# INTERPRETING THE PORTRAYAL OF FARE EVASION IN THE MEDIA

A content analysis of fare evasion discourses in New York City and Copenhagen

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# Abstract

This thesis examines how fare evasion is portrayed and framed in the media by various actors through a qualitative analysis of topical news articles from the past eleven years in New York City and Copenhagen. Through this analysis, I aim to determine what, how, and whose interests are advanced by the utilization of fare evasion as a discursive tool. I have conducted an exploratory media content analysis informed by themes drawn from fare evasion literature. Additionally, I conducted a small set of semi-structured interviews in order to gain insight from individual perspectives of actors involved in generating discourse about fare evasion. This thesis challenges the notions that fare evasion is as serious of an issue as it is reported in the media. Using theorizations of moral panic as an analytical framework, this study reveals how themes of crime, economics, morality, class, race, transport justice, and technology are used by various urban actors to politicize fare evasion. My results suggest that fare evasion is an issue that is disproportionately represented in the media in both New York City and Copenhagen because debates over fare evasion are actually representative of larger urban issues. While there is a more active debate over fare evasion in New York City than in Copenhagen, in both cases urban actors use fare evasion as a discursive tool to negotiate how urban space and its inhabitants are governed.

Diese Arbeit untersucht, wie Fahrgeldflucht von verschiedenen Akteuren in den Medien dargestellt und eingerahmt wird, durch eine qualitative Analyse aktueller Nachrichtenartikel aus den letzten elf Jahren in New York City und Kopenhagen. Mit dieser Analyse möchte ich herausfinden, was, wie und wessen Interessen durch den Einsatz von Fahrgeldumgehung als diskursives Instrument gefördert werden. Ich habe eine explorative Medieninhaltsanalyse durchgeführt, die von Themen aus der Literatur zur Fahrpreisvermeidung inspiriert wurde. Darüber hinaus führte ich eine kleine Reihe von halbstrukturierten Interviews, um Einblicke aus den individuellen Perspektiven von Akteuren zu gewinnen, die an der Generierung von Diskursen über Fahrgeldumgehung beteiligt sind. Diese Arbeit stellt die Vorstellungen in Frage, dass Fahrpreishinterziehung ein ebenso ernstes Problem ist, wie es in den Medien berichtet wird. Unter Verwendung von Theorien der moralischen Panik als analytischer Rahmen zeigt diese Studie auf, wie Themen wie Kriminalität, Wirtschaft, Moral, Klasse, Rasse, Verkehrsgerechtigkeit und Technologie von verschiedenen städtischen Akteuren verwendet werden, um Fahrgeldumgehung zu politisieren. Meine Ergebnisse legen nahe, dass Fahrpreishinterziehung ein Thema ist, das in den Medien sowohl in New York City als auch in Kopenhagen überproportional vertreten ist, da Debatten über Fahrpreishinterziehung tatsächlich für größere städtische Probleme repräsentativ sind. Während in New York City eine aktivere Debatte über Fahrgeldumgehung geführt wird als in Kopenhagen, nutzen städtische Akteure in beiden Fällen Fahrgeldumgehung als diskursives Instrument, um zu verhandeln, wie der urbane Raum und seine Bewohner regiert werden.

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# Introduction

In the summer of 2019, I commuted from Bushwick to Hudson Yards to get to my internship. The commute took a total of one and a half hours and involved three different subway lines. I got on the J at Halsey Street, then had to switch to the four at the Brooklyn Bridge – City Hall, and then finally transfer to the seven at Grand Central, which would drop me off right at the newly constructed Hudson Yards subway station. This daily commute felt like I was traveling through completely different city's subway systems. To get on to the J, I walked up the metal stairs to the elevated subway's platform, passing frequently broken machines and swiping through the old fashion turnstiles. On the J in Brooklyn, police officers had a consistent presence, and they would frequently step in and out of the subway cars holding rifles. I looked up at the subway car advertisements to avoid making eye contact with them. My eyes would be met with the MTA's most recent ad campaign that summer, "We would rather your $2.75 fare than your $100 fine." As I got onto the seven, I felt as if I had arrived in a different city. The cars were new and clean. Throughout my entire summer commuting, I never once saw a police officer on the seven subway line. Getting off at Hudson Yards, I entered a white and sterile station that had recently opened in 2015. I rode up the escalator, passed through motion-activated glass door turnstiles, and arrived at the glistening towers marking the new luxury lifestyle development. This space felt worlds away from the windowless basement apartment and low-rise brick buildings where I had started my commute.

Towards the end of the summer, I began to see new advertisements posted inside the subways, guerilla ads. These ads, which were hung up illegally by activists, urged riders to swipe their fare forward and not "snitch" on fare evaders. The ads listed possible reasons riders might

have for needing to evade the fare. Newspapers started reporting on the guerilla ads, and I had friends sharing the articles and pictures on social media in support. However, other articles condemned the guerilla ads and supported the MTA, who swiftly took them down. It felt like this was the start of a heated debate over the issue of fare evasion in New York City. However, just as the debate was heating up, I left New York in September to start my master's program on an entirely different continent. Luckily, I kept up with current events regarding fare evasion in New York City because of the sheer amount of news publications on the topic. I found myself fascinated with the discourse these articles engaged in and how these articles were the primary forum through which New Yorkers constructed their understanding of how fare evasion and its enforcement impacted their city. While reading those articles about fare evasion in New York City, I was in Copenhagen, where the public transportation system was seemingly perfect in comparison. I started to question why there was not an active debate over fare evasion. Could I find an answer in the Danish media?

Media discourses regarding urban social issues are not merely abstract discussions; they are debates with tangible implications for a city. Studies on moral panics emphasize the importance of analyzing media coverage of social issues because, under certain circumstances, people can use media discourses as informal governing processes. Some scholars within transportation studies acknowledge that media is the most promising avenue to understand the public's conceptualization of transportation issues. These studies analyze the various ways the media introduces new transport policies to its readers. However, this topic and methodology are entirely absent when it comes to fare evasion research. The majority of fare evasion research concerns best practices for deterrence, except for a small section within critical transport studies that researches the uneven geographic consequences of fare enforcement. There is a lack of

research exploring how fare evasion is discussed in the media and understood by the public.

However, this is not because of a lack of discussion. There is active media coverage of fare

evasion and enforcement in some cities, such as New York City, although there are no studies on

that coverage's implications. The way urban issues are discursively constructed can translate into

the material construction of their solutions into the urban landscape.

My research aims to fill that gap by exploring how the media portrays and frames fare

evasion in New York City and Copenhagen and what and whose particular interests are advanced

by such portrayals. I sought to answer these questions by conducting a media content analysis of

two hundred news articles about fare evasion from each city. I chose media discourses of fare

evasion in New York City and Copenhagen as my case studies because the two cities' political,

economic, and social contexts are quite different. I chose such contrasting cases to explore how

different contextual variables impact how the media portrays fare evasion and the actors and

motivations behind those portrayals. Due to the lack of previous research on media discourses

regarding fare evasion, my research is exploratory. My process was hypothesis-building, and the

results of my content analysis inform the construction of my hypothesis rather than the testing. I

argue that despite the different contexts, in both New York City and Copenhagen, fare evasion is

used as a discursive tool to negotiate how urban space and its inhabitants are governed. My

hypothesis serves as inspiration for further research on the ways various actors in the media

politicize fare evasion as a way to navigate urban social issues.

My research on media portrayals of fare evasion reveals how urban actors politicize

transport issues in various ways to further their political agendas for the city. My research

demonstrates the interconnectedness of transport issues with other urban issues. In both New

York City and Copenhagen, the debates over fare evasion seem to be more about how public

resources are distributed in the city. Utilizing moral panic theory, I demonstrate how in contemporary cities, urban governance and consensus building can take place outside of state institutions, in areas such as media institutions through the mobilization of fear in a moral panic about fare evasion. The media is one of the main ways the public is informed about urban politics, but the media is not just neutral reporting. The way things are written about and discussed inform understandings and opinions. The control of fare evasion has lasting consequences on the geography of the city and its inhabitants. The way fare evasion and its control are discussed in the media have consequences on transportation policies about fare evasion.

The structure of this thesis begins with an overview of the political and social context of fare evasion in both Copenhagen and New York. I then follow up with a review of fare evasion literature, demonstrating how it fits into a moral panic theoretical framework. My literature review is the basis for creating codes for my content analysis which I explain in the methodology chapter. In the methodology chapter, I refer to literature that grounds my rationale behind my chosen methods and explains the media content analysis and interviews I conducted as my research methods. In the results chapter, I present the major themes that I found were used to frame fare evasion discourses and common narratives that represent those frameworks. Next, I analyze my results for each case side by side, relating the significant themes to theory from the literature review, culminating in the introduction of my hypothesis. Lastly, I conclude with major takeaways and suggestions for future research on the topic of fare evasion.

# Context of Case Studies

To situate fare evasion discourse in the media in New York City and Copenhagen, in this section, I provide contextual background information on each case study separately. I begin each case's subsection by illustrating why I chose the case. I then describe the public transportation system in each city and the relevant actors involved in its operation.

## New York City

I primarily chose New York City as a case study for two reasons. Firstly, I felt comfortable researching the city's fare evasion discourse due to my familiarity with its context and transportation system due to connections accrued from living there and commuting throughout the city. Secondly, the recent protests that were part of the city's debate over fare evasion and its enforcement brought fare evasion discourse to national headlines, something I had not seen before. In a city with an expensive ticket price and high levels of inequality, it makes sense that fare evasion is a controversial issue. I want to explore that controversy and understand if and how the specific type of fare evasion discourses in New York are unique to the city due to its political and economic context or something relatable I could identify in other cities' media.

The Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) operates New York City's public transportation system. The MTA serves a ridership of 15.3 million people and spanning 5,000 square miles in New York City, Long Island, southeastern New York State, and Connecticut. The MTA is a public benefit corporation, meaning it functions similarly to other government agencies, but because of its semi-private nature, it is free from many state regulations. Most

importantly, public benefit corporations can issue their own debt, and they are free to exceed the

debt limits set in New York State's constitution ("The MTA Network" n.d.). The MTA has an

Inspector General's office that oversees the activities of the MTA in order to keep the public

transportation company (PTC) accountable to its riders.

The fare collection system for busses and subways is currently undergoing an update. In

the past, the MTA collected the fare through the MetroCard system, a magnetic swipe card that

could be purchased or topped up in stations using cash or debit/credit. However, in 2017 the

MTA announced that the MetroCard would be phased out and replaced with OMNY, a

contactless fare payment system. The MTA predicted that the MetroCard would be officially

phased out by 2023; however, COVID-19 has caused significant delays (Keck 2020). Riders

must swipe their MetroCards or use OMNY at the turnstiles, the only entry point into the metro

platforms besides the locked emergency gates. The cost of a single ticket is a flat fare of $2.75

regardless of the time or distance traveled. There is an additional $1 for the cost of a new

MetroCard for those who do not already have one. The cost of a monthly pass with unlimited

rides is $127 ("Everything About Fares" n.d.) For reference, the minimum wage in New York

City is $15 ("New York Minimum Wage " 2020). There are several options available for those in

need of discounted fares. For people who are sixty-five and older, there is a discounted senior

fare. In 2019, after many delays, the Fair Fares program was established. Fair Fares allows New

Yorkers living below the poverty line a 50%  discount on their public transportation costs.

However, as a result of COVID-19, Fair Fares underwent massive budget cuts, and as a result,

the rollout has not been as successful as anticipated. Currently, only 232,400 New Yorkers have

enrolled in the program out of the 800,000 who are eligible (Hallum 2020). For those who do not

pay the fare, there is a strict enforcement system in place.

There are several different levels of fare enforcement in New York City, both within and outside of the MTA. The first group of fare enforcers is part of the MTA Police Department (MTAPD). Under the New York State Public Authorities Law, the MTAPD has the same authority as the NYPD. The MTAPD is responsible for safeguarding Grand Central Station, Penn Station, in addition to Metro-North, the LIRR, and the Staten Island Railway ("MTA Police" n.d.). Additionally, within the New York City Police Department, there is a Transit Bureau. The officers who work within this bureau are responsible for patrolling the subways. In addition to these enforcers, the Eagle Team (Evasion and Graffiti Lawlessness Eradication) was established in 2007 to prevent graffiti and other types of vandalism in the subway train yards. The Eagle Team's jurisdiction expanded to include the reduction of fare evasion on Select Bus Service in 2008 and then Regular Bus Service in 2009 (MTA 2014). If an officer catches a user evading the fare, they will receive a civil summons with a fine of $100. If the fare enforcers determine that the fare evader poses a threat to public safety, the police can arrest them. The MTA's history has influenced the current organization of fare enforcement in New York City with vandalism.

Public fear generated by the moral panic over graffiti at the end of the twentieth century motivated the creation of the Eagle Team. From the 1970s onwards, New York City's subway cars were covered in graffiti. While the moral panic concerned graffiti in the city in general, the subways served as the primary battleground. While in the 1970s, the subway system was significantly more dangerous, by the 1990s, it had markedly improved (Roess and Sansone 2013). However, from 1990 onwards, graffiti writers were portrayed in the media as uncivilized, violent, mafia-like gang members whose extermination was necessary. The significant presence of graffiti in the subways led to the perception that there was a large presence of violent

criminals in the subways as well (Kramer 2010). As I demonstrate, later on, this frame of thinking is still very much present in the city. Although, graffiti is no longer the most pressing issue in New York City's public transportation system.

In June 2017, Manhattan District Attorney's office made an announcement that sparked a debate over fare evasion in the city. The DA, Cyrus Vance Jr., announced that his office was working to decriminalize minor, non-violent misdemeanors, including fare evasion. The implication was that DA's office would no longer criminally prosecute fare evaders unless the incident related to public safety issues. Instead, police would serve fare evaders with civil summonses or community service in addition to a fine. The MTA or the NYPD did not well receive this announcement. In response to Vance's announcement, MTA Chairman Joe Lhota wrote a public letter to the district attorney's office denouncing the decision not to prosecute fare evaders. He argued that it would lead to an increase in evasion and deprive the MTA of needed funds in addition to being unfair to paying law-abiding customers and the poor customers that do find a way to afford the ticket (Furfaro 2018). DA Vance responded to the letter by reminding the city they were still going after fare evaders but just not arresting them (Fanelli and Jacobs 2018).

Shortly after the DA's announcement, a report documenting racially biased patterns of fare enforcement was released, making fare evasion an even more controversial topic. In October of 2017, an advocacy group called the Community Service Society released a report titled "The Crime of Being Short $2.75". The report used records of fare evasion arrests provided by public defender groups to demonstrate how fare enforcement actions disproportionately impact low-income Black communities in Brooklyn (Stolper and Jones 2017). I go into more details of this report in the literature review. This report gained a lot of media notoriety and the support of

several City Council members. In December 2017, shortly after the report was released, Local Law 47 was passed. This law compelled the NYPD to publicly publish data about arrests and civil summonses for fare evasion broken down by race, gender, and age for every subway station to provide more transparency about their racially discriminatory practices. However, as of October 2018, the NYPD had still not complied, forcing Council Member Rory I. Lancman to file a lawsuit against the NYPD to force them to comply (Levitt 2018).

Despite the decriminalization of fare evasion and the release of the report, fare enforcement only increased. In June 2019, Governor Cuomo announced that the MTA board was holding a vote to decide on adding five hundred more police officers on top of the already 2,500 officers into the transit system. The vote passed in December 2019. The new officers would work for the MTAPD and would cost an estimated $249 million. When the vote passed, it instigated an immediate adverse reaction from transit activists, various progressive city officials, and disgruntled riders. Some people were outraged that a transportation system notorious for its infrastructural failings and service issues would spend so much on policing. In response, a coalition of activists from Decolonize This Place, NYC Shut It Down, and CopWatch organized several actions during the winter of 2019 in the subway system under the name FTP. FTP stands for various phrases, the most prominent being Fuck The Police, For the People, and Free The People. The FTP actions centered around mass fare evasion and infrastructural actions such as gluing the swipe machines shut or chaining open emergency exits. The FTP coalition argued that fare enforcement was an extension of police violence. FTP called for an end to police presence in the public transportation system, which they argued was a form of harassment for New York City's communities of color (Baum 2020). However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the FTP movement came to a halt, and with that, so did the debate.

New Yorkers have witnessed the increased politicization of fare evasion concerning current events in the past several years. Much of this politicization occurs discursively, and the debate unfolds through press releases, public letters, and reports relayed by the mass media. In New York City, there is a history of the subway acting as a battleground for the debate of social issues. The city's systemic issues with racism and income inequality add another level of context that makes fare evasion more pressing. Fare evasion discourse in New York City stands in stark contrast to that in Copenhagen. While there is media coverage of the topic of fare evasion in Copenhagen, there does not seem to be as much debate because of the city's different political, economic, and historical backgrounds.

## Copenhagen

While conducting research in Copenhagen, I experienced a particular struggle that intrigued me and drew me to focus on the city's media coverage of fare evasion as a case study. During my preliminary investigations, I was met with a degree of hesitancy in most people I tried to discuss the topic of fare evasion. When I began working on this project, my guiding questions were much different. I initially wanted to focus on migrants' experience with fare enforcement. However, when I started reaching out to actors in Copenhagen for information or interviews, I was not well received. At first, I thought perhaps it was because I was writing about undocumented migrants, and that was a legal grey area. However, even after I changed my topic to explore how the media portrays fare evasion, people in Copenhagen were still reluctant to speak with me. I was turned away multiple times by Copenhagen's PTCs. They refused to participate in interviews with me and refused to release any information about fare evasion. However, eventually, I was able to have a dialogue with one transit advocate and one fellow

researcher. The interviewees both concurred that it is difficult to have a transparent conversation about fare evasion in Copenhagen. In addition to a lack of open dialogue about fare evasion, there is a lack of transit activism outside of the realm of cycling. As a result, there is very little pushback regarding the status quo of fare enforcement. These factors did not discourage me from the case study. If anything, I became more interested in how a lack of activism and open conversation impacted the media's portrayal of fare evasion and vice versa.

In Copenhagen, several different PTCs operate public transportation. The umbrella transportation organization is called Din Offentlige Transport (DOT) which translates to Your Public Transport. DOT is a collaboration between the three PTCs: DSB, Movia, and Metroselskabet. DOT is governed jointly by the three PTCs and works to create more integrated public transport between the three companies and provide an informational website that brings together customer service information for all three PTCs ("About DOT" n.d.). Metroselskabet is the PTC that runs the Copenhagen metro. It is jointly owned by the City of Copenhagen, the Danish government, and Frederiksberg. Metroselskabet has contracted out the operation of the metro to Metro Service, a private company owned by Italian ATM (Azienda Trasporti Milanesi) and Hitachi Rail STS. Metro Service is also responsible for employing the metro stewards who inspect tickets. It is important to note that the metro is relatively new as it did not open until 2002 ("Metro Service" n.d.). Movia is Denmark's largest transportation company responsible for bus services, local rail operations, and driving for disabled customers. Forty-five different municipalities and two regions jointly own Movia. Movia currently supplies their own fare controllers, although they previously contracted inspection jobs to the security company G4S ("Om os" n.d.). DSB is responsible for running the railways and is owned by the Danish government. Like Movia, they supply their ticket inspectors ("Organisationen" n.d.). This

context is quite different from New York because DSB and Movia are national companies instead of being unique to the city, such as Metroselskabet or the region like the MTA. As opposed to something like the MTA's internal office of the Inspector General, Copenhagen's PTCs are kept accountable by Passagepulsen, a riders' advocacy group that is a project of the Danish Consumer Council and paid for by the Danish parliament ("Om Passagerpulsen" 2020).

All three PTCs collaborate to determine fares and fines. In Copenhagen, the zone system determines the price of a ticket. A two-zone ticket costs 24 DKK or about $3.93 and allows a rider to travel through most of central Copenhagen for around one hour and fifteen minutes. In Copenhagen, the fine for fare evasion is 750 DKK or approximately $122.87 ("Tickets & Prices" n.d.). In addition to single tickets, a popular method for fare payment is the Rejsekort travel card. There are several different types of Rejsekort, such as the anonymous card, the commuter card, the business card, and the school card. The student and the business card must only be used for work purposes or traveling to school, and a regular Rejsekort is required for other types of travel. The thirty-day commuter pass's cost depends on the number of zones that the user requires. The cheapest "short journeys" thirty-day commuter pass with only two zones costs 395 DKK, or $62.15, while the most expensive "short journeys" thirty-day commuter pass with eight zones is 1,330 DKK, or $209.25 ("Choose the Right Rejsekort" n.d.). I cannot compare the price of a ticket to minimum wage because, in Copenhagen and the rest of Denmark, there is no minimum wage. The wages are determined contextually through agreements made between trade unions and employers. The infrastructure of the metro as well as the trains is open without any barriers. There are small machines in the stations where riders must check in and out on an honor system. For the busses, all doors open, and riders must check in and out on the honor system as well.

In comparison with New York City, Copenhagen's public transportation system has undergone relatively recent transitions. The reasonably new construction of the Copenhagen metro results from Copenhagen's previous use of a tram network. However, the municipality phased out the tram system in 1972 in favor of busses (Rallis, Meulengracht, and Vilhof 1984). Construction of the metro commenced in the 1990s ("History - The Copenhagen Metro" n.d.). Residents without cars in Copenhagen are not solely reliant on public transportation for mobility due to the strong cycling culture and infrastructure that arose in the 1970s during the energy crisis (Gössling 2013).  Possibly as a result of these new transport developments and the transition to solid cycling culture, the metro or the busses as political battlegrounds in the city as it has historically been in New York, whose subway system has been around since the beginning of twentieth century.

Moreover, while Copenhagen's transportation system does not have a history of being implicated in moral panics like in New York, the PTCs still seem to share the same logic about graffiti. In 2020, DSB alone spent DKK 62.3 million, the equivalent of around $9,927,037, on removing graffiti from their trains. On their website, DSB argues that they invested so much to remove the graffiti because its presence creates insecurity for other riders ("Graffiti På DSB's Tog" n.d.). When only looking at Copenhagen's transportation system through academic articles and their official websites, the section on graffiti was the closest example to making sense of a social problem by discussing a transportation issue.

