Promoting gender equality in transport

Kerry Hamilton and Linda Jenkins

(University of East London)

Frances Hodgson

(University of Leeds)

Jeff Turner

(Jeff Turner Transport and Social Development Consultancy Ltd)

Women. Men. Different. Equal.
Equal Opportunities Commission

Women. Men. Different. Equal.
Equal Opportunities Commission

Promoting gender equality in transport

Kerry Hamilton and Linda Jenkins (University of East London)
Frances Hodgson (University of Leeds)
Jeff Turner (Jeff Turner Transport and Social Development Consultancy Ltd)

Jeff Turner
Transport & Social Development
Consultancy Ltd

University of
East London

CONTENTS

Page

TABLES **Page**

i

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to express our appreciation for the cooperation and time given freely by those we interviewed as part of our undertaking of this study.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Equal Opportunities Commission has commissioned the University of East London, in collaboration with Jeff Turner Transport & Social Development Consultancy Ltd and the Institute of Transport Studies, University of Leeds, to explore how the transport sector may need to respond to gender issues. A review of existing research, an analysis of available national data on the travel patterns of women and men and an assessment of policy documentation have been undertaken to achieve this.

Since this research was commissioned, the government has drafted legislation to introduce a gender equality duty for the public sector. This will require public authorities, including those providing public functions from the private and voluntary sector, to eliminate unlawful sex discrimination and promote gender equality. This research should provide a useful contribution to implementing the duty.

The greater amount of time that women spend relative to men on caring-related roles, results in women and men travelling by different means, at different times, to different locations over different distances. These differences are not addressed systematically by current transport policy and provision.

The present transport system has largely been constructed for men by men. The evidence for this is provided by the nature of vehicle design; the extent of radial routing (i.e. routes that run from suburb to centre) in public transport, which means that passengers have to travel to the centre and out again to arrive at an area adjacent to their starting points; and the emphasis on the peak-time periods in the provision of bus and rail services.

Transport professionals are increasingly aware of the social dimension of transport. There is, however, still a fundamental lack of awareness of the gender-differentiated impact of transport policy and provision. Piecemeal initiatives, such as the Public Transport Gender checklist produced by the Department for Transport, are often not implemented at a local level and their take-up is not closely audited.

The need to address specifically the different needs of women and men appears not to be understood by transport policy-makers. This may be because it is believed that it is cheaper to do nothing, that gendered transport planning is an 'add-on' to 'proper' transport planning and policy and that gender-awareness does little to improve or substantially re-direct the final outcome of the transport policy.

In reality, this unintended gender-bias in UK transport policy means that more women than men are facing transport problems in accessing a range of public services, in taking up job opportunities, and in engaging in the normal activities of citizens. This disproportionately affects women on low incomes because of their greater use of public transport. It also means that substantial hidden costs in money and time are being placed on women's participation in UK society.

The failure of UK transport policy to take gender issues seriously means that significant amounts of public money are being wasted in a range of service delivery sectors. Government policies on enhancing quality of life, improving skills for employment, social exclusion and health inequalities, all risk significant policy failure because transport policy does not take gender issues seriously.

KEY FINDINGS

Gender differences that impact on transport use
Social and economic factors, physical differences between women and men and gender differences in power and vulnerability all have an impact on the differences in transport use between women and men.

Women often have the primary responsibility in the household for childcare, the care of older, sick or disabled relatives and for domestic work. They have different time use patterns and employment characteristics to men and fewer financial resources. These factors influence the journeys they make and the times at which they travel in different ways to those of men.

The design of buses still takes insufficient account of the difficulties experienced by women who are encumbered by accompanying children or shopping or both, or people who are mobility restricted.

Women are more likely than men to feel insecure and vulnerable to attack, which can restrict their travel at particular times, for example at night.

Gender differences in transport use
Although women and men make a similar number of trips each year, men tend to travel further than women; in 2002, adult males in Britain travelled over 9,000 miles on average, whereas adult females travelled only 6,000 miles on average.

Men are also much more likely than women to travel as car drivers, while women are more likely to travel as car passengers, or on foot. In 2002, 49 per cent of men's trips

were conducted as car drivers, compared with only 35 per cent of women's trips. Women are slightly more likely than men to travel by public transport, especially to work, with their greater use of buses outweighing men's slightly greater use of trains.

Women and men also travel for different purposes. Men are more likely to do so for commuting and business reasons, whereas women are more likely to do so for shopping or taking children to school.

Average commuting time is slightly longer for men than for women, with by far the biggest gender difference being for those who commute by rail. Women are more than twice as likely as men to walk to work.

A higher proportion of adult men than adult women have full car driving licences in all age groups. In 2003, 81 per cent of adult males, compared with only 61 per cent of adult females, had a licence. However, the overall gender gap has narrowed considerably since the mid 1970s and is much greater for older age groups than for younger ones. Even so, in two-person households, men are still more likely than women to be the main driver of a car.

Individuals in the lowest income group (a category which will contain many lone parent households, which are predominantly headed by women) were twice as likely to make trips by public transport (bus, coach or rail) as those in the highest real income group in 2002. Conversely, more than half of all trips by those in the highest income group were made as car drivers, compared with less than a quarter of those in the lowest income group.

Limitations of data sources and research evidence
Published information on the travel patterns of women and men is much more extensive than in the past. Nevertheless, data are often not disaggregated by gender and it is difficult to examine variations between different groups of women. For example, it is hard to compare the travel patterns and experiences of women with and without dependent children, or white and black and ethnic minority women.

Few qualitative studies have specifically examined men's transport needs and experiences, while studies of women's needs have tended to be relatively small scale in nature.

Impact of transport on other sectors
Transport policy and provision has a significant impact on efforts to improve service delivery in the public sector. However, policy-makers have generally shown a lack of

interest in the impact of gender-bias in transport on the delivery and uptake of other services.

Research shows that the failure of the transport system to serve the needs of women on low incomes to gain access to hospitals impedes their access to ante-natal care, while poor public transport contributes to the cost to the NHS from missed appointments.

Women's poorer access to transport provision than men has also affected their access to training and employment opportunities and to a range of specific services, such as to local hospitals. Transport problems also impede purchase of healthy food by poorer families because it is harder for them to travel to supermarkets.

Employment in the transport sector

The transport sector remains male-dominated; few women are employed in the sector except in travel service occupations (e.g. as travel agents). The great majority of transport drivers and operatives are male, as are those employed in vehicle trades (e.g. as car mechanics).

Women are also under-represented in professional and managerial positions within the sector, or in transport-related public bodies; hence their influence over the decision-making process is very limited.

The most recent National Employers Skills Survey found that hard-to-fill vacancies and skill-shortage vacancies as a percentage of all vacancies were above average in both the transport equipment and transport sectors. Employers in the sector who wish to address skills shortages could usefully place greater focus on targeting women in their recruitment, education and training strategies.

Consultation of users

A review of key policy documents shows that the involvement of users is still an under-developed area of transport thinking. Consideration of the gender differences connected with such involvement is even less developed. Without improved consultation and greater efforts to rectify gender-bias in consultation, there is little scope for an increased understanding of how gender influences the transport needs of users in transport policy and practice.

Policy agenda

Interviewees from the transport policy sector outlined a number of ways by which gender equality in transport can be more effectively promoted. These included

through making Ministers more aware of the issues; improving women's representation in senior positions; sharing and disseminating good practice; integrating transport and social policy; and introducing a public sector duty to promote gender equality.

There is also a need for a central government function to drive forward gender analysis in transport and to monitor its impact in policy and provision.

1.   INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1   Introduction

In 2003, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) commissioned Transport Studies at the University of East London in collaboration with Jeff Turner Transport and Social Development Consultancy Ltd and the Institute of Transport Studies, University of Leeds, to explore gender issues within the transport sector. The study focuses on land travel within Britain only and thus largely excludes domestic, as well as international, air travel.

Earlier research (Hamilton, Hoyle and Jenkins, 1999) had suggested that the transport sector was gender-biased, with the nature of this bias reflecting:

- The unequal constraints placed upon women's take-up of employment and other opportunities by the organisation of the transport system.

- The scarcity of women in central positions in the policy-making and planning of transport.

- The systematic failure to incorporate the voices of women users in the consultation and planning of transport systems.

In addition, it has been argued that, as a profession, transport planners have failed to produce systematic methodologies which incorporate gender analysis for the purpose of development and planning (Turner, Apt, Grieco and Kwakye, 1998). The absence of systematic gender inclusion procedures for transport, either in terms of the training of professionals, the participation of users, or the design and planning of systems, services and equipment, suggests that gender analysis is not seen as relevant to transport policy.

This study sought to build on this existing body of research. Its specific aims were to increase awareness of:

- The key gender issues within transport policy and provision.

- How a gendered approach could benefit both individual women and individual men.

- How gender analysis and mainstreaming could relate and contribute to core government objectives in public service delivery, including ways in which

transport contributes to a broad spectrum of government objectives, e.g. in education, health and employment.

• The key changes in policy and delivery which would need to happen for gender to be effectively mainstreamed within transport policy and provision.

• The potential benefits and costs of a public duty in gender as it would affect transport policy and provision.

Although the main focus of the study is on the differential impact of transport policy and provision on women and men, the research recognises that women are not a homogeneous group: there are important variations between women, such as those relating to age, disability, geographical location, socio-economic class, ethnicity, employment and parenting status. The impact of these differences is also explored in this report.

It is helpful to set our observations about gender inequalities in transport usage in a wider social and historical context. We need to be aware of longer-term social trends and changes such as the dramatic increase in travel and car availability; the unprecedented move of women into the paid labour market; changes in land-use planning and in household composition; and a backdrop of the privatisation of services and widening economic inequalities. Many of these changes are interrelated in complex ways, and they impact on women's role, status and well-being in equally complex and subtly shifting ways.

1.2 Methodology

The research methodology consisted of a review of literature in the areas relevant to gender equality, training and employment in the transport sector, the consultation process and service delivery, particularly in the health sector. Amongst the sources for this were *The Public Transport Gender Audit*, *Social Trends* and other relevant reports by the Office for National Statistics and a number of other studies on transport issues. This research evidence was supplemented by an analysis of published and unpublished data in two key large-scale datasets, the National Travel Survey and the Labour Force Survey.

The opinions of key players were also sought during the course of the study and face-to-face and telephone interviews were conducted with seven interviewees during 2003. Their purpose was to seek the views of transport professionals, politicians and policy-makers on gender equality in the transport sector and to test out some of the analysis being put forward and conclusions being drawn in the

construction of this report. However, the analysis contained in this report is the responsibility of the authors.

1.3 Structure of the report

Chapter 2 examines the statistical and research evidence for gender differences in women's and men's travel patterns and experiences. This evidence is placed in a social and historical context, and includes an analysis of why these gender differences matter. The chapter also identifies gaps both in the statistical evidence and in gender disaggregated data.

Chapter 3 examines the impact of transport on three broad sectors: health; training and employment; and education.

The focus of Chapter 4 is on gender inequality in employment in the transport sector. The small body of available data is reviewed and the reasons why this sector has remained so male dominated are assessed.

Chapter 5 presents a review of gender inequality in the consultation of users in transport operations and planning. It draws on evaluations of the consultation processes employed in government sponsored Multi-Modal Transport Studies.

Chapter 6 outlines the policy actions which could potentially reduce the existing gender inequality and improve equality of access within the transport sector.

2.   GENDER DIFFERENCES IN TRANSPORT USE

2.1   Introduction and overview

This chapter begins with a brief analysis of the key gender differences that impact on women's and men's travel patterns and experiences. Next we discuss the key differences between groups of women, for example the impact of age and parental status. Following an assessment of the key data sources, we then explore gender differences in travel patterns in GB in as much detail as these sources allow. Travel patterns of women and men in Scotland and Wales are also considered.

2.2   Gender differences that impact on transport use

This overview of factors impacting on gender differences in transport use covers four main areas: social and economic factors, physical differences, power and vulnerability, and psychological factors. However, we should note that these four dimensions are interrelated in complex ways. Access to transport interacts with these factors in equally complex ways. On the one hand, it can be demonstrated that women's lesser mobility, transport options and access to resources, play an important role in maintaining the existing balance of power between women and men. On the other hand, the power of transport to amplify or minimise structural disadvantage and access to resources is increasingly being recognised and documented.

Social and economic factors

Despite the increase in women in the paid labour market and some welcome trends towards some men becoming more actively involved in childcare, women still have primary responsibility for childcare and domestic work. Women carry out multiple roles - combining paid employment with the unpaid work of domestic labouring and caring for others. Men spend markedly less time on childcare and domestic labour even when their female partners are in full-time employment. For example, data from UK time use research (Gershuny, 2003) shows that for cooking and cleaning, young couples, just before their first child is born, start out with men performing 60 per cent as much housework as their partners. Just after the first child is born, they do 55 per cent and in stable partnerships with children they do 46 per cent. The decline is even more noticeable amongst older age groups.

A disproportionate part of the responsibility for caring for elderly, sick or disabled relatives and others falls to women (Hogarth, Hasluck, Pierre, Winterbotham and Vivian, 2000; Dench, Ogg and Thompson, 2000). Consequently, the availability of leisure time is different for women, as a proportion of what passes for women's 'leisure' is in fact unpaid emotional and caring work (Gardiner, 1976; Benner and

Wrubel, 1989). In any given week, women are around 20 per cent more likely to visit adult children, a parent or another adult sibling than are men, reflecting the current division of family responsibilities (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000). As Walby (1999, p. 7) notes:

> *Many of the issues and activities around caring are hard to quantify in money terms because they are not freely exchanged on the market.*

In addition, women are much more likely than men to be lone parents (Rickards, Fox, Roberts, Fletcher and Goddard, 2004). It is also reasonable to assume that lone parents carry a particularly heavy burden of largely unpaid caring work with consequently little time or resources for 'leisure'.

Another enduring finding is that women have less free time than men. For example, data from *Social Trends* (Summerfield and Babb, 2004) indicates that in 2000, men working full-time had an average of 23 minutes a day more 'leisure time' than women who did so. An analysis by Brannen (1999) of the UK social policy context concludes that since we are still a long way off men doing as much caring as women, in the short run 'policy has to recognise and support the current, highly gendered distribution of care' (p. 5). She adds (p. 58) that:

> *… the degree to which caring and domestic work contributes to the overall economy and to the whole society through the provision of material emotional, psychological and educational support has to be recognised.*

Although the number of women who are in employment has increased in recent years, men still have higher employment rates, are much more likely to work full-time, are somewhat more likely to be working shifts and are about twice as likely to be self-employed. Among those in full-time employment, men work longer hours than women. Women are much more likely than men to work part-time. Female economic activity rates vary considerably by parental status and are particularly low for women with pre-school children. Activity rates are also very low for women from some ethnic minority groups, notably for Bangladeshi women (Twomey, 2001).

Women's employment has traditionally been concentrated in the clerical and secretarial, service and retail sectors in lower-grade jobs where there are more local and part-time working opportunities. Despite the increase in the number of women in managerial occupations, there are still twice as many male as female managers and senior officials (Hurrell, 2005). Moreover, the gender pay gap, which measures the difference between the average earnings of women and men who work full-time, has hardly narrowed in recent years, while the gap between the average hourly earnings

of men working full-time and women working part-time remains as wide now as in the 1970s (EOC, 2003). The gender income gap is even wider; women's gross median individual income was only 53 per cent of that of men's in 2002-03 (Hurrell, 2005). In 1999-2000, 25 per cent of the female population, compared with only 22 per cent of the male population, were living in households with equivalent incomes less than 60 per cent of the median (after housing costs were taken into account) (Bradshaw, Finch, Kemp, Mayhew and Williams, 2003).

Men have, on average, more available financial resources than do women. This has important implications for the relative affordability of both private and public transport. At the same time, it is very important to note that, in the context of widening social and economic inequalities in recent decades, there is also increasing polarisation between the incomes of the least and the worst off women in our society (see e.g. Lee and Hills, 1998). Again, these trends have important implications for patterns of transport disadvantage. We will return to this point when we consider differences between women in section 2.3.

Women's multiple roles and their associated 'time poverty' impacts significantly on the ways they travel. It influences how much time they spend travelling. It influences who they travel with and for what purpose. Perhaps most significantly, it influences the scheduling of the journeys that are made. Women's greater 'time burden' often means that their trips need to be made between doing other household tasks. As a result, any changes in travel time impact upon their other time tasks. Reliability and the ability to minimise the knock-on effects of travel disruption upon other tasks are, therefore, much more important for women's travel than for men's.

Access to financial resources does allow some women to overcome such time burdens. Many middle and high-income women are increasingly reducing the time required for travelling by securing independent access to a car. This also reduces the uncertainty of travelling by public transport. Research in Israel points to the use of the car as both a scheduling tool for 'time-poor' women and as a positive device to allow them control over their own space (Blumen, 2000). The car reduces women's uncertainty about the time they take to travel and thus makes it safer for them to undertake other tasks. However, for those without a car, particularly lone parents, the time management task that is required for journeys that are made on an increasingly unreliable and unpredictable public transport system is much more complex. Those without a car have to rely on others to provide back-up when the transport system fails them. Otherwise, they can only travel to those destinations which they can reach without there being a negative impact upon other social roles; moreover, they can only do so at particular times of the day. This restriction can make it more difficult to

make exceptional journeys, such as hospital visits, job interviews outside a local environment and leisure trips (Turner and Grieco, 1998).

