sites in their conception and equipment in order to improve accessibility and hospitality of the public realm for elderly people
- Take into account the dimension of swiftness, kinesthetic force, speed, emotions, and sensations which are important in the mobility practice of elderly people while conceptualizing the transport system (infrastructure, information, built environment)

The dimension of embodied memory works is an important logic of mobility practice which needs more emphasis in developing measures to enhance the use of sustainable mobility modes by elderly people. E.g.

- Take into accunt or revitalize –the often sutainable – old routes, short cuts, pedestrian circulations in the conceptualition of new mobility plans.
- Take into account topologies of memory (e.g. by revitalizing old names of streets and places, ..)
- Conduct research about the level of elderly people's familiarity with modes of access to places, routes, transport systems

… wrt (the lived experience of elderly people when) moving around

The less mobile people get, the more important the neighbourhood and quality of the residential environment become with good -obstacle free- sidewalks, safe pedestrian crossings, etc. .

- In architecture, urban planning and (re-)design of public space, possibilities of halt or rest (s.a; benches) should be built in.
- The design of mobility enhancing devices such as walking canes, rollators need to be reconsidered as these are have a strong medical and instrumental connotation.
- Chaperoning services to assist elderly people in their daily mobility need to be created or existing programmes need to be extended.

The lived experiences of older people in different places and contexts should inform policy makers on how to reshape the public realm, to develop the circulatory space, to detect what is of main importance and why, what is felt as (un)safe both felt and objective. The action research conducted in Brussels where the group of elderly people organised a tour to show local policy makers their problems is a good example. A pragmatic approach to participation where elderly people act as user experts is further described in the MESsaGE brochure