## Literature Review

My review of fare evasion literature not only situates my research in the context of the field, but it also informs the coding of my content analysis. My content analysis of the articles I

collected consists of thematic coding guided by the key nodes I define in my codebook (Appendix A). The nodes I chose to include in the codebook are all themes drawn directly from my review of fare evasion literature. Subsequently, I have organized this section by those influential themes under the two categories under which most fare evasion research falls. First, I introduce research from neoclassical transport studies and analyze them alongside theorizations of moral panic. Theory stemming from research on moral panics informs researchers how to identify the subtexts behind media discourses and therefore helps me identify possible interests motivating specific portrayals of fare evasion. My analysis of neoclassical transport studies on fare evasion through the lens of moral panic facilitates a deeper understanding of the logics that underly studies authors claim to be neutral and rational. Secondly, I review research from scholars critically engaging with transport studies to identify themes and portrayals that are used to subvert hegemonic fare evasion discourse. While the act of fare evasion itself has been researched, the discourse surrounding it has not. Media discourse holds profound implications, and because fare evasion and its enforcement have lasting consequences on the urban landscape and its inhabitants, so does the way people discuss it. My review of fare evasion literature establishes a thematic framework through which researchers portray fare evasion in academia. This thematic framework later helps me make sense of portrayals of fare evasion in the media.

## Neoclassical Transport Studies Through the Lens of Moral Panic

### Folk Devils and Fare Evader-Oriented Studies

Fare evader-oriented studies construct a characterization of the "typical" fare evader in the same manner that actors in a moral panic construct a characterization of a deviant group

during a moral panic. David Garland argues that moral panics can arise when there are "threats to existing hierarchies...and the breakdown of previously existing structures of control."(2008, 14). According to Stanley Cohen (1972), author of the influential book *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, a moral panic is when the media and other actors label a group of people, whom he classifies as folk devils, as deviant because their behavior poses a threat to hegemonic societal values and interests. Cohen bases his use of the term hegemony on Gramsci's (1971) theory of cultural hegemony in which consent to the dominance of the ruling class is brought about through the dissemination of ideologies in cultural narratives. Cohen characterizes a moral panic as a process of subconscious cooperation between different actors to govern over social issues. These actors are given the name "moral entrepreneurs" by Howard S. Becker (1963). Moral entrepreneurs come from four main sectors: mass media, religion, politics, and science. Cohen sees the mass media as the leading actor and avenue through which the other actors' involvement in the panic becomes apparent. This further justifies my choice of media content analysis as my primary research method to determine which actor's interests are being advanced by certain portrayals. The religious, political, and media actors enforce hegemonic moral values by portraying folk devils in a sensationalized way. In contrast, the scientific actors propose solutions as experts on how to control them (Cohen 1972). Moral panics build off one another, relying on historical discursive frameworks to gain prominence in public discourse. Past literature considered moral panics abnormal social reactions, but current literature argues that moral panics are a more typical response to social issues.

The scholars conducting neoclassical transport research, such as fare evader-oriented studies, are akin to the scientific actors proposing solutions to social issues at the heart of a moral panic. These studies are conducted in the interest of PTCs and utilize quantitative studies to

make policy and practice recommendations that reinforce hegemonic societal values, such as the neoliberal transport policies Enright refers to in her theorization of urban myths. Theresa Enright ( 2013) builds off of Lefebvre's (2003) and Wiel's (2009) concepts of urban myths and mobilizing myths to explain how PTCs justify their policies. Lefebvre (2003) claims that urban myths fill the void of "knowledge that is oriented toward and by practice." (114). Enright asserts that these myths support the production of knowledge informed by ideologies and pseudoscience and that PTCs mobilize them to support neoliberal policies that promote capitalist values within transportation management. This line of argument is complementary to the theorization of moral panics because moral entrepreneurs use ideologies and pseudoscience to mobilize myths about folk devils that create fear and justify forms of social control that promote hegemonic values such as capital. Moral panics are built upon urban myths. These myths are evident in my analysis of neoclassical transport literature. Policies such as fare enforcement are forms of social control. The fact that fare enforcers are often referred to as controllers indicates as much. Neoclassical transport studies mobilize myths of rationality, neutrality, and efficiency to silence dissent regarding standard fare enforcement practices that do not serve to benefit the riders but the power of the PTC.

Fare evader-oriented studies label fare evaders as folk devils by portraying them as threats to PTCs, constructing a sensationalized identity, and proposing solutions to control them. One method of fare-evader-oriented studies is to establish a typical fare evader profile to inform PTCs whom they should target in their deterrence efforts. Barabino, Salis, and Useli (2015) conducted on-board personal interviews in Cagliari's PTC to identify riders to target as a means of increasing efficiencies of fare control and maximizing revenue collection. Their findings show that the group of people most likely to evade the fare are men under the age of twenty-six with a

low education level who are either unemployed or students, in addition to people who take trips under 15 minutes. They suggest that PTCs limit their expenses on fare inspection by only checking riders who fit their profile. Similar studies go even further, including more controversial characteristics of riders in their profiles. Bucciol, Landini, and Piovesan (2013) emphasize nationality as an essential characteristic of their evader profile. They determined that in Reggio Emilia, Italy young, male, unemployed, and non-European immigrants are most likely to travel without a ticket. They that PTCs use their cheater profile to establish new policy interventions and measure the effects on the targeted groups. The authors' methods to determine whether their subjects were European or non-European were solely based on their observations of riders' linguistic and somatic traits. This method leaves too much room for the researcher's personal bias, general misinformation, and the racialization of riders. These researchers labeling a specific demographic of people as more likely to engage in unethical behavior and suggesting targeting them punitively, as a result, serves as an example of moral entrepreneurs constructing a group of deviant folk devils to control. Suggesting that PTCs have controllers target specific demographics does not solve the root of the problem of fare evasion and is only a Band-Aid solution. Framing fare evasion as an immoral act and labeling fare evaders as folk devils allows researchers to avoid suggesting measures to eradicate the need to evade the fare instead of focusing on measures that control and exclude riders in the name of neoliberal transport policies.

The construction of these generalized fare evader profiles can harmfully affect riders who fit the characteristics. Fare evader-oriented studies lead to a one size fits all profile of the fare evader that can be problematic in its implementation. These profiles were created in specific contexts and should not be applied in other PTCs as best practices. Such a targeted approach of fair enforcement runs the risk of crossing the line of racial profiling in its implementation.

Targeting riders that may appear to be foreign is reminiscent of Stop and Frisk policies in the

United States, where people of color were unfairly targeted and harassed by police. These studies

mobilize the myth that fare enforcement practices are unbiased to justify practices that prioritize

efficiency and profit and criminalize foreign and low-income riders. The need to protect the

hegemony of the PTC's neoliberal policies justifies the establishment of the fare evaders as folk

devils and, in turn, justifies these studies' suggestions of unethical fare enforcement practices.

While the fare evader-oriented studies determine who should be targeted by PTCs,

criminological studies on fare evasion evaluate how to best target or control evaders.

## Governing by Fear and Criminological Studies

Applying theorizations of moral panic as a form of governance to my research helps

determine what interests are furthered by certain portrayals of fare evasion because those

portrayals could be motivated by urban authorities' governing priorities. When analyzing forms

of urban governance extending beyond the state, it is apparent how media discourse is a part of

informal governing processes. Influenced by Foucault's (2007) writings on governmentality,

Schinkel (2013) argues that analyses of social control must expand their scope beyond state

institutions to take into account how informal processes, such as moral entrepreneurs, influence

media discourse can be mechanisms of governance. While moral entrepreneurs emphasize the

threat that folk devils pose to society, the goal is not to control that group precisely but to

reinforce the hegemony of dominant society by using fear to rally public opinion around

increased social control as the only solution to the panic (Schinkel 2013). Stuart Hall et al.

(1978) argue that the media helps construct deviant groups to take attention away from structural

economic, and social problems and place blame elsewhere. This strategy is an attempt by moral

entrepreneurs to defend the current hegemonic order by using media narratives to create consensus by making the public afraid of any alternative. Understanding moral panic as a form of governance reveals how moral entrepreneurs use public discourse to further their political interests by governing through fear.

The fear and perception of danger cultivated by moral entrepreneurs during a panic provide a moralized rationale for prioritizing crime and safety policies in government. Fear and its discourses serve as a form of legitimization for those who employ it in their "governing assemblages" (Schinkel 2013, 295). Fear is a crucial component of a moral panic because it plays on perceptions and emotions instead of actual data. Disproportionality is a major theme of moral panics because there does not have to be a link between the actual danger a threat poses to society and the emotional response that stories about that threat evoke. For example, the actual crime rate does not have to statistically support high rates of fear of crime (Schinkel 2013). Schinkel argues that crime rates, and similar statistics are abstractions and that it is the increased portrayal of individual cases of crime that evoke emotional responses. Kramer (2010) stresses that disproportionality relies on the validity of the broken windows theory. The broken windows theory, established by Wilson and Kelling (1982), asserts that instances of minor crimes and disorder such as vandalism or littering will lead to more serious crimes and lawlessness if not immediately punished. The broken windows theory has been circulated by governments and the media alike, creating the assumption that the theory is supported by data. However, Wilson himself has said that the theory is not based on empirics, "'I still to this day do not know if improving order will or will not reduce crime…People have not understood that this was a speculation." (Hurley 2004). This type of speculation and the fear it cultivates legitimize the power of perception and justifies disproportionate reactions and mechanisms of social control.

Likewise, hegemonic fare evasion discourse relies on the theories of broken windows policing. Criminological studies frame fare evasion as a type of broken windows crime that necessitates their prioritization of crime and safety policies.

Criminological studies portray fare evasion as a criminal act and focus on the areas of deterrence and security. In a study of the London Underground's ticketing system Clarke (1993) inds that the automatic ticket collection reduced fare evasion by two-thirds and suggests installing automatic systems in high-risk stations is most cost-effective. Installing physical barriers in high-risk stations prioritizes profit and the prevention of crime over the right to mobility. Clarke suggests deterring those who cannot afford the ticket from using public transportation rather than proposing methods to help make it more accessible. In contrast to physical deterrence, Del Castillo and Lindner (1994) propose heightened police presence, ticket attendants, and mini sweeps as psychological barriers to fare evasion. These fear-based tactics would undoubtedly harm riders' experience using transportation, especially those riders who fit the stereotypical profile of an evader. However, riders who do not fit that profile may have heightened perceptions of safety due to an increased police presence, as the broken windows theory suggests.

Within criminological studies focusing on security, scholars often tie fare evasion to other crimes in transportation systems. Nakanishi and Flemming (2011) conclude their study on passenger assaults on bus operators by proposing the installation of video surveillance, physical barriers, self-defense tools and training for employees, and policing as a way to decrease violence and fare evasion. Tying fare evasion to other unrelated crimes in public transit systems evokes a disproportionate response to an otherwise harmless act. Proposals such as these criminalize the fare evader and assert that the evader is someone the public should fear. Safety

and security, as defined by hegemonic fare evasion discourse, does not mean all riders will be safer. The criminological studies promote the myth that security and crime prevention are neutral pursuits when in reality, they further the economic and social ideologies of the hegemonic order at the expense of specific riders' wellbeing.

## Economic Studies and Neoliberal Moral Regulation

Economic fare evasion studies are explicit in promoting hegemonic capitalist ideologies and echo the neoliberal values that characterize moral panics as well. In contemporary times, normative neoliberal values heavily influence the public discourse produced during moral panics. Within a neoliberal governance framework, moral panics function as a form of moral regulation. Hier (2019) argues that normative neoliberalism has an ethical background that emphasizes entrepreneurialism, competition, and the individual as a free, self-governing, and responsible citizen. Within this ethical context, moral regulation is intended to take responsibility for harm away from external entities or structural forces and place responsibility on individual citizens to avoid harm. This trend is visible in Western European and American moral entrepreneurs' responses to the 2008 financial crisis. Media narratives placed the responsibility for the financial crisis on individual citizens with large debts, shifting the blame for the capitalist crisis on "irresponsible" individuals and away from financial or state institutions (Hier 2019). As a result of the financial crisis, people's skepticism of political and financial institutions has grown, making it harder to achieve hegemonic consensus. The frustration expressed with the normative neoliberal project has resulted in a period of disaffected consent that requires moral regulation and social control seen in moral panics to maintain the status quo.

These individualized messages of moral regulation take on a consumerist orientation where responsible citizens are encouraged to avoid harm or threats to society through consumption. While moral panics justify punitive state responses such as increased policing, the individualized consumer moral regulation messages normalize a lack of reliance on the state for social services (Monahan 2009). Hegemonic fare evasion discourse promotes similar messages that put the responsibility to afford a ticket on the consumer. They suggest ways for the PTC to invest in recovering lost revenue from fare evasion instead of investing in making the fare more affordable, so riders do not have to evade it in the first place.

Economic studies portray fare evasion as a threat to PTCs' finances. One popular method among these scholars is to conduct a cost-benefit analysis of current fare evasion strategies. Guarda et al. (2016) used an econometric approach to make sense of the high fare evasion rates in Santiago, Chile, and how to minimize them. They found it was the most cost-effective for inspections to be carried out during off-peak hours and for inspectors to be located strategically in low-income areas. However, they admit it would be at the cost of hindering accessibility. Basing fare enforcement strategies solely on a cost-benefit analysis fails to take into account potential social consequences. It also demonstrates that accessibility and affordability are not part of the hegemonic fare evasion discourse's values. Another method within economic studies is to utilize various models to establish the ideal level of inspections. Using three years of data from an Italian PTC, Barabino, Salis, and Useli (2015) establish that proof of payment systems reach profit maximization with an inspection level of 3.8%. Lastly, some economic studies try to determine the optimal price of the fine for evaders. Based on their study of Zurich's transportation system, Buehler, Halbheer, and Lechner ( 2017) found that the rate of fare evasion increases due to the increase in the maximum admissible fine. Setting the fine based on the rate

of fare evasion rather than the riders' socio-economic status demonstrates once again how the hegemonic discourse of fare evasion promotes normative neoliberal values. These economic studies clarify that riders cannot rely on the PTC or state to make transit more accessible because they are individually responsible for their inability to pay.

## Technological Studies

The technological innovation studies portray fare evasion as a social problem that a simple technological fix can solve. Kinisky et al. ( 2005) suggest that a transition from a proof of payment system to smart cards could decrease fare evasion in Vancouver due to processing passengers faster and reducing the ability of evaders to use fraudulent tickets. Additionally, they make the case that the smart card program would be more cost-effective to maintain than physical barriers such as turnstiles. Expanding upon the capabilities of a smart card program, Khoeblal, Laohapensaeng, and Chaisricharoen (2015) study the OV -Chip card payment method in the Netherlands, which is a radio frequency identification ticketing system (RFID). They propose that the optimal way to identify fare evaders within this system is to combine an RFID distance scan with people counting techniques to subtract the total number of smart cards holding passengers from the total number of passengers to find the number of evaders. These technological fixes to the issue of fare evasion only analyze how beneficial the smart card techniques would be for the PTC and not their effects on the riders.

My review of neoclassical transport studies regarding fare evasion has demonstrated how scholars mobilize myths of neutrality and rationality to justify fare enforcement strategies that put the responsibility on the individual fare evader for a social problem that is indicative of more structural societal issues. The fare evader-oriented, criminological, economic, and technological

studies all provide fixes that protect the interests of the PTCs but do nothing to stop fare evasion at the source. Scholars within the field of critical transport studies push back against these myths and analyze the systemic causes of fare evasion as well as how fare enforcement can produce marginalities.

## Critical Transport Studies

### Transport Justice

Critical transport studies grounded in theories of transport justice portray fare evasion in a manner that subverts hegemonic values promoted by neoclassical transport studies on fare evasion. I have included themes of transport justice in my content analysis to determine if these aspects of this subversive academic discourse regarding fare have translated to public discourse in the media in either of my case studies. The control of fare evasion can produce spatial injustices within a city that only processes of transport justice can rectify. As suggested by neoclassical transport studies, the increased fare enforcement, policing, and surveillance in "high-risk stations" and low-income communities can contribute to a decrease in accessible mobility and marginalize specific communities' right to the city. Injustice and justice are spatial processes, and transit plays a significant role in their production. Theresa Enright ( 2019) asserts that transport justice requires frictional processes of the production of space and its subjects and engagement with the political and social spheres of the urban. She clarifies that transport justice must be contextual, achieved through praxis, and has complicated moral evaluative measures. Enright argues that this definition of transport justice empowers more all-embracing conceptualizations of justice that can manifest alternative forms of mobilities and cities. One

such conceptualization could be a transport system where no fare evasion occurs because there is no fare. Enright's ambiguous definition of transport justice enables many possibilities for solidarity between intersecting pursuits of justice. Activists fighting for transport justice are empowered by the possibility of achieving a justice that engages with many levels of the political and social lives of the city and the intersecting oppressions its inhabitants face. Analyzing fare evasion through the lens of transport justice reveals how fare evasion and its control are intricately connected to other forms of inequality in the city.

## Racial Justice

Because the control of fare evasion can disproportionately affect communities of color, any pursuit of transport justice must include racial justice. Analyzing specific goals within transport justice, such as racial justice, helps me identify what actors and their interests are promoted by a portrayal of fare inspection as racially unjust. Strategies of fare enforcement often systematically target riders of color, leaving lasting negative impacts on those communities within the urban landscape. Using data on fare evasion arrests in Brooklyn gathered from public defender offices, Stolper and Jones (2017) display how broken windows policing of Black communities has become a standard method utilized by the MTA to enforce the fare. The authors found that despite poverty levels, stations located in Black neighborhoods had significantly higher arrest rates for fare evasion that were not driven by credible concerns about public safety or criminal activity. In New York, fare evasion arrests have severe long-term consequences affecting the Black community financially and emotionally, further marginalizing them and the spaces they live in (Stolper and Jones 2017). Enright (2019) depicts how BLM activists simultaneously pursue transport justice in their fight for racial justice. BLM activists' practices

reveal how "the integrity and free movement of racialized bodies is connected to the dispossession of space and culture" (Enright 2019, 673). Their actions such as physically blocking commuter trains in Boston or hosting die-ins at major transit hubs such as Grand Central attest to how transportation, and specifically the control of fare evasion, has produced spaces of mobility that are hostile towards Black life.

Racial injustices caused by fare enforcement are not unique to the urban landscape of the United States. Enright (2013) reveals how Paris's low-income, racialized youth have incredibly different experiences on the metro than their white middle-class counterparts. She argues that for low-income riders of color, the metro and the RER have come to epitomize exclusion as the state uses public transport as grounds for surveillance and control. The Parisian transport authority has a reputation for increasing security, of which fare enforcement is a part, and surveillance in the banlieues, racializing and criminalizing riders from those suburbs and the spaces they inhabit. Enright (2013) confirms that racially biased fare enforcement exists in Europe and the United States, so it is a theme that could potentially apply to both of my cases.

## Affordability

Fare evasion discourses that center affordability portray evasion as a decision made as a result of poverty. Critical transport studies exploring affordability humanize and contextualize decisions made by individuals to evade the fare. In addition to upholding and reproducing racialized hierarchies, fare enforcement is also a classist tool used to exploit low-income urban dwellers. Perrotta (2017) problematizes how public transport companies justify fare pricing and enforcement through her study on how the poor in New York manage scarce resources. She argues that the fare commodifies both mobility and urban access, leading to the social exclusion

of low-income people. Many who cannot afford the fare cannot afford the consequences of social exclusion such as job loss or isolation. According to Perrotta's interviews, low-income riders may forgo other essential goods, evade the fare, make the most of free transfers, or rely on fragmented systems of generosity such as borrowing money or borrowing a friend's transport pass. Perrotta's research provides a qualitative and nuanced perspective on why people with specific demographics evade the fare instead of the one-dimensional studies suggesting targeting already vulnerable people. The motivation to evade the fare for those who are low income is a decision made out of necessity to maintain the right to access and inclusion.

Studies that view fare evasion through the lens of affordability challenge neoclassical transport studies' prioritization of capitalist norms and reveal the consequences of their implementation. Punishing fare evaders financially or criminally entrenches urban economic hierarchy and the uneven distribution of urban access. Clarke, Forell, and McCarron (2008) build upon this argument by illustrating how vulnerable people in New South Wales are more susceptible to being fined for infractions such as fare evasion and how those fines further exacerbate their vulnerable position in society. In New South Wales, only one in four fare evasion fines was paid back within twelve months. If one does not pay the fine within 28 days, additional costs are incurred. There are many barriers to paying fines for those who are low income, and accumulated fines can result in crippling debt and legal issues down the line (Clarke, Forell, and McCarron 2008). Fare enforcement in New South Wales does not cover the lost income and punishes individuals who are already at an economic disadvantage. Despite efforts to justify these harmful enforcement practices, people have organized themselves into political communities that refuse to accept these injustices as the status quo.

## Distribution and Management of Public Goods

The main points of departure between hegemonic fare evasion discourse and subversive fare evasion discourse seem to represent a more significant debate over how public resources are distributed and managed. Understanding the logics of both sides of the debate helps me determine whether particular portrayals of fare evasion further the logics of scarcity and austerity or the logics of commoning. The logics that currently dominate the theorizing of mobility are scarcity and austerity. Nikolaeva et al. (2019) argue that scarcity and austerity are the two most prevalent logics informing the policies and practices of low carbon mobility transition projects. Their research demonstrates that these two logics impact mobility planning is based on neoliberal economics and fails to address harmful power dynamics or injustices they may cause. The logic of scarcity reduces economics and human behavior to a mechanistic level and, as a result, justifies limiting the provision of state services and establishing austere mobilities. Nikolaeva et al. demonstrate how both strategies aim to limit the consumption of mobility in the case of New Zealand, where the company Telework New Zealand suggested people abstain from commuting to promote the reduction of traffic congestion and emissions. As is evident, these logics of mobility place the burdens of large-scale societal issues on individual behaviors, not genuinely addressing the politics of managing and distributing resources and the injustices they may cause. Similar logics are evident in that hegemonic fare evasion discourse blames individual evaders for their inability to pay the fare and spends money to deter them, rather than holding the state or PTCs responsible for distributing resources to make public transportation more efficient, affordable, and accessible.

The biggest threats to the hegemony of the logics of scarcity and austerity and how fare evasion is predominantly conceptualized are logics of commoning. Nikolaeva et al. (2019)

introduce commoning logics of mobility as a challenge to the logics of scarcity and austerity.

They explain that commoning emphasizes the shared processes of producing the commons.