Physical differences

There are well-documented average physical differences between men and women that have important implications for the design of vehicles and transport facilities. However, traditionally, little account has been taken of these physical variations (Hoyenga and Hoyenga, 1979; Hamilton, Jenkins and Gregory, 1991).

Despite some design improvements in more modern cars involving ergonomic changes to improve in-car safety for women (e.g. seat belts and car seats which are more adjustable), there is US evidence that women are up to 50 per cent more likely to be injured in car crashes than men (Spain, 1996). Women are of smaller height and have lesser physical strength on average than men. As a result, women generally have to sit closer to the steering wheel than men, but the current design of airbags does not take this fully into account and so many women are put at risk (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000).

Moreover, women and children constitute the majority of bus passengers, but it is only more recently that bus operators have begun to take account of their smaller dimensions when designing vehicles with regard to, for example, step height, seating design, positioning of push bells and grab rails. Such factors may cause particular problems for women who are 'encumbered' (Hamilton et al, 1991) by accompanying children, shopping, or both, or who are mobility restricted through age and/or disability. The modern low-floor buses are a welcome development, but these still operate on only a minority of routes.

Power and vulnerability

Women are more vulnerable to attack and harassment than men and their greater concern with personal security has important implications for transport policy and provision. As Kelly (1999, pp. 125-27) notes:

> *The prevalence and cumulative nature of violence against women makes it a citizenship issue…The fear and threat of violence limits not only women's sense of security and safety, but also their behaviour. A number of studies demonstrate that women restrict the places they go to and the times they travel; a 1988 Harris survey found that women's travel patterns were strongly influenced by the need to avoid danger… and the 1992 British Crime Survey confirmed that women restrict their movements far more than men do.*

The perception that we live in a climate of increasing crimes against the person, to which women are especially vulnerable, is the most salient factor impacting on women's travel behaviour. The Scottish Household Survey (SHS), 2001-02, found that women in Scotland were much more likely than men not to feel safe when travelling on buses or trains. Thirteen per cent of women who were bus users said that they felt not particularly safe, while 4 per cent said that they did not feel safe at all. This compared with only 7 per cent and 1 per cent respectively of male bus users. Many women simply avoid travelling after dark. For example, the same survey found that 42 per cent of women (compared with 29 per cent of men) in Scotland never walked in their local neighbourhood after dark (Hope, Martin and Dudleston, 2003, Table 4-51).

This deep concern about personal security has important implications for a number of issues, including the design of transport interchanges and waiting areas and for staffing. For example, a qualitative study undertaken in West Yorkshire in the 1980s found that bus stations were disliked for being in places where women felt unsafe in the evenings; they were also thought to be bleak, inconveniently located and lacking in facilities (Hamilton et al, 1991). Moreover, the removal of conductors, as a result of One Person Operation on buses and trains, which was introduced in the 1980s and was generally commonplace by the 1990s, resulted in reduced personal security for passengers, especially women. This was one reason why women's groups such as Safe Women's Transport, and transport pressure groups, such as Transport 2000, have called for the reinstatement of conductors.

There are also indications that women are relatively more sensitive than men to signs of social disorder. Rowdy behaviour among other passengers, as well as the witnessing of assaults on others, appears to be even more threatening and off-putting for women passengers than for men (e.g. Greater London Council, 1984). This has important implications for the quality and level of staffing on vehicles and at bus and rail stations. The more recent reversal in some quarters of a previous trend towards staff reductions is welcome in this respect. However, a study by Reid-Howie Associates (2000), for example, showed that almost all of Scotland's bus fleet remains driver-only operated, and over half of railway stations are unstaffed.

Psychological factors
The prevailing gender differences in car owning and licence do not simply result from economic inequality. Women's access to private transport is likely to be constrained by a variety of psychological factors. Qualitative data have indicated that some women's attempts at learning to drive are expensively spread over a period of years (Hamilton et al, 1991). Moreover, these negative experiences and attitudes in relation

to both cars and driving may persist long after the driving test is passed. Research has shown that women's opportunities for driving practice, both as a learner and as a full licence holder, are often found to be constricted by the attitudes of male relatives, notably husbands (Hamilton et al, 1991; Hamilton et al, 1999). Patterns of car-related dependence and control, and their consequences, remain under-researched areas, which require further study.

The sharp increase in car owning and driving among women has been accompanied by indications that, for some women at least, just as it has historically been for most men, the car is more than a means of getting from one place to another (Blumen, 2000). Car manufacturers have begun to reflect, or perhaps have encouraged, this trend through their advertising campaigns. However, we do not yet fully understand the psychological dimensions of gender differences in transport usage, or their consequences. Nor do we know how these are shifting in association with wider social and economic changes that impact on gender roles.

2.3   Key differences between groups of women

As noted in Chapter 1, women do not form a homogenous group. Dimensions of difference that are relevant to the travel behaviour and transport needs of women include: age, employment and parental status, income, disability, ethnicity and various geographical considerations. These differences have been recognised in various policy reports. For example, an in-depth study carried out for the Scottish Executive (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000, p. 20) found that:

> … *some groups of women (women in peripheral estates, women in rural areas, women from ethnic minorities, disabled women and older women) may face specific issues relating to transport.*

Moreover, the women respondents in the same study identified a longer list. In addition to the above, they mentioned women on low incomes, the unemployed, those on benefits, young women, students, pregnant women, the homeless and the victims of domestic abuse. Some of these issues are explored further below.

Age

The transport needs of women vary considerably over the life cycle. As the data in section 2.5 show, for example, older women are more likely than younger women to travel on public transport, but are less likely to hold a full driving licence.

Parental status

As noted earlier (p. 7), women's travel is often encumbered by accompanying children, shopping, or both. Women travelling with young children on public transport

have consistently been found to experience particular difficulties, especially with boarding and alighting. Some of the more graphic examples available in the literature make it clear that this is not only an aversive experience but one that can even be distressing and humiliating (Hamilton et al, 1991; Reid-Howie Associates, 2000). The conclusion of the West Yorkshire study was that:

> *… public transport provision… suffered from a variety of major deficiencies from the point of view of meeting women's needs. It would seem that a radical reshaping of conventional provision will be necessary to meet the challenge of providing a service which is adequate and appropriate for women.*
> (Hamilton et al, 1991, p. 101)

More recently, the difficulties experienced by women who are encumbered by children or otherwise mobility restricted by, for example, age or disability, have been accentuated by the introduction of One Person Operation on buses and trains. Such women would previously have sought the assistance of conductors.

The problems of travelling on public transport with small children have been well documented (see e.g. Hamilton et al, 1991 and Reid-Howie Associates, 2000). Despite some design improvements, the study commissioned by the Scottish Executive (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000, p. 43) found that for women with children:

> *The main issues however related to access problems and to the physical difficulties of using transport while encumbered.*

Lone parenthood

Lone parents have particular differences; for example, there is a clear relationship between lone motherhood and poverty. The study for the Scottish Executive found in a postal survey that only 11 per cent of women living alone with children had a household income of more than £20,000, compared with over 55 per cent of those living with a male partner. In Scotland, only 28 per cent of lone parents hold a driving licence:

> *Women living alone with children were found to be more than five times as likely as those living with a partner (of either gender) to use a taxi, and around 1.5 times as likely to use a bus. They were twice as likely as those living with male partner to never travel by air.*
> (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000, p. 42)

Lone parents were also three times more likely to feel restricted by lack of facilities, and more than twice as likely to be restricted by cost of fares, than any other group.

North American studies (e.g. Rosenbloom and Burns, 1994) have indicated that single mothers 'have remarkably different travel patterns to either married women or men with children'. These authors found that lone mothers made more trips than married mothers, presumably because of the lack of another person to share the load.

Disability

Women with disabilities face often insurmountable problems when they attempt to access public transport services, hence their movements are severely restricted. However, there are indications that the situation is improving; in 2003-04, 39 per cent of full-size local buses were of low floor design and thus accessible to wheelchairs, one of the accessibility requirement of the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) 1995. This compared with only 29 per cent of such buses in 2002-03 (Department for Transport (DfT), 2004e). The DfT's Mobility and Inclusion Unit (MIU) has also found that the proportion of accessible buses remains much higher in the major urban centres than elsewhere, with 90 per cent of buses in London being wheelchair accessible (DfT, 2004c).

A report by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), which was published in February 2003, found that only 40 of the 275 London Underground stations did not require the use of steps or escalators. The SEU also reported that not one rail station in the UK then met design standards specified in the Strategic Rail Authority's Train and Station Services for Disabled People (February 2002) (SEU, 2003). The more recent MIU report noted that there were 1,400 DDA compliant rail carriages now in service, with a further 1,000 expected in 2004-05 (DfT, 2004c).

Ethnicity

There is a generally acknowledged lack of research on the transport needs and the experiences of black and ethnic minority women. Statistical data are also limited, although the 2001 National Travel Survey did include data by ethnic group for the first time. In addition, the Labour Force Survey contains data on travel to work, which has been analysed both by ethnicity and gender (Aston, Clegg, Diplock, Ritchie and Willison, 2004). Problems relating to communication problems relating to cultural and language differences are especially relevant to information issues, and to the staff-passenger interface. In addition, some studies have found indications that:

> *… women from ethnic minorities had heightened concerns about safety, especially when travelling at night, with particular concerns in deprived areas, where racism was considered to be more prevalent.*
> (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000, p. 21)

Similarly, the DfT reported that a survey of people using public transport found that 38 per cent of black and ethnic minority people, compared with only 31 per cent of white people, described themselves as public transport users with some fears for their personal security (Crime Concern, 2004) Whilst this survey was not reported in a gender-disaggregated manner, it is reasonable to assume, on the basis of the above figures, that black and ethnic minority women had noticeably greater concerns about their personal safety than white women.

Indeed, various reports point to marked differences in travel patterns. Work undertaken for the DfT (Raje, Grieco, Hine and Preston, 2003) on the impact of road user charging on gender and ethnicity, highlighted the difference in mode of travel between men and women of different ethnic groups. For example, they found that in Bristol, white and Asian survey participants made similar number of trips, but the average distance travelled by white respondents was double that of Asian respondents. Other work from a labour market perspective also highlights the differing levels of labour force participation across differing ethnic groups and the heightened trend for local trips amongst ethnic minority groups (Green and Owen, 1998).

Vulnerability and personal security
As noted above, this would include unemployed women and those on benefits, homeless women and those at risk of violence. In these groups, transport disadvantage can have severe consequences. For example, for women fleeing domestic abuse, public transport may be a lifeline:

> *… perpetrators of domestic abuse often restrict their partners mobility, by restricting access to money, removing parts of cars to prevent women using them, preventing or discouraging women from learning to drive, etc.* (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000, p. 21)

The various studies noted above have highlighted the needs of each of these groups of women, to varying degrees. However, if we are to understand the differences between women fully, we need to be aware of interdependencies between different disadvantages and/or dimensions of special need. Notably, there are strong inter-relationships between car access, employment and income. Some dimensions are relevant to male passengers as well, but many women experience multiple disadvantage and/or dimensions of special need. The combination of two or more of these dimensions often renders women's use of existing public transport provision especially difficult. We look at each dimension in turn.

Income

Travel patterns differ between women, according to their income. Data from the NTS shows that individuals in the lowest real income group were twice as likely to make trips by public transport (bus, coach or rail) as those in the highest real income group in 2002. Conversely, more than half of all trips by those in the highest income group were made as car drivers, compared with less than a quarter of those in the lowest income group (DfT, 2004a, Table 5.6). Similarly, in Scotland, research found that those on low incomes are more likely to use public transport than those on high incomes and their car access is lower (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000). Women in the lowest income group in this study were also considerably more likely to be restricted by personal safety issues. This can be related to being much less likely to have access to personal transport, and therefore more likely to have to travel by modes other than by car at night, as well as to the greater likelihood of living in 'deprived' areas where there is a greater threat of violence and disorder.

Regions

There are some differences between regions in relation to local variations in transport provision and to variations in population density and settlement pattern (Walker, Sowter and Reynolds, 2004). But gender differences between regions are an under-researched area and there remains a need for more local studies encompassing a wide range of geographical locations.

Rural areas

Transport disadvantage is the main perceived drawback of rural living. The 2000 Scottish Executive study provides a rich source of insights into the problems faced by women living in isolated and remote locations. Island communities face particular difficulties, as do those living in smaller settlements and isolated houses. Car dependency was found to be 'stark' in such areas, especially for access to employment and essential services. Where the employed household member is away with the car during the day, other household members are virtually stranded. Journey lengths can be unacceptably long, especially where there is reliance on the bus. These problems are exacerbated for the most vulnerable women in rural areas:

> *The high cost, infrequency and gaps in provision were highlighted by a number of respondents and once again pointed to the problems for women who experience domestic abuse in rural areas and their limited options to allow them to escape. Lone parents living in rural areas were also identified as a group who may experience exclusion from, for example, access to education, employment, and childcare.*
> (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000, p. 21)

Peripheral estates

Isolation can also occur in some urban environments. Some studies (Reid-Howie Associates, 2000; Hamilton et al, 1991) have highlighted the problems experienced by women living in peripheral estates, which have poor facilities, high rates of crime and disorder, low rates of car access and often poor public transport services. Even women living in the centre of large estates surrounded by main roads with good bus services can have problems accessing these because of a fear of walking through the estate.

2.4   Gender differences in travel patterns

Attempts to analyse transport and travel in gender terms are made more difficult by the fact that published transport statistics are still often routinely not broken down by gender, although in recent years, there has been a very welcome trend towards gender disaggregation of travel statistics. Before analysing the data, it is necessary briefly to discuss the range of available sources; some of their limitations from a gender perspective are discussed in section 2.8.

Main data sources

The main source of statistical information on travel patterns in Britain is the National Travel Survey (NTS), which is discussed below, while additional information is available from another GB-wide survey, the Labour Force Survey (LFS). The LFS, which is also a key source on employment in transport, includes questions each Autumn on the usual mode of transport to work and the time taken to travel to work. The annual Scottish Household Survey provides a wealth of additional data not only on travel patterns of women and men, but on the reasons for these patterns.

This survey information has been supplemented by irregular publications. For example, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) has published a one-off, short gendered analysis of patterns of travel, driving licence holding and road casualties (ONS, 2004). Moreover, in January 2003, ONS and the DfT published a series of 12 personal travel factsheets, which are available on the DfT website. These factsheets contain additional information on the travel patterns of women and men in 1999-2001. These factsheets are due to be updated to include 2002-03 data in 2005.

National Travel Survey

The NTS is an annual GB-wide household survey undertaken for the DfT, which covers a representative sample of the population. The results of the GB-wide survey are currently published by the DfT as a *Transport Statistics Bulletin*, while the Scottish and Welsh results are published by the Scottish Executive and National Assembly for Wales in various publications. The most recent NTS was conducted in

2003 and published in October 2004 (DfT, 2004d); the combined results from the 2002-03 surveys were published in the DfT report, *Focus on Personal Travel* in April 2005 (DfT, 2005). This contains a chapter on travel by men, women and children.

The NTS covers personal travel, which is travel for private purposes, or for work, or for education, provided the main reason for it is for the traveller to reach his or her destination. It includes coverage of the mode of travel as well as its purpose. The basic unit of travel in the NTS is 'a trip'; this is defined as a one-way course of travel having a single main purpose. Thus outward and return halves of a return trip are treated as two separate trips, while a single trip cannot have two separate purposes. This means that if a single course of travel involves a mid-way change of purpose (other than, for example, stopping to buy a newspaper), then it is counted as two trips. A trip can, however, have more than one stage; a new stage is defined when there is a change in the form of transport or a change of vehicle requiring a separate ticket. The NTS also identifies the main mode of travel used for a trip; that is the method used for its longest stage.

The design of the NTS has been improved more recently. For example, in 1998, shopping was separated out from personal business trips, and escort trips from 'other' trips. As discussed below, women are more likely than men to make trips to shop or to escort children to school, so this more detailed distinction between travel purposes has increased our understanding of gender differences in this area. Similarly, as noted earlier, in 2001, a question on ethnic origin was added. In addition, trips of all lengths (over 50 yards) are now included. This is also useful, since excluding short journeys from the tabulations has contributed to the invisibility of women's and men's travel experiences. It is not, however, clear from published data whether women are more likely than men to make trips of under one mile.

Until 2002, NTS results were grouped together and reported for a three-year period in order to improve statistical reliability. However, the sample size for the 2002 survey was considerably increased on the recommendation of a National Statistical Review of the NTS and in 2002-03, nearly 15,700 households provided details of their personal travel, although these represented only 57 per cent of all households which were eligible for the survey. In total, nearly 29,000 individual adults were covered by the survey (DfT, 2005).

2.5   GB-wide results
Distance travelled

In the population as a whole, there has been a dramatic increase in mileage of almost 50 per cent since the early 1970s. This has been accompanied by a

narrowing of the gender gap in mileage from a 65 per cent difference in 1985-86. As shown in Table 2.1, males (of all ages) travelled 7,899 miles per year on average in Great Britain in 2002-03. This compared with an average of 5,891 miles travelled by females. Men thus travelled 34 per cent further on average than women, reflecting their relatively greater car access and length of journey to work. The average trip length was 7.9 miles for men, compared with 5.9 miles for women. The gender difference in distance travelled narrowed between 1999-2001 and 2002-03; in 1999-2001, men travelled 41 per cent further miles than women on average.