Logics of commoning prioritize methods that aspire to construct "'inclusive, just, and

sustainable' mobilities" (Nikolaeva et al. 2019, 352). Within the field of geography, the process

of commoning has been attributed to the management of commonly pooled resources by actors

other than the state and the market to conceive and create post-capitalist politics. This logic

seems very intertwined with transport justice as it emphasizes a conflictual process of producing

space that is divorced from hegemonic institutions and cared for by that space's subjects. The

authors' concept of mobility as commons rests on the definition of the cultural commons

established by Hardt and Negri (2009) and, as a result, prioritizes reevaluating the way people

conceive and enact mobility in an attempt to transform hegemonic infrastructures of mobility to

be more equitable and sustainable. For the authors, commoning mobility is a cry for mobility

transitions that surpass "technofixes" and for there to be a shared responsibility for how mobility

impacts communities. Commoning mobility proposes a re-evaluation of the value of mobility

and its communal impacts. In practice, commoning mobility also requires the commoning of

transportation.

In her mobilization of commoning, Enright (2020) further develops the idea of

community-owned public transportation by rejecting the concept of ownership and instead

promoting the idea of community management. She specifies that the "public" in public

transportation signifies state ownership of property that is managed in the "collective interest of a

predetermined citizenry." (Enright 2020). The earlier examples of racially and economically

biased fare enforcement in New York City and Paris demonstrate how controllers play an

integral role in signaling to marginalized communities that they are not part of the

"predetermined citizenry" the PTC or state wants to be using public transportation. Commoning public transportation would establish a non-property relationship between the community and the resource. Enright argues that commoning public transportation involves communal acts of accountability, dialogue, management, and trial and error through which communities establish collective goods, protecting and expanding them. In the context Glover (2013) provides, community ownership would still exist within the state-sanctioned capitalist system, whereas community management creates systems of production and distribution contradictory to capitalist markets. If transportation were communally managed outside of capitalist markets, neoliberal norms such as individual consumerism would no longer be hegemonic, eradicating the need for riders to pay an individual fare and abolishing the presence of controllers who regulate consumer behavior.

In her analysis of recent transit protest movements, Enright (2020) demonstrates how activists are already undergoing the process of commoning public transportation, using the FTP protests in New York City as one of her examples. If those processes are already happening on the ground, are they happening within the discourse as well? The logic of commoning is the biggest threat to the current hegemonic fare evasion discourse. Anyone who places a different value on mobility by not paying, whether intentionally or not, is labeled as a folk devil to justify cracking down on them. It is essential that I include themes encompassing the debate over how public resources are distributed concerning fare evasion and its enforcement in my media content analysis.

Through my review of the literature, I have identified the major themes that constitute fare evasion research. The dominant themes of discourse within neoclassical transport studies on fare evasion are fare evader-oriented studies, economics, and technology. For critical transport

studies on fare evasion, transport justice, racial justice, affordability, and the distribution and management of public goods comprise the main themes of subversive discourse. For my research, analyzing my data from the lens of moral panic helps to fill in the gaps between the media's portrayal of the issue of fare evasion and its actual implications. Moral panic theory reveals how public discourse can be used as an informal mechanism of governance to shape public opinion and build consensus. Within this framework, specific actors portray social issues in ways that maintain the hegemony of neoliberal values, leading me to question how fare evasion is portrayed in the media and if those portrayals are employed to endorse particular urban actors' interests and values. My literature review shows that specific logics of moral panic are present in neoclassical transport studies on fare evasion. However, content analysis is necessary to determine if they are present in media discourse about fare evasion. Within the field of fare evasion research, discourse and public opinion have not been analyzed. My research aims to fill this gap by addressing how fare evasion is politicized as a discursive tool. The way the media portrays and discusses transport policies has important implications for their implementation. The way the public conceptualizes and discusses urban issues translates to the built environment.

## Methodology

While my methodology is unique in regards to research investigating fare evasion, it is not uncommon within transportation studies. My guiding methodology is informed by studies within the field of transportation that use media discourses as a lens to understand the public's opinion about transport policies. My application of content analysis demonstrates the value I place on the influence of media. The literature review shows that my content analysis is informed

by themes I identified in both neoclassical and critical transport studies on fare evasion. In addition to explaining the rationale behind my methodology in this section, I also detail how I conducted my content analysis and my semi-structured interviews. While my interview sample is small, I feel I chose the best methods to identify various media representations of fare evasion and the actors and incentives that prosper.

## Methodological Approach

I have chosen media content analysis as my primary methodology because its interdisciplinary nature complements the interdisciplinary nature of urban research. Media content analysis enables a better understanding of the social dimension of urban issues, "journalism has social effects…it can reinforce beliefs…shape opinions…[or] at the very least [exert] influence" (Richardson 2007, 13). The definition of media content analysis I have applied is "A non-intrusive research method that allows examination of a wide range of data over an extensive period to identify popular discourses and their likely meanings." (Macnamara 2005, 6). Zaleckis et al. (2019) argue that content analysis can be a valuable method if utilized within the field of urban studies because its adaptability allows for it to be combined in a compatible manner with other methods. They describe how utilizing content analysis in a mixed-method framework provides inventive ways for urban researchers to gain a more complex understanding of the social dimensions of their research. This approach will help me better understand the social consequences of how fare evasion and its enforcement are portrayed in the media. However, despite content analysis's usefulness, Zaleckis et al. (2019) remark that it is still an uncommon method to be applied in urban studies research. Historically, in urban research, content analysis has been used for analyzing urban planning documents, policy documents,

zoning codes, and maps (Zaleckis et al., 2019). The use of content analysis is even rarer when it concerns urban research about transportation. However, a few researchers have used media content analysis to understand the broader societal implications of the media's portrayal of transportation policies.

Because researchers have established the media as the primary forum for setting new transportation policy agendas, media content analysis is the preferred approach to understanding those agendas' driving actors and intentions. Various researchers that engage with the sustainable mobility paradigm employ media content analysis to study how the media's representation of new sustainable transport policies influences public opinion. Both Ryley and Gjersoe (2006) and Rye, Gaunt, and Ison (2008) use media content analysis to analyze the negative outcome of the 2005 referendum for road pricing schemes in Edinburgh. In both papers, the authors thematically coded newspaper articles published in the months leading up to the referendum to understand the role media plays in shaping public opinion and influencing the future of sustainable transport policies. Using the previously mentioned papers as their methodological inspiration, Vigar, Shaw, and Swann (2011) use the Transport Innovation Fund bid for Greater Manchester as a case study to analyze how new transportation policies are depicted in the media. They justify their method of media content analysis by arguing that because the sustainable mobility paradigm questions the premises of traditional transport planning, new interdisciplinary methods are needed to research transportation as socially and culturally constructed. The media is a crucial avenue for conveying the proposals of policymakers to the public. Therefore, how these messages are conveyed helps to shape public opinion and behavior. Sequentially, public opinion also shapes public discourse, dictating what is achievable in the realm of transport policy (Vigar, Shaw, and Swann 2011). The authors suggest that more research needs to be conducted

regarding how transport issues are portrayed in the media, including "Where there are' silences."' (Vigar, Shaw, Swann 2011, 478). It is these silences in Copenhagen's fare evasion discourse that makes it a relevant case study.

Media content analysis is also complementary to the use of a moral panic theoretical framework. While this is a rare combination in transportation studies, Kolaković-Bojović and Paraušić's (2020) introduce the application of media content analysis along with theorizations of moral panics as a lens through which to analyze transport issues. Kolaković-Bojović and Paraušić employ a media content analysis to determine if the tones used to portray e-scooters in the media are motivated by fear of a legitimate urban security threat or if they constitute a sensationalized moral panic. The moral panic framework facilitates a better understanding of specific media narrative's effects on the urban environment. I believe that adopting moral panic theory as a lens through which to analyze the results of my media content analysis of fare evasion discourse will help me to determine what interests are furthered by fare evasion's politicized portrayal. Is fare evasion a legitimate concern, or does it benefit certain actors if it is seen as a threat?

To structure my application of moral panic theory, I adhere to the hybrid model of moral panics developed by Klocke and Muschert (2010) (Appendix B). The model outlines and defines the phases of a moral panic, and the authors intend this to serve as a checklist and working method to practice moral panic research (Appendix B). Klocke and Muschert combine Cohen (1972) and Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) definitions of moral panic to create a critical model that includes processes and characteristics. I use this model as a guide to evaluate the extent to which interests motivating media portrayals of fare evasion in New York City and Copenhagen can fit within the framework of a moral panic.

# Methods

In order to analyze fare evasion discourse in the media from New York City and Copenhagen, I have chosen to take a qualitative mixed-methods approach. My primary method is media content analysis. I deductively code my data, which required creating a codebook before conducting content analysis (Appendix A). My codebook is comprised of themes, called nodes, present in the academic discourse about fare evasion analyzed in my literature review. I pulled themes from both the neoclassical transport literature and the critical transport literature to determine if any of these themes framed the media portrayal of fare evasion for my case studies. Next, I collected a sample of four hundred news articles that discuss fare evasion, two hundred from Copenhagen and two hundred from New York City, published from 2010 to 2021 (Appendix F). I chose this eleven-year interval to determine if specific urban events catalyzed the media's discussion of fare evasion and because a larger sample size facilitates the identification of patterns.

I collected the articles by searching in the archives of prominent newspapers and online news sources and Google News using the culturally relative keywords for each case study. In the case of New York City, I searched using the keywords "fare evasion," "fare beating," and "ticket control." For Copenhagen, I searched using the keywords "billetkontrol," "billetkontrollør," and "bøde." I then translated the articles from Copenhagen from Danish into English using Google Translate. To conduct my content analysis, I uploaded the articles onto NVivo, a computer-assisted data analysis software that helped categorize the large amount of text I had collected. While coding the data sets, I used sentences and paragraphs as my units of analysis. I organized the results of my content analysis thematically. I then used theorizations of moral panic and the

hybrid model of moral panics (Klocke and Muschert 2010) (Appendix B) to analyze the actors, the framings of fare evasion, and the interests that I had identified during the coding process.

In addition to media content analysis, I interviewed a small sample of actors in New York City and Copenhagen, resulting in six interviews. I chose to interview actors who were actively involved in discussions about fare evasion in their respective cities. While the media content analysis was based on my own personal interpretation of the data, I wanted to measure how my analysis of media portrayals of fare evasion compared with individual opinions of actors who had contributed to the fare evasion discourse themselves. I conducted semi-structured interviews because it allows interviewees to answer open-ended questions in depth. The semi-structured interview's flexible format is complementary to the exploratory nature of my research. Each interviewee was provided with a consent form beforehand. I prepared about ten questions for each interview; however, because the interviews were semi-structured, the topics could shift based on the interviewees' responses. I then transcribed the recordings of each interview. I analyzed them using the same code sheet I conducted my media content analysis with to see how the individual perspectives on these themes compared to the media portrayals.

## Limitations

While I believe the methods I chose helped me conduct my research in the best possible manner, I faced limitations. The most significant limitation I faced was the extenuating circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic. In both New York and especially in Copenhagen, many people were hesitant to participate in interviews despite being held online. PTCs and other actors in Copenhagen said they were too busy dealing with complications their organizations faced from COVID to have the time to speak with me. Many nonprofit organizations in New

York provided me with similar responses. As a result, my pool of interviewees is relatively small. The small interviewee pool did forfeit the insights I could gain from a more representative interview set. However, the small number of interviewees allowed me to conduct more extended interviews and extract more detailed and complex individual perspectives that a more extensive data set might not have allowed.

Regarding the media content analysis, the most significant limitation is that I was the only researcher coding the data. The downside of this is that there were no other researchers to check my own biases. However, because I was the only researcher coding the data, I ensured that the coding was consistent. Additionally, as I cannot read or understand Danish, I had to resort to translating the articles online. This could have potentially resulted in mistranslations or the loss of meaning to specific phrases. While I do think I was still able to understand the most critical aspects of the Danish articles, I may not have been able to pick up on the nuances or specific cultural meanings that would be apparent to fluent Danish speakers. Despite the limitations, my methodology and methods are the best suited to investigate different media portrayals of fare evasion and the actors and interests that benefit from them.

# Results

I began this research project by exploring how fare evasion is framed and portrayed in the media as well as what interests are furthered by such portrayals of fare evasion. In order to answer these questions, I conducted a media content analysis of relevant news articles as well as semi-structured interviews with invested actors as outlined in the methodology chapter. This chapter contains the presentation of my findings resulting from the coding. The results for each case are presented side by side and organized thematically. I begin by highlighting the major

themes in the media I discovered through my coding. I then describe what the data from my coding indicates about those themes as well as the opinions my interviewees expressed about said themes.

It is important to note that the news articles published about fare evasion in New York City are on average longer than those published about fare evasion in Copenhagen. As a result, there are a higher number of references coded for the case of New York City than Copenhagen. "References coded" refers to the number of sections of text that have been coded at a particular node. When combining the data sets from both cases there are a total of 3,819 references coded. However, only 1,009 of those references coded are from Copenhagen's data set while 2,810 of those references coded are from New York's data set. This limits the extent of comparisons I can make between the data from the two cities because I do not want to skew the results due to instances of overrepresentation. Therefore, instead of comparing the number of referenced coded I calculate the percentage each node makes up of the total references coded in each specific case and then compare those percentages.

## Major Themes

I used NVivo to run several different queries that organize the data and help me identify patterns more easily. I determined which five parent nodes had the most aggregate references coded to identify the most common themes that characterize fare evasion discourse for each case study. To do this, I used calculated how many references I had coded for each node. Table 1 shows the number of aggregate references coded for each parent node, while the references directly coded for each parent and child node, can be seen in Appendix C.

Table 1: Number of Aggregate References Coded at Each Parent Node

| Nodes | Aggregate References Coded for Copenhagen | Aggregate References Coded for New York City | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Crime | 160 | 653 | 813 |
| Security | 66 | 119 | 185 |
| Morality | 118 | 101 | 219 |
| Technological | 92 | 110 | 202 |
| Economics | 105 | 352 | 457 |
| Civil society | 21 | 193 | 214 |
| Transport justice | 19 | 312 | 331 |
| Race | 9 | 232 | 241 |
| Class | 40 | 198 | 238 |
| Immigration | 19 | 31 | 50 |
| Deterrence | 41 | 96 | 137 |
| + refers to fare evaders | 25 | 29 | 54 |
| - refers to fare evaders | 73 | 86 | 159 |
| + refers to controllers | 60 | 56 | 116 |
| - refers to controllers | 68 | 115 | 183 |
| + refers to PTC | 25 | 71 | 96 |
| - refers to PTC | 68 | 56 | 124 |
| (Total) | 1009 | 2810 | 3819 |

*Source: Author.*

As evident in Table 1, the five parent nodes with the most frequent references coded in the data set for New York City were "crime," "economics," "transport justice," "race," and "class." In the case of Copenhagen, the five parent nodes with the most frequent references coded were "crime," "morality," "economics," "technological," and "negatively refers to fare evaders".

The remainder of the results section is organized into thematic subsections, one for each of the top five most frequently referenced nodes for both cases, except for "negatively refers to fare evaders" in the case of Copenhagen because I consider the negative and positive portrayal nodes as attitudes rather than topical themes. Results regarding each node will be presented for both cases, even if said node was not one of the cases' top five. As stated earlier, absences in discourse also have importance and will be presented as results.

Each subsection will begin with the results of the matrix coding query I conducted for each case. The matrix coding query highlights and records the number of intersections coded between that subsection's theme and the remaining nodes in the codebook. I only present the top five intersections most frequently coded. These intersections represent the co-occurrence of themes. The co-occurrence of themes represents discursive frameworks within which fare evasion is discussed in the media and can illuminate how each theme is discursively employed to further a specific objective.

## Crime

### *New York City*

"Crime" was the node with the most aggregate references coded in the data set from New York, comprising 23.24% of all references coded for the case. Refer to Table 2 in Appendix C

for the number of references directly coded for each parent and child node. Table 2 depicts the nodes that had the most frequently coded co-occurrences with "crime."

Table 2: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences With "Crime", New York City

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Crime" |
| --- | --- |
| Negatively refers to fare evaders | 137 |
| Negatively refers to controllers | 129 |
| Deterrence | 121 |
| Race | 82 |
| Positively refers to PTC | 81 |

*Source: Author.*

The co-occurrences of the nodes "crime" and "negatively refers to controllers" were often located near co-occurrences of "crime" and "deterrence." The text coded at these intersections contained discourses that used said themes as a framework to justify the presence of fare enforcement by arguing that crime on public transportation was rising due to the bad behavior of fare evaders. I found that this narrative was employed most often after the 2018 announcement that the MTA would add 500 more police officers/controllers to the system. Many articles defended the decision of an increase in police presence by claiming crime was rising dramatically; however, journalists did not use any sources to back up these claims. Several articles, especially from the right-leaning *City Journal*, likened the state of crime on today's public transport to the conditions of the 1970s when crime was significantly higher. This line of argumentation claimed that fare evasion was the causation of crime and danger in the subways. One of the most frequent patterns the texts coded at these intersections would follow was the

presentation of an individual arrested for fare evasion and then later revealed to be wanted for murder or robbery, illegal guns, or narcotics.

Several of my interviewees did not trust these narratives. Interviewee A (Appendix D) felt that the state created and used these narratives about fare evasion as an excuse to be tough on crime and to prevent other stories about the MTA's poor quality of services from circulating. Interviewee E, Kafui Attoh (Appendix D), was skeptical about the narratives reporting the rising crime to justify more controllers. He recalled how during the pandemic, when MTA ridership levels were at an all-time low, the MTA police announced that they were officially adding the additional controllers. Attoh argued that for people who followed MTA news, the decision did not add up, " Most narratives around crime, broken windows policing, community policing, they do not really make much sense apart from people's perception of safety." Attoh referred to how Wilson Kelling himself admitted that broken windows policing did not reduce crime, but it reduced the perception of crime. Interviewee C (Appendix D) agreed that broken windows policing was influencing the nature of fare enforcement based on the conversations with his sources who remembered the state of the subway system in the 1970s and viewed fare enforcement as a way to prevent dangerous people from using public transit. However, not all of the text coded at crime contained narratives supporting policing.

The high number of co-occurrences between "crime" and "race" resulted from narratives that questioned the ethics of policing New York City. While coding my data, I noticed that significantly more articles were written in 2017 and onwards. Attoh (Appendix D) attributed this uptick in fare evasion discourse to the Manhattan DA's decision to stop criminally prosecuting fare evasion. He felt that the national discussion of police and racial profiling in the wake of Ferguson had informed the debate over fare evasion. Attoh stated that the discourse was

comprised of two sides: those who were worried about the budget and those who were worried about police targeting low-income people of color for fare evasion.

Media discourse from the latter side contained examples of NYPD and MTA police racially profiling riders of color, accounting for the high number of co-occurrences between "crime" and "negatively refers to controller." According to Interviewee D (Appendix D), community advocates were the main actors pushing back against narratives of rising crime. In response to the MTA's decision to add 500 more police officers, he described how the discourse regarding fare evasion became more intense and adversarial. Community advocates raised awareness about policing issues regarding the control of fare evasion to improve accessibility, and as a result, this narrative became more visible in the media. Interviewee A (Appendix D) described how videos of police brutality against riders and vendors of color in the subways went viral after the MTA crackdown on fare evasion. The text coded at these nodes frequently contained links to said videos. Interviewee B (Appendix D) said that sharing these videos depicting racial profiling and police violence also coincided with people recounting their own negative experiences with fare enforcement.

In order to determine the validity of claims in the discourse about crime in New York City's subways, I gathered information from the MTA about yearly arrest records. According to the MTA's reports of arrests for offenses described in administrative code 14-150(d) occurring in the transit jurisdiction calendar years 2015-2020 (the archive does not go back further than 2015), crime has steadily been declining each year (Table 3). Additionally, the MTA claims that assaults reported by New York City transit workers have increased by 15% in the past four years ("Governor Cuomo Announces Agreement" 2019). However, I was unable to confirm this data on their website because they only provide statistics on assaults reported by transit workers for

the current week. I submitted a FOIL request to access the archived data but I never received a reply.

Table 3: Criminal Arrests in the MTA Transit System From 2015 to 2020

| Year | Number of Arrests |
|------|-------------------|
| 2015 | 1,337 |
| 2016 | 1,259 |
| 2017 | 1,211 |
| 2018 | 1,110 |
| 2019 | 925 |
| 2020 | 571 |

*Source: Data from "Transit/Bus Crime Reports." 2021. NYPD. 2021. https://www1.nyc.gov/site/nypd/stats/reports-analysis/transit-bus.page.*

## *Copenhagen*

"Crime" was the node with the most aggregate references coded in the data set from Copenhagen, comprising 15.86% of all references coded for the case. Refer to Table 1 in Appendix C for the number of references directly coded for each parent and child node. Table 4 depicts the nodes with the most frequently coded co-occurrences with "crime."

Table 4: Most Frequently Coded Co-Occurrences With "Crime", Copenhagen

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Crime" |
|---|---|
| Negatively refers to fare evaders | 49 |
| Positively refers to controllers | 46 |
| Security | 26 |
| Morality | 20 |
| Positively refers to PTC | 20 |

*Source: Author.*

I found that the co-occurrence of "crime" and "negatively refers to fare evaders" frames the vast majority of fare evasion discourse in the media in Copenhagen. I most frequently coded these intersections when reading narratives about fare evaders assaulting controllers. Throughout the eleven years, the articles from the data set were published, these narratives remained dominant. The most notable of these narratives was a print series titled "The Disrespectful Danes," which documented the verbal and physical violence that public employees, especially controllers, in Denmark experience. These articles followed a pattern. They began by going into detail about a specific case of assault that a controller experienced at the hands of a fare evade, whether verbal or physical. In most cases, only the controller was interviewed. The controller would describe their fear and pain throughout the incident, and in turn, the journalist would commend them for their bravery and dedication to the job. The articles often ended with a plea to the Danish public to be more respectful to public servants. These narratives were also frequently framed by "security" because due to the high rates of assaults fare controllers experienced, Movia invested in body cameras for every inspector that would only be activated if the controller

felt threatened. Subsequent articles would report on how the cameras had affected the rate of assaults.

Occasionally, some articles announced that assaults against controllers had decreased or increased by a certain percentage. However, they failed to reference the actual numbers they based the percentage on. Additionally, the journalists would cite Movia as their source for the data on assaults. However, the article never published the actual data, and Movia does not make it public. When searching for statistics on assaults and crime happening within the public transportation system, I could not find anything publicly available on any of the PTCs' websites. After contacting Movia, DSB, and Metroselskabet, I only received an answer from the latter. They informed me that they do not keep any record of crime on the metro and that the police would keep any of those statistics. I subsequently contacted the police requesting this information multiple times and never received a reply.

## Economics and Class

### *New York City*

"Economics" was the theme with the second most aggregate references coded, comprising 12.53% of all references coded for the case. In this section, I have included "class," the node with the fifth most aggregated references coded, comprising 7.05% of all references coded for the case, because a lot of the narratives coded at that node intersect with text coded at "economics." This is apparent when looking at the co-occurrences for both significant themes, as shown in Tables 5 and 6.  Refer to Tables 10 and 18 in Appendix C for the number of references directly coded for each parent and child node.

Table 5: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Economics", New York City

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Economics" |
|---|---|
| Transport justice | 81 |
| Class | 80 |
| Crime | 76 |
| Class/affordability | 74 |
| Deterrence | 64 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 6: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences With "Class", New York City

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Class" |
|---|---|
| Transport justice | 129 |
| Economics | 80 |
| Economics/affordability | 73 |
| Transport Justice/affordability | 69 |
| Transport Justice/inequality | 67 |

*Source: Author.*

The high rate of co-occurrences between "economics" and "deterrence" is strongly related to the large number of direct references coded at the child node "debt" (Table 10, Appendix C). A pattern I saw emerging in the articles throughout my coding was that each year in a press conference, the MTA would announce how much revenue they lost due to fare evasion. The press would continue to quote that number in various contexts for the following year. These numbers were then used repeatedly in the media to validate narratives that justified increased spending on deterrence. Not only were these numbers cited in articles to justify more

controllers, but these numbers were also used to blame fare evaders for the MTA's large amounts of debt overall.

However, there were articles that questioned the credibility of the amount of revenue loss announced by Cuomo, a sentiment echoed by my interviewees. Interviewee D argued that the MTA was scapegoating their problems by focusing on lost revenue from fare evasion. Additionally, he stated that the numbers the MTA used were not credible and should not be reported by the media or used to justify "funding for police that would somehow magically reclaim that number." (Appendix D). Attoh (Appendix D) concurred and noted that the cost of the additional cops hired to crack down on fare evasion versus how much money the MTA claimed they were going to reclaim did not add up. He continued to explain that he felt that no one knew the exact number of revenue loss from fare evasion and that the model the MTA relied on was insufficient. The MTA statistics' lack of credibility was exposed in an official capacity when the Office of the New York State Comptroller conducted an audit of the MTA fare evasion enforcement program. The audit report revealed that the MTA had greatly underrepresented the program's initial costs as they added more police than agreed upon. The report concluded that the MTA fare evasion enforcement program was ineffective at reducing fare evasion losses (DiNapoli 2021).

I gathered financial data disclosed on the MTA's website to compare the narratives coded at "economics" to the PTC's actual financial situation. I was only able to access the MTA's adopted budgets from 2011-2020. From 2011 to 2019, the percentage of income coming from ticket fares hovered around 40%. The major exception was 2020 when the percentage dropped to 10% due to the pandemic (Table 1, Appendix E). Over the past decade, the MTA total budget steadily increased from around $11.9 billion in 2010 to $17.2 billion in 2020 (Table 2, Appendix

E). The revenue losses from fare evasion from 2019, a reported $300 million, contrasted against the 2019 budget and farebox revenue reveal that alleged revenue loss as a result of fare evasion accounted for .018% of the total budget and .05% of the farebox revenue for 2019. Additionally, the MTA is in a massive amount of debt. The current reported figure for their total debt is $44.97 billion (("Financial and Budget Statements" 2021). The alleged $300 million in revenue loss accounted for .007% of the MTA's total debt. When asked about the discrepancy between these numbers and the MTA's narratives, Attoh (Appendix D) explained that sometimes the fare realistically has little to do with the economics of transit. He elaborated that the debate is not entirely about finances and can become symbolic of all other sorts of urban challenges.

In the opinions of my interviewees, there were a variety of motivations that underlie the narratives put forth by the MTA about revenue losses due to fare evasion. Interviewee A (Appendix D) explained that in his view, fare evasion is primarily discussed in the media when the MTA tries to convince the public it is the primary transport issue they should be worried in order to divert attention away from more complex problems within the MTA. Interviewee B (Appendix D) felt that the MTA's narratives about fare evasion were popularized in the media at strategic times such as elections and budget decisions. She said the narrative she saw from the MTA most was that if New Yorkers' wanted the MTA to function then they needed to pay for it with their fares. But in Interviewee B's opinion that was not how their funding worked because it was really about how the government allocated tax money. She flipped the narrative by arguing that the MTA should spend their money on hiring more employees to service public transportation instead of buying riot shields for the police (Appendix D).

In New York's data set, there were many references directly coded at "spending" (Table 10, Appendix E). Much of the text coded at "spending" was when transit activists and advocates

used the media to demonstrate that the MTA's increased policing and public safety spending

negatively impacted low-income communities of color. Activists and advocates argued that fare

enforcement was an irresponsible way to invest public resources. Attoh expressed how difficult it

is to overlook such imbalances in what the state does and does not prioritize, saying they often

prioritized safety over mobility, "And it's not really safety, it's the perception of safety. Putting

money towards making people feel safer as opposed to putting money towards something that

actually materially impacts people's lives and their ability to get from point A to point B seems

absurd." (Appendix D). Media narratives coded at "affordability" elaborate on the importance of

prioritizing accessible mobility.

A large number of co-occurrences between "economics," "transport justice," "class,"

"crime," and different "affordability" child nodes were located near each other in the texts. The

intersections of these nodes frame media narratives that illustrate how fare evasion frame fare

evasion as a class issue based on economic inequality. Within this framework, fare evasion is

portrayed as a decision that low-income riders are forced to make to sustain their lives in the city

because they do not have the resources to pay the $2.75 fare. Articles coded at these intersections

included interviews with low income transit users that contextualized their economic

circumstances and explained the decision-making process behind evading the fare. Actors

putting forth these media narratives are often activists, advocates, or politicians promoting the

Fair Fares program. One such actor, Interviewee D (Appendix D), argued that the MTA views

fare evaders as people trying to cheat the system because they do not understand the significant

role of financial need and hardship in individual's day to day lives. In his opinion the two ends of

the fare evasion discourse spectrum were those who wanted to incest in keeping out the people

who are unable to pay and those that want to know how to invest in increasing the accessibility

of public transportation for all New Yorkers. He remarked that people who agree with the latter

side of discourse intuitively feel that fare evasion is an affordability issue, "Fare collection

systems historically are inadequate, inequitable, and those are the problems we need to have

discourse around." (Appendix D). Interviewee D argued that advocates promoted fare evasion

discourse around affordability in order to get the public to question how the state allocates public

resources.

*Copenhagen*

"Economics" was the node with the third most aggregated references coded for the data

set from Copenhagen, comprising 10.41% of all references coded for the case. "Class" was not

one of the top five major themes in the data set from Copenhagen. In fact, "class" only made up

3.96% of all references coded for Copenhagen. However, as shown in Tables 7 and 8, references

that I coded at "class" often intersected with references that I coded at "economics." Refer to

Tables 9 and 17 in Appendix C to see the number of references directly coded for each parent

node and child node.

Table 7: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences With "Economics", Copenhagen

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Economics" |
|---|---|
| Negatively refers to fare evaders | 27 |
| Class | 23 |
| Morality | 19 |
| Positively refers to controllers | 17 |
| Affordability | 16 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 8: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Class", Copenhagen

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Class" |
|---|---|
| Economics | 23 |
| Economics/affordability | 16 |
| Transport Justice | 12 |
| Economics/debt | 11 |
| Morality | 9 |

*Source: Author.*

The co-occurrences between "negatively refers to fare evaders" and "economics" were coded in texts containing narratives that sensationalized individual cases of extreme fare evasion and debt. Interviewee F, Rasmus Markussen, (Appendix D) clarified that the debate in the media

over fare evasion emphasized the most outlandish individual cases. Articles coded at this intersection followed the same pattern. They would begin by announcing that a fare evader had been arrested or brought to court for "stealing access" to public transportation. Often the fare evaders at the center of these cases would be homeless. Next, the articles would announce the shocking amount of debt these evaders owed to the PTC after years of evasion, representing the high number of references directly coded at "debt" (Table 9, Appendix C). The amount of debt always exceeded DKK 100,000. Narratives reflecting the co-occurrences between "economics" and "morality" would also be used in these stories to paint the fare evader as an immoral person for stealing such an amount of fares. In turn, the fare controllers were rewarded for catching these thieves, contributing to the co-occurrences of "economics" and "positively refers to controllers." These articles were relatively short and usually did not include interviews with the fare evader or other actors. It is important to note that these articles did not have references to "class"; there was never any question why the riders had come to decide to evade the fare.

The majority of co-occurrences between "economics" and "class" were coded in articles about homeless fare evaders and were also related to references coded at "affordability." However, affordability was not a common topic among Copenhagen's fare evasion discourse. One of the few narratives that included mentions of affordability was present in a handful of articles that discussed the large amount of debt that the homeless owed to the PTCs. These articles also included debates over the potential solution of providing the homeless a free fair. Several articles discussed the free fare for the homeless proposed by the Social Democrats that would cover one to two zones, with any other travel being an additional cost. The narratives within these articles arguing in favor of a free fare for homeless riders represent the co-occurrences of "class" and "transport justice." However, the reduced fair for the homeless had

not been successful in parliament. One reasoning against it that I saw referenced repeatedly was that it would not be fair to other paying passengers to provide homeless people with a free fare, another example of the co-occurrence between "economics" and "morality." Another reasoning was that politicians and the PTCs felt that it was not the responsibility of the PTC to help the homeless, which represents the co-occurrence between "class" and "morality."

It is hard to determine how much the PTCs in Copenhagen are financially affected by fare evasion because this data is not made publicly available. Neither Movia, the Metro, nor DSB provides public records about fare evasion rates or revenue losses resulting from fare evasion. When I requested this information from each PTC, I was denied. Similarly, the PTCs also denied Interviewee C (Appendix D) access to financial fare evasion records when she requested them for her thesis. According to Markussen (Appendix D), there has been contestation over whether the rising number of controllers and the amount of fines given out is justified. According to Markussen, some speculate whether the increased control is a strategy to raise income for the PTCs. He described how Passagerpuslen had repeatedly requested that the PTCs release information on finances regarding fare evasion, but the PTCs refused to cooperate, confirming his suspicion that they were doing controls to make a profit. When Passagerpulsen's funding ran out in 2018, several PTCs tried to convince parliament not to fund them again "because the transport authorities are very loyal to the political level and get annoyed if we like complain about something that is really about public funding or money from the political level." (Appendix D). Besides the articles about the potential free fare for homeless users there were not debates over public funding in Copenhagen's case study.

Metroselskabet was the only PTC I was able to acquire financial statistics from specifically regarding their operations in Copenhagen. Both Movia and DSB run operations in

other parts of Denmark as well. From 2010 to 2019 Metroselskabet's total operating income increased from DKK 863,675,000 DKK to DKK 1,944,982,000 (Table 4, Appendix E). In 2019 their farebox revenue was DKK 1,154,000,000 which amounts to 59.33% of their total operating income (Table 3, Appendix E). It is important to note that the total operating income does not include the subsidies given to the metro by its owners, the Copenhagen municipality, and the state (Table 5, Appendix E). According to an email from Metroselskabet with a list of basic PTC statistics they estimate that only 1% of riders evade the fare. I then calculated an estimation of how much revenue they would lose. According to Metroselskabet, there were 78.8 million passengers in 2019, which means that each passenger contributed about DKK 14.65 to the total farebox revenue that year. If one percent of 78.8 million passengers evaded the fare, that would be a loss of DKK 11,544,200 or .0059% of the total operating income for 2019.

## Morality

### *New York City*

"Morality" only comprised 3.59% of references coded for New York City's data set, and therefore it does not count as one of the five major themes for the case. The parent node "morality" itself had significantly more references directly coded than either of its child nodes, "free-riding" or "cheat" (Table 6, Appendix C). Table 9 depicts the nodes with the most frequent co-occurrences with "morality."

Table 9: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Morality", New York City

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Morality" |
|---|---|
| Negatively refers to fare evaders | 47 |
| Positively refers to controllers | 39 |
| Deterrence | 33 |
| Crime | 30 |
| Positively refers to PTC | 19 |

*Source: Author.*

Many of the narratives that include references coded at "morality" have already been introduced in the section on "crime." The co-occurrence of "morality" and "negatively refers to fare evaders" is often present in narratives where there are also co-occurrences between "morality and "crime." In these narratives, fare evasion is framed as a crime and the evader as an immoral criminal. This can be seen in the narrative outlined in the "crime" section that uses individual examples of fare evaders who were arrested and then charged with more serious crimes to characterize fare evasion and its perpetrators as dangerous and immoral. Another narrative that contains co-occurrences of "morality" and "negatively refers to fare evaders" frames fare evasion as an act that is unfair to paying riders. Articles containing this narrative frequently blame increased fare prices, poor service, or infrastructural issues on fare evasion and claim that these are not things paying riders deserve to experience.

The narratives mentioned in the previous paragraph often end with co-occurrences of "morality" and "positively refers to controllers," "positively refers to PTC," and "deterrence." As they frame fare evasion as an immoral act, they provide the control of fare evasion as the solution and those who carry out the control as moral and honorable people. "Positively refers to

PTC" comes into the narrative because the PTC is painted as an organization that only has the public's best interest at heart by promoting deterrence measures to get back the lost revenue from fare evasion for the paying riders.

## *Copenhagen*

"Morality" was the node with the second most referenced codes, comprising 11.69% of all references coded for the case. The parent node "morality" itself had more references directly coded than its child nodes. The child node "cheat" also had a significant number of references directly coded (Table 5, Appendix C). Table 10 shows the nodes with the most co-occurrences with "morality."

Table 10: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Morality", Copenhagen

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Morality" |
|---|---|
| Negatively refers to fare evaders | 45 |
| Positively refers to controllers | 27 |
| Negatively refers to controllers | 27 |
| Positively refers to fare evaders | 20 |
| Crime | 20 |

*Source: Author.*

As mentioned in the earlier section on "crime," there is a large number of co-occurrences between "morality" and "crime." The narratives about the high rates of fare evaders assaulting ticket controllers were also framed by "morality" because they contextualize the fare evader as someone immoral enough to cheat the PTC, so they have no ethical qualms about violently attacking someone.

Another narrative concerning "morality" was related to" positively portraying fare evaders." The media would use individual cases of fare evasion as an example in an article. Articles would vindicate the fare evader by showing they had good intentions and that they had evaded the fare accidentally because they did not understand the zone system, or their phone with the electronic ticket died. These articles would often portray the fare controllers as too harsh and push the controllers to understand the context of individual cases of fare evasion. These narratives contain references coded at "morality" because the majority of instances where there are articles portraying fare evaders in a good light make a point to note that it is because the evader had moral intentions. Markussen (Appendix D) explained that one of Passagerpulsen's goals is for controllers to pay attention to evaders' intentions so that users are not punished for mistakes when they had no intention to cheat. These are the narratives that also contain the most co-occurrences for "morality" and "negatively refers to controllers" or "negatively refers to PTC" because, in these instances, they judge the controllers and PTC as being too aggressive in giving out fines.

## Transport Justice and Race

### New York City

"Transport justice" was the theme with the third most frequently referenced codes, comprising 11.10% of all references coded for the case. Because of its intersectional nature, it is a theme that has many co-occurrences and overlaps with many of the themes I chose as codes, as can be seen in Table 11. One of the themes that had the most overlapping narratives with "transport justice" was "race," the node with the fourth most references in the case of New York City, comprising 8.26% of all references coded for the case. Table 12 shows the nodes with the

most co-occurrences with "race." Refer to Tables 14 and 16 in Appendix C for the exact number of references coded for each parent and child node.

Table 11: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences With "Transport Justice", New York City

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Transport justice" |
|---|---|
| Class | 128 |
| Race | 94 |
| Negatively Refers to Controllers | 88 |
| Economics | 81 |
| Crime and Positively Refers to Evaders | 78 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 12: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Race", New York City

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Race" |
|---|---|
| Transport Justice | 94 |
| Crime | 82 |
| Transport Justice/inequality and Negatively Refers to Controllers | 81 |
| Police | 56 |
| Class | 55 |

*Source: Author.*

The narratives containing the co-occurrences of "transport justice" and "class" have already been briefly discussed in the section on "economics" and "class." These narratives define fare evasion as a class issue based on economic inequalities. Articles coded with intersections for

"transport justice" and "class" describe how for low-income riders, the decision to evade the fare stems from issues of affordability, not ethics. These articles also often contain co-occurrences between "transport justice" and "positively refers to fare evaders" because they humanize the fare evader and do not contain negative judgments.

There are also a large number of co-occurrences between "race" and "class." The narratives containing these co-occurrences argue that it is specifically low-income people of color that controllers unfairly target. These articles frame fare evasion and its control as an issue producing racial and economic inequalities that are intertwined. To justify this argument, the articles cite the statistics from "The Cost of 2.75", the report I mentioned in the case study introduction, which documents the racially and economically biased geographies of fare enforcement in Brooklyn (Stolper and Jones 2017). This report is also widely used in articles as a jumping point to connect the themes of "transport justice" and "race."

The majority of the co-occurrences between "transport justice" and "race" also include the theme of "crime." Transit activists and advocates mainly put forward narratives that are framed by these themes. Texts coded at this intersection contain narratives that relate the consequences of fare enforcement to broader social justice issues, including racial justice. Often the first step of these articles would be to expose the ways Black riders are targeted by the police, as I previously discussed in the "crime" section. One of the nodes that I found was used to frame this narrative was "criminalization." News articles would quote or reference advocates and activists arguing that arresting or even issuing civil summons for fare evasion criminalized low-income people of color in the city, feeding into the criminal justice system at large in New York. When asked about discourse regarding transport justice in relation to fare evasion, Attoh's response demonstrated the critical thematic link between race, crime, and transport justice,

"There's been a lot of attention to discrimination, policing, and mass incarceration, and the overloaded judicial system in New York. Let's say you get caught with fare evasion and you were fined, and you don't pay the fine, so you have to go to court and take work off to go to court, and it's this long Kafka-esque nightmare." (Appendix D) This narrative reminds readers that it is not as simple as just paying the fine, fare enforcement has consequences that can disproportionately affect specific riders.

Also accounting for the co-occurrences of "transport justice," "race," and "crime" were stories covering the FTP protests in 2019. Many articles included interviews with the organizers who explained how their demands to get police/controllers out of the MTA were tied to the BLM movement. Protesters interviewed at the FTP demonstrations explained how their calls for the defunding of police and prison abolition were related to fare evasion. When citing the motivation behind his advocacy work, Interviewee D (Appendix D) said that a fundamental reason for making transit more affordable was to interrupt the pipeline of the criminal justice system. When discussing the importance of discourse that appeared in the media due to the FTP actions, Interviewee B said she was glad the protests happened because it opened New Yorkers' eyes to what was happening behind the headlines and challenged the MTA's narratives. She argued that transport injustices needed to be exposed in order to right them, "I think anytime we can turn the spotlight on the MTA and be like 'Hey we are watching you.', I think is important." (Appendix D). Transparency and accountability were concepts brought up by advocates and activists repeatedly in narratives characterized by transport justice.

The FTP movement lost momentum as a result of COVID-19 in the spring of 2020. Public transportation services, as well as funding, were cut drastically. Interviewee A (Appendix D) described how fare evasion discourse had been a dwindling presence in the media because the

people who influenced media narratives in the city no longer rode the train due to the pandemic. The majority of the people left riding public transportation during the pandemic were low-income people of color working essential jobs. Interviewee D admitted that the people in power have not reframed how they view fare evasion. Even though they may understand the political cost of ignoring the harmful actions of the police, narratives supporting public safety and police on public transit are still dominant. Though he admitted the FTP protests did not translate into policy changes he did say that now more than before, the voices calling for a shift in fare evasion discourse are louder, "It feels like it's more of a talking point to get people to understand what access should look like and feel like." (Appendix D). Not all of my interviewees thought that the impact of the FTP actions were purely discursive. Attoh (Appendix D) felt that it was transit activists' and advocate's task to connect transit issues to other struggles taking place in the city. Interviewee B concurred, claiming that fare evasion discourse characterized by transit justice in tandem with the FTP actions helped to lay the groundwork for the larger BLM protests that took place in the summer of 2020 in the wake of George Floyd's murder, "The MTA type protests ended when coronavirus started, but then all of those pages and connections and sharing of news were already in place to talk about race issues in policing." (Appendix D).

## *Copenhagen*

"Transport justice" and "race" were not nodes commonly coded in the case of Copenhagen. "Transport justice" only accounted for 1.88% of total references for Copenhagen, and "race" accounted for 0.89%. Refer to Tables 13 and 15 in Appendix C for the exact number of references directly coded for each parent and child node. Tables 13 and 14 depict the nodes with the most co-occurrences with "transport justice" and "race," respectively.

Table 13: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Transport Justice", Copenhagen

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Transport justice" |
|---|---|
| Economics | 12 |
| Class | 12 |
| Economics/affordability | 8 |
| Class/affordablity | 8 |
| Economics/debt | 6 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 14: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Race", Copenhagen

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Race" |
|---|---|
| Negatively refers to controllers | 3 |
| Negatively refers to PTC | 2 |
| Crime | 2 |
| Crime/violence | 2 |
| Transport Justice | 1 |

*Source: Author.*

The very few instances of references I coded at "race" came from three articles. Two of the articles discuss controllers racially profiling riders for fare evasion. One of the articles discusses a controller who was subjected to a racist assault by a passenger. The controller claimed that she received no support from her employer, DSB, and that they have ignored the racial discrimination.

The few articles coded at "transport justice" contained the narratives about potential free fares for homeless users. Outside of those narratives, themes of transport justice were absent.

When I asked Markussen (Appendix D) about the state of transit activism and transport justice in

Copenhagen, he said that transit activism is mainly organized around environmental issues and

has never addressed fare evasion and control issues.