Table 2.1 also shows that men travelled further distance than women in all age groups in both 1999-2001 and 2002-03. The difference was greatest for the 30-39 and 40-49 age groups, with men travelling more than 50 per cent further than women in both age groups on average in 1999-2001 and more than 40 per cent further in 2002-03.

Table 2.1   Average distance travelled per person, GB

	Miles			
	Women		**Men**	
	1999-2001	**2002-03**	**1999-2001**	**2002-03**
Under 17	3,960	4,247	3,975	4,327
17-20	5,823	5,781	6,156	5,984
21-29	7,441	7,142	10,251	8,470
30-39	7,237	7,405	11,172	11,102
40-49	7,470	7,713	11,798	11,054
50-59	6,863	7,128	10,331	10,823
60-69	5,405	5,524	7,374	7,435
70 or over	2,838	3,150	4,384	4,448
All ages	5,705	5,891	8,049	7,899

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey. Short walks are believed to have been under-recorded in 2002 and 2003 compared with earlier years.

Source: DfT (2001), Table 3.7; DfT (2005), Table 4.2.

Total number of trips made

In contrast to the persistent, though decreasing, gender difference in distance travelled, there is a fairly even split between men and women in terms of total number of journeys made. As shown in Table 2.2, women made slightly more trips than men on average in 2002-03 (1,003, compared with 994). This differed from the 1999-2001, when men made 1,031 trips and women 1,008 trips on average.

Table 2.2 also reveals that up to the age of 50, women make more trips than men, but after the age of 50, men make more trips than women.

Table 2.2   Average number of trips travelled per person, GB

	Number of trips			
	Women		**Men**	
	1999-2001	**2002-03**	**1999-2001**	**2002-03**
Under 17	904	915	873	881
17-20	1,031	978	950	890
21-29	1,145	1,078	1,056	957
30-39	1,259	1,256	1,139	1,063
40-49	1,227	1,245	1,186	1,130
50-59	1,077	1,045	1,149	1,132
60-69	898	914	1,069	1,061
70 or over	585	594	848	803
All ages	1,008	1,003	1,031	994

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey. Short walks are believed to have been under-recorded in 2002 and 2003 compared with earlier years.

Source: DfT (2001), Table 3.7; DfT (2005), Table 4.2.

Mode of transport used

The car is the dominant mode of transport for adults in Britain. Table 2.3 shows that almost 80 per cent of the total distance travelled in Britain is by car. Bus travel, including coach travel, accounts for about 6 per cent of miles travelled, while the Underground and surface rail account for 1 per cent and 5 per cent respectively. Taxi/minicabs account for another 1 per cent of travel and bicycles and motorcycles/mopeds for about half a per cent. Three per cent of trips are on foot.

Table 2.3   Average distance travelled by mode of transport, GB

	1999-2001		2002-03	
	Miles	**Per cent**	**Miles**	**Per cent**
Car only - driver	3,381	50	3,312	48
Car only - passenger	1,973	29	1,989	29
Surface rail	368	5	359	5
Local stage bus	245	4	260	4
Van/lorry - driver	154	2	196	3
Walk	189	3	191	3
Private hire bus	95	1	130	2
Other public transport[1]	48	1	78	1
Non-local bus	97	1	73	1
Van/lorry - passenger	57	1	66	1
LT Underground	57	1	57	1
Taxi/minicab	61	1	52	1
Motorcycle/moped	29	…	34	…
Bicycle	39	1	34	…
Other private vehicles	24	…	24	…
All modes	*6,815*	*100*	*6,855*	*100*

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey. Short walks are believed to have been under-recorded in 2002 and 2003 compared with earlier years.

[1] Includes (domestic) air, ferries and light rail.

… Less than 0.5 per cent.

Source: DfT (2001), Table 3.1; DfT (2005), Table 2.5.

An analysis of the average number of trips taken by women and men gives a somewhat different picture, as Table 2.4 reveals. It shows that the most striking gender difference is that men are more likely than women to make trips as a car driver, while the latter are more likely to make trips as a car passenger. Moreover, in all age groups in 2002-03, a higher proportion of men's than women's trips were made as a car driver, while a higher proportion of women's trips were made as a car passenger, with the gender differences being much greater for older age groups.

The table also shows that a higher proportion of women's than men's trips are made on foot or by bus or coach, although men are more likely to travel by rail. Up to the age of 50, a similar proportion of male and female trips are by bus or coach, but

women aged 50 and over are more likely than their male equivalents to make such trips; for example, 15 per cent of the trips taken by women aged 70 and over are by bus or coach, compared with only 8 per cent of the trips taken by men of this age.

Table 2.4   Trips made by mode of transport, GB

| | Per cent | | | |
| | Women | | Men | |
	1999-2001	**2002-03**	**1999-2001**	**2002-03**
Car driver	33	34	48	48
Car passenger	27	28	17	17
On foot	28	26	24	22
Bus/coach	7	8	5	5
Rail	2	1	2	2
Bicycle	1	1	2	2
Taxi/minicab	1	1	1	1
All public transport	10	8	8	7
Total trips (miles)	*1,008*	*1,003*	*1,031*	*994*

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey. Short walks are believed to have been under-recorded in 2002 and 2003 compared with earlier years.

Source: DfT (2001), Table 3.7; DfT (2005), Table 4.3.

During the 1990s, the number of bus journeys made by men declined by less than 2 per cent, while the number of journeys made by women declined by nearly 17 per cent. Since women made 63 per cent of all bus trips in 1989-91, this implies that about 95 per cent of the overall decline was due to a reduction in women's bus use (DfT, 2005).

Purpose of trips

Table 2.5 shows that there are notable differences between men and women in their reasons for travelling. From the figures, we can see that compared with women, men make more commuting and business trips, but fewer shopping and education escort (e.g. taking children to school) journeys. While leisure trips account for similar proportions of men's and women's journeys, there are some slight gender differences in the reasons for these. Thus while women are slightly more likely than men to undertake leisure trips to visit friends at a private home, men are slightly more likely to visit them elsewhere (i.e. to go out to eat or drink with friends) and to make trips for sport or entertainment.

As noted above, each trip in the NTS has a separate purpose, although it can have separate stages. The survey results tend to be presented for individual trips and there has been limited gendered published analysis of trip chaining (i.e. multi-purpose journeys) or the cumulative stages of a single trip. However, this issue has been examined in the 2001 and 2005 editions of *Focus on Personal Travel* (DTLR, 2001; DfT, 2005), which explored the purpose of the next trip by the previous trip for women and men separately for 1998-2000 and 2002-03 respectively. The results for both sexes were broadly similar in both periods; for example, after an escort education trip in 2002-03, 72 per cent of women and 71 per cent of men went back home. But one significant gender difference was that a much higher proportion of male work or business trips (15 per cent) were followed by another work or business trip, whereas only 8 per cent of women's work or business trips were followed by another one.

Table 2.5   Purpose of trips made in GB

	Per cent			
	Women		**Men**	
	1999-2001	**2002-03**	**1999-2001**	**2002-03**
Commuting	13	12	18	18
Business	2	2	5	5
Education	6	6	7	7
Escort education	6	7	3	3
Shopping	23	22	19	18
Other escort	8	10	8	9
Other personal business	11	11	10	10
Leisure:				
Visit friends at private home	14	13	12	11
Visit friends elsewhere	4	4	5	5
Sport/entertainment	6	6	7	7
Holiday/day trip	3	3	3	4
Other, including just walk	4	4	4	4
Total number of trips	*1,008*	*1,003*	*1,031*	*994*

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey. Short walks are believed to have been under-recorded in 2002 and 2003 compared with earlier years.

Source: DfT (2001), Table 3.7; DfT (2005), Table 4.3.

Travel to work

Table 2.6, which is based on LFS data, shows that men are more likely usually to travel to work by car, whereas women are more than twice as likely to use the bus or coach or to walk to do so. This can limit their employment options. However, since the early 1990s, the gender gap in the proportion commuting by car (which includes travel by van, minibus and works van) has narrowed from 12 percentage points in 1993 to 7 percentage points in 2001 (the difference remained the same in 2003). In 2001, men also took longer than women to travel to work on average, but only by six minutes (28 minutes compared with 22 minutes) (DfT, 2003a).

Table 2.6   Usual mode of transport to work, UK, 2003

	Per cent	
	Women	**Men**
Car, van, minibus, works van	67	74
Bus, coach and private bus	11	5
Railway train	3	4
Underground train, light railway, tram	2	2
Taxi	1	0
Motorbike, moped, scooter	0	2
Bicycle	2	4
Walk	14	7
Other method	0	1
All	*100*	*100*

Notes: Data are from the Labour Force Survey, Autumn 2003.

Source: Aston et al (2004), Table 10.4.

This narrow overall difference disguises the fact that there are wider differences in travel to work times for some modes of travel. In an analysis of the 1999-2000 LFS, Anderson, Forth, Metcalf and Kirby (2001) found that for all modes of travel analysed, men had longer average commuting times than women, with the biggest difference (32 minutes) being for rail travel (Table 2.7). The study also found that women spend less time travelling to work than men on average in all regions.

Table 2.7   Average one-way commuting time, GB, 1999-2000

	Minutes	
	Women	**Men**
Car, van or motorcycle	20	26
Bus and coach	33	37
Rail	27	59
Walk or cycle	12	16
All	*22*	*27*

Source: Anderson et al (2001), Table 6.1.

In addition, for both sexes, those working full-time (in the UK) took an average of 8 minutes per day longer in 2001 to travel to work than those working part-time; moreover, full-time workers were more than three times as likely as part-timers to take more than one hour to travel to work, while a much higher proportion of part-timers than full-timers took 10 minutes or less to reach work. Men working full-time took only 3 minutes longer on average than women who did so to travel to work (ONS, 2002).

Aston et al (2004) have examined the usual methods of travel to work by both gender and ethnicity in the UK. They found that for white, black, Asian and other ethnic groups, the proportion of men who travelled to work by car or van was higher than the proportion of women who did so. There were also differences between ethnic groups for women; for example, whereas 69 per cent of white women usually travelled to work by car or van, only 39 per cent of black women did so. Conversely, 33 per cent of black women, but only 10 per cent of white women, travelled to work by bus or coach. Moreover, amongst women who usually travelled to work by car or van, a slightly higher proportion of non-white women (16 per cent), compared with white women (11 per cent), usually did so as passengers rather than as drivers.

Car use and availability

There has been a particularly strong growth in full car driving licence holding among women. As Table 2.8 shows, licence holding for women has doubled over the last 20 years, whereas the proportion of men holding licences has barely changed since the early 1990s. Moreover, Table 2.9 reveals that the growth in licence holding by women is reflected across all age groups, although it is still the case that a higher proportion of males than females hold driving licences in all age groups.

Table 2.8   Full car driving licence holders, GB

	Per cent	
	Women	**Men**
1975-76	29	69
1985-86	41	74
1992-94	54	81
1998-2000	60	82
2002-03	61	81

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey.

Source: DfT (2004d), Table 3; DfT (2005), Chart 4.1.

Table 2.9   Full car driving licence holders by age, GB

	Per cent			
	Women		**Men**	
	1998-2000	**2002-03**	**1998-2000**	**2002-03**
17-20	37	27	45	32
21-29	69	62	81	74
30-39	78	77	90	88
40-49	77	78	92	91
50-59	68	71	89	90
60-69	54	58	84	86
70 and over	22	27	65	69

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey.

Source: DfT (2004d), Table 3; DfT (2005), Chart 4.1.

In both 1998-2000 and 2002-03, the narrowest gap in licence holding was for those aged 17-20. Amongst older women, the growth in licence holding has been more marked. For example, licence holding between 1975-76 and 2002-03 grew from 24 per cent to 71 per cent for women aged between 50 and 59 and from 4 per cent to 27 per cent for those aged 70 and over. In the same period, the proportion of men aged 50-59 holding driving licences increased from 75 per cent to 90 per cent, while the proportion of men aged 70 and over holding a driving licence increased from 32 per cent to 69 per cent.

The proportion of women who have access to a car has increased substantially over time. In 1989-90, only 24 per cent of women were the main drivers of a car within a

household, compared with 49 per cent of men. By 2002, the figure for women had risen to 36 per cent, while that for men was the same at 49 per cent. The rise in the female figure has been because increasing numbers of women are now heading households (Aston et al, 2004). Moreover, where there is only one car in a household, it is usually the male driver who has first call on it. In households with two or more adults, but only one car, 65 per cent of men were classified as the main driver in 2002-03 through doing the most mileage in the car, compared with only 27 per cent of females. However, where the household has two cars (which can have two main drivers, one for each vehicle), very similar proportions of men (82 per cent) and women (79 per cent) were classified as the main driver (DfT, 2005, Table 4.1).

The availability of a car for personal use has a major effect on travel patterns. The more cars that are available within a household, the more people travel by car rather than by other kinds of transport. For instance, in 2002-03, members of households in which there were no vehicles made an average of 724 journeys a year. This compared with an average of 1,031 journeys by members of households in which there was at least one vehicle and 1,106 journeys with two or more cars. They also travelled only 2,845 miles per year on average; this compared with members of households with two or more cars who travelled 9,329 miles per person each year, more than three time further. However, there was much less difference between households in the time spent travelling each year; this varied between 291 hours per year for those households with no car, to 404 hours per year for those with two or more cars (DfT, 2005, Table 5.1).

Table 2.10 examines variations in travel by car availability.

Table 2.10   Variations in travel by car availability, GB, 2002

	Trips (number)		Distance (miles)		Time (hours)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
No car	729	750	2,830	3,355	292	319
One car	1,080	1,073	6,619	8,487	385	418
Two or more cars	1,229	1,144	9,159	12,590	432	491

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey.

Source: DfT (2004a), Table 5.1.

The table shows that in households with no cars, men make slightly more trips than women. Where there is one car in the household, they make similar numbers of trips, although men cover much larger distances; where there are two or more cars,

women make a higher number of journeys, but men still travel much greater distances.

Public transport

As noted earlier, a higher proportion of women's than men's trips are by bus or coach, while women are more than twice as likely to travel to work by bus. The NTS also found that in 1999-2001, 32 per cent of women, compared with only 22 per cent of men, reported that they used a local bus at least once a week; conversely, a higher proportion of men (48 per cent) than women (38 per cent) reported using a bus less than once a year (DfT, 2003b). An analysis of the 2002-03 NTS found that in every age group, females made more trips on local buses than males (DfT, 2004d).

The main reasons for using a local bus in 2002-03 were for shopping (27 per cent of bus trips), commuting and business (22 per cent), leisure (21 per cent) and education (16 per cent); other personal business accounted for the remaining 14 per cent of bus trips. A higher proportion of men's than women's journeys by bus are for commuting and business purposes, whereas a higher proportion of women's journeys are for shopping (DfT, 2004d).

Local bus travel is often used in conjunction with other modes of transport as part of a particular trip. In 1999-2001, four bus stages were made on average as part of a trip with another main mode of transport; 74 per cent of these were part of a rail trip (surface and underground) and 13 per cent as part of a car trip (DfT, 2003b).

Unfortunately, it is not known if women or men were more likely to travel by bus as one stage in a trip involving several modes of transport. This is of some significance, for individuals making such journeys may be affected by problems associated with its routing, timing and reliability. This may, for example, lessen their access to resources and services, notably employment and health care. Further gendered analysis on this topic would be very useful.

In contrast, men are more likely than women to make trips by rail. They also travel further; in 1999-2001, men covered 511 miles a year by rail, compared with 347 miles for women. In all age groups over the age of 16, men make more rail trips than women, with the gender difference being most marked for those aged 30-59 (DfT, 2003c).

Men and women travel by rail for broadly similar reasons, although a higher proportion of men's trips (59 per cent) than women's (45 per cent) were for

commuting and business purposes in 1999-2001. Women were slightly more likely than men to travel by rail to visit friends or to shop (DfT, 2003c).

Road casualties

Men are still more likely than women to be a road casualty, but the gender gap has narrowed for accidents among car users. Table 2.11 shows that the pattern of casualties would seem to reflect the differences in men's and women's mode use reported earlier. However, it may be useful to do further research on men's and women's exposure to the road environment by mode and the casualty rate.

Table 2.11   Casualties of all severities by road user type, GB, 2002

	Percentage of casualties	
User Category	**Women**	**Men**
All injury accidents	42	58
Injuries to car users	49	51
Injury to public transport users	64	35
Injury to pedestrians	41	59
Injury to cyclists	20	80
Injury to powered two-wheeler users	11	89
Injury to goods vehicles users	11	89

Source: DfT (2003d), Tables 5a, 5b and 5c.

2.6   Scotland

It is possible to examine the patterns of transport use of women and men in Scotland. It is also possible in some cases to compare these patterns with that in Britain as a whole. This is because it is possible to disaggregate the main source of data, the National Travel Survey, by gender. The most recent data available are from the 2002-03 survey (Scottish Executive, 2005b). However, it should be recognised that the sample of the NTS in Scotland is quite small, so apparent differences from the GB pattern must be treated with caution. In addition, other Scottish sources help to fill in some of the gaps in the evidence.

The Scottish Executive publication, *Scottish Transport Statistics* (Scottish Executive, 2003), contains a range of tables covering such issues as total number of journeys, type of transport used and car licences, but these are often not gendered. In addition, *Household Transport in 2003* (Scottish Executive, 2004), includes detailed

information from the Scottish Household Survey. Basic results are gendered, but further gender disaggregation of the data would be extremely useful.