## Technological

### *New York City*

In the case of New York City, the node "technological" only accounted for 3.91% of total

references coded for the case, and as a result, it is not one of the five major themes. To see the

exact number of references directly coded at the parent and child nodes, refer to Table 8 in

Appendix C. Table 15 shows the nodes with the most co-occurrences with "technological."

Table 15: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Technological", New York City

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Technological" |
|---|---|
| Deterrence | 27 |
| Security | 27 |
| Negatively refers to fare evaders | 25 |
| Positively refers to controllers | 21 |
| Crime | 21 |

*Source: Author.*

Text coded with the co-occurrence of "technological" and "deterrence" contained

suggestions of best practices for minimizing fare evasion. Many of these stories were also coded

at "material." A typical storyline was about the emergency exit gates in the subway. These

articles outlined the many ways fare evaders use the gates to sneak into the subway. Suggestions for further deterrence included permanently locking the gates, adding a loud alarm, or supervising them with a police officer. There were also stories depicting the ways transport activists chained the gates open during the FTP protests. A storyline also coded at "material" covered the changing status of the number of doors open on the buses during boarding as a potential deterrence factor. Many articles blamed the back-door boarding COVID policy as the reason so many people evaded the fare. The co-occurrence between "technological" and "deterrence" also contained references coded at "security." The child node "surveillance" was referenced a large number of times in articles discussing the MTA's decision to increase camera surveillance in busses and subways as a method of deterrence that would increase public safety.

## *Copenhagen*

"Technological" was the node with the fourth most aggregated references coded in the data set for Copenhagen, comprising 9.12% of all references coded for the case. To see the exact number of references directly coded for each parent and child node, refer to Table 7 in Appendix C. Table 16 shows the nodes with the most co-occurrences with "technological."

Table 16: Most Frequently Coded Co-occurrences with "Technological", Copenhagen

| Nodes | Number of Coded Intersections with "Technological" |
|---|---|
| Security | 22 |
| Negatively refers to fare evaders | 16 |
| Negativerly refers to PTC | 15 |
| Deterrence | 12 |
| Crime, Positively Refers to Controllers, and Positively Refers to PTC | 9 |

*Source: Author.*

The majority of stories containing co-occurrences between "technological" and "security" have already been referred to in the section on "crime." These are the narratives discussing the body cameras worn by controllers to protect themselves from assaults from riders. The narratives follow the line of argument that increased surveillance will increase the level of public safety.

Many references directly coded at "fare collection system" are from articles covering the controversy over Copenhagen's fare collection system. Various articles describe how complicated Copenhagen's multiple zone system is for passengers to navigate. These articles are some of the same ones mentioned in the section on morality coded as "positively refer to fare evaders." The articles demonstrate how the passengers never intended to evade the fare but that the zone system was so confusing that they bought the wrong tickets incidentally. The zone system is not the only part of the fare collection system to blame. There is also discussion about the failures of the mobile Rejsekort and technological issues passengers have faced while trying

to show their tickets to controllers. Additionally, several articles were coded as "material" that discussed changes in policies about the number of doors open on busses during COVID.

# Discussion

While my content analysis demonstrates the different ways in which fare evasion is framed and portrayed in the media and by which actors, my subsequent interpretation of those results helps to answer what interests are furthered by such portrayals. I analyze portrayals of fare evasion framed by each major theme alongside theorizations of moral panics to identify motivations behind particular portrayals. I then use the hybrid model of moral panics (Klocke and Muschert 2010) (Appendix B) to make sense of the answers to my research question and to determine whether or not the fare evasion discourse for each case can be characterized as a moral panic. Lastly, I introduce my hypothesis that was based upon my conclusions from the results.

## Crime

In the case of both New York City and Copenhagen, the majority of narratives about fare evasion concerning crime can be characterized as hegemonic fare evasion discourse. In both cities, actors such as the PTCs and the police used the media to frame fare evasion as a dangerous crime and portray fare evaders as dangerous criminals. In the media in New York City, narratives supporting this framing of fare evasion used individual and exceptional cases of evaders who were also wanted for more severe crimes to create a perception of danger and evoke emotional responses from the public. Similarly, in Copenhagen, media narratives that centered individual cases of fare evaders assaulting controllers as evidence of a national problem characterized fare evaders as a group the public should fear. These portrayals of fare evaders

contribute to the construction of fare evaders as folk devils, a deviant group that threatens society. However, in the case of New York City, the profile of the evader/folk devil was more specific because it was racialized. I believe the fare evader/folk devil profile was not as explicitly racialized in Copenhagen because, in Denmark, there is not the same context racial historical context.

Media narratives in New York City and Copenhagen rely on ideologies and pseudoscience to promote the urban myth that fare evasion is a threat to public safety. The ideology that this myth mainly rests on is the theory of broken windows policing. As mentioned by several interviewees, the framing of fare evasion as a dangerous crime is grounded in the style of broken windows thinking. In this framework, fare evasion is portrayed as a gateway crime to more serious crimes such as murder or assault, two examples given in New York City and Copenhagen, respectively. Promoting broken windows policing theories in hegemonic fare evasion discourse generates the perception of danger. It evokes emotional fear-based responses from the public that justify and legitimize the priority of crime and safety policies in both case studies' transportation systems. Media narratives in New York City claimed rising crime in the subway system tied to fare evasion as justification for increased spending on the 1,000 police officers they introduced into the transit system. Media narratives in Copenhagen made claims of rising assaults perpetrated by fare evaders against controllers to justify increased surveillance of passengers with the implementation of cameras that could be activated on the whims of the controller.

The PTCs' use of unreliable statistics and anecdotal abstractions is the pseudoscience supporting the myth that fare evasion poses a threat to public safety. In New York City, the statistics on crime provided by the MTA show that crime in the subway has decreased debunking

the many media narratives that claimed it was rising. In the case of Copenhagen, statistics about

assaults on controllers or crime in public transportation are not made public and actual numbers

are not used to back up claims of danger made in the articles. The reliance on anecdotes as

opposed to statistics is an example of disproportionality that moral panics rely on because the

statistics on crime do not have to align with the narratives. Instead, moral entrepreneurs in New

York City and Copenhagen rely on individual cases of crime perpetrated by fare evaders as

abstractions to play on the public's perception of safety. The framing of fare evasion as a threat

to public safety is a prime example of how PTCs in New York City and Copenhagen use the

media to govern by fear and create consensus around policies that increase mechanisms of social

control.

In the case of New York City, there were media narratives present concerning the theme

of crime that I characterize as subversive fare evasion discourse. These narratives usually came

from transit activists and advocates who, in the light of the 2019 MTA crackdown on fare

evasion, reframed the control of fare evasion as a threat to marginalized communities. The high

volume of articles containing links to viral videos of police brutality against riders of color

subverted any claims the MTA made that their policies of control were neutral and rational. This

framing of control also demonstrates how an increase in crime and safety transport policies does

not increase safety for all riders. While riders who are not deemed a threat by the PTCs may have

an increased perception of safety, the physical safety and wellbeing of riders of color who were

labeled as fare evaders/folk devils are put at risk by such policies. This portrayal of the control of

fare evasion furthers the interests of New Yorkers of color whose mobility is threatened by such

policies.

## Economics and Class

Media narratives concerning the theme of economics put forth by the PTCs in Copenhagen and New York City serve as a form of moral regulation that reinforces normative neoliberal transport policies. Similar to the response of Western countries to the 2008 financial crisis, in both cases, media narratives place the responsibility for the debt accrued by the PTCs and other service issues on the debt of individual evaders. In the case of New York City, this can be seen in articles that feature Governor Cuomo's announcements of revenue losses resulting from fare evasion. These revenue losses were described as massive losses warranting more spending on crime and safety measures to recover them. The revenue losses also serve as a way for the city and the MTA to make fare evaders the scapegoat for the poor quality of service and the MTA's massive debt. In the case of Copenhagen, articles that feature extreme individual cases of fare evaders racking up enormous debts work to sensationalize the issue and make the losses from fare evasion seem much more significant than they are. In both cases, these narratives fail to look into the reasons causing people to evade so much. Instead, they frame fare evasion as an individual moral failing that negatively affects society and needs control. By printing these articles, the media enforces moral regulation within the normative neoliberalism governance framework. Individuals are characterized as self-governing responsible citizens who are independently responsible for avoiding societal harms through consumption of the fare. By promoting this message of moral regulation, these narratives blame individuals for not being able to afford the ticket and therefore justify the lack of provision of state services such as reduced social fares or fare-free public transit. The PTCs and municipalities in New York City and Copenhagen avoid taking responsibility for structural issues within their organizations and

mobilize narratives focusing on revenue losses from fare evasion to create disaffected consent for the implementation of policies of social control as the solution to a much larger structural issue.

When the claims mentioned above are compared to the actual financial statistics of the PTCs, the narratives lose their urgency. As mentioned in the results, when I calculated the actual amount out of the total budget and total debts of the PTCs that fare evasion losses account for, it was well under 1% in both cases. When compared with the broader financial picture and the arguments made by my interviewees, the disproportionality of this media narrative and reality reveals that revenue loss from fare evasion is not a legitimate urban social issue. The narrative that fare evaders are to blame for structural financial issues used to justify social control loses its validity. This sentiment supports the idea that the MTA politicizes fare evasion when they need to reinforce their hegemony so that governing decisions made during election and budget times work in their favor. Similar to the way instances of crime and assaults against controllers were reported, the amplification of stories about revenue losses and individual fare evader debts are abstractions used to establish consensus and discourage the behavior and thinking that could threaten the hegemony of normative neoliberalism.

The results of my content analysis reveal that actors on both ends of the spectrum politicize fare evasion and its enforcement to justify different logics about how the city should distribute and manage public resources. In New York City, transit activists and advocates promote economic narratives about affordability and frame fare evasion as a class issue based on economic inequality. This narrative justified the lines of argument that the MTA and the city government should change their priorities and spend public resources on increasing accessibility of public. In the case of Copenhagen, there was not a present debate over how public resources

should have been spent in regards to fare evasion and control because the spending habits of the PTC mainly went unquestioned. The only hints at a debate were in articles discussing the possibility of a free fare for homeless riders which was shut down with the conclusion that not only was it unfair to paying customers to spend public resources on those who could not afford tickets, it was not the responsibility of the PTCs to spend public resources on affordability or accessibility for low-income riders. Markussen comment that the PTCs did not want Passagerpulsen to receive another round of funding because they don't like when public funding is questioned demonstrates that the PTCs are trying to control the economic narratives.

Debates over fare evasion are not present in Copenhagen primarily because of a lack of transparency from the PTCs. The lack of available financial statistics regarding fare evasion in Copenhagen makes it challenging to know how much they are spending, making it even harder to debate or suggest different ways to distribute those resources. And as Markussen said, the PTCs' refusal to disclose this information almost confirms that the amount of money they spend on the control of fare evasion is not in the best interest of the public. This lack of financial transparency makes it difficult to hold PTCs accountable be or justify criticism of their narratives. The PTCs do not like their hegemony to be challenged, and by refusing to be transparent, they prevent the fare evasion discourse from containing stronger subversive narratives.

## Morality

For both case studies, morality-themed narratives frame fare evasion as a deviant and immoral act that threatens society and must be managed through policies of increased social control. The foundation of these narratives lies in the classification of moral users of public

transportation and immoral users of public transportation. Fare evasion is initially classified as immoral in both case studies beginning with narratives that argue that fare evasion is unfair to paying users and that paying users suffer consequences due to the immoral actions of fare evaders. In reality, there is not necessarily a causal relationship between fare evasion and users' experience on public transportation. Nevertheless, this argument creates a distinction between the two groups, potentially turning paying users of public transportation against fare evaders, laying the foundation for the designation of fare evaders as folk devils. Solidifying the designation as folk devils, PTCs use crime as a theme to frame fare evaders as immoral and potentially dangerous criminals. These narratives use the theme of morality to establish a deviant group that moral entrepreneurs, such as the PTCs and municipal governments, can use to evoke feelings of fear in those who read these articles and use that fear to further their neoliberal governing interests.

Media narratives in Copenhagen specifically use morality to distinguish between good and bad fare evaders. It was not common for articles in Copenhagen's data set to portray fare evaders positively. However, when they did, the fare evaders had what the journalists' deemed as good intentions. These narratives only encouraged empathy for individuals who had intended to pay the fare. Empathy was not encouraged in the same way for those who could not pay the fare for financial reasons. The term "cheat" was never used for people who evaded the fare incidentally, only for evaders who did it knowingly. That vocabulary itself has moral implications. Even though these narratives portrayed a portion of fare evaders positively, it is not remotely subversive discourse. Discourse that rewards users who intended to pay the fare with leniency is a form of moral regulation. Even though they may have broken the rule by accident, they had no intention of breaking neoliberal norms of consumption and individual responsibility.

## Transport Justice and Race

In the case of New York City, narratives engaging with the theme of transport justice and race frame fare evasion as an urban issue that sits at the nexus of a plethora of societal issues stemming from urban inequalities. Transport justice narratives concerning affordability framed fare evasion as a decision resulting from poverty and class inequality. Transit activists and advocates generated discourse that exposed the social consequences of the control of fare evasion. They revealed the flaws in New York City's moral entrepreneur's racialized construction of fare evaders as folk devils by circulating the report that proved fare controllers unfairly targeted public transportation users of color. Narratives of transport justice called attention to the intersections of race and class by illustrating the criminalization of people of color in poverty who could be stuck in a cycle of debt due to fines, arrests, or other punishments given out by fare controllers. These narratives can be characterized under the theme of transport justice because they engage with all-embracing conceptualizations of justice. Marginalized urban communities in New York city experience intersecting forms of oppression. Media narratives characterized by transport justice expose how those intersecting forms of oppression are present in the control of fare evasion. They call for intersecting forms of justice such as racial justice, economic justice, and social justice within the context of fare evasion and beyond.

The articles covering the FTP protests demonstrate how transport justice facilitates solidarity between intersecting pursuits of justice. A crucial component of transport justice is not just revealing injustices spatially produced by transit but reimagining a transit system in which there is justice. While fare evasion and its enforcement are just a small component of that system, as proven earlier, its social consequences are wide-reaching and long-term. The articles

include quotes from organizers and activists calling for various demands such as prison abolition, the defunding of police, and police free public transit. Discourse generated from transit activists and advocates ties fare evasion to those demands by framing it as another unjust form of social control of marginalized communities. Two of my interviewees mentioned how the fare evasion discourse from the FTP protests laid the necessary groundwork for BLM discourses to take off in New York City after the murder of George Floyd, indicating how crucial transport justice discourse can be at enabling solidarity between intersecting pursuits of justice.

Additionally, narratives at the intersection of transport justice and economics reimagine and subvert the MTA's and New York City municipality's ideas about how public resources should be distributed and managed similarly to how Enright discusses how transit activists are commoning transportation. Commoning transportation requires a transit system that is distributed and managed by and for the community divorced from capitalist markets. Discourses in New York City that discuss the possibility of a transportation system without police/controllers, without a fare, and without the threat of prison are calling for a transportation system with community accountability and accessibility. Just a discussion of those demands is a threat to neoliberal hegemony over transport policies and urban politics.

Copenhagen significantly differed in this regard because there was barely any discourse containing narratives of transport justice or race. However, this does not mean that there is nothing to debate or improve upon concerning the control of fare evasion in Copenhagen. There is a much greater degree of transparency with the MTA in New York City than with the PTCs in Copenhagen. Even if the financial data reported by the MTA is not reliable, they are still legally compelled to release information on the demographics for which individuals were arrested for fare evasion at which stations and spending and losses. While the presence of this discourse in

the media has not changed transit policy in New York as of yet, it led to a greater degree of transparency which made it easier to begin to reframe the issue of fare evasion. Additionally, an official advocacy group for public transport users funded by the Danish government may dissuade potential transit activists from acting outside formal grievance avenues. While in New York City, several private, non-governmental organizations serve as advocates for public transportation users that are not as official or accessible avenues to air grievances, possibly encouraging transit activists to speak out on their own.

## Technological

Media narratives concerning technology present in both cases frame fare evasion as an issue with a technological fix. In both Copenhagen and New York City articles held material infrastructure such as bus doors, emergency gates, and phone payment systems responsible for making fare evasion possible. While problems with these material aspects of fare enforcement were cited, the main solution suggested and implemented was increased surveillance technology. Several of my interviewees in New York City remarked about the broken ticketing machines in low income neighborhoods and how these never seemed to get fixed. Proposing surveillance as a technological fix does not make much sense when perhaps fixing the ticketing machine would enable more users to actually pay. However, this reveals they are more interested in social control rather than actually getting people to pay.

## Hybrid Model of Moral Panic

Through analyzing the types of narratives characterized by each major theme, I have demonstrated how some of the media discourses of fare evasion in Copenhagen and New York

City align with theorizations of moral panic. To determine if fare evasion discourse in Copenhagen and New York can genuinely be considered a moral panic, I have analyzed my results using the moral panic hybrid model created by Klocke and Muschert (2010) (Appendix B).

My results indicate that in the case of fare evasion discourse in New York City, all stages of moral panic were met. The cultivation stage began with existing value conflicts over how the city should be spending public resources and value conflicts over policing practices. Theories of broken windows policing were the frame through which these problems had been viewed in the past. In the contextual background of the case, I identified an earlier moral panic, or series of panics, about graffiti and safety in the subway system from the 1970s-1990s. New Yorkers did held these older concerns about the transportation system at the precipice of the moral panic over fare evasion. New York City's public transportation system used to be dangerous for users, and the memory of that danger still haunts users. Additionally, the poor state of service provision and the deteriorating subway infrastructure were preexisting issues for New Yorkers. These concerns were then manipulated by moral entrepreneurs in the later operation stage of the panic. Through my content analysis, I was able to identify the MTA, the NYPD, and the governor's office as the moral entrepreneurs driving the majority of hegemonic fare evasion discourse.

An episode that my interviewees identified as one of the precipitating events of the panic was the DA's announcement that his office would no longer be prosecuting fare evasion. Another contributing factor that occurred around the same time as the DA's announcement was a report released outlining the racialized practices of fare enforcers. Seeing that this could affect the everyday operations of the MTA, NYPD, and the greater criminal justice system motivated the moral entrepreneurs to predict that if fare evasion was not prosecuted, the public

transportation system would once again become a disorderly and dangerous place. Consequences of fare evasion were distorted in the media using individual cases and data that lacked credibility. The issue was then magnified as media discourses used their distorted narratives to tie the current issue of fare evasion to public safety. Moral entrepreneurs then used discursive patterns about crime and economics to typify the behavior of the folk devils/fare evaders as immoral, dangerous, and selfish at the expense of paying riders. The moral entrepreneurs scapegoated fare evaders as the cause of most problems with the public transportation system. Certain media discourses promoted moral regulation, suggesting increased surveillance and fare enforcement of fare evaders, using public safety and revenue losses as justification. Institutionalization was achieved when additional police officers were introduced public transit system.

The moral panic's dissipation was caused mainly by another social crisis that caught the public's attention. While dissolution began to occur with transit activists' and advocates' challenges to the moral panic through subversive fare evasion discourse and the FTP movements, this process was not fully completed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, ridership was at an all-time low, decreasing the relevance of fare evasion and its enforcement. Because the challenge to the moral panic was not seen all the way through, a degree of transformation has occurred because the increased number of police in the transportation system would indicate an institutional change in support of moral regulation. However, there was also a degree of transformation socially and ideologically against the moral regulation of fare evasion, as can be seen in the demands from the FTP actions continuing in the larger BLM movement, a movement that stands against the moral regulation and social control of marginalized communities.

In regards to the case of Copenhagen, fare evasion discourse cannot be wholly characterized as a moral panic, even though some of the narratives fit within the theoretical framework. I was not able to find past moral panics or chronological cultivation of a new moral panic. Even though the bus system has been around for longer, this could be because the metro is relatively new compared to New York City's subway, only having been opened in 2002. Additionally, there does not seem to be an active threat to the current operations of the PTCs. However, instead of a time-sensitive moral panic, throughout the period my data has been sourced, there seems to be a consistent presence of moral regulation within media portrayals of fare evasion. Within the fare evasion discourse in Copenhagen, I can identify media narratives that fit within some of the substages of the operation stage, such as the characterization of fare evaders as immoral through their portrayal in stories focusing on assaults on controllers or large individual sums of debt. Those same narratives worked to distort the issue. These media narratives were then used to justify moral regulation by implementing increased camera surveillance and an increased number of controllers, which indicates a degree of institutionalization.

Applying different theorizations of moral panic to interpret the results of my content analysis and my utilization of the model exposes the social consequences of fare evasion discourse and its policy implications. My identification of hegemonic fare evasion discourse's role in creating a moral panic in New York and its role in the sustainment of moral regulation in Copenhagen reveals how hegemonic fare evasion discourse endorses neoliberal transport policies that produce spatial justice in the urban landscape. The PTCs and municipalities politicize fare evasion to justify moral regulation and social control policies that enforce the hegemonic order of neoliberal governance. On the other hand, fare evasion transit activists and advocates also

politicize fare evasion to reveal the intersecting urban inequalities at the heart of fare evasion and justify new forms of distributing and managing public resources that subvert neoliberal governance. My research has demonstrated how fare evasion can be used as a discursive tool to negotiate the ways in which urban space and its inhabitants are governed.

# Conclusion

By analyzing fare evasion discourse in the news from the past eleven years in Copenhagen and New York City, I have identified various frameworks within which fare evasion is portrayed in the media and the actors and interests that benefit from those portrayals. In both case studies, I identified PTCs and the municipal governments as the main actors driving the hegemonic fare evasion discourse in the media. I identified transit activists and advocates as actors engaging in subversive fare evasion discourse in the media in New York City. While there was not a great deal of subversive fare evasion discourse in the media in Copenhagen, the few subversive discourses that were present were driven by the advocacy group Passagerpulsen. I used content analysis to determine the major themes that characterize fare evasion discourse in each case study. Based on the results of my coding, crime, economics, transport justice, race, and class were the major themes comprising fare evasion discourse in New York City. In Copenhagen, the major fare evasion discourse themes were crime, economics, morality, and technology.

My further analysis of the text I coded at these themes demonstrates how the actors framed and portrayed fare evasion. The application of theorizations of moral panic to my analysis of the framings and portrayals of fare evasion reveals the interests that motivate such discourse. My interviewees also provided me with crucial information about urban political

interests generating discourse in both case studies. I found that in both New York City and Copenhagen, PTCs and municipal governments framed fare evasion as a crime and portrayed the act of fare evasion and its perpetrators as dangerous. Additionally, these same actors framed fare evasion as an individual moral failing and portrayed fare evasion as an unethical decision with negative economic consequences for society. I classify the PTCs, the media, and municipal governments from both case studies as moral entrepreneurs because their portrayals of fare evasion are motivated by their desire to enforce the hegemony of neoliberal urban policies through increased social control. In the media in New York City, I found that transit activists and advocates framed fare evasion as a systemic racial and class issue caused by urban inequalities. They portrayed fare evasion as a decision that arises out of the necessity for marginalized communities to maintain access to the city and its opportunities.  I characterize these framings and portrayals as subversive fare evasion discourse because transit activists and advocates are motivated by their interest in transforming how public resources are distributed and managed throughout the city. However, in Copenhagen, there was not a significant presence of subversive fare evasion discourse.

While my research determines the presence of a moral panic over fare evasion in New York City, media discourse in Copenhagen only met some qualifications of the hybrid model of moral panics (Klocke and Muschert 2010) (Appendix B). However, though there was no full-flung moral panic over fare evasion in Copenhagen, my application of the hybrid model reveals that there were still frequent and meaningful messages of moral regulation. These messages worked to sustain consensus around the status quo and dissuade any challenges to their profit-driven fare enforcement policies. My analysis of media portrayals of fare evasion in Copenhagen shows that even in a city with more social-democratic values where there is no active crisis over

transportation issues taking place, fare evasion is discursively politicized to enforce neoliberal hegemony over transport policies. The answers to my research questions facilitate the formulation of my hypothesis that various urban actors use fare evasion as a discursive tool to negotiate the way urban space and its inhabitants are governed.

The qualitative mixed methods approach taken in this thesis was the most effective for identifying various media portrayals of fare evasion and understanding the intent behind them. The semi-structured interviews provide nuanced individual perspectives that enhance the results of my content analysis because I was able to contribute to the viewpoints of actors involved in generating fare evasion discourse. However, the small sample size of interviewees from Copenhagen limits my understanding of local perspectives. Media content analysis enables me to illustrate how fare evasion is conceptualized and debated by urban actors. Using moral panics as a lens through which to analyze fare evasion discourse in the media exposes the subtext and interests beneath the surface of the discourse. It situates it within the urban political context of each case study. As a result of the exploratory nature of my research, my hypothesis requires further testing, and until then, its salience is limited.

However, I suggest that my hypothesis inform future studies regarding fare evasion and other transport issues. My research demonstrates how urban actors politicize fare evasion to justify policies that protect their political interests. The analysis of discourse informed by theories of transport justice reveals how the issue of fare evasion is intersectional as it is related to a plethora of social issues impacting urban inhabitants. I show how debates over fare evasion in the media are representative of much larger conflicts over societal norms in New York City and Copenhagen. Further research should be conducted to determine if debates over fare evasion in other cities are politicized similarly and for what means. My research proves the usefulness of

integrating moral panic research and media content analysis in the field of transportation because its exposure of interests motivating media portrayals of fare evasion debunks the arguments that transportation is solely rational, efficient, and technological. The different discursive constructions of fare evasion in the media in New York City and Copenhagen demonstrate how the media is a forum through which actors can enforce hegemonic forms of the distribution and management of transportation and urban space. It also demonstrates how the media is a forum to share imaginaries of the commoning of transportation and urban space.

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# Appendix A – Codebook

Table 1: Codebook for Content Analysis

| Thematic Codes | Subthemes/Keywords | Description |
|---|---|---|
| Crime | Police<br>Criminal<br>criminalization<br>Violence<br>Arrest<br>illegal | The unit of analysis frames fare evasion and control in terms of an issue of urban crime and crime prevention. Subthemes can be made referenced to or referred to literally as keywords. |
| Security | Threat<br>Public Safety<br>Surveillance | The unit of analysis frames fare evasion as a security issue and fare control as a security mechanism to enforce safety. |
| Morality | Cheat<br>Free riding | The unit of analysis frames fares evasion as a moral issue, placing judgment on individual evaders. |
| Technological | Fare collection system<br>Surveillance<br>Material | The unit of analysis frames fare evasion as an issue that can be addressed with technological fixes. This can include technological suggestions or judgments of current fare control technology. Also includes mention of different fare collection systems. |
| Economics | Revenue<br>Spending<br>Debt<br>Affordability | The unit of analysis frames fare evasion as an economic issue for transportation companies or municipalities. Discusses financial losses or gains and profit maximization. |
| Civil Society | Activists<br>Protest<br>Advocacy | The unit of analysis mentions ways in which civil society addresses fare evasion and control. Could include mentions of NGOS, activists, direct actions or advocacy. |
| Transport Justice | inequality<br>Accessibility<br>Affordability<br>Racial justice | The unit of analysis frames fare evasion and control as unjust due to issues covered in the subthemes. Could also suggest methods to make fare control more just. |
| Race | Profiling<br>Racial Justice<br>Inequality | The unit of analysis frames fare evasion and control in a racial context. Can make mention of racist practices such as profiling. Can also demand changes to fare enforcement practices in an attempt to contribute to racial justice. |
| Class | Homelessness<br>Affordability<br>inequality | The unit of analysis frames fare evasion and control in terms of issues of urban class dynamics. |
| Immigration | Illegal<br>Deportation | The unit of analysis makes mention of how immigrants are effects by fare evasion and control. |
| Deterrence | | The unit of analysis argues for the ending of fare evasion and may make suggestions to deter future evasion. |
| Positively refers to fare evaders | | The unit of analysis may justify fare evaders' actions or appear sympathetic to their circumstances. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Negatively refers to fare evaders | | The unit of analysis may disparage fare evaders or put the responsibility or blame on the individual fare evader. |
| Positively refers to controllers | | The unit of analysis encourages the work of the controller or praises them for their work. |
| Negatively refers to controllers | | The unit of analysis may disparage fare evaders or expose bad practices of control. |
| Positively refers to the public transportation company | | The unit of analysis refers to the PTC as a benevolent actor that works in the interest of the public. |
| Negatively refers to the public transportation company | | The unit of analysis questions whether the PTC actually works in the interest of the public. The unit of analysis argues against practices of the PTC. |

*Source: Author.*

# Appendix B – A Hybrid Model of Moral Panics

Table 1: A Hybrid Model of Moral Panic

1. Cultivation: the emergence of conditions, actors, and discourses that make the growth of a MP more likely, such as the following:

- Conflict among competing moral universes and/or rapid social change

- Economic or political crisis

- Media attention/public concern about related social problems

2. Operation: processes that function during a MP

   a. Episode – coverage of the shocking event or series of events that identify the problem/threat

     i. Distortion – descriptions of the event and the deviants are exaggerated

     ii. Prediction – there is a prediction of future deviance

    iii. Symbolization – dramatic images and symbols are attached to the problem behavior

   b. Magnification – the period of intense attention and prolonged media coverage to the causes and consequences of the threat, represented by a shift from media inventorying the episode to value-laden sense-making activities

     i. Moralization – identification of the folk devils and why they are a threat to the social order, and a typification of their behavior as representative of the danger they pose/problem they embody

     ii. Officiation – increasing involvement of police, experts & officials, moral entrepreneurs, and community leaders through media interviews, press releases, public statements, etc

     iii. Amplification – Coverage of the panic becomes themed and a re-occurring feature. Media focuses on heightened public concern evidenced by opinion polls, letters to editor, protests, web pages, blogs, etc

   c. Regulation – the advocation of strong measures of social control through the media, to deter, manage, or eradicate the threat, often met with varying levels of resistance

     i. Surveillance – calls for law enforcement, other officials and the public to be vigilant and to report suspicious behavior

     ii. Mobilization – gathering of personnel and resources for civic, legislative, and law enforcement action to manage the problem, as well as the mobilization of resistance groups countering the demonization of the folk devils

     iii. Institutionalization – implementation of new structures of governance or enforcement, creation of social movement organizations and counter-organizations, passage of new laws or tougher penalties. If resistant groups are successful in critiquing the MP, institutionalization will not occur

3. Dissipation: the receding of a MP from the public limelight.

• Normalization – a new hegemony is established (e.g., the new normal – living with the threat)

• Transformation – the panic results in social, ideological, and/or institutional change either in support of moral regulation or in opposition to it

• Dissolution – the moral panic is challenged or debunked, offending behavior drops off, or another pressing social problem takes its place)

• Re-circulation – aspects of the MP are reproduced into the discourse or social dynamics of a new     MP, or become a more permanent feature of prominent discourses of social risks and moral regulation

# Appendix C – Tables Depicting the Number of References Directly Coded at Each Node

*"Crime"*

Table 1: Number of References Directly Coded at "Crime" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | Number of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Crime | 6 |
| Police | 37 |
| Criminal | 7 |
| Criminalization | 1 |
| Violence | 77 |
| Arrest | 24 |
| Illegal | 8 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 2: Number of References Directly Coded at "Crime" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Crime | 83 |
| Police | 249 |
| Criminal | 50 |
| Criminalization | 57 |
| Violence | 111 |
| Arrest | 79 |
| Illegal | 24 |

## "Security"

Table 3: Number of References Directly Coded at "Security" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Security | 16 |
| Threat | 16 |
| Public Safety | 12 |
| Surveillance | 22 |

Table 4: Number of References Directly Coded at "Security" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Security | 12 |
| Threat | 11 |
| Public Safety | 69 |
| Surveillance | 27 |

## "Morality"

Table 5: Number of References Directly Coded at "Morality" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Morality | 68 |
| Cheat | 40 |
| Free riding | 10 |

Table 6: Number of References Directly Coded at "Morality" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Morality | 75 |
| Cheat | 8 |
| Free riding | 18 |

*Source: Author.*

## "Technological"

Table 7: Number of References Directly Coded at "Technological" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Technological | 20 |
| Fare collection system | 37 |
| Surveillance | 22 |
| Material | 13 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 8: Number of References Directly Coded at "Technological" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Technological | 7 |
| Fare collection system | 24 |
| Surveillance | 27 |
| Material | 52 |

*Source: Author.*

## "Economics"

Table 9: Number of References Directly Coded at "Economics" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Economics | 9 |
| Revenue | 28 |
| Spending | 4 |
| Debt | 48 |
| Affordability | 16 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 10: Number of References Directly Coded at "Economics" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Economics | 8 |
| Revenue | 25 |
| Spending | 101 |
| Debt | 135 |
| Affordability | 73 |

*Source: Author.*

## "Civil Society"

Table 11: Number of References Directly Coded at "Civil Society" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Civil Society | 21 |

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Activists | 2 |
| Protest | 0 |
| Advocacy | 19 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 12: Number of References Directly Coded at "Civil Society" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Civil Society | 1 |
| Activists | 71 |
| Protest | 55 |
| Advocacy | 66 |

*Source: Author.*

## "Transport Justice"

Table 13: Number of References Directly Coded at "Transport Justice" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Transport Justice | 3 |
| Inequality | 3 |
| Accessibility | 3 |
| Affordability | 10 |
| Racial justice | 0 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 14: Number of References Directly Coded at "Transport Justice" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|

| | |
|---|---|
| Transport Justice | 83 |
| Inequality | 110 |
| Accessibility | 20 |
| Affordability | 74 |
| Racial justice | 25 |

*Source: Author.*

## "Race"

Table 15: Number of References Directly Coded at "Race" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Race | 2 |
| Profiling | 1 |
| Racial Justice | 0 |
| Inequality | 6 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 16: Number of References Directly Coded at "Race" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|---|---|
| Race | 5 |
| Profiling | 110 |
| Racial Justice | 19 |
| Inequality | 98 |

*Source: Author.*

## "Class"

Table 17: Number of References Directly Coded at "Class" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Class | 0 |
| Homelessness | 18 |
| Affordability | 18 |
| Inequality | 4 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 18: Number of References Directly Coded at "Class" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Class | 14 |
| Homelessness | 35 |
| Affordability | 76 |
| Inequality | 73 |

*Source: Author.*

## "Immigration"

Table 19: Number of References Directly Coded at "Immigration" and Its Child Nodes, Copenhagen

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Immigration | 14 |
| Deportation | 4 |
| Illegal | 1 |

*Source: Author.*

Table 20: Number of References Directly Coded at "Immigration" and Its Child Nodes, New York City

| Node | # of Direct References |
|------|------------------------|
| Immigration | 13 |
| Deportation | 17 |
| Illegal | 1 |

*Source: Author.*

# Appendix D – Interview Transcripts

## Interviewee A

April 19, 2021
Male, Journalist in New York City

**Can you tell me your relationship between public transportation and your job?**

Since I started working here I've been covering transportation for about five years. The way fare evasion has mostly come up is in the context of the MTA promoting its fare evasion numbers as something the public should be concerned about. And I think, I'll just say straight up, that I think that like talking about fare evasion allows the MTA to distract from more complicated thorny problems within its own organization. And gives the press a clear narrative to report out. And I think, I personally do not care about fare evasion. I think that bus fare evasion has been incredibly widespread in New York through the back door or just through bus drivers not wanting to enforce the fare for decades. And I think turnstile jumping, the rate of turnstile jumping, and subway fare evasion are actually pretty low and it doesn't have to do with the people doing it, it has to do with how easy it is.

**Is there a certain narrative about fare evasion you are encouraged to report as a journalist?**

The MTA put out a video showing that people of all different colors cut the fares. Obviously, we know that when they say they are going to enforce fare evasion that's not what they are talking about. My employer is not interested in thinking critically about whether fare evasion is good or bad, or an important concern or not. And I think that's true for a majority of media outlets in the city. I happen to write for a more conservative newspaper, but like nobody at the New York Times, no editor there thinks fare evasion is a concern. And when I talk to my sources who remember New York's bad days and sort of have that sort of politic, like they see fare evasion and turnstile enforcement as a broken windows style way to weed out bad guys from entering the subway. And I think that that comes from the desire to create stories and issues that aren't about service being awful. I don't know how it's covered in other cities. I just sort of assume they don't make as big of a deal about it because they dont...there's just a lot of racism in America.

**Has there been a shift at all in recent years in the way fare evasion is reported on?**

I went to an event a couple of years ago where different people were talking about different types of fare media. There was a woman from Finland and a guy from Britain there and the guy from London was on the panel. And somebody asked "what do you do about fare evasion?" and he said, "we don't care about fare evasion because 97% of our customers pay the fare and our customers preferred not to be harassed constantly about whether or not they paid their fares." They think about it from a customer service delivery perspective. Like how does fare evasion enforcement relate to improving the experience for the rest of the people? And they determined it wasn't. And I think there was like a really troubling, I think it's really interesting though when Andy Byford, somebody from London, somebody with international experience came to New York, I don't know if he was told to do it or if he truly believes it is an issue, but definitely hammered home the issue of fare evasion as a concern. And it was weird because it seemed like he didn't really think it was a concern but he also understood he needed to crack down on it.

I think it's almost like, there's a lot of political dynamics between the city of New York and the governor of New York that often play out in policing issues. Like if you look at Cuomo's record, he has a history of adding more state police to New York City. And I think that fare evasion at a certain point, serves as a way for the state to be tough on crime in New York City and create a narrative about that as opposed to...I think fare evasion started getting talked about after Byford comes in and he announces his plan for revamping the subway and then service kind of improved and the topic immediately went to fare evasion in late 2018. There is so much that goes on in government and international policing that I don't understand and I wonder if they are all getting advice from the same contractor.

**What would you say the major narratives are in the media when it comes to fare evasion?**

Well, it's interesting because I think that maybe it has to do with the sheer amount of media. You can have seven outlets reporting that fare evasion is an issue but you can have one or two that are saying to chill out. I think the way the MTA talks about fare evasion is in terms of how much money they are losing. I've always found that to be a pretty specious argument because who is to say that 100% of farebeaters will pay their fare, who is to say that they can pay their fare? But it creates a really easy narrative and it's really interesting to see every that every type of news outlet almost is capable of regurgitating the MTA line which has a lot of implications that news outlets don't take responsibility for. And it's not just print and Web media, it's also TV stations that are all center-right in their political orientation whether they say it or not.

I think among reporters and advocates in the New York city transportation ecosystem there is an awareness of the consequences of the fare evasion discussion. What I found as a reporter is that it is much harder to make clear in more or less objective reporting that something is wrong when the agency is making it so clear that this is a problem. And on top of that, you have NYPD which

we will talk about in terms of broken windows, and the fact that the agency is broke and forced to ask everybody and their mother for money. And if the fare evasion stuff is out there and they need a handful of state senators to support them, the MTA isn't going to want to convey all of the nuances of New York City social systems to explain fare evasion. They feel like they need to be accountable for the fact that people are cutting the fares. I don't think that the people making transportation policy are particularly conscious of race and the ways that race plays out in policing. And I think a lot of bureaucrats want to separate the two because they do have positive interactions with police because they're all part of state government. I don't know that anybody at the MTA considered that when they call for more cops and fare evasion enforcement that there was going to be a bunch of nasty viral videos of police treating people horribly. I don't think anyone considered that. And that's like "duh" to anyone who has watched New York for the last 7 to 8 years. Everyone has got a camera and cops do stupid things. You have to be prepared for that.

So if that's what is interesting about the relationship between the MTA and the NYPD. Because if a New York City police officer does something bad because the MTA said fare evasion was an issue, it's not actually on the MTA, the MTA can wash their hands of it. There is one article I wrote about this when Andy Byford was talking about how there need to be cops on busses to enforce fare evasion, which again, like what I said about bus fare evasion: a tale as old as time. And I tried to write about it and I found that my editor didn't have enough experience writing in nuanced ways about crime and safety and race all in one nugget to make the story coherent. I think they've gotten better at it. But even when I had the freedom to criticize as much as I want it was not a thing. I am actually pretty ashamed that I saw this thing that made me outraged and I couldn't figure out how to present it in a way...media institutions need to actually have a completely different set of values and priorities in order to cover these things differently I think.

**Were new topics regarding fare evasion introduced in the media after the FTP actions?**

I'm trying to...it's weird because the FTP stuff happened so soon before COVID. That was January. So it is hard for me to gauge what impact it had and who was moved by those actions. From the MTA's perspective, a bunch of kids broke a bunch of OMNY machines and it cost them some money. The MTA is very good at talking about criminals and crime occurring in its system. And I think that giving them the opportunity to portray the system as out of control feeds into some of their narratives but it's kind of complicated because they want people to feel confident enough to ride the train. But I also like, I feel like the FTP actions represented an undercurrent belief that exists among many New Yorkers that a lot of the response to fare evasion and the police presence in the subway system is an overreaction and misdirected. Even in the context of...even people who say that crime is out of control in the subway will say the cops just stand around in groups of six at the turnstile. I think that the FTP stuff, I see it more

like a blip of expression in a larger situation. Because I feel like the really viral videos happened in late 2019 and then that protest was in January and then covid started in March.

And also, another interesting thing about this, I don't really know if it closes the circle here but the MTA's fare evasion stats and methodology is really flawed and have been criticized by the MTA inspector general as potentially overinflating and underinflating. And as their methodology has improved the fare evasion rate has increased. Which is weird because now you can't really compare their data from years ago to the data from this quarter but also the problem seems to be getting worse. And there is actually a much deeper study that needs to be done about who those people are actually and whether policing them is the proper solution. A lot of people I talk to say they are concerned about guns and crime and drugs in the system, and there is a lot of that right now, at least proportional to people. And they'll say that it doesn't really matter how high fare evasion is because the turnstile is where you catch the bad guys. I don't personally agree with that but it's not my job to argue against it necessarily, and I don't know that people outside of the far left really make very strong arguments against it.

 Which means that...and transportation advocates are progressive on policing issues, it's not like they're cheering on the MTA, they criticize the MTA for it, it's just not strong because they are also trying to work with these people and they feel the heat too when people come to them and say they're worried about crime in the subway. They don't tell those people "fuck off racist" they go, "well the way to make the subway safer is to have more people riding it and the way to make more people ride it is to run more trains." That's a lot for some people to stomach in this town.

It's weird being a reporter. You work for a company, you do what the company wants you to do. And my dream is to be able to poke holes in what the MTA is saying so that people who read my articles can make educated decisions based off of their own beliefs. But you know, its tough. I think COVID has also really changed the dynamics of the conversation where I think it is a lot easier for people to say "oh that is just a left-wing Brooklyn concern, real Black people in this city are concerned about crime." And it's hard to really know. And then we see massive protests in the streets weeks later so we know oh, that's not necessarily the whole truth. But I feel like everything is so siloed right now. When the MTA called for more cops on the train to enforce fare evasion the cops came. It was full ridership and now it's like 30-40% ridership. Everybody has their cameras out and there was a public MTA meeting at the end of the month for people to protest that. All of that is gone. And a lot of the people who drive media narratives in this city don't ride the train anymore. God willing they come back, but for now, they have been working from home.

And also you'll see the @npydsubway mention. There are accounts that are solely devoted to photographing groups of teenage boys of color entering the station without paying. Get a life. It's interesting because what the MTA hears from the people that complain to them is really important and right now what they mostly hear is from people really frustrated about people who appear mentally ill on the train. It's really interesting to see what people complain about to the government. Because that is not their whole public.

## Interviewee B

April 21, 2021
Female, Transit Activist in New York City

**Could you  describe your involvement with the FTP actions and how you heard about them?**

I mostly heard about them on intsgram through people who would post info in their stories. First, from friends of mine that I already knew and then I followed the accounts they were sharing and that's how I got most of the information but also sometimes searching through twitter, searching the tag FTP things come up. So those were my primary sources of information at the time. I think that things were also disseminated through the DSA chapter at school, but that's not how I got involved. DSA is the student socialist association. Democratic socialists of America.

**Did you attend as a protester after you heard about the actions?**

Yeah, so there were some coordinated events in New York. People went to Grand Central with signs or would ride specific lines and make sure there were a few people in every car with signs and stuff like that. I guess what is kind of interesting about that format of organization is that everybody is basically aligned on what train you are already on so the 1 train which is also the train that runs through Barnard and Columbia also runs through City College, Fordham, and a few others so my experience of it was that it was mostly people my age and mostly white transplants who were students, but I don't what the experience was for people who live on different subway lines that go through places like Brooklyn, or the Bronx, or somewhere that has less of a gentrified population. But yeah it was mostly college-aged people-ish to like maybe 26 or 27. And at the big gathering at Grand Central, there were all sorts of people, including people who came all the way from Westchester and Connecticut because people would come on the commuter lines. Which are not quite the same as the subway, but they are run by the MTA as well.