Distance travelled/total number of journeys made

In 2002-03, adult men (aged 16+) who were Scottish residents travelled 8,259 miles on average. This compared with an average of only 6,377 miles for women. Overall, men also made slightly more trips per person per year than women on average (1,011, compared with 1,004), although women aged 16-29 and 30-59 made more trips than men in the equivalent age groups. However, men aged 60 and over were much more likely than women of the same age to make trips (Scottish Executive, 2005b, Tables M-Q) .

Type of transport used

Although men and women made a similar number of trips in 2002-03, they used very different methods to do so as Table 2.12 shows. Although there were some differences in the methods of travel between GB as a whole and Scotland (for example, a higher proportion of both women and men travelled by car in Scotland), the gender patterns were similar. As in GB overall, men are more likely than women to make journeys as a car driver, while women are more likely to be passengers.

Table 2.12   Trips made by mode of transport, Scotland, 2002-03

	Per cent	
	Women	**Men**
Car, van, lorry driver	39	56
On foot	27	25
Car, van, lorry passenger	21	9
Local bus	9	6
Other public transport	3	3
Other private transport	1	2
All trips (miles)	*1,004*	*1,011*

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey. Short walks are believed to have been under-recorded in 2002 and 2003 compared with earlier years.

Source: Scottish Executive (2005b), Table M.

Car use and availability

As in GB as a whole, a higher proportion of males than females have full driving licences. In Scotland in 2003, 77 per cent of males aged 17 and over had a full

driving licence, compared with only 56 per cent of females. In all age groups, a higher proportion of males than females had a driving licence, with the gender difference generally increasing with age. For example, there was an 10 percentage point difference for those aged 20-29, but a 40 percentage point difference for those aged 70-79. Men were also much more likely than women to drive every day (52 per cent, compared with 35 per cent) (Scottish Executive, 2004, Tables 3 and 4).

Public transport

In 2003, 12 per cent of women and 9 per cent of men aged 16 and over usually made a bus journey every or almost every day. Women were also more likely than men to make bus journeys overall; 65 per cent of men, compared with 55 per cent of women, had not made a bus journey in the previous month. However, similar proportions of women and men travelled by train (Scottish Executive, 2004, Table 10). In general, women and men held very similar views about local bus and train services, although a slightly higher proportion of men than women felt safe and secure on both buses and trains (Scottish Executive, 2004, Table 11).

Journey purpose

Again, as in GB, men and women in Scotland differ in their reasons for travelling (Table 2.13).

Table 2.13   Purpose of trips made in Scotland, 2002-03

	Per cent	
Purpose of trips	**Women**	**Men**
Commuting or business	19	27
Shopping	24	21
Education	2	2
Education escort	5	2
Other escort and personal business	20	18
Visiting friends at home	12	9
Visiting friends elsewhere	4	5
Sport/entertainment	6	7
Holiday/day trip	3	3
Other	5	5
All trips (N)	*1,004*	*1,011*

Notes: Data are from the NTS and are for Scottish residents aged 16 and over.

Source: Scottish Executive (2005b), Table N.

While the categories are not exactly the same as for the UK, the table shows that overall patterns are broadly similar, with men making more commuting or business trips than women, but fewer shopping trips.

As shown in Table 2.14, men are also more likely to travel to work by car or van, while women are more likely to do so as car passengers, or on the bus or on foot.

Table 2.14   Usual mode of transport to work, Scotland, 2003

	Per cent	
	Women	**Men**
Car or van driver	55	65
On foot	16	9
Car or van passenger	10	7
Bus	13	10
Rail	3	3
Bicycle	1	2
Other	1	4

Notes: Data are from the Scottish Household Survey and are for employed adults aged 16+ who were not working from home.

Source: Scottish Executive (2004), Table 15.

2.7   Wales

In general, published data on travel patterns which examine women and men separately are more limited in Wales than in Scotland. However, data from the NTS are published by the National Assembly of Wales in *Welsh Transport Statistics* (National Assembly for Wales, 2005b); the chapter on personal travel includes data from the 2002-03 survey. The relevant information is summarised below.

Type of transport used

Table 2.15 shows that in 2002-03, a much higher proportion of the journeys made by men than women were made as car or van drivers. Conversely, a much higher proportion of women's journeys were made as a car passenger. Unfortunately, it is not possible from the published data to state the proportions of journeys that were carried out on public transport.

Table 2.15   Trips made by mode of transport, Wales, 2002-03

	Per cent	
	Women	**Men**
Car/van driver	35	54
Car passenger	31	19
On foot	24	19
Other mode	10	8
All trips (N)	*929*	*970*

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey. Short walks are believed to have been under-recorded in 2002 and 2003 compared with earlier years.

Source: National Assembly for Wales (2005b), Tables 6.3 and 6.5.

Table 2.16 shows that, as elsewhere, men are more likely than women to travel to work by car in Wales. Amongst those using the car as the main method of travelling to work, a slightly higher proportion of men than women are usually drivers and a slightly lower proportion are usually passengers.

Table 2.16   Main mode of transport to work, Wales, 2004

	Per cent	
	Women	**Men**
Car, van, minibus, works van	77	86
On foot	16	7
Bus, coach, private bus or taxi	6	2
Railway	1	2
Bicycle	…	1
All	100	100

Notes: Data are from Labour Force Survey, Autumn 2004.

… Less than 0.5 per cent.

Source: National Assembly for Wales (2005b), Table 6.9.

Journey purpose

Table 2.17 shows that in Wales, as in the UK and Scotland, a higher proportion of men's than women's journeys are for commuting and business, while a higher proportion of women's journeys are for shopping. Thus in 1999-2001, commuting and business accounted for 23 per cent of men's trips, compared with only 13 per cent of women's.

Table 2.17   Purpose of trips made in Wales, 2002-03

Purpose of trip	Women		Men	
	% of trips	**% of distance travelled**	**% of trips**	**% of distance travelled**
Commuting and business	15	18	21	35
Shopping	21	18	18	12
Education and escort education	13	6	9	4
Other personal business and escort	20	15	20	13
Visit friends	18	20	17	15
Leisure and just walking	13	22	15	21
All trips/distance travelled (miles)	*929*	*5,742*	*970*	*7,804*

Notes: Data are from the National Travel Survey.

Source: National Assembly for Wales (2005b), Tables 6.3 - 6.6.

In addition, it is evident that men travel much larger distances for commuting and business reasons than do women. In 2002-03, more than one third of the distance that men travelled in Wales (an average of 2,749 miles) was for this reason, compared with less than a fifth of the distance travelled by women (an average of only 1,054 miles). Moreover, for all purposes except shopping and education/escort education, men travelled longer distances than women on average.

Car use and availability

As in the UK and Scotland, a higher proportion of adult males than adult females (aged 17 and over) in Wales are full car driving licence holders. In 2002-03, 82 per cent of adult males had a driving licence, compared with only 58 per cent of females. Again as elsewhere, the gender gap has narrowed considerably in recent years; the equivalent figures for 1989-91 were 78 per cent for males, but only 43 per cent for females (National Assembly for Wales, 2005b, Table 2.18).

2.8   Limitations in research and statistical evidence

We saw in section 2.5 how the travel patterns of men and women differ. However, these findings are based on data pertaining to what women do, rather than how they feel about what they do or don't do, and the things they would like to do, but can't do ('latent need'). Even where the travel patterns and transport use of a man and a woman are 'objectively' similar, the subjective experience may be quite different in some important respects and these can affect long-term trends as well as individual well-being.

A number of studies have collected in-depth information about women's experiences of transport use, but a literature search failed to uncover any studies that have looked specifically at men's transport needs and experiences. This lack of experiential documentation for men can be highlighted as a gap in the literature. Generally, studies have focused on women's needs and experiences, but these are often relatively small-scale. We are not aware of any studies that have systematically looked at needs and experiences in a mixed sex sample and then analysed comparatively for gender differences; this appears to be another gap in the literature. In general, available data on differences in travel patterns are largely quantitative and are derived from large-scale routine data gathering exercises such as the NTS. Not all of these surveys disaggregate for gender, and even if they do, this is not the primary purpose of the data collection and analysis

There remains a need for a large-scale UK wide study that would collect both quantitative and qualitative experiential data from samples of males and females. These samples should be matched where possible for the range of variables known to impact on travel behaviour such as age, income, ethnicity, disability, geographical location, parenting and employment status. In the absence of such a definitive study, our understanding has inevitably to be pieced together from a variety of data sources of varying depth, scope and quality. The gaps have hitherto been filled by anecdote, 'common knowledge' and guesswork. Despite much established common ground and the robustness of key findings, there remains a need to give this important issue the detailed research attention it deserves.

Limitations of data sources
Despite the progress made in recent years, there is still considerable room for improvement. Only a minority of tables in the published NTS are disaggregated by gender which means that potential differences in male and female travel patterns are not immediately apparent. For example, the 2002 report includes tables on the usual means of travel to work and to the shops; travel difficulties associated with these activities; travel difficulties linked to health and disability; and travel by household income. There may well be differences for males and females for these factors, but none of the tables in the published report were gendered.

Moreover, no information was presented in the 2002 NTS report on personal travel patterns by parental status or by employment status, while only one table in the report examined differences by ethnic group (this covered car availability and was not gendered). This means it is not possible from this source to examine differences in travel purposes and modes of travels between, for example, women and men with

and without dependent children, women and men who work full-time, part-time or are economically inactive, and women and men from different ethnic groups.

As noted in section 2.5, there has been limited gendered published analysis of multi-purpose journeys and further information is required on the mode of transport used by women and men for two or more trips within the same multi-purpose journey. This is likely to be the same if a car is used, but could vary if public transport is used. Similarly, further assessment of the mode of transport used for different stages of the journey would be useful, particularly again if public transport is involved.

Areas not covered in datasets

Finally, as far as is known, no dataset adequately covers the issue of the time of the day when women and men tend to travel. Because women are far more likely to be in part-time employment, and to be making social and caring visits to family and friends, they travel more often in the 'off-peak' than men do. There is a clear need for a national dataset that reports gender disaggregated times of travel and journey purpose to enable the robust mapping of these phenomena.

2.9   Conclusions

Despite some advances, women remain a disadvantaged group in UK society. Economic disadvantage is significant and persistent and is compounded by a range of other factors. This cumulative disadvantage has important implications for the affordability of, and access to, both private and public transport. This particularly affects women on lower incomes. Women who suffer multiple disadvantage have particular needs and are at especially high risk of social exclusion.

Despite the dramatic increase in car usage among women, robust differences in travel behaviour between men and women in the UK persist. There are important variations between women with regard to their travel patterns and experiences. These sources of variation, such as age, income, employment, parenting status, ethnicity, disability and residence location are inter-related.

Nevertheless, women overall, compared with men, have less mobility and fewer transport options. This relative disadvantage plays an important role in limiting women's access to resources and hence in maintaining the existing power imbalance. The role of transport in maintaining gender inequality has been neglected in the past. It is now being increasingly recognised that transport policy and provision have the potential power to amplify or minimise structural disadvantage. In particular, transport has a key role to play in 'routes out of social exclusion' for women suffering multiple disadvantage. There is an emergent range of good practice in the UK,

including toolkits such as *The Public Transport Gender Audit*, which can be drawn on to improve the gender impact of transport policy and provision.

This chapter has identified a continuing and ongoing need to address gaps in the research literature as well as limitations in the scope and analysis of routinely collected and official statistics. For instance, we know of no existing study that collects both quantitative (travel behaviour) and qualitative (experiential) data from matched samples of men and women to show conclusively that women's experiences of public transport are both quantitatively and qualitatively distinct and disadvantageous. However, the existing literature, though diverse and of varying scope and quality, is sufficiently substantial and congruent strongly to suggest that this is the case.

It seems apparent that the present transport system has largely been constructed for men by men. The evidence for this is provided by the nature of vehicle design; the extent of radial routing (i.e. routes that run from suburb to centre) in public transport, which means that passengers have to travel to the centre and out again on a radial leg to arrive at an area adjacent to their starting points; and the emphasis on the peak-time periods in the provision of bus and rail services.

The task now, therefore, is to ensure that all future developments in transport policy and provision should be assessed for their potential impact on gender equity. This process can be supported by the extensive literature on what is already known about gender differences in transport use and experience, as well as by existing models of good practice. An essential element of policy development and good practice will nevertheless be the drive for better empirical research and statistical sources.

3.   THE IMPACT OF TRANSPORT ON OTHER SECTORS

3.1   Introduction

The development of transport policy and provision has a significant impact upon many other sectors of society, in particular, on the efforts to improve service delivery in the public sector. The ability physically to access service delivery points and the professionals they contain, reliably and affordably, presents particular problems for many groups within society. These include households without access to a car, mobility-impaired and older people and those on low incomes.

Women, as a result of their societal roles, are often more involved than men in interaction with some public services, such as health and education. Furthermore, as women have less car access than men, they are therefore more reliant on other means of transport, particularly buses, to access other public services. Consequently, both those who are charged with the development of transport policy and provision and those who seek to improve the delivery of a whole range of public services need to address the gender imbalance in who is accessing public services; how they are doing so; how easy it is to do so; and what the implications of not accessing such services are.

3.2   Lack of interest in the problem

Until recently, professionals and policy-makers in non-transport sectors have not examined the impact of gender-bias in transport upon the efficiency of service delivery and service uptake in their respective sectors. It is evident that poor public transport provision has the greatest impact on those who most need to access services. However, the failure to access services has often been considered (by health service professionals, for example) to result from such reasons as apathy, ignorance or dysfunctional behaviour. This lack of interest is of course a two way process and the transport profession is also guilty of focussing too much on policies concerning access to work and not enough on access to services. For example, McCray (2000) highlights the failure of the transport planning literature to address healthcare access.

This lack of attention is now beginning to be addressed. It is becoming clear from a small but growing literature, that failings in the transport system act as a significant barrier to equitable uptake of services. This issue has been examined, for example, for the health sector (McCray, 2000; Hamilton and Gourlay, 2002); for employment training (Callender and Metcalf, 1998); and in access to healthy food (SEU, 2003).

It can be seen from the literature listed above that these difficulties are caused by trends towards agglomeration and centralisation of services (e.g. NHS proposals for development of regional centres of excellence), and by low-density land-use patterns. This make access to a whole range of services difficult for those who are reliant on walking, cycling and buses. However, as shown in section 3.7, more women than men will rely on these means to access a whole range of services. This is particularly the case for many low-income women, who are often a significant target of government service delivery objectives.

It can also be seen that journeys on public transport in the privatised, under-capitalised, UK transport sector are made more difficult by unreliable services which increase the time required for unpredictable and lengthy journeys. The DfT collects data on Bus Quality Indicators in England on a quarterly basis; this includes information on passenger satisfaction with bus reliability. In 2003-04, only 65 per cent of those surveyed were satisfied with reliability, with a slightly higher proportion being satisfied in London (68 per cent) than in Metropolitan areas (62 per cent) and Shire areas (65 per cent) (DfT, 2004b). The published data were not gendered, so it is not possible to state whether women were more or less satisfied than men. The data also suggest that people without access to a car may even not be able to make a journey to a service location at all, but this suppression of journeys is much more difficult to quantify.

The cost of transport can also be a significant barrier to travel. People in low-income households spend significant proportions of household expenditure on travel. Work undertaken for a study of transport services to a local hospital in south London ascertained that for some low-income people to access a single appointment at a local hospital would cost up to 10 per cent of their weekly income (Armitage, 2001, personal communication).

Research on access to services has tended to focus on particular sectors. Consequently this review largely highlights work done on the health, training and employment and education areas.

3.3   Health sector

One of the sectors that is taking increasing interest in the role of access to services is health. As highlighted by Deaville (2001) (see also Coyle, 2003), the health sector, through accessibility studies called distance-decay studies, has traditionally acknowledged the importance of geographically dispersed services in increasing the take-up of a range of services. Studies of health in rural areas (Cox and Mungall, 1999) highlight the impact of poor access to health facilities because of distance.

Lack of access to a car frequently results in patients appearing at health facilities with more developed symptoms. They thus require more complicated and more expensive treatment.

Pearson, Dawson, Moore and Spencer (1993) explored the relationship in Merseyside between transport availability, employment opportunities and access to health services. They found that attending healthcare appointments always involved complex scheduling or getting help. Although individuals questioned had many more problems than transport, it was clear that attending a hospital appointment involved a great deal of organisation.

More positively, however, there is now increasing acknowledgement of the role that both time taken and unreliable public transport (and not just distance) play in both rural and urban areas, in providing a barrier to the accessing of a range of health services.

Ante-natal care
It has been found, for example, that the failure of the transport system to serve the needs of women on low incomes to gain access to hospitals impedes their access to ante-natal care. This in turn may affect the health of their babies, and thus potentially has a significant impact on health inequalities. Poor access to other health services can also have deleterious impacts upon other health outcomes (Hamilton and Gourlay, 2002).

Hamilton and Gourlay (2002), who examine access to ante-natal services, report that in many ways, poor transport provision can exacerbate existing problems. This can be seen in one example they cite. This involved a woman who had caring commitments at home for her elderly mother. She reported that attending her outpatient appointment would have taken her almost four hours travelling time to and from the hospital and therefore she would have had to seek temporary care for her mother.

It might be argued, in this case, that apathy was the reason for non-attendance. However, if this line is taken, it would mean discounting the caring commitments of the user concerned, and the duration of the journey, plus the time away from home. Hamilton and Gourlay showed that patients who were dependent upon often unreliable public transport for access to clinics and who would have had to take account of an appointment system which can frequently run late, would have had to rearrange a considerable part of their day to attend their 20 minute hospital appointment. They also found that women were more frequently affected than men.

Whilst problems of poor public transport are not the direct responsibility of the health sector, non-attendance is a significant problem for the health services. Official statistics show that, in England alone, the cost of missed appointments is between £250m and £400m per annum (KPMG Consulting, 2002). As each missed appointment is said to cost the NHS around £70, this sum suggests a very large number of missed appointments in Britain. Even if a relatively small proportion are due to women being particularly afflicted by poor transport access, the development of a transport system that improved the ability of women to access hospital appointments would save the NHS significant amounts of money (KPMG Consulting, 2002).

The health sector is beginning to pay increasing attention to the issue of access to services. For example, guidance has been issued by the Department of Health (DoH) to support a new statutory duty on all NHS bodies to involve and consult patients and the public on an ongoing basis. NHS bodies will need to demonstrate that they are involving disadvantaged groups in key areas such as the planning, development and provision of services. It is likely that accessibility will be a core area in this dialogue (DoH, 2003a).

However, the counter-trends towards agglomeration and centralisation of services in the health sector, as in many other areas, tend to reduce transport access for those dependent on means other than cars. In fact, many service delivery initiatives are also increasingly concentrating resources in centralised locations, often increasing the amount of travel and thus the 'time cost' required to access them. This may mean that either services have to be missed, or the use of centralised services has to be reduced.

The resulting failure to access public services, particularly by those on low incomes, because of the high 'time costs' of travel may significantly affect the ability of other sectors to meet performance targets and to deliver the desired policy outcomes. For this reason, health service agencies need to look at their own procedures to allow better access. Service providers also need to make much closer examination of how services can be brought to people in imaginative and flexible ways, rather than people having to travel to the service, in order to overcome some of the transport barriers and problems identified.

For example, in ante-natal services, Hamilton and Gourlay (2003) call for much more work to be done on how services are organised to get around transport barriers. This includes additional research to investigate the level of care required during pregnancy. Pregnant women should be asked essential questions about their ability

to access services. This work should also investigate whether imaginative and flexible solutions, such as 'home visits' and 'telephone consultations', may be more productive. However, Hamilton and Gourlay (2002) report that while there are several examples of good practice throughout the UK, some units still insist on bringing women to the hospital. New initiatives, such as telemedicine, have been tried and it is necessary to explore the role that such initiatives could have as a way of overcoming gendered barriers to healthcare.[1]

Access to health

There is also increasing awareness of the role of transport in facilitating access to the range of foods needed to maintain and promote good health. It has been found that access to good quality food shops is a significant factor in maintaining a good diet. A poor transport system, which fails to meet the needs of women (who, as noted earlier, do the majority of shopping journeys), has been shown significantly to reduce the take-up of 'healthy' food with potential impacts upon health inequalities. People without cars are far more likely to find it difficult to access reasonably priced food shops and supermarkets. In 2001, 13 per cent of people without access to cars in England reported that they found getting to supermarkets difficult, compared with only 5 per cent of those with access to a car (Ruston, 2002).

Mental health

Mental health is also an area where there has been a developing appreciation of the role of transport in service provision. Research outlined in the Department of Health's Women's Mental Health Strategy (DoH, 2003b) highlights the key factor of social isolation in women's mental well-being. It points to links between social isolation and mental ill health. Women are more vulnerable to social isolation than men because of:

- Higher levels of poverty.

- Lone parenthood.

- A lack of mobility - women are more likely than men to be dependent on public transport and they are less likely to be able to drive or to own a car.

- Longer life expectancy - women are more likely to live alone and in poverty in their later years than men.

- Fear - many women in cities are afraid to go out alone at night.

---

[1] For further information, see the range of initiatives contained in the UK Telemedicine and E-health Information Service, see http://www.teis.nhs.uk/

Furthermore, findings of research presented to the annual conference of the Royal College of Psychiatrists in 2002 (Bebbington et al, 2002) illustrates the relationship between these factors and their association with mental illness in women bringing up children on their own. This study found that lone mothers were three times more likely to be depressed than any other group of women. There was a correlation between mental illness and high rates of material disadvantage: most of these women were not employed, the majority lived in rented housing and two-thirds had no access to a car.

3.4   Training and employment sector

As noted in Chapter 2, women, especially those with a child aged under five, are much more likely than men to work part-time. This places an increasing challenge on any public transport system which needs to be able to accommodate journeys not traditionally in the normal peak periods. This is particularly so with evening and early morning shift work patterns.

It has also been found that an inability of the transport system to serve people's need to access training impacts negatively on initiatives to improve employability amongst women. This is particularly the case where training is in the evening or childcare is not offered (Callender and Metcalf, 1998).

For example, the National Adult Learning Survey conducted for the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (La Valle and Blake, 2001) found that many adults experienced transport difficulties in getting to courses. Amongst those who overcame such difficulties (and were actively learning), it was more likely to be perceived as a problem by women (12 per cent) than by men (6 per cent). Unsurprisingly, it was perceived as a barrier to learning by a larger number (15 per cent) of non-learners. For those non-learners, however, transport difficulties could be experienced by 22 per cent of women. Lone parents were twice as likely to say transport was a problem (17 per cent) as other groups. Twelve per cent of people who found it fairly or very difficult to get to the place where the course took place were asked why. By far the most common reason was that it was inaccessible by public transport (68 per cent gave this reason). Forty-one per cent mentioned that it was too far to walk and 17 per cent said that it was a long way. Less than one per cent mentioned that the cost made it difficult for them to get to their course.

La Valle, Grewal and Mowlam (2002), in a further analysis of the National Adult Learning Survey which focussed on student parents, showed that transport is seen by student parents as being a key factor that affects their overall perception of a course. In particular, the study gave positive examples of courses that included transport and childcare provision to overcome access difficulties. One was a course

for lone mothers that provided transport to the place of study; a crèche next door to the classroom; kitchen facilities that mothers could use to prepare feeds; and flexible teaching so that mothers could take breaks to feed and change their children. The respondent commented:

> *The crèche is next door to the room that we work in so they just come and give you a shout and you have to go and change a nappy and then go back into class.*
> (La Valle et al, p. 20)

The respondent undertaking this course especially welcomed this opportunity as she had been struggling to arrange childcare, because of the cost and because her child suffered from deficit hyperactive disorder, which she discovered made childminders and nurseries reluctant to offer her a place. Courses offering child-supportive schemes were usually part of specific initiatives such as Home Start and Reach Out.

La Valle et al (2002) also found that the cost of transport plays a part in determining the courses that student parents pursue. Another example that shows the cost of transport heavily influencing the take-up of education involved a parent who opted for nursing instead of a teaching course, partly because the latter was much longer, but also because the nursing course provided free transport to college. The authors also highlight examples cited by student parents of cases where the educational establishments made efforts to overcome transport barriers:

> *Another was an IT course run by Home Start for young lone mothers. The course organisers provided transport to collect the mothers from home, an onsite crèche, and kitchen facilities to prepare feeds for their babies.*
> (La Valle et al, p. 34)

Overcoming transport barriers to access services requires extra resources and increasing amounts of money are being spent by a range of agencies to do this. For example, the Employment Service spent £15.3 million between July 2001 and November 2002 on the Adviser Discretion Fund which is available to provide, ad-hoc, personalised solutions to overcome individual claimants barriers to employability. Of this 20 per cent (or just over £3 million) was spent on transport costs (La Valle et al, 2002).

Other service delivery programmes, such as the New Deal for Lone Parents (NDLP) recognise the role that transport plays in acting as a barrier, particularly to lone mothers. For example, in some rural locations, those administering the NDLP are also developing innovative solutions to transport problems. These include the Wheels to Work scheme where New Deal applicants are provided with a scooter to access

employment opportunities (see, for example, The Countryside Agency, 2002). It is difficult to estimate the cost burden of such initiatives on these service providers, but it is not insignificant.

However, in some cases, it is clear that a continued lack of attention to gender differences in transport within the training sector still hampers proper analysis. For example, qualitative work undertaken by Harries and Woodfield (2002) highlights the fact that transport difficulties, such as high cost, poor reliability and a lack of availability, act as a barrier to the transition to work. Whilst this study does not differentiate between the experiences of women and men, it is reasonable to expect, in line with the work highlighted in Chapter 2, that women are more likely to face problems of access to work by public transport than men. Gender disaggregated data would however, be useful in this case.[2]

Harries and Woodfield (2002, p. 58) found that:

> *The size of the travel costs incurred varied considerably in each of the areas in the study. In Cornwall for example, they ranged from £2.75 per week bus fares for someone who lived near work through to £20 per week in petrol costs for a man who drove in to his local town to work. And in London they ranged from £7 per week in bus fares through to £30 per week for train fares. The amount spent depended on three factors: the distance between home and job, the availability of public transport and the cost of public transport. In the more rural areas, distances tended to be greater and public transport less widespread and frequent; hence some participants said that they needed a car to get them to work, and on occasion had expressly bought one for this purpose.*

The report goes on to highlight the fact that the ability of individuals to afford initial start up costs of employment is central to them maintaining a successful transition to work. The authors reported that the main factor was the expenditure intrinsically linked to a person's ability to sustain their employment. Childcare and transport costs were reported as principal expenditure concerns. Respondents described how their ability to finance travel to their new jobs, or to find regular, affordable childcare, were essential in their successful maintenance of their new job. Financial support around these forms of expenditure was rated as a high priority; although for those living in rural areas (where public transport was limited), financial assistance around these items was less effective than for those living in urban areas with greater access to

---

[2] Harries and Woodfield's (2002) work does show the significance for some people of so-called transition-easement programmes, such as the 'Job Grant' programme, in providing badly needed cash resources to overcome the initial transport costs of starting work. Whilst it is difficult to quantify in financial terms, according to the Social Exclusion Unit (2003), the 'Job Grant' programme accounts for 16.5 per cent of the total amount spent on the transition-easement programme.

reliable public transport systems. The report also called for further policy attention to be paid to the issue of the cost of transport for those starting work.

From the work detailed here, it appears that further expenditure from the training and employment sector will be required if the transport barriers to employment and employment-related training, especially for women, are to be overcome. If these barriers are removed, this in turn could have the effect of reducing unemployment and could make significant savings on the nearly £24 billion that unemployment costs the UK government every year (Bivand, 2000).

3.5   Education sector

Education is a sector where there has been little attention to the problem of gender-differences in accessing services. It is often assumed that compulsory attendance and statutory provision for transport for students has overcome many access issues. However, the widening of focus in this sector to pre-school provision, and the debate around congestion caused by the 'school run', have brought access to the fore of late.

Mason (1995) has shown that the benefits of after-school clubs and other extra-curricula provision is often only available to those families who can access the location. The difficulty for families (particularly for women, who carry out the majority of school escort journeys) in accessing these facilities, due to a poor-quality transport system, reduces the effectiveness of these programmes in raising educational attainment. The author states that the barriers to development mentioned by the expert interviewees concerned practical and organisational issues. These included: a lack of transport in rural areas; parents' concerns about the safety of young people (e.g. while travelling home from after-school provision in the evenings); and the possible organisational barriers between 'partners' (e.g. between schools and library or youth services).

In Mason's study, teachers and children were interviewed separately about their opinions about extra-curricular sport. The findings from the interviews with teachers demonstrate the significant role that transport plays in the take-up of extra-curricular sport:

- Clubs that were run at school were felt to be particularly accessible to pupils because the surroundings were familiar. Ease of travel and transport were considered to be important.

- Teachers felt that parents had the most significant effect upon child participation. They recognised that in deprived areas, poorer parents had

difficulties transporting children when compared with car-based wealthier parents and that this factor reduced their level of participation.

In addition, there are a number of individual schemes currently in place to combat transport-related barriers to learning. For example, childcare might be provided on site to remove the need for multiple trips; a college might use its Learner Support Fund to buy a minibus; study at home might be permitted to reduce the overall cost of travel; or outreach learning centres might be introduced (SEU, 2003). Here again it is difficult to quantify the amount of money being spent by central and local government to overcome transport barriers in these instances, but it is not insignificant.

3.6   Access to childcare

Much has been made in recent years of the development of the childcare sector in the UK. The National Childcare Strategy was launched in 1998 with the aim of providing quality, affordable and accessible childcare in every neighbourhood. However, the Social Exclusion Unit report argued that the availability of good quality childcare provision, when integrated with other family services (e.g. health clinics, play facilities and community centres) and placed at the heart of local communities, could significantly reduce the need for parents to make multiple trips for childcare purposes (SEU, 2003).

The National Centre for Social Research carries out regular surveys for the DfES on the use of early years services by parents of three and four year old children in England. One of the issues covered in at least some surveys has been parents' travelling patterns in connection with school duties. The fifth survey (Fitzgerald, Finch, Blake, Perry and Bell, 2002) included information on travel to nursery education providers, but unfortunately, this information was not included in the sixth and most recent survey (Bell and Finch, 2004). Although the information in the report of the fifth survey was not gender disaggregated, we can assume that, because women tend to escort their children to school more than men, the findings are more likely to be a reflection of women's views. The research found that:

- The majority of parents (75 per cent) sent their child to a provider a mile or less from their home and half (51 per cent) sent their child to a provider less than a mile from their home.

- The most common way for children to get to their nursery education provider was to walk (57 per cent). Car travel was the second most common mode (48 per cent). Only 3 per cent of children travelled by bus.

- About a fifth (19 per cent) of parents reported that their choice of nursery education places was restricted by the means of transport available to them. This varied from 9 per cent of those who used a car to get to the provider, to 26 per cent of those who walked to the provider, and 28 per cent of those who used no nursery education.

Transport also plays a role for providers of childcare services. Research undertaken by Callender (2000) into the 'barriers to childcare provision' found that the major obstacles for providers of childcare were:

- Costs (including registration and inspection costs).

- The economics of provision (including how much parents could afford to pay, legislation and regulation).

- Infrastructure and information, which included the lack of public transport, which was mentioned by one in seven out of school childcare providers.

Skinner (2003) found that many non-working mothers believed co-ordination was too difficult to manage with work commitments and this deterred them from taking paid work.

3.7   Access to local services

Vibrant local shops and services are increasingly being seen as key to the maintenance and renewal of communities. Here also transport is critical to the success of this policy area and the gendered nature of travel means that policies to support access must be mindful of these differences. The Office for National Statistics carried out a series of surveys in 2000-01 to examine the difficulties experienced by adults when accessing five local services (a hospital, a GP, a chemist, a post office and a main food shop). This particularly looked at access by women, older people, those living in rural areas and those living in deprived areas (Ruston, 2002).

The research found that:

- Women found it more difficult than men to access all five services, although the overall gender difference was not substantial. For example, 21 per cent of women, compared with 18 per cent of men, found it fairly or very difficult to access a local hospital.

- A higher proportion of men than women travelled by car to each of these services; for example, 60 per cent of men, compared with 52 per cent of women, travelled by car to see a GP. Women were correspondingly more likely to travel to the services on foot or by public transport.

- Women reported longer journey times than men in travelling to the services.

This study also found that those without access to car were more likely to experience difficulties in gaining access to these services; 38 per cent of those with no household access to car found it difficult to reach at least one of the five services, compared with only 21 per cent of those with household access to a car (Ruston, 2002).

3.8   Research requirements

There are various aspects of transport and access to services which require further research. For example, we have discovered little work on the impact of bringing services closer to people. There are also significant 'counter' trends to promote centralisation of services. This often occurs without full consideration of the transport and access impacts. Further work is needed to evaluate the impact upon access for men and women of initiatives that decentralise services or integrate service delivery through localised 'one-stop shops'. Future actions and policy measures need to be directed at reducing the 'time costs' of accessing public services.

Additional work also needs to be done to explore the scope for delivering services for men and women using new communication technology and to evaluate the access impact of these initiatives. For example, the Transport Studies Unit of Oxford University has examined the potential for new information technology in providing access to hospitals (Raje, Brand and Preston, 2003). The study compared existing health care transport facilities with the needs of users of health care facilities in Oxfordshire. The key aim of the project is to develop a revised model of health care provision which will take account of the potential for on-line communications and demand-responsive transport.

3.9   Conclusions

The development of transport policy and provision has a significant impact upon many other sectors of society, in particular, on the efforts to improve service delivery in the public sector. The ability physically to access service delivery points and the professionals they contain, reliably and affordably, presents particular problems for many groups within society. The lack of attention to the problem from practitioners in both the service delivery sectors and the transport sector, has resulted in a significant

wastage of resources. In particular, it is a problem that has placed a disproportionately heavy burden, in time and money, on women in trying to access services.

Research shows that the failure of the transport system to serve the needs of women, particularly those on low incomes, to gain access to hospitals impedes their access to ante-natal care. Poor public transport also contributes to the cost to the NHS from missed appointments in all areas of healthcare. This is likely to affect women more than men.

Women's poorer access to transport provision, compared with men, has also affected their access to training and employment opportunities and to a range of specific local services.

There is clearly a need for greater attention to be paid to the impact gender differences in access have on attempts to improve the delivery of a whole range of public services. In particular, there is a need for a greatly improved understanding of the burden poor access places on women seeking public services. Integration between service delivery policies in the social policy and transport sectors is therefore an imperative.