**What other kinds of practices did you see protesters using that day?**

Chants, obviously "How do you spell racist? NYPD!" was *the* chant of 2020. When we were in Grand Central and when we would pick other stations like Columbus Circle or Grand Army Plaza, which is out in Brooklyn, which I did go to once, but they had a lot of action out there that I wasn't at, all the doors would be held open. I never saw anyone gluing the swipes or doing anything to dismantle the actual system for entering the subway. But I know that it did happen. But definitely, we were holding doors open, if you had enough people you could hold the door open and stop people from interfering with you holding the door open because the MTA have their own police that are trained by the NYPD and they go through the NYPD academy but there not in the fraternal order of police technically, they're transit police. So they don't do anything except issue citations. I don't mean to say they aren't violent, I'm sure that they can be violent and I know my roommate has experienced some really severe racial aggression towards her from them but mostly they just issue citations, they're not going to arrest you.

So that was very different than the tone of the protests in June because lots of people did get arrested at the protests in June and slammed on asphalt and stuff like that but, my experience at least at the MTA protests was that they didn't know how to print enough tickets to give all the protesters a ticket for the mass fare evasion. They were just annoyed and eventually it became one of those PR things where the police are acting like they're okay with the protests. So mostly then it would become an interaction we had with them, and I say this just to mean like people were saying "Fuck you" and "Fuck the police" and "Fuck you pigs" to the transit police, but nobody was punching them. And then there was a lot of facilitating so the commuters could get through because there was a lot of contention about whether or not the protests should actually interrupt the flow of commuter traffic because some people believe that for things to change you're supposed to be making a disruption and other people believe the disruption we are trying to make is to people paying fares, not to stop people trying to get to the KFC they work at. That was tense and basically the action became making sure everyone who was getting on the subway wasn't paying. And some people still paid anyway because there were a ton of MTA officers there. So it was like the highest concentration of NYPD while you're trying to skip a fare. Then the action mostly became facilitating people getting on their trains without paying if that was something that they wanted to do.

**Have you ever had any experiences with fare enforcers or do you know of anyone who has?**

I personally have never had an issue with it. I don't evade fares that often, I am very blessed to have my work give me an unlimited pass. But in the past, I would obviously go through the door when there isn't anyone manning the station, but I never got caught. But I have had a few friends having negative experiences. One of them, she's white and her boyfriend is white and he jumped

the turnstile and let her in, and the police caught them before the train came. Because obviously you're supposed to jump fare as the train is coming. They got caught and she got a $100 fine and he got a $200 fine, like the worst fine, like the worst fine is to let someone else in than it is to go in yourself. Recently, my roommate was really badly harassed on a crosstown bus operated by the MTA. Because the crosstown bus is ticketed, it's not swiped the same way other things are, and it's kind of on an honor system. Not really, they just don't have the time to check everyone's ticket. So if you're only going three stops you can just get on and get off and nobody notices. Occasionally at certain stops the transit police will get on and check everyone's ticket. So when they got on she got off and then they chased her, when she told me the story it was really upsetting, and she had shopping bags with her and they were like "oh, did you steal those too?" and it was like oh she's black also. And it was really traumatic for her. They were very much abusing their power and they were very nasty, it was one of the more egregious ones I've heard. And they wrote her a ticket. She's gotten a ticket for not paying on the crosstown bus a ton of times and I don't know what happens, but they have never collected it.

**Before the FTP actions happened were you aware that there was an issue with racist fare enforcement practices? Was that something you had discussed before or knew about before the actions took place?**

I think it was something that I knew in the sense that of course there is but I don't think that there was a lot of discussion about it. Except when an incident would happen to one of my friends and we would tlak about it and be like oh that is terrible. Also, more in the social context I was in, [bad fare enforcement practices] it was talked about more in the context of queer and trans women who I think get profiled a lot in New York for an assumption that they're sex workers, which is another layer of vulnerability in the system. And of course, just by other default injustices, they're not economically flush, so they're using public transit and evading fares. That had come up more in discussion and that was more of a known fact that transit police really like fucking with trans women. But I think issues of race in fare policing weren't discussed at much in my social context until those actions started happening and then it was like wait these are just as important and on the same axis of power issues that our queer friends are facing.

**So did the practices of the activists also spark that debate in broader New York circles in the news or things like that?**

Eva: Yeah, I would say so. With the protests in June there was a lot going on in the national level, but I don't think that the organizing infrastructure or the electronic infrastructure like social media would have been there and would have been as cohesive if it hadn't already been partially organized in December, January, and February for the FTP protests. Because the MTA type protests ended when coronavirus started. But then all those pages and connections and

sharing of news were already in place to talk about race issues in policing. That is a roundabout way to say yes, but there was an increase of people talking about issues of race and policing with fare evasion specific to the amount of sharing that happened across the sort of instragram story phone trees.

**How did the FTP actions demonstrate the link between racial justice and transit justice?**

I think people already knew the link. I don't think it was revealed so much as it was a culmination of people finally, I guess the people who have more demonstrating power finally getting in to it. In the way, I just keep comparing it to June because they were so connected, in the way that it was like yes people knew this was a problem but there are certain surges in a confluence of factors that can create more availability of bodies for protesting. And I don't know what those were in December, January, or February. I think it's well known and not even a poorly kept secret that the transit system in New York is very racialized, and the way that people talk about taking the train is very racialized. In the context of segregation and discrimination and economic injustice, it's very obvious that in neighborhoods that are predominatly black and people of color that the stations are not as well maintained, they're not as safe, they're dirty, they're more likely to have service interruptions.

It's also known to be like there are certain stations that are stereotypically considered less safe by hoity toity upper east siders or whatever. The upper east side has the 456 which runs from the most dangerous niehgborhoods in East Harlem through some of the most fancy neighborhoods down 5th avenue. So I think people very much knew before that race was a huge issue in the MTA, but I don't know if they were necessarily thinking about it in the context of fare policing so much as they were thinking about it in the context of upkeep and service availability. Everyone in New York has a racial idea of different stops or subway lines.

**Besides the FTP actions were you aware of any other campaigns?**

So Swipe it Forward, I'm here for. I think it's cool. A friend of mine works for an organization, she's a social worker. And one of the things they provide to their clients is this two way metrocard that are a round trip, they are disposable but they have two rides. And they give them out to their clients for free. So she and some of the other people that work there will steal them and they would take stacks of them and try to distribute them to people. I don't know if this is a campaign but people who are in the know about activism and what's helpful for people will give subway cards to people who are unhoused for a few reasons. One of the reasons being that the machines to buy tickets only take a certain number of coins. Which is something that creates a real access issue for people who don't have a debit card or large denominations of cash. You can't even put $2.75 which is the cost of one fare, you can't even put that amount of coins in,

maybe if you had quarters or dollar coins, but you couldn't pay for that in dimes. And a lot of people are paying by the day with whatever dimes they have. If they are getting to a necessary appointment, or to see family, or people who are on parole and can't get to their parole meeting because they only have dimes. So I don't know if that's a campaign or just known to be helpful to give to people is like two way and one way metro cards. Obviously also give money.

Swipe it Forward was more contentious because people were worried if you just swipe for the person behind you you don't know that person [if they financially need help], you're not necessarily doing anyone a huge favor but I just think its a nice thing to do. And even if it's not immediately overturning the transit fare system it's a nice thing to do and creating more good will around sharing and around public transit is always good.

I have seen the guerilla ads. Those are another thing I would notice: I'm not trying to poke holes in the action but I think this is a good time to bring notice to the people who are doing the activism. I know for a fact there are Black activists and activists who are native to new york doing this work. That being said, the cheeky don't snitch signs are all around NYU. You would not find them at the subway stop where I lived at the time in southern harlem. They would not be at major hubs in Harlem or Brooklyn. I do think there is some graffiti work that happened Bronx at the time. But anywhere that had a sort of art for protest vibe definitely was centered around college campuses. This isn't to say that it wasn't helpful or that it wasn't part of the movement, but I think it was markedly different than the experience of being someone who skips fares.

**Why was it important for you to partake in this action?**

Taking part in the FTP actions was important for me because I really believe that public transit holds the city together, I think it's one of the most distinct things about new york. It's maybe one of the most livable things about new york, otherwise, it can be really difficult. I also knew they were planning on raising the fare again. I just really didn't want that to happen. I think access to public transport is super important and fare evading feels like a very harmless thing to me. I felt like two things were important. First I felt like calling any attention to the issues with the MTA and inequality, even if right now we are talking about fare evasion and fare policing, it's important to call any attention to race issues with the MTA because of the lack of services, in the sense of bus lines and subway lines, and lack of servicing those bus lines and subway lines in predominantly black neighborhoods is an issue.

So I think anytime we can turn the spotlight on the MTA and be like "hey we are watching you", I think is important. And then secondly, I think this year especially, which there is no way we could have seen this coming because we didn't know what was going to happen during coronavirus. At the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020, the MTA had already talked about

raising the price and then they began to proposing slashing the budget and raising the fares. And it felt like at the time that those two things aren't really what balance each other out. The money that people pay into the MTA is not what keeps the MTA running, what keeps the MTA running are grants from the federal and state governments. Which then this year Trump withheld and the budget that almost came out this year was going to slash a lot of services so I didn't know any of that then, but I'm glad the FTP actions happened because then people had their eyes more open to the fuckery that goes on behind the scenes. The narrative that always seems to come forward during elections and budget time is "well if you want the MTA to run you have to pay for it" and that's never been how it works. It's actually how you're allocating tax money. Instead of buying riot shields for the police, you could hire more people to service the MTA.

For me, it was drawing people's attention to that and challenging the narrative that's always put forward by the MTA. You don't know how many people fare evade...so are you expecting us to believe who all these people are and that you find them a proportional amount? Then why is the fine $200? So just reminding people all is not what it seems.


## Interviewee C

March 17, 2021
Female, Student in Copenhagen

**In the abstract, you mention you were inspired to research fare evasion based on your personal experiences and scenarios described by others. Could you please describe these experiences to me?**

In Denmark, zones are divided into 99 in the capital of Copenhagen. The people follow a variety of types of ticketing systems. Sometimes it makes confused people to understand the zone area especially for those who are new in Denmark and in that case, they easily get a fine about 750kr, which is sometimes for a whole month's ticketing budget for a person. I also experienced this same type of problem and received a fine.
Although people may forget to renew their ticket or sometimes their phone is run out the charge or may be the ticketing machines are not working and people are hurry to reach their destination that time they get on the train, bus or metro and caught by checker and get a fine at 750kr. In my thesis, I have explained details about the causes which are explained by the victim's own experiences through primary data.

**In your paper, you mentioned that the DSB management was unwilling to cooperate (I have also experienced a lot of difficulty talking with employees at DSB, Movia, or DOT). Could you please explain the difficulty of the process of trying to communicate with DSB?**

I emailed DSBs media and press department, but they did not reply then I called them and asked them if they could provide any information about fare evasion. Then it took few more phone calls to get a  document from them where it shows that the total amount of money raised from fine etc. (I don't really remember). But I asked them about how many ticket-checkers there are and how much money to they spend on their salary and is it worth having those people against the money collected from ticket fraud charges? They said they can't provide it.

**Why do you think they were hesitant to provide you with this information and an interview?**

I am not sure they were hesitating but over the phone conversation with DSB, I found them helpful.  Through the conversation, I came to know that the company has some confidential matter and the questions I am asking for an interview is not possible to provide.

**Do you think the topic of fare evasion is taboo in Denmark among public transportation authorities?**
I don't know.

 **Do you know why the DSB website and their annual report do not contain any information on fare evasion?**

I don't know but I asked them if they have any special portal where I can find any information about fare evasion and they said no.

**How would you describe the discourse about fare evasion in Denmark? What are the major themes that come up?**

Please follow my first answer and the project.

**Is there an open conversation between the public (riders) and the transportaϴon companies about fare evasion and ticket prices?**

In our interview with the passengers, they raised some issues, but I am not sure if there is a  conversation between the public (riders) and the transportation companies about fare evasion and  ticket prices

**Is there an open conversation between the public (riders) and the transportaϴon companies about making the ticketing system easier to understand?**
Same answer as the previous one.

**In your studies on fare evasion did you ever come across any transport activists in Denmark? Do  you know of any groups asking for fare-free public transport in Denmark?**

In our interview with the passengers, people suggested the fare could be less than what it is now, but  I cannot remember if anyone asked about fare-free transport. It was also not my intention to ask that type of question.

## Interviewee D
April 12, 2021
Male, Transit Advocate in New York City

**Through your experience working on your project did you find fare evasion to be a taboo issue? And if so, was it a taboo issue with specific groups of people or certain actors?**

Um, yeah I don't know about the word taboo. That may or may not work. People have their own ideas. There are people that feel strongly that fare evasion, as I do, our prior views...we all have our prior views and we're trying to use data to make this more concrete. But there are people that instinctively believe that this is an affordability [issue]...that a lot of people can't afford this. And the fare collection systems historically are inadequate, inequitable, and those are the problems we need to have discourse around and can address through policy solutions, you know like low income fares, improving fare collection systems, and not to mention changing our enforcement priorities or you know the NYPD's MTA police enforcement priorities.

And then there's other people who think like you know focus on the everybody should pay like this whole you know people trying to cheat the system that kind of narrative. And so there's, so over the course of the last 5 or 6 years, having a sense of I pretty quickly had a sense about who I was talking to what are their prior notions. MTA officials view it as how do we keep people out who can't pay. So many people are trying to cheat us how do we keep them out. That's how MTA officials view the problem. They didnt understand the major role of financial need and the hardships that individuals face. And then you had a lot of other folks whose…"like how do we get people in?". That's where this motivation comes from, it's about affordability, accessibility...how do we get people in not how do we keep them out.

And it's really hard...the dialogue was really lacking and went nowhere oftentimes because people are focusing on it through those two different lenses.

**To what extent do you think your work has contributed to transparency regarding fare evasion data and fare enforcement. Has local law 47 been as successful as anticipated?**

That's a great question. With all this type of work, think about what the goal is. It's easy to document racial disparities across communities that align with race, socioeconomic factors, but what are we going to learn from it and how are we going to influence policy with it rather than just dwelling on these disparities or negative outcomes. And so, the goal was, right this is something that is well understood by communities that were overpoliced but the NYPD was really just hiding behind a lack of transparency and a lack of data saying "we go where the crime is". And so that was how I approached this. How can we try to understand, to counter that argument "Do you just go where the crime is? Does that explain these racial disparities in the fare enforcement that we see?" We showed that it doesn't. That poverty is policed much more intensively in predominantly black communities in Brooklyn and citywide in the later round of research and also it's differences in crime rates don't explain those disparities. So, that was the goal.

What did it do? So shortly after we released the report. All this stuff is happening at the same time so it's hard to attribute what's driving what. But there was a lot more discourse around this, or at least action. Whether it's behind the scenes, in front of the scenes, a little bit of both maybe. The Manhattan district attorney announced that they'd no longer be prosecuting most fare evasion arrests. I think this is something they were thinking about so I dont remember the exact timeline of this but that happened shortly after we put out the report. And then councilman Lanceman introduced legislation for local law 47 and the report, the analysis we did, helped make the case for it. Here's why we need this data. So I think there was a benefit to, that was kind of the goal, or one of the goals. By documenting what is happening, calling to action, what can we do to improve transparency to see what the NYPD is actually doing and hold them [accountable], and it's not like we're automatically going to hold them accountable because they're reporting data but I think that transparency is a step in that direction, in addition to simultaneously thinking about bigger funding of what we fund with public resources in terms of policing.

But the NYPD ignored the law for a long time there was some...eventually, there was a lawsuit to get them to comply with the law because the Mayor didn't order them to comply or intervene. So there was a lawsuit and they eventually released a series of spreadsheets with all sorts of data and very little information. It was useless for identifying where arrests were occurring below the borough level. Tons of numbers and tabs, but you couldn't actually figure out how many people

they were arresting at each station. And then there was a lot of negotiating around the lawsuit. So a court ordered them to comply and I think there were some negotiations I only have an incomplete window into about what information they would share and what we really wanted, what we needed most, as the data person, explaining we really wanted to know for every station what they were doing in terms of arrests and summons totals. And eventually they shared that data with us, there's still some limitations. I gave my own input into how it could be improved, which they did. And now that data is posted quarterly with a lag.

So, in that sense we saw some results but how that's actually...and while this is playing out there is a move away from arrests to more summonses. Sort of building on all of these things happening at once. So the DA is having different prosecutorial priorities, the pressure to start reporting and eventually public reporting of data. And so what we saw on the ground was a move away from arrests to more summonses. But overall, more enforcement actions. So more enforcement just less arrests.

I was going to say that and then the pandemic affecting how transit, our relationship to transit let alone the policing of transit in dramatic ways. Im not sure where we are at now and that is what I would like to find out.

**What role do you think transparency has in affecting the accessibility of transit?**

In this specific setting, transparency around enforcement of fare evasion stops, fare evasion in terms of when you get stopped what happens? Either they let you go, you get a summons, or you get arrested. Those are the three things that could right, if you get stopped those are the three things that could happen. I think all of, so what I've been describing is the work we did around with the data we had and pushing for more data and the policy changes but of course this, i forget the exact timeline but at some point the Swipe it Forward campaign that had been going on for a long time. That is not a new thing. Community advocates doing what they can to raise awareness and improve accessibility and I think those efforts became more visible and louder around the same time as, probably in response to the MTA's crackdown on fare evasion and the decision for more police and to reallocate police and that's where the discourse really took, really was elevated and was a much more heightened and confrontational debate.

Basically the MTA putting these ads, spending public money for more police to police poverty, and these ads that were really just awful. "We'd rather have your $2.75 instead of your $100" It was really like "we don't want you here if you can't afford it". And so among other action events, protests, which were also, we've seen all sorts of community protests over the past year but in the context of the crackdown, it was really heightened as a response to this crackdown and heightened policing and investment in policing. And you saw those guerilla ads that were on the

subway, reclaiming...I feel like those ads were great right, just reframing the problem about going back to our earlier discussion "how can we make it easier for you to ride the subway and get to school and get to work and help you access this opportunity?" instead of "how do we keep you out and punish you for not having the means to afford regular transit access?"

So there wasn't much of...as I said there's those two sides. The MTA throughout that whole time they didn't get it. Right it was still "how do we keep people out?" and scapegoating a lot of their problems by pivoting to this lost revenue from fare evasion, and the numbers they put on that were just not remotely credible. There's a lot of, we could talk more about that but, the MTA inspector general discussed that, I talked about it. It wasn't a sexy topic, why there data isn't credible. You're talking about fare evasion you have these revenue problems and they throw out this number "we're losing 200 million this year". Right, and so people start reporting that number. And I get the need for information but its, there's no reason we should be using that number for anything, let alone tying it to justifications for funding for police that would somehow magically reclaim that number.

**What themes do you think comprise fare evasion discourse in NYC?**

So yeah I think on this sort of advocate side. What are advocates emphasizing and calling for? Affordability is a part of accessibility. Both of those words, there's much more to accesibility with physical disabilities. There's a lot of dimensions to that but financially, being able to afford the fare is a major part of accessibility, so making the sytsem accessible to as many people as possible. Especially, people who don't own cars who are in areas that are underserved by for hire vehicles, that kind of stuff. So accessibility, just sort of policing poverty and how we use public resources. This idea of should we be investing in policing poverty and keeping people out and punishing them for it or should we be investing in subsidizing, making transit more affordable and more acccesible? That's what we were sort of arguing for with Fair Fares. Reducing the price of the Metrocard but also at the time especially investing in making it easier for people to pay. You know, broken machines in marginalized communities are a pretty common place occurrence. So then it's like what do you do? Do you jump the turnstile? And if you can't actually pay do you wait in line for the one teller for an hour and be late to work, if there even is one person there? So how we use public resources and what we use them for.

Those are the two biggest issues. There's a lot that I think about, when we talk about this issue I guess that's how I frame it. This idea that the MTA's job is to provide a service, they're running this system. And you know is it their job to redistribute to sort of effectively implement redistribution and you know I think it's our government's job and the MTA is part of the government and that's why we focused on getting the city and or the state, especially since they're sending police into this. But that MTA needs to be aware of what's going on and really

they could also be an advocate for hey we need to make it easier to bring people in and collect our fares for those that can afford to pay and understand the dynamics of why some people can't rather than just keep them in or keep them out and really try to use them as scapegoats.

**What have you seen in New York as the most effective ways to reframe thinking of public transportation as profit driven and efficiency to thinking about it as a commonly pooled resource? If that shift is even happening at all.**

It's tough. I don't know whether that shift is happening or not. In the past year it's really changed at least from my standpoint. Obviously many people are still especially more vulnerable workers still have to take transit. But there are far fewer people on transit and so that's why I think it's really important to understand how policing dynamics have changed. But I don't know if its reframed the role of public transit. There are people who view it as a sort of right to physical mobility and think there should be free transit. The reality, that would be great to achieve, there are reasons why it would be. I'm going to stop myself, I usually don't bring this topic up on purpose because I don't want to undermine some advocacy efforts. But we are so far away from free transit that that hasn't become a big part of the discourse. It feels like it's more of a talking point to get people to understand what access should look like and feel like. But the MTA is still struggling tremendously to raise enough money to operate even their mediocre service and so in terms of poicy making and budget priorities that is still like a, the major focus of what the MTA needs, more so in the context of the pandemic. So it's almost made it harder to have the space to talk about reduce fares and affordability. In fact the city cut funding for Fair Fares last spring right at a time we think people need it even more. That was like "oh we need to cut money, we need to find ways to cut money" and that actually went out the window. And that speaks to how the people with power are not, haven't changed how they view this problem. They understand presumably it's increasingly costly politically to ignore what police are doing and the impacts on individuals and communities but the narrative of public safety and the role of police on public transit, I don't think it's shifted. There are louder voices calling for that shift and its been so much great work we have talked about like the guerilla ads to protests but I don't think we've seen anything...the affordability landscape is not fundamentally different. Hopefully, there is fundamentally more transparency about what the NYPD is doing, but it remains to be seen how that will affect their actual enforcement action in this new, late stage pandemic world.