4. GENDERED EMPLOYMENT IN THE TRANSPORT SECTOR

4.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the available data on the employment of women and men within the transport sector. This includes a discussion about the scarcity of women in key positions in the management, policy-making and planning areas of the transport sector, and data on overall skills shortages in the sector.

4.2 Defining the transport sector

A study for the Transport Sector Skills Dialogue found that the transport sector was the sixth largest of the 18 sectors in the UK economy (Department for Employment and Education (DfEE), 2001). Official statistics may in fact understate its importance; there are also many transport related jobs, e.g. with supermarkets, which are not classified as such. For example, in July 1999, nearly three times as many vacancies in transport-specific occupations were notified to the Employment Service, compared with vacancies in transport sector companies. This indicates that there are a large number of transport-related jobs in non-transport specific companies (e.g. delivery drivers working for supermarkets). DfT estimates that there are around two million vans (and therefore presumably two million van drivers) and this number is expected to grow rapidly with the growth of e-commerce (DfEE, 2001, p. 5).

Transport accounted for an estimated 5.8 per cent of UK output in 2000 (Wilson, 2000) and a similar proportion of employment. Growth in the transport sector has been greater than in the economy as a whole over the last two decades, but overall employment levels in the sector have fallen slightly. The greatest growth has been in air transport and 'other land transport', a category that includes road haulage. Although output and employment are expected to grow in the period to 2010, the rate of growth is expected to slow down and growth in the sector will be at a lower rate than the UK average (Wilson, 2000).

Key findings of the Wilson study included that:

- Increasing congestion and public policy focus on an integrated transport strategy were likely to lead to growth in the sector.

- It was forecast that there would be a 60 per cent rise in rail passenger traffic over the next decade.

- Passenger vehicle mileage was expected to increase by 33 per cent between 1996 and 2031, leading to a 22 per cent increase in the number of platform

staff, as platform staff will need to be recruited to deal with the extra passengers.

In the UK, the transport sector has traditionally relied on the government for investment in infrastructure. Despite deregulation, the government has retained control of policy and also continues to play a constraining role in terms of health and safety. The transport sector was previously covered by seven National Training Organisations (NTOs): aviation, passenger land transport, Merchant Navy, motor vehicle sales and repair, rail, road haulage, and distribution and ports. These are now gradually being replaced by a series of Sector Skills Councils (SSCs). There are currently four of these which cover the transport sector and travel: Automotive Skills (covering the retail motor industry); GoSkills (passenger transport); People 1st (hospitality, leisure, travel and tourism); and Skills for Logistics (freight logistics industry).[3]

The Transport Sector Skills Dialogue report (DfEE, 2001) makes the following observations about the effects of increasing external competition and how the sector is responding to this:

> *The deregulation of markets and lowering of trade barriers both in Europe and worldwide is increasing competition not only for transport sector companies, but also their customers… This is putting pressure on the sector to reduce costs and to provide a more value added service… The sector is responding to market changes in a number of ways: The consolidation of businesses through mergers and acquisitions, to reduce overcapacity in the market or to increase economies of scale… In the bus sector the fragmentation that followed deregulation has now given way to a new pattern of consolidation.*
> (DfEE, 2001, p. 9)

4.3   Employment in the transport sector

It was estimated in 2000 that the transport sector employed around 1.7 million people (or 1.1 million if the retail motor sector was excluded). Of these, 130,000 were employed in the rail industry and 270,000 in the areas covered by the TRANSfED NTO (bus, coach, taxi and private hire operations). The greatest numbers (54 per cent) were employed in Other Land Transport (passenger transport and road freight services combined) (Wilson, 2000). However, there is some inconsistency in exact figures for this sector and some suggest employment levels could be substantially higher. As noted above, the DfT estimates that there are two million van drivers. Other studies, such as that commissioned by the Road Passenger Transport Training

---

[3]   For further details, see http://www.ssda.org.uk/ssda/Default.aspx?page=16

Organisation (The Mackinnon Partnership, 2003), suggest that there may be as many as half a million people employed in the road passenger transport sector alone.

The trend for employment in this sector is for continuing growth. Projections published in 2001 indicated that more than half a million additional employees would need to be recruited over the next ten years - equivalent to one new employee for every two employed today. For example, taxi and private hire sector employment increased by 25 per cent in the 1990s and was expected to continue to increase in the current decade. The logistics industry, at the European level, has also predicted a substantial need for extra workers in the sector, which it fears will not be met (TRILOG, 1999). Major shortages of drivers already exist for both buses and coaches in many areas. In addition, these forecasts do not take into account the government's July 2000 ten-year transport strategy which set out plans to achieve a shift towards public transport and raise demand for employees even further (DfEE, 2001, p. 14).

The DfEE report also noted how changes in the economy affect the transport sector. For instance, the increase in proportion of young people staying on at school and going into higher education, together with the growth of new industries and occupations, increases the competition for talented people. The transport sector is poorly equipped to compete because it suffers from a poor image, together with long hours and low pay.

4.4   Gender and employment

Gender differences in employment in the transport sector need to be seen in the context of overall sectoral change in the UK, with a move away from manufacturing to service industries, and also in the context of gender segregation in the labour market generally. The Transport Sector Skills Dialogue report (DfEE, 2001, p. ix) has this to say about the gender mix in the sector:

> *Most of the people who have worked in transport in the past have been men - and transport continues to be dominated by men. When driving a lorry, or emptying the cargo hold of a ship meant lifting the goods yourself, male domination was no surprise. Advances in technology have opened new possibilities for work organization and job design, but not so obviously changed firms' attitudes to recruiting outside previous patterns or changed the attitudes of potential recruits and those who advise them.*

Consequently (p. 22):

> *The transport sector is unquestionably very male dominated. Most of the data, unfortunately, relate to the transport sector in conjunction with the*

> *rather different communications sector [4] - though we may reasonably infer something of the scale of how different transport is from the fact that the proportion of men in the combined transport and communications sector is 74 per cent of all employees compared with an average of 54 per cent across the economy as a whole. Women are predominantly employed in non-sector-specific roles such as administration, with a few exceptions such as air cabin crew.*

Other sources provide more details on the gendered composition of employment in the transport sector. According to a Labour Market Intelligence Report commissioned by TRANSfED (The Mackinnon Partnership, 2003), the bus industry is primarily made up of large national organisations, while the coach hire industry mainly consists of smaller operations. Together they employ 217,000 people, most of whom are male and work full-time. In contrast, the sector employs higher than average numbers of workers from ethnic minority groups: for instance, 12 per cent of employees working in passenger land transport are from ethnic minorities.

Table 4.1 provides data on employment in the transport sector as revealed by an analysis of the Spring 2003 Labour Force Survey. It shows that women comprised 9 per cent of those employed in transport occupations. Moreover, the only transport occupation in which women predominate is leisure and travel service occupations.

Two-fifths of women employed in leisure and travel service occupations are employed part-time. In general, however, there is a dearth of part-time employment opportunities in the transport sector, although the DfEE report (2001, p. 17) did forecast that the part-time share of employment amongst elementary clerical occupations and road drivers would increase over the following decade.

---

[4]   When the transport sector is combined with the communications sector it makes disaggregation difficult. For instance, data on employment in the transport sector as a whole below UK level (e.g. regional distribution) are not readily available except when unhelpfully presented in conjunction with the communications sector. This introduces various possible distortions (see DfEE, 2001, p. 8).

Table 4.1   Employment in transport occupations, GB, Spring 2003

		Thousands:		
	SOC	Women	Men	Female % of employment:
Transport and distribution managers	1161	12	91	11
Transport associate professionals	351	*	55	*
Transport and distribution clerks	4134	19	46	30
Vehicle trades	523	*	273	*
- motor mechanics, auto engineers	5231	*	206	*
Leisure and travel service occupations	621	98	77	56
- travel agents	6212	37	15	71
- air travel assistants	6214	21	13	62
- rail travel assistants	6215	*	17	*
Transport drivers and operatives	821	40	884	4
- heavy goods vehicle drivers	8211	*	315	*
- van drivers	8212	10	196	5
- bus and coach drivers	8213	*	119	*
- taxi, cab drivers and chauffeurs	8214	14	175	8
Mobile machine drivers and operatives	822	*	169	*
All transport occupations	***	**154**	**1,566**	**9**

Notes: * Less than 10,000. *** Combined data for SOC 1161; 351; 4134; 523; 6212-19; 821; 822.

Source: Office for National Statistics, Labour Force Survey, Spring 2003.

4.5   Education, training and skills

The number of undergraduates in the UK who study transport, other business and administrative studies remains low; in 2001-02, there were just 1,315 full-time and 955 part-time UK-domiciled undergraduates taking this subject. While the majority of undergraduates were male, females accounted for as many as 43 per cent of both full-time and part-time undergraduates (Higher Education Statistics Agency, 2003, Tables 2a and 2c).

There is less training in the transport sector than the UK average. In Spring 2000, 10.1 per cent of employees in the transport sector had received training in the previous four weeks, compared with a UK average of 15.2 per cent. Training activity was highest in the air transport sector (and well above the UK average) and lowest in the transport sector (data from DfEE, 2001, p. 27).

The DfEE report (2001, p. ix) also noted that in some sectors, privatisation had led to a decline in training activity and that this was beginning to result in skill shortages.

Indeed, a recurrent theme of the report was the increased need for the following skills:

- Customer care skills.

- Team working.

- Communication skills.

- IT skills.

The gender implications of these shifting skills requirements seem self-evident. It is widely acknowledged (e.g. Griffin and Tyrell, 2003) that women have existing strengths in people skills that are highly relevant to the first three items on this list. This provides an additional rationale for the sector making more effort to recruit women.

The *National Employers Skills Survey 2003* (Institute for Employment Research and IFF Research Ltd, 2004) provides information on skill shortages and vacancies on 27 broad sectors, including transport and transport equipment, which places skill shortages in transport within a broader context. The survey found that transport and transport equipment accounted for 3.9 and 1.8 per cent of all skill gaps respectively. The proportion of employers reporting skill gaps was slightly above the average for all sectors in transport equipment (25 per cent) and slightly below it in transport (22 per cent). In both sectors, both hard-to-fill vacancies and skill shortage vacancies as a percentage of all vacancies were above the national averages.

4.6   Managerial and professional positions in transport

Management

The DfEE (2001) report noted that much of the sector is more traditionally managed than most, with clear hierarchies and clear differentiation between management and workers. This observation is also echoed by the finding of more recent research carried out by Meridian (2003) for the Fuirich Transport Development Partnership, an EU-funded employment project seeking to promote equal opportunities in the sector. In-depth interviews with equalities officers indicated that only a few of the many UK passenger operators have equality targets and that even where equality and diversity policies had been introduced, there was a need to address 'management culture issues', notably the persistence of what was termed a 'macho' management culture. Managers were said to have little training in people management skills and to have little knowledge of how to deal with equality issues and harassment. Negative attitudes towards maternity leave were also noted (Meridian, 2003, p. 28).

However, the DfEE report notes that privatisation has brought about a transformation of the transport sector over the preceding 10 to 15 years. This more demanding environment has meant that management now faces a more complex task. In some places, the report argued that this had resulted in the conflict and control model giving way to a more open empowering style of management. Elsewhere, however, the highly competitive environment brought about by privatisation had resulted in many managers, 'cutting corners to win a contract solely on price' (DfEE, 2001, p. ix). The report argued that this militated against the long term commitment necessary for investing in the skills of the workforce. As a solution, the report called for more career progression, imagination, experimentation, and the replication of good practice.

A second observation is that the majority of managers in the sector are drawn from an operational background and this may mean that the business development aspects such as strategy and marketing receive too little emphasis, and also that the potential value of managers from outside the sector is not recognised.

Again, there is clearly a need for a new approach and this can create new opportunities for women. For example, women's traditionally greater people skills can give them an advantage when modernisation brings in this more open and empowering style of management. A shift of emphasis from the operations side of management towards strategy and marketing could also produce openings that would be relatively more attractive to women.

Transport planning and policy making
There is a dearth of readily available figures broken down by gender for the planning and policy making occupations within the transport sector. Existing statistics, e.g. from the Labour Force Survey, give a fine-grained breakdown into specific employment categories for the labour force as a whole, broken down by gender, but it is often not clear which of these pertain specifically to the transport sector. This is particularly the case with the more senior occupational categories in planning and management.

There are signs, however, that this traditional lack of attention to the gender composition of the workforce may be about to change in the face of impending skills and staff shortages. The DfEE report (2001, pp. 15-16) highlights a predicted expansion in professional and managerial roles in the sector. The occupations, 'Bus/public service associate professional' and 'Corporate managers', which currently account for 3.5 per cent and 8.5 per cent of the workforce respectively (Wilson, 2000), were forecast to increase markedly in the period 1998-2009 (by around 14 per

cent, when expansion only was considered, or by over 30 per cent and 56 per cent respectively when expansion plus replacement was considered).

In line with this trend, a report by Richards (2002) for the Transport Planning Skills Initiative (TPSI) highlights the fact that transport planning is a growth area. For example, there has been a 22 per cent growth in professional transport planners employed over the past year, and there is already a serious shortage of trained transport planners. This shortfall is seen as threatening the delivery of both the government's Ten Year Transport Plan and the associated Local Transport Plans. The report draws on three surveys. The Institute of Logistics and Transport (ILT) found that transport planners themselves 'consider staff shortages to be a major barrier to the delivery of the new transport agenda'. Surveys by the Institute of Civil Engineers (ICE) and the National Master Training Package in Transport - Employers' Forum (NMTP EF) reported that the great majority of local authorities had encountered serious or significant difficulty in recruiting transport planners over the past year (all reported in Richards, 2002).

The number of professional transport planners across all the sectors is estimated to be around 3,500. This number was expected to grow by 50 per cent (1,800) in the period 2001-03. The number of transport planners employed by consultants was expected to increase by 61 per cent over this period (Richards, 2002).

In addition, the ILT survey found the primary areas of skill shortage to be project management, funding and procurement, travel behaviour, consultation and involvement, while the exploratory study by the NMTP EF identified:

> *… 'management' skills such as project management, team working, report writing and public consultation were considered to be the most important for transport planners… Yet, traditionally, formal training has tended to focus on technical skills, such as transport modelling, economics and statistics.*
> (Richards, 2002, p. 6)

Following on from these findings, a TPSI Focus Group Survey of undergraduates (MVA, 2003) sought to explore their views on careers in transport planning. A mix of final year students studying relevant subjects including economics, geography, engineering, social sciences, maths and statistics at three UK universities were surveyed. The study found that there was a need to clarify and improve the image of transport planning and advocated efforts to promote or even relaunch this career. However, disappointingly, the study offers no gender analysis.

Figures concerning the representation of women among staff in government departments are more readily available. These show that within the former Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) in 2001, women made up 46 per cent of staff, but only 20 per cent of senior civil servants (comparable figures for the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) were 46 per cent and 23 per cent). This is relatively low compared with, for example, the then DfEE - 69 per cent of all staff and 32 per cent of senior staff.

Some figures are also available on the gender composition of public bodies. These show that in general women are under-represented on the Boards of public bodies (34 per cent in 2001, compared with 26 per cent in 1992) and that they are under-represented in all departmental areas although there is variation in the extent of the under-representation. Representation on the transport-related bodies is below the overall average: women made up 25 per cent of the Board of the DfT and 24 per cent of that of the Office of the Rail Regulator in 2001.

4.7   Conclusions

It is clear that employment in the transport sector is an important element of the GB and European labour market, and one which will continue to grow in importance over the foreseeable future. The size and importance of the sector is a matter of some discussion and statistical difficulties. There is also a lack of data to be able fully to understand the gendered nature of employment within the sector. However, what is clear, is that employment in the sector, particularly in land transport, is very male-dominated. Far fewer women are employed in the sector than the national average. This male domination is not just a function of the semi-skilled and skilled manual sections of employment. Professional and managerial employment in the sector is equally male-dominated.

However, the continuing growth of employment in the sector and the prospect of recruitment shortages, skills gaps and technological change in the sector provide opportunities for this gender-bias to be overcome. Some initiatives are being established to address this issue. For example, the Interim Research Report for the Fuirich Transport Development Partnership which is seeking to promote equal opportunities in the land transport sub-sector (Meridian, 2003) notes that some companies, notably London Underground, are now striving to present a more positive image and to attract a more diverse workforce. The Partnership's recommendations for the promotion of female employment in the sector include a number of suggested interventions in primary and secondary education, careers services, apprenticeships and even at the level of media and popular culture.

The Meridian report also presents the following key recommendations for the industry itself. These could be used as a template for the establishment of a much larger number of initiatives across the sector and include:

- Creating more awareness among prospective female employees, and influencers, of the career prospects and current work environment of the industry.

- Training employers and managers in people management, including recruitment techniques.

- Training managers to work positively with a diverse workforce.

- Training peer groups to work positively with a diverse workforce.

Similarly, even professional occupations such as transport policy and planning have not traditionally been attractive to women entrants. However, skills shortages, the urgency of the government's integrated transport agenda, and the changing skills requirement in the context of this agenda may provide an internal impetus towards greater gender equality in recruitment, education and training.

It is clear that, at all levels within the transport sector, there is great scope for the application of equal opportunities initiatives. Such initiatives have the potential to improve the skills mix and ameliorate labour shortages in the sector, as well as to widen the employment options of women.

5. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE CONSULTATION OF USERS

5.1 Introduction

Since the election of the Labour Government in 1997, a new policy landscape has come into play in the UK transport sector. It has been characterised by the production of a series of policy documents, guidance and guides to best practice. This chapter explores the extent to which the new policy framework has considered gender issues in policy and provision. It examines consultation and participation in transport policy and assesses the degree to which this is gender-aware. It then considers what steps are needed and what opportunities may be available to increase the gender-sensitivity in consultation around transport policy and provision.

The study has identified a number of relevant policy documents, guidance and guides to best practice (see Appendix for the full list). These include:

- The 1998 White Paper on the future of transport policy.

- Transport guidance specific to Scotland and Wales.

- Guidance on Multi-modal studies of travel along strategic routes within England and Wales.

- Guidance on the production of Local Transport Plans (LTPs) produced by local authorities to describe the planning for transport in their area.

- Guidance on the appraisal of Local Transport Plans.

- Planning and consultation for major road and rail schemes.

- The public enquiry process connected to planning for transport investments.

- Guidance on the analysis of the costs and benefits of major transport investments.

- Transport-related elements of land use planning and development control.

- The development of strategies related to specific modes, such as cycling.

The issue of the involvement of users in transport planning and policy is of paramount importance, particularly if gender-bias within a transport sector that is predominately male-dominated is to be addressed (especially in the areas of policy

and decision-making). However, it is clear from the work undertaken for this study and elsewhere (Turner et al, 1998; Hodgson and Turner, 2003), that the involvement of users is still an undeveloped area of transport thinking and consideration of the gender differences connected with such involvement even less so. As a result, this chapter only begins to set out some of the issues connected to user involvement and gender in the transport sector. Thus there is a need for much more study of the potential for better user consultation for identifying and addressing issues of gender equality in transport policy provision.

5.2   User involvement in transport policy provision

Bickerstaff, Tolley and Walker (2002) have characterised government policy formation in transport prior to 1998 as one of 'decide-announce-defend', that is experts would decide what was best, announce their decision and then defend it against criticism. Since the publication of the Transport White Paper in 1998, the government has given increasing emphasis to the need to involve users in the formation of policy in the form of public participation. This is an integral part of the government's rhetoric about agendas to modernise local government, to renew local democracy, to develop more open government, more accountability, more representative institutions and to strengthen citizens' rights.

It is now widely argued that involving users makes for better service delivery. For example, a report by the National Consumer Council (NCC) (1999) states that:

> *Consumer involvement is a vital component of good policy-making. When it is done well, it makes policy-making processes more open and accountable and so enhances consumer confidence and increases the legitimacy of policy-making processes. It is essential to help government and service provider's design and deliver goods and services that meet people's needs, improve standards, identify problem areas, and provide value for money. It helps to improve the quality of services by ensuring they are focused on people's needs.*
> (NCC, 1999, p. 4)

There has been increasing recognition of this argument in government departments in recent years. For example, the Transport White Paper of 1998 makes a clear case for public participation in the future of transport policy and provision. It says:

> *We want local people and business to have a real say and real influence over transport. We will modernise the way in which transport is planned regionally and locally. We will expect local authorities when preparing their local transport plans to consult widely and involve their communities and transport operators in setting priorities for improving transport. In approving local transport plans, we will want to be sure that they fully*

reflect this consultation and that the views of local people have made a difference.
(DETR, 1998, Section 1, p. 15)

More recent guidance issued by the DETR (2000) goes on to identify a clear need for a gendered public understanding of involving users:

Lack of access to safe, affordable transport can contribute to social exclusion. Local transport plans must tackle these issues. So it is important that public consultation reaches out to groups such as older people, women, disabled people and people from ethnic minorities who may face particular problems.
(DETR, 2000, p. 11)

The document goes on to identify groups of users and names women as a specific group with particular needs and interests:

Local transport planning needs to be an inclusive process. Local authorities should actively involve local people, businesses, transport operators, users (including groups representing the interests of women, disabled people and other sectors of society with particular accessibility needs), health and education providers, and environmental organizations at an early stage in drawing up their LTPs. This wider participation will be a key factor in raising travel awareness.
(DETR, 2000, p. 20)

In detailing the benefits of involving the public, the guidance looks more specifically at the benefits to the local authorities and any subsequent policy, rather than to the benefits which are more generally related to national government's aspirations for modernising local government. Public participation in this context has a number of aims. First, the intention is to gain support for what are potentially unpopular policy developments. These include new spatial restrictions on city centre access and the introduction of new transport charges. Secondly, it is seen as a way of acquiring more information on problems and solutions. Thirdly, it forms a key stage or phase in campaigns designed to encourage travel behavioural change such as the national 'Travelwise' campaign.

5.3   Limitations of gender involvement

Despite the laudable aspirations in the Transport White Paper, there are some distinct deficiencies in the policy framework in the transport sector on participation. The White Paper does not define gender issues very well and fails in many instances to identify and define women as a specific group to be involved. It thus fails to define

women's needs, interests, behaviour and culture as important to the process of involvement in governance.

Different social roles, time use patterns and levels of access to the transport system also affect how men and women engage in consultation and decision-making processes. For example, a study by May on urban regeneration (1997) found evidence that planners often overlook women's concerns, because of unquestioned assumptions about the social and economic roles of women and men, and that this reduces the effectiveness of urban regeneration initiatives. The report also highlights the different participation approaches required to engage different sections of the community and the need for gender-sensitive involvement procedures.

Similarly, in transport, in order to deliver public services that are shaped around the needs of women and men, policy-makers need to integrate a gender perspective into their every day work from the outset. Early action can then be taken to correct any negative impacts on one group over another. Shaping services around men and women's needs is best done with the involvement and participation of men and women transport users.

The business case for doing so is user or customer satisfaction. The user base in the transport sector is not homogenous and, as shown in Chapter 2, women often have distinctly different travel needs from men and so different groups should be represented in efforts to involve the user.

Unfortunately, the enthusiasm for participation, as expressed in documents that were produced shortly after the White Paper was published in 1998, seems to have waned considerably. While the focus on public participation does continue into documents around the progress of LTPs and major scheme studies, such as the Multi-Modal Studies and the Major Scheme Guidance, the rhetoric concerned with involving users has been characterised by two changes. The first is that the participatory approach contained in earlier documents is much more 'watered down' and participation is more often replaced with 'consultation'. Secondly, the more general terms, 'users' and the public is replaced with 'stakeholders' or 'stakeholder groups'. Invariably, the stakeholder groups that are familiar to the policy-makers are included, and thus statutory agencies are always well represented, whereas smaller, less visible or well-known stakeholder groups tend to be less well represented.

Policy documents on involving users are equally ambiguous concerning specific areas of social inequalities relating to gender, race, ethnicity and disability. When it comes to awareness of the distinct needs and interests of women and men, the

policies are by and large gender insensitive, 'blind' or unaware. The documents are astonishingly just as uninformative about race, ethnicity and disability, even though the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 and The Race Relations Act 1976 (General Statutory Duty) Order 2001 require local authorities, policy-makers and transport operators not to discriminate on the grounds of race or disability. Local authorities all produce documents and statements relating to equality of opportunity and freedom from discrimination, but these aspirational statements are not reflected in the transport policy documents. This lack of awareness is a result of the absence of a clear understanding of the processes involved in equity and discrimination and a lack of (to use that old-fashioned Labour Government phrase) 'joined up thinking'. Analyses of policy discourses show that the debate on social exclusion in transport policy often results in a conflation of the concepts of social exclusion and gender, race or disability discrimination (Hodgson and Turner, 2003).

5.4   Devolved administrations

The transport policy framework in the devolved administrations in the countries of Scotland and Wales is still relatively undeveloped though evolving at a rapid rate. There is still time for the legislation and policy to avoid the mistakes made in England. The Scottish Executive guidance on the preparation of Local Transport Strategies released in February 2000 highlights the high priority the Executive attaches to effective public involvement in local transport policy and states that should be a key factor in the preparation of such strategies (Scottish Executive, 2000). Updated guidance on these strategies was published in 2005 (Scottish Executive, 2005). In addition, the Transport Scotland Bill (which is soon to be enacted) will set up regionally based transport partnerships. These have to produce regional transport plans which take into account equality issues as per schedule 5 of the Scotland Act.[5]

The National Assembly for Wales (2001) has also issued guidance that stresses the importance of 'listening to the needs of local communities and local groups', though consultation appears to be much less of a focus in this document. In addition, the National Assembly (2005a) has published a Spatial Plan that will incorporate links between transport and land use development in an overarching way, while the Transport (Wales) Bill, was reintroduced into the House of Commons in May 2005.[6]

---

[5]   The Bill can be found at: http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/business/bills/pdfs/b28s2-introd-en.pdf

[6]   The Bill can be found at:
http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200506/cmbills/004/2006004.htm

5.5   Ways forward

The transport sector would benefit from learning from the experience of other sectors in terms of the consultation of user groups. Some local authorities, such as Birmingham City Council, are seeking actively to improve mechanisms for consultation (see Escott and Whitfield, 2002, for brief details). There are also an increasing number of initiatives to promote the voice of citizens through using new communication technologies, such as the internet. This may be particularly beneficial to women's groups (and other groups), who may otherwise be excluded from the consultation process. Some new local initiatives to explore public transport delivery from a grassroots perspective are already in place (for example, the North East Action on Transport established in June 2001). It would be worthwhile to assess how useful these are proving in achieving a transport policy at local level which takes greater account of gender.

6.   CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY AGENDA

The final chapter outlines the main findings of the research and then seeks to outline a policy agenda by which gender equality in transport could be promoted more effectively. This draws on the research evidence described in earlier chapters and also on a number of interviews that were conducted with practitioners, civil servants and (former) Transport Ministers in the UK government and the Scottish Executive. The final section outlines some specific policy opportunities for action to be taken to promote gender equality.

6.1   Conclusions

The research shows that the main areas of gender equality within transport are:

- The gender-differentiated roles in UK society and the greater burden of time placed on women relative to men in fulfilling these roles, results in women and men travelling by different means, at different times, to different locations over different distances. These differences are not addressed systematically by current transport policy and provision.

- There has been an increasing awareness amongst transport professionals of the social impact of transport. This report shows that there is, however, still a fundamental lack of awareness of the gender-differentiated nature of transport policy and provision and its impact on the UK economy. Piecemeal initiatives such as the DfT publication, *Women and public transport: The checklist* (DfT, 2000) are often not implemented at a local level and their take-up is not closely audited. This lack of awareness is largely a function of the relatively unusual position, for a public service, of public transport provision being in the hands of a fully deregulated private sector. It is therefore more difficult to promote a uniform approach to implementing new initiatives.

- There also appears to be a lack of understanding of the need to address this imbalance within a predominantly male-dominated transport policy and provision profession. This may be because it is believed that it is cheaper to do nothing, that gendered transport planning is an 'add-on' to 'proper' transport planning and policy and that gender-awareness does little to improve or substantially re-direct the final outcome of the transport policy.

In reality, this report shows that the gender bias present in UK transport policy means that more women than men are not making journeys to access a range of public services, to take up job opportunities, or to engage in the normal activities of citizens.

It also means that substantial hidden costs in money and time are being placed on women's participation in UK society, since significant amounts of public money are being wasted by a range of service delivery sectors through the inefficiencies placed upon their policies by the transport system. Policies on enhancing quality of life, social exclusion, health inequalities and enhanced skills for employment all risk significant policy failure from the gender-biased nature of the UK transport sector. However, many other policy sectors pay little attention to this issue.

There is also a limited set of women's voices involved in changing transport policy, either as senior transport professionals, or through participating as users of the transport system through open consultation processes. The lack of significant monitoring of the few efforts or policy imperatives made to change the gender-balance within the UK transport sector is also a hindrance. There is, as a result, little impetus to change.

There is thus a need actively to:

- Improve the quality of public transport provision to provide door-to-door demand-responsive services.

- Engage women transport users effectively in the transport policy decision-making process.

- Encourage the sector to enhance the voice of women in the boardrooms of the transport sector.

- Involve them in the enhancement of service provision.

- Enforce more rigorous monitoring of the efforts to correct gender-bias.

6.2 A policy agenda for gender equality

In order to develop an agenda for change, the authors interviewed a small group of practitioners, civil servants and former Transport Ministers during 2003, to ask their views on what could be done to improve the situation.

The interviewees outlined a number of ways by which gender equality can be more effectively promoted. These included:

- Changing ministerial attitudes.

- Improving women's representation in senior positions.

- Sharing and disseminating good practice.

- Integrating transport and social policy.

- Introducing a public sector duty on gender.

Changing ministerial attitudes

A common theme running through the interviews was the need to change thinking at a governmental level. It was argued that, to achieve gender equality in transport, there needs to be a specific commitment from the most senior government positions. A former Scottish Minister for Transport commented:

> *The breakthrough into equality of access can only be achieved if you keep making the case as there is always a new generation who need to be told… You need your Minister of Transport to favour gender equality.*

The interviewee also argued that in order to push gender equality up the agenda, networking between women civil servants and academics is crucial if lobbying MPs and Ministers is to be fruitful.

A more fundamental approach to achieving equality in transport involves successfully challenging the road lobby. Historically, improvements in provision for private transport have had the consequence of diminishing public transport availability and use. For this situation to change, the influence of the road lobby must be reduced; this will also have the effect of improving gender equality.

As a former Minister for Transport noted:

> *How do you break the maleness of transport? Breaking the car lobby informs everything… the car lobby is still the one that frightens people a lot… we still have not broken through the popular perception that all human life as we know it ends if you do not have access to a car.*

Improving women's representation in senior positions

Interviewees also recognised that more women are needed in senior positions in the transport sector before change leading to equality is likely to take place. A representative of a campaigning organisation stated:

> *Men at the top become part of the consciousness… there needs to be proactive measures to promote women and this needs to be measured against outcomes.*

Such measures would also directly impact on skill shortages in transport and bring a much-needed new perspective to transport management. For example, a senior civil servant commented, with regard to buses:

> *The men who are the managers are often ex bus drivers and are not specifically educated for the role they perform – they are very profit driven and just want bums on seats, and they want them now… short termism dominates their attitude.*

A practitioner commented that the promotion of women into senior positions might change some of the attitudes apparent in the sector:

> *Because of the interest within the Passenger Transport Authority in staff development they did not really encounter any problems. However, in terms of attitudes of more traditional department managers then they said 'we've never bothered with gender so why bother now?' There was some sullenness among the traditional department managers and exactly if not the same with disability back in the 1980s. The attitudes were even worse among the operators.*

Sharing and promoting good practice

Our interviewees also generally stated that good practice around gender equality and transport needs to be widely disseminated and easily accessible for planners and providers. In some cases, the benefit to women was a *by-product* of policy rather than an originally stated aim of promoting gender equality. For example, one interviewee noted that the low floor buses, which are becoming more widespread were originally introduced:

> *… less on the basis of 'this will make life easier for women' [but] because of the pressure for enabling people with disabilities to cope with transport.*

Similarly, another interviewee stated that an initiative leading to heavy investment of CCTV in bus stations was of benefit to women because it improved security, although it was not originally conceived as a 'gender specific investment'.

Integrating transport and social policy

The domain of social policy includes health, education, housing and planning as well as transport. Policy changes in any one of these areas impacts on transport, yet progress towards the integration of transport with these other policy areas has been

relatively poor. As shown in Chapter 3, there are many examples of policy and planning developments that have impacted negatively on non-car users. The most usual scenario is that the effect of social policy developments on travel needs has rarely been considered generally, let alone explicitly on those of women and other groups.

There are exceptions to this, however. A senior civil servant referred to the ongoing development work on the Spatial Plan, which was published in early 2005 (National Assembly for Wales, 2005a). In his view, this approach, which has not been adopted in England as yet, would tackle the problem of building houses and developing areas without public transport links.

Another example of integrating policy was put forward by a senior civil servant in the Department for Transport, who commented in connection with the Social Exclusion Unit (2003) report:

> *The SEU report is a major report one of my sections is responsible for taking forward both within this department (DfT) and across government and we see that as a major way of including the needs of different social groups including women directly into transport provision.*

In the above example, the DfT is also in discussion with the Home Office in relation to crime issues that impact on women in particular. It will be interesting to monitor how both the National Assembly for Wales and DfT initiatives work over time. If successful, then this multiple agency approach must be promoted. One former Minister commented:

> *If we can see transport as linked to social justice then we are ahead.*

Introducing a public sector duty on gender
Interviewees were also asked if new legislation to promote gender equality explicitly would be required to implement these changes. Since these interviews were conducted, the government has drafted legislation which would introduce a gender equality duty for the public sector, possibly in December 2006. This will require public authorities, including those providing public functions from the private and voluntary sector, to eliminate unlawful sex discrimination and promote gender equality.

Some of the interviewees were keen on the idea of a public sector duty on gender:

> *There should be a duty of gender equality…*

There should be a positive duty (on gender) as with race… organisations should build it in early.

Other interviewees noted that legislation would go a long way to forcing planners and providers to take the move forward from good practice to successful implementation. One civil servant noted that a guidance document on women and transport would have had more impact if there were sufficient legal backing to force local authorities to implement it. A similar concern was raised by another who pointed out that the National Assembly for Wales promoted *The Public Transport Gender Audit* (Hamilton et al, 1999) and the DfT publication, *Women and public transport: The checklist* (DfT, 2000) but, due to a lack of a public sector duty, could not make local authorities use it.