## Interviewee E

April 29, 2021
Kafui Attoh, Male, Associate Professor of Urban Studies

**What are some of the narratives about fare evasion you hear in New York City?**

In 2017 the Manhattan District attorney made it his policy not to prosecute theft of service misdemeanors and I think that this was at a time when there was a lot of debate over the fare evasion issue associated with the MTA budget and the ability for the MTA to collect enough revenue based on its predictions, which have been built into their budget ask from either the federal government or the state. It came up as part of a larger discussion around budget. And from the other side this is years after Ferguseon, around racial profiling. Discourse had two sides those concerned about budget and those concerned about it targeting low income people of color in new york.

Historically I think it's interesting, I was just reading a book by my colleague Josh Freemen who talked about the fiscal crisis in new york in 1975 and this was after the MTA, as a separate public authority with its own budget, had been established years prior. During the fiscal crisis, the mayor who was Aid Beam at the time and a bunch of financial elites in the city came together to create a separate board and authority to discipline the city's budget, which meant cutting excesses, wages for public sector workers, revisiting contract agreements the city had made, dedicating less money to social services. And one of the things they recommended was to raise the fare from 35 cents to 50 cents. And it was kind of a crazy thing because it had nothing to do with the city budget, it was merely about a symbolic ask. It was like a sacred cow, the 35 cent fare. So they went after it. Then the fare becomes...sometimes the fare has very little to do with the actual economics of transit. In New York, fares only account for just under 50% of the operating costs of the whole thing. In other cities it's much lower, it could be 17% 18%, that's it. The debate is financial and not financial, it's about something else. And I think that's interesting because it becomes about all sorts of other things.

**Do you think fare evasion is used as a discursive to further other political agendas?**

KF: Yeah, I mean like almost everything. In the midst of the pandemic (and this was a piece I wrote more recently) there was in May of last year there was an announcement that the MTA police, which is a division new york city police, was expanding at a time when ridership had cratered. Everyone was at home. Still the argument was about crime and fare evasion. For anyone who was paying attention it didnt make any sense at all. Most narratives around crime, broken windows policing, community policing, they don't really make much sense apart from people's perception of safety. Even that original article by Wilson Kelling they said, early on in the piece, this experiment with cops walking the beat and making sure that the local drunk was out of sight...that didn't reduce crime, but it did reduce the perception of crime. Which they said on the long run has these effects on actual crime. It just so much of a perception thing. The transit workers were in total support of the increase in policing in the subways, and so much of it is about the perception of crime. And then on the other hand it's like, there's this thing

with...there's probably a bunch of studies, I can't think of them off of the top of my head but, with bus drivers and altercations they have with passengers. It's some crazy percentage of all altercations that occur happen over fares. For a lot of drivers, it's like why are we fighting over a dime here? But there's pressure to collect the fare and there is also the experience when the bus is really packed in New York, they're not collecting fares, people are just jumping on. There's all these informal stuff that happens with fare. And I know in Poughkeepsie which is a small city, if you know the driver it's like yeah just go on.

**Do stories about assault on transit workers drive a rift between transit workers and users that wouldn't normally be there?**

Totally, and especially during the pandemic where, you know...there's a case in San Francisco with the VTA, it's on the peninsula. And the union was fighting for all door boarding, which is basically free transit because there's no one back there collecting fares. But just simply to reduce the contact between passengers and drivers and their potential exposure to COVID. Yeah, I think it can...the fare can be...it can drive a wedge...I mean all sorts of other things can too, but it can be one thing that...there's been research about assaults. So many of them are associated with trying to get a poor person to pay a dime, which is just crazy.

**You have written before about what type of public, public transportation is intended for, what links do you see between fare enforcement in NYC and the determination about what type of public should be using the subway and buses in the eyes of the MTA and NYPD?**

It's so interesting because on one hand there are all these issues across different cities and places, but then New York is also a very specific place in terms of transit. New York is one of the few places...transit is not nearly...in so many places transit is poor people's mobility. But in New York, and there's obviously a class component to it, but there is just a wider public, a wider group of people using it. And that's one of the things that makes New York really great, honestly. There's this kind of, a large constituency who care about it who represent multiple classes of people. And I would say fare evasion happens all the time, just anecdotally, it's some woman who just shopped at Saks 5th avenue and the door opens to let someone in with a stroller and she just goes in too. They might not be profiled in the same way a young person or young person of color may be but I think in other cities...it's interesting because I don't hear so much about fare evasion outside of major metropolitan areas. When I lived in Syracuse no one was talking about fare evasion. Like fare evasion in Toledo, Ohio? No one cares because it's just such a marginal part of the system. But in places like San Francisco or New York City it does become...I oftentimes see it as associated with some other thing that is going on with finances or with budget or with policing. It seems like not a real issue. And there was just recently all sorts of studies about how much are we losing in fare revenue, and no one knows. They can't figure it

out. They just have some model. THey're like it could be so much, and even with...they had a plan to hire all these cops for the MTA to crack down on fare evasion. But if you look at how much the cops were going to cost versus how much the MTA itself said they were going to lose in fare evasion, it was like well, it didn't add up. This is not a wise decision.

 I was also thinking probably...in some places, there are private companies running transportation. The MTA which is a big public authority, it's public and the board is appointed by the governor and the mayor and it has the authority to issue bonds and so it operates as a public private quengo. But there are a lot of cities more and more in the US where you have the city transport department contracting out to private companies that deal with routing and with payroll. So the drivers themselves work for first transit, but there is a contract that they have with the city. And you think well, they're a private company so maybe this issue of fares...they have shareholders and they have to show growth. I don't know why any private entity would get into that because it's proven you're not gonna make money here. I never understood that but it does seem like the logic around fare evasion could be different.

My cynical take is that it pops up every once in a while, but then it just feels like there's nothing there. That's why I think a discourse analysis is such a great way to think about it because it does feel like purely a discursive thing. When does it become a thing and what is that related to? What is going on in the city at these particular moments? Is there some sort of cyclical pattern? I feel like everyone knows it's a weird fake issue because they know that people jump the turnstiles or go through the thing all the time. That's the system. What are you going to do? Your'e going to arrest everyone that does that? That is such a waste of resources. Every time this comes up in New York people are like not only in terms of how much is being lost in fares, no one knows, okay so we're going to spend money to deal with the issue. How much is that going to cost versus how much are you predicting to lose. Or just, how much does it cost to maintain all the fare machines? What's the point of all of this?

**What do you think transit activism has been able to achieve in terms of fare enforcement and evasion?**

The pandemic happened so it's hard to say the affects of the activism. There was that letter from AOC about the crackdown on fare evasion and hiring of the police officers. She was saying this doesn't make any sense we need to restore service, improve service, we need to deal with all of these updates to the signal system that have deteriorated. This wasn't too long after there was a fire on the tracks and a bunch of mechanical issues dealing with infrastructure. I don't know. A lot of it was around racial profiling and there's been a lot of attention to discrimination, policing, and mass incarceration, and the overloaded judicial system in New York. Let's say you get

caught with fare evasion and you were fined and you don't pay the fine so you have to go to court and take work off to go to court, and it's this long Kafka-esque nightmare.

Then there is Fair Fares, which is a means tested thing. One of the interesting things about New York is that there is a flat fare. You can pay $2.75 to go from Bryant Park to JFK, which is like hours on the train and it's just $2.75. Whereas, in San Francisco it's more equitable in terms of...you pay by distance, after you get off the stop then you pay, so it's more expensive to go further. And that's really interesting because in terms of equity the geography of the city has always been one in which there are different economic classes living in different part of the city. Sometimes farther from downtown sometimes closer to downtown. And so travel becomes this equity thing. A flat fare system for people living in East New York is really good. The older systems have that. You can ride around, and that's what many homeless people do, they ride around in a warm place.

**What do you think the harm is by not relating transportation issues to broader visions of justice and transit justice?**

Someone once said budgets are moral documents. With the Fair Fares program being cut at the same time the increase in policing is proceeding, they're coming from different funding streams maybe and there are so many different overlapping agencies that have their own budgets and priorities so sometimes it can be unfair to note the contradictions without being cognizant that sometimes the agencies are separate and there are separate budgets. At the same time it's hard to ignore the craziness of disparities and what things we priotize and what things we don't. And often it's safety versus people's ability to move through the city. And it's not really safety really, it's the perception of safety. Putting money towards making people feel safer as opposed to putting money towards something that actually materially impacts people's lives and their ability to get from point A to point B, which seems absurd.

Have you read the Andre Gorsk piece? It's called "The ideology of the motor car". The last paragraph is just so good because it is just making this thing...we can't think about transportation divorced from all these other things that are happening in the city. And for people interested in transit that is the task, to connect it to all sorts of other things. Its about people's ability to get to work, people's ability not to get to work but to other things in their life, about how the political economy of the city functions. As opposed to seeing transportation as a line item on a budget, which it is, but that doesn't lead to good thinking or insights.

I like the moral panic, because when they talk about New York going back to the 70s graffiti everywhere. Transit does have this universal thing where you want to...it's an equalizing force, everyone has access, you don't want to distinguish between people, but you have to, you have to

accommodate different people. The fare is becoming this larger issue about what is fair. The future is already here just unequally distributed.


## Interviewee F

March 5, 2021

Rasmus Markussen, Political Advisor at Passagerpulsen

**How does the consumer council fund Passagerpulsen? What is the decisionmaking process for the grants received?**

The passagerpulsen is funded by the Danish parliament or via some money from them. A majority of the parties made an agreement in 2014 about funding the Passagerpulsen through the Danish consumer council and the Danish civil aviation and railway authority is our supervisory authority. Our mandate is to be an independent voice of passengers in bus, train, metro, and railway. The funding is from the government or the parliament. But we are a part of the danish consumer council as a project.

**What is the role of Passagerpulsen in establishing a dialgogue between passengers and the transport companies? What practices do you have to maintain that dialogue?**

Our job is to be the voice of passengers in bus, train, metro, and lightrail. And with a main focus among other things on connections between different modes of transport and different companies and authorities, etc. And to look at the whole journey from the passenger's perspective from door to door. And we do several activities to be the voice of passengers in the dialogue between passengers and transport authorities. We make some reports and surveys and collect data about passenger experiences and needs and wishes. We have a passenger panel that has 10,000 passengers that we can ask about their experience and when we make surveys, etc. And we also have about 300 passenger agents that are passengers who we can send out in train stations or buses to report if there is good enough information about passenger rights, etc. And on the basis of this data we make recommendations to the transport authorities and companies etc, and go into dialogue with them about how to make improvements for passengers. The subjects could be information, delays, passenger rights, station accessibility, etc. And we also in this new, in the beginning we were funded from 2014 for for years until 2018 but now we've got a new funding. And now we've got some new things we have to do, so now we, one of our tasks now is to run regional passenger councils in the 5 Danish regions. Councils that are supposed to also be a palace where passengers can give input advices to the transport authorities and these councils consist of normal regular passengers and also passengers representing a number of interest groups such as students, young people, and elderly people with disabilities and other groups.

**Is it difficult to get passengers to participate?**

There is actually a lot of interest. We have just started one passenger council in the Danish Copenhagen region and there was quite a lot of interest, we had over 200 interested passengers who wanted to participate and we only have 19 members in the council. It was not difficult to find passengers who wanted to do it. And we also have just started a council in the Mid Jutland region and here we had over 100 interested passengers. So it is not difficult. And i can say one thing we also do in the dialogue between passengers and transport authorities is that we are part of the appeals board for bus, trains, and metro which is an alternative dispute resolution body that mainly handles complaints about penalty fares in public transport. Here we have from the Danish consumer council 2 seats out of 5 so we represent the passengers in the complaint handling.

**How would you describe the relationship between passagerpulsen and the transport companies?**

Well, in general it is quite good, and they are happy when we come with new data about passenger experience and need but they also sometimes think we complain too much and get irritated when we focus on problems such as delays or lack of information or stations that are not clean and things like that. And sometimes we've done campaigns that are more public and on social media, and sometimes they've been quite irritated. And actually there was, when our first funding ran out in 2018, there was a lot of companies who actually tried to convince the parliament that they should not fund us again because they thought we were too loud sometimes. It differs. Sometimes it's been difficult. Also because the transport authorities are very loyal to the political level and get annoyed if we like complain about something that is really about public funding or money from the political level, I guess they feel kind of trapped because they don't feel they can do anything. We are complaining about something and then the politicians are mad at them and so they feel that they are trapped.

**Is there are public debate about fare evasion and control in Copenhagen. Who are main actors and stakeholders that are most active in the public debate?**

I think there is some kind of public debate about fare evasion and fare enforcement. There is some debate in the media sometimes both about specific cases in the appeals board for bus, train, and, metro the complaint handling board. If there's some media just look at the cases and write about some of the more absurd cases. And then there is some debate about the number of penalty fees given and the amount of control, how many control stewards are out on the buses and metro checking tickets which has been rising in the recent years. There is some public debate. And the

most active in the public debate is us from the Passagerpulsen. And Movia, the bus authority, and then some passengers who have had bad experiences with the fare control. And sometimes there have been some researchers also involved, some sociologists have been asked by journalists to contribute.

**Within that public debate what are the main topics or themes?**

Well there has been some debate about that I think last year or two years ago Movia the bus authority has increased the level of control after they made what they called free flow where you can walk in and out of all doors in the bus and don't have to pass the driver and show him, her, or them the ticket. There has been some debate about whether this is just a maneuver just to increase the income for the companies, also in the light of that the funding and the economy is more under pressure by the political level. That is one discussion whether the rise in control is justified. And then there is also a lot of debate about whether the penalty fees are fair. There are a lot of cases where passengers clearly didn't want to cheat and where they clearly made mistakes, forgot one zone or took the receipt instead of the ticket and still got a penalty fee. And there has been a lot of debate about it. And we have also said that the companies are all too, that they should show some more goodwill and courtesy if it's really clear that passengers weren't trying to cheat. We've seen a lot of tourists going to and from the airport in Copenhagen where you have to buy a different ticket than you normally have and we've seen a lot of cases where people have got the penalty fee which is really high. There's a debate about whether they are fair and the companies say that they just want to treat all passengers equal and that they only look at the facts and not the intentions so they can't look at the passenger's intentions. But we say that you have to. You have to look at the specific case, you can't just make some generalizations, you have to handle the cases and not just make some general judgements.

**Do you know if the transport companies make any data on fare enforcement/evasion public?**

Our experience is that they are not transparent when it comes to this. I know some years ago some media tried to get access to documents and had some numbers from Movia about the numbers of controls and the rise in the controlling that they did. But no, they are not really public. And we have actually asked them to be more transparent and asked if we can see how many penalty fees do you give, and what are the reasons, and what are the reasons for people not having a valid ticket? Is it because they just don't have a ticket or is it because they have bought the wrong ticket? Because it would be good to have a debate about how can we make it easier for people to choose the right ticket and have a debate about this problem but they don't seem to be interested in that. And that only confirms the impression that they are doing the controls to make money. But I can say that from this appeals board for bus, train, and metro they publish data

about the number of cases they have. And they publish data about which company has the most cases and the reason. They have some reports on their website. But it's only the cases that are appealed, so it's only the tip of the iceberg.

**About the appeals board, on your website you have a comprehensive explanation about how to go through the process, but on the transportation company website it's not as comprehensive. Why don't they have the same explanation as you guys?**

When people receive a penalty fee on the receipt you get it says you can complain to the appeals board. But I guess they are not... you could probably...if you asked them they wouldn't say that they are not interested in giving passenger's information about the possibility for appeals. But, well from our perspective it may be that they are not interested in making it visible that you can actually appeal and to explain the process so that people will use all the possibilities they have. I guess that they will also say that we have to limit the information in order to give information about what most passengers want and need and that's not too appeal something or to go through a long process of complaining but it's to find the right ticket or something like that. But from our perspective they are not always doing enough to inform. And we just did a survey not so long ago that showed that only about a little more than about 10 percent of passengers know about the appeals board. And they should inform passengers who have a penalty fee about the possibilities so hopefully people who it is relevant for know about it but yeah, it's easy to think that they are not very transparent because then many fewer questions will complain.

**Are there any transportation activist groups or movements?**

There are some local commuter representatives who are taking the train a certain distance and have a group where they gather to have dialogue with transport companies. There are a lot of them here in the region around copenhagen. And some of them are actually a part of DSB, the rail company, they have their own system of commuter representative, but there are also some independent groups. We are in dialogue with them and its different but some of them are very active but its usually in very local matters about if the information is good or local matters. There are also some more environmentally oriented groups like there is something called The Council for Sustainable Transport, which is an organization or movement that advocates for more sustainable transport and for more public transport and cyclists and less private cars. There is also some movements called Back on Track which is trying to work for better international trains instead of flying. So we also have some dialogue with them.

# Appendix E – PTCs' Financial Information

## MTA

Table 1: MTA's Yearly Revenue Collected From Fares

| Year | Fare Revenue (figures in U.S. Dollars) |
|------|----------------------------------------|
| 2010 | 4,586,000,000 |
| 2011 | 4,999,000,000 |
| 2012 | 5,079,000,000 |
| 2013 | 5,507,000,000 |
| 2014 | 5,709,000,000 |
| 2015 | 5,961,000,000 |
| 2016 | 6,050,000,000 |
| 2017 | 6,172,000,000 |
| 2018 | 6,155,000,000 |
| 2019 | 6,351,000,000 |
| 2020 | 2,393,000,000 |

*Source: Data From "Financial and Budget Statements." 2021. MTA. July 21, 2021. https://new.mta.info/transparency/financial-information/financial-and-budget-statements.*

Table 2: MTA's Total Yearly Adopted Budget

| Year | Adopted Budget (figures in U.S. dollars) |
|------|-------------------------------------------|
| 2010 | 11,905,000,000 |
| 2011 | 12,252,000,000 |
| 2012 | 12,501,000,000 |

| Year | |
|---|---|
| 2013 | 13,527,000,000 |
| 2014 | 13,988,000,000 |
| 2015 | 14,621,000,000 |
| 2016 | 15,177,000,000 |
| 2017 | 15,565,000,000 |
| 2018 | 15,793,000,000 |
| 2019 | 16,725,000,000 |
| 2020 | 17,204,000,000 |

*Source: Data from "Financial and Budget Statements." 2021. MTA. July 21, 2021. https://new.mta.info/transparency/financial-information/financial-and-budget-statements.*

## Metroselskabet

Table 3: Metroselskabet's Yearly Revenue Collected From Fares

| Year | Fare Revenue (figures in DKK) |
|---|---|
| 2010 | 589,000,000 |
| 2011 | 635,000,000 |
| 2012 | 677,000,000 |
| 2013 | 691,000,000 |
| 2014 | 727,000,000 |
| 2015 | 775,000,000 |
| 2016 | 883,000,000 |
| 2017 | 903,000,000 |
| 2018 | 891,000,000 |
| 2019 | 1,154,000,000 |

*Sources: Data from "Annual Report 2010." 2010. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/2754/metro_aarsrapport_2010_uk.pdf; "Annual Report 2011." 2011. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/2760/metro-annual-report-2011.pdf; "Annual Report 2013." 2013. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/2774/metro_ar_2013_uk_web-1.pdf; "Annual Report 2014." 2014. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/2232/metro_uk_web_endelig.pdf; "Annual Report 2015." 2015. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/1282/102693_metro_ar_2015_200x260_indhold_uk_final_web.pdf; "Annual Report 2016." 2016.*

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Table 4: Metroselskabet's Yearly Total Operating Income

| Year | Total Operating Income (figures in DKK) |
| --- | --- |
| 2010 | 863,675,000 |
| 2011 | 980,065,000 |
| 2012 | 1,100,158,000 |
| 2013 | 1,124,623,000 |
| 2014 | 1,301,033,000 |
| 2015 | 1,293,556,000 |
| 2016 | 1,473,400,000 |
| 2017 | 1,519,488,000 |
| 2018 | 1,492,426,000 |
| 2019 | 1,944,982,000 |

*Sources: Data from "Annual Report 2010." 2010. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/2754/metro_aarsrapport_2010_uk.pdf; "Annual Report 2011." 2011. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/2760/metro-annual-report-2011.pdf; "Annual Report 2013." 2013. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/2774/metro_ar_2013_uk_web-1.pdf; "Annual Report 2014." 2014. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/2232/metro_uk_web_endelig.pdf; "Annual Report 2015." 2015. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/1282/102693_metro_ar_2015_200x260_indhold_uk_final_web.pdf; "Annual Report 2016." 2016. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/1677/102975_metro_ar_2016_200x260_indhold_uk_02_for_web.pdf; "Annual Report 2017." 2017. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/1670/metro_ar_2017_200x260_indhold_uk_web.pdf; "Annual Report 2018." 2018. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/1881/metro_ar_2018_uk.pdf; "Annual Report 2019." 2019. Metroselskabet I/S. https://m.dk/media/3268/20761-metro-ar-2019-200x260-indhold-uk-final-web-singlepages.pdf.*

Table 5: Money Given Yearly to Metroselskabet by Ownership

| Year | Securities (figures in DKK) | Liquid Resources (figures in DKK |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 2010 | 325,227,000 | 1,050,042,000 |
| 2011 | 0 | 5,608,000 |

| Year | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|
| 2012 | 0 | 13,000 |
| 2013 | 892,945,000 | 10,000 |
| 2014 | 1,606,460,000 | 265,525,000 |
| 2015 | 3,295,861,000 | 0 |
| 2016 | 3,869,069,000 | 0 |
| 2017 | 3,376,367,000 | 0 |
| 2018 | 3,647,933,000 | 0 |
| 2019 | 6,660,309,000 | 177,607,000 |

*Source: Sources: Data from "Annual Report 2010." 2010. Metroselskabet I/S.*
*https://m.dk/media/2754/metro_aarsrapport_2010_uk.pdf; "Annual Report 2011." 2011. Metroselskabet I/S.*
*https://m.dk/media/2760/metro-annual-report-2011.pdf; "Annual Report 2013." 2013. Metroselskabet I/S.*
*https://m.dk/media/2774/metro_ar_2013_uk_web-1.pdf; "Annual Report 2014." 2014. Metroselskabet I/S.*
*https://m.dk/media/2232/metro_uk_web_endelig.pdf; "Annual Report 2015." 2015. Metroselskabet I/S.*
*https://m.dk/media/1282/102693_metro_ar_2015_200x260_indhold_uk_final_web.pdf; "Annual Report 2016." 2016.*
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# Appendix F – Citations for Media Articles That Underwent Content Analysis

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