While some interviewees specifically commented on the public sector duty, others talked about incorporating gender into a wider diversity remit with regards to transport. For example, a practitioner noted that *The Public Transport Gender Audit* had been overtaken by a diversity strategy in relation to their authority's corporate plan:

The diversity strategy covers race, gender and culture and gives a passing nod to integration of disabled people… [the EOC] should use this study to identify gaps and look closely at unifying requirements of gender, race and disability to achieve common set of regulations rather than a series of compartments.

A similar diversity outlook was expressed by a civil servant in the Welsh Assembly:

In transport policy, a rounded approach to equal opportunities policy is taken - it does not just isolate gender but takes in a wider framework of disability, ethnicity etc… equal opportunities is included in all policy documents.

Obviously, a commitment to providing for all aspects of diverse communities is a necessity to break down barriers to safe and accessible public transport, but a combined approach means that, if an organisation is not careful, gender may be overlooked in favour of other areas. One former Minister commented:

It is hard to get gender on the agenda, but not so disability.

This perception suggests that legislation specific to promoting gender equality to all aspects of transport (i.e. planner/provider/employee/passenger) is desirable if barriers are to be broken. This is not to diminish current equal opportunity strategies,

but it would significantly build on 'the tiny steps' (as one former Minister put it) that have already been made in relation to gender equality in transport.

6.3 Opportunities for action

It is possible to identify a number of specific opportunities for action to promote gender equality in transport. In each case, the opportunity is outlined and the bodies which are responsible for its implementation are stated:

- The Department for Transport produced revised guidance on full Local Transport Plans (LTPs) in December 2004 (DfT, 2004f). while the Scottish Executive published guidance on Local Transport Strategies early in 2005 (Scottish Executive, 2005a). Unfortunately, the DfT guidance, in particular, contains virtually no reference to gender issues. Any future guidance thus needs to give clear and strong emphasis to the inclusion of gender and transport in their development.
  Responsibility: DfT, Scottish Executive, Welsh Assembly*.*

- Guidance on consultation and participation should be strengthened with clear examples of how to undertake participation exercises in a gender-balanced manner.
  Responsibility: DfT.

- Monitoring for LTPs should be gender disaggregated as a matter of course. Many local authorities are doing this for cycling. Guidance needs to be strengthened to make sure this happens in other areas of monitoring.
  Responsibility: DfT.

- A report of international case studies and best practice examples of implementing gender equality in the development of transport policy could be provided to local authorities to promote innovative practice in this area.
  Responsibility: DfT, Scottish Executive.

- A network of local authorities and operators should be developed to facilitate and encourage best practice amongst local authorities in the area of gender equality. Developing a Beacon Council theme on gender equality in transport could be one such approach.
  Responsibility: DfT, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), local authorities and operators.

- Guidance around the implementation of Accessibility Planning should encourage the involvement of a wide range of user groups including women

users in description of problems, the interpretation of technical analysis and development of solutions.
Responsibility: DfT.

- Encouragement needs to be given to the equality dimensions of local authorities' Community Strategies to address equality issues in local transport policy.
Responsibility: ODPM.

- Encouragement needs to be given to Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) to consider access of patients and visitors to healthcare and particularly women.
Responsibility: DoH, PCTs.

- Encouragement needs to be given to the various transport sector skills dialogues and such initiatives as the Transport Planning Skills Initiatives to explore further the gender imbalance in their sectors.
Responsibility: DfES, DfT, Transport Sector Skills Councils, Transport Planning Skills Initiative.

- Linkages should be made with initiatives such as Women in Science, Engineering and Technology (SET) to consider transport planning as a potential sector for encouragement of women recruits.
Responsibility: DTI, SET and DfT.

- Rethinking finance around public transport. For example, the SEU report states that 11% of the 10 year transport plan goes to buses whilst 40% goes to passenger rail. More women compared to men use buses whilst the reverse is the case for rail. A case could be made to address the gender bias inherent in this financing arrangement.
Responsibility: DfT.

6.4 A space for local action? Making use of Community Strategies

At the more local level, a potential space for action relates to Community Strategies. Under the Local Government Act 2000, local authorities in England and Wales are required to prepare a Community Strategy. This sets out a broad vision for the community that they serve and shows how authorities intend to use their powers to promote the social, economic and environmental well-being of their area.

Community planning is regarded by the government as a key element in developing the links between local government and service users. The guidance which is issued

to local authorities (ODPM, 2000) suggests that this should involve the different communities that make up each area, and that equality issues will be important in determining the priorities to tackle social exclusion. The interpretation by some authorities is that the strategy should set out the authority's approach to equality of opportunity, addressing how it will ensure the needs of women, men and other groups. Gender specific work on the various elements of the community plan process (including the involvement of local groups and organisations) should thus be central to the development of community plans.

In the majority of local authorities, the development of such plans is at an early stage and it is premature to conclude whether or not gender specific work will be included within them. A public sector duty would, however, ensure that this would occur as a matter of course.

6.5   Achieving gender equality in transport

With the achievement of gender equality in transport, it is clear that the provision of public transport policies and services which meet the needs of women will not only satisfy the needs and aspirations of the majority of public transport users - i.e. women, they will also tend to make its use more attractive to men and children as well. What has all too obviously not worked is the converse: it has been seen repeatedly that building public transport systems around the needs of men has not tended to produce a system which adequately meets the needs of women.

REFERENCES

Anderson, T., Forth, J., Metcalf, H. and Kirby, S. (2001) *The gender pay gap*. London: Women and Equality Unit.

Armitage, R. (2001) *Personal communication*

Aston, J., Clegg, M., Diplock, E., Ritchie, H. and Willison, R. (2004) *Interim update of key indicators of women's position in Britain*. Report for the Women and Equality Unit. London: Department of Trade and Industry.

Bebbington, P., Targosz, S., Lewis, G. et al. (2002) 'Lone mothers, social exclusion and depression'. Paper presented at the Royal College of Psychiatrists Annual Conference.

Bell, A. and Finch, S. (2004) *Sixth survey of parents of three and four year old children and their use of early years services*. DfES Research Report no. 525. London: Department for Education and Skills.

Benner, P.E. and Wrubel, J. (1989) *The primacy of caring: stress and coping in health and illness*. Menlo Park, CA: Addison-Wesley.

Bickerstaff, K., Tolley, R. and Walker, G. (2002) 'Transport planning and participation: the rhetoric and realities of public involvement', *Journal of Transport Geography*, 10: 61-73.

Bivand, P. (2000) 'The cost of unemployment', *Working Brief 120.* (Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion, December 2000/January 2001).

Blumen, O. (2000) 'Dissonance in women's commuting: The experience of ex-urban employed mothers in Israel', *Urban Studies*, 37, 4: 731-48.

Bradshaw, J., Finch, N., Kemp, P.A., Mayhew, E. and Williams, J. (2003) *Gender and poverty in Britain*. EOC Working Paper no. 6. Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission.

Brannen, J. (1999) 'Caring for children', *in* Walby, S. (ed.) *New Agendas for Women*. London: Macmillan.

Callender, C. (2000) *Barriers to childcare provision*. DfES Research Report no. 231. London: Department for Education and Skills.

Callender, C. and Metcalf, H. (1998) 'Women face barriers to training', *Skills and Enterprise Briefing*, no. 1/98. London: DfEE.

The Countryside Agency (2002) *Wheels to work: an evaluation of existing schemes*. Cheltenham: The Countryside Agency.

Cox, J. and Mungall, I. (eds) (1999) *Rural healthcare*. Oxford: Radcliffe Medical Press.

Coyle, A. (2003) *Women and flexible working in the NHS*. EOC Working Paper no. 9. Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission.

Crime Concern (2004) *People's perceptions of personal security and their concerns about crime on public transport.* Report for the Department for Transport, London.

Deaville, J.A. (2001) *The nature of rural general practice in the UK - preliminary research report.* Newtown: Institute of Rural Health.

Dench, G., Ogg, J. and Thompson, K. (2000) 'The role of grandparents' *in* Jewel, R., Curtice, J., Park, A. and Thompson, K. (eds), *The British Social Attitudes Survey; 16th Report*. Aldershot: Ashgate: 135-56.

Department for Employment and Education (DfEE) (2001) *An assessment of skills needs in transport*. Report for the Transport Sector Skills Dialogue. London: DfEE.

Department for Transport (DfT) (2000) *Women and public transport: the checklist*. Available at:
http://www.dft.gov.uk/stellent/groups/dft_mobility/documents/page/dft_mobility_506789.hcsp

Department for Transport (DfT) (2001) 'National Travel Survey: 1999/2001 update', *Transport Statistics Bulletin*, SB (02) 22.

Department for Transport (DfT) (2003a) 'Travel to work in GB', *Personal Travel Factsheet* no. 3 (January).

Department for Transport (DfT) (2003b) 'Bus use in GB', *Personal Travel Factsheet* no. 8 (January).

Department for Transport (DfT) (2003c) 'Rail use in GB', *Personal Travel Factsheet* no. 12 (January).

Department for Transport (DfT) (2003d) *Road casualties Great Britain: 2002 - annual report*. London: DfT.

Department for Transport (DfT) (2004a) 'National Travel Survey: 2002', *Transport Statistics Bulletin*, SB (04) 22.

Department for Transport (DfT) (2004b) 'Bus quality indicators England: January to March 2004', *Transport Statistics Bulletin*, SB (04) 3.

Department for Transport (DfT) (2004c) *Mobility & Inclusion Unit overview 2003 and forward look 2004/05*. Available at:
http://www.dft.gov.uk/stellent/groups/dft_mobility/documents/downloadable/dft_mobility_029201.pdf

Department for Transport (DfT) (2004d) 'National Travel Survey: 2003 final results', *Transport Statistics Bulletin*, SB (04) 31.

Department for Transport (DfT) (2004e) 'A bulletin of public transport statistics Great Britain: 2004 edition', *Transport Statistics Bulletin*, SB (04) 34.

Department for Transport (DfT) (2004f) *Full guidance on Local Transport Plans*. Second edition. Available at:
http://www.dft.gov.uk/stellent/groups/dft_localtrans/documents/page/dft_localtrans_504005.hcsp

Department for Transport (DfT) (2005) *Focus on personal travel: 2005* edition. London: The Stationery Office.

Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR) (2001) *Focus on personal travel*. London: The Stationery Office.

Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) (1998) *Guidance on enhancing public participation in local government*. London: DETR.

Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) (2000) *Guidance on full Local Transport Plans.* London: DETR.

Department of Health (DoH) (2003a) *Performance improvement framework for patient and public involvement in the NHS.* London: DoH.

Department of Health (DoH) (2003b) *Mainstreaming gender and women's mental health: implementation guidance.* London: DoH.

Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) (2003) *Pay and income.* Women and Men in Britain series. Manchester: EOC.

Escott, K. and Whitfield D. (2002) *Promoting gender equality in the public sector.* EOC Working Paper no. 2. Manchester: Equal Opportunities Commission.

Fitzgerald, R., Finch, J., Blake, M., Perry, J. and Bell, A. (2002) *Fifth survey of parents of three and four year old children and their use of early years services (Summer 2000 to Spring 2001).* DfES Research Report no. 351. London: Department for Education and Skills.

Gardiner, J. (1976) 'Political economy of domestic labour', *in* S. Allen and D. Barker (eds), *Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage.* London: Longman: 109-20.

Gershuny, J. (2003) *Time, through the lifecourse, in the family.* ISER Working Paper no. 2003-3. Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of Essex.

Greater London Council (1984) *Women on the move.* London: GLC.

Green, A.E. and Owen, D.W. (1998) *Where are the jobless? Changing unemployment and non-employment in cities and regions.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Griffin, J. and Tyrell, I. (2003) *Human Givens: a new approach to emotional health and clear thinking.* Brighton: Human Givens Publishing Limited.

Hamilton, K. and Gourlay, M. (2002) *Missed hospital appointments and transport.* Report for the King's Fund. London: King's Fund.

Hamilton, K., Hoyle, S.R. and Jenkins, L. (1999) *The Public Transport Gender Audit.* Research Report for the DETR. London: DETR.

Hamilton, K., Jenkins, L. and Gregory, A. (1991) *Women and transport: bus deregulation in West Yorkshire.* Bradford: Bradford University Press.

Harries, T. and Woodfield, K. (2002) *Easing the transition to work: A qualitative evaluation of transitional support for clients returning to employment.* DWP Research Report no. 175. London: Department for Work and Pensions.

Higher Education Statistics Agency (2003) *Students in higher education institutions.* Cheltenham: HESA.

Hodgson, F.C. and Turner, J. (2003) 'Participation not consumption: the need for new participatory practices to address transport and social exclusion', *Transport Policy*, 10, 4: 265-72.

Hogarth, T., Hasluck, C., Pierre, G., Winterbotham, M. and Vivian, D. (2000) *Work-Life Balance 2000: results from the baseline study.* Department for Education and Employment Research Report no. 249. London: DfEE.

Hope, S., Martin, C. and Dudleston, A. (2003) *Scotland's people: results from the 2001/2002 Scottish Household Survey.* Vol. 7: Annual Report. Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.

Hoyenga, K.B. and Hoyenga, K.T. (1979) *The question of sex differences: psychological, cultural, and biological issues.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Hurrell, K. (2005) *Facts about women & men in Great Britain 2005.* Manchester: EOC.

Institute for Employment Research and IFF Research Ltd (IER/IFF) (2004) *National Employers Skill Survey 2003.* Sheffield: DfES.

Kelly, L. (1999) *Domestic violence matters: an evaluation of a development project.* Home Office Research Study no. 193. London: Home Office.

KPMG Consulting (2002) *What patients really think of the NHS.* Report for the New Health Network on the patient experience survey. Available at:
http://www.newhealthnetwork.co.uk/Documents/Publication/public_nhs_survey.pdf

La Valle, I. and Blake, M. (2001) *National Adult Learning Survey 2001.* DfES Research Report no. 321. London: Department for Education and Skills.

La Valle, I., Grewal, I. and Mowlam, A. (2002) *Combining education and family life.* DfES Research Report no. 377. London: Department for Education and Skills.

Lee, A. and Hills, J. (eds) (1998) *New cycles of disadvantage? Report of a conference organised by CASE on behalf of ESRC for HM Treasury.* CASE Report no. 1. London: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics.

The Mackinnon Partnership, (2003) 'Labour Market Intelligence Study: Final Report' prepared for TRANSfED, April 2003.

Mason, V. (1995). *Young people and sport in England 1994: the views of teachers and children.* London: The Sports Council.

May, N. (1997) *Challenging assumptions: gender issues in urban regeneration.* York: York Publishing Services for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

McCray, T. (2000) 'Delivering healthy babies: transportation and healthcare access', *Planning Practice and Research*, 15,1/2: 17-29.

Meridian (2003) *Interim Research Report* prepared for the Fuirich Transport Development Partnership, September 2003. Available at: http://www.fuirichtransport.com/downloads/word/EQUAL_Researtch_Interim_Report.doc

MVA (2003) *Results of the focus group survey of undergraduates on careers in transport planning.* Report for the Transport Planning Skills Initiative. Available at: http://www.tps.org.uk/library/MVA-summary.doc

National Assembly for Wales (2001) *The transport framework for Wales.* Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.

National Assembly for Wales (2005a) *The Wales spatial plan: people, places, futures.* Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.

National Assembly for Wales (2005b) *Welsh Transport Statistics 2004.* Cardiff: The Stationery Office.

National Consumer Council (1999) *Involving users in the delivery of local public services.* London: Cabinet Office.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2002) 'Labour market spotlight', *Labour Market Trends*, March: 103-08.

Office for National Statistics (ONS) (2004) 'Travel: shopping accounts for 1 in 4 of women's trips'. Available at: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=441

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) (2000) *Preparing community strategies: government guidance to local authorities*. London: HMSO.

Pearson, M., Dawson, C., Moore H. and Spencer, S. (1993) 'Health on borrowed time? Prioritising and meeting needs in low-income households', *Journal of Health and Social Care*, no. 1: 45-54.

Raje, F., Brand, C. and Preston, J. (2003) *Transport and access to health care: the potential of new information technology.* Report for the Department for Transport. Available at:
http://www.tsu.ox.ac.uk/research/accesshealth.html

Raje, F., Grieco, M.S., Hine, J. and Preston, J. (2003) *Impacts of road user charging/workplace parking levy on social inclusion/exclusion: gender, ethnicity & lifecycle issues*. Report for the Department of Transport. Available at:
http://www.tsu.ox.ac.uk/research/impacts.html

Reid-Howie Associates (2000) *Women and transport: moving forward*. Report for the Scottish Executive Central Research Unit. Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.

Richards, M. (2002) *Quantifying the need for transport planners: report on initial and planned surveys*. Report for Transport Planning Skills Initiative. Available at:
http://www.tps.org.uk/library/tpsi_survey01.pdf

Rickards, L., Fox, K., Roberts, C., Fletcher, L. and Goddard, E. (2004) *Living in Britain*. London: The Stationery Office.

Rosenbloom, S. and Burns, E. (1994) 'Why working women drive alone: the implications for travel reduction programs'. Paper prepared for the 1994 Annual Meeting of the Transportation Research Board.

Ruston, D. (2002) *Difficulty in accessing key services*. Social Analysis and Reporting Division, Office of National Statistics. Available at: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_social/access_key_services/access_to_services.pdf

Scottish Executive (2000) *Guidance on local transport strategies and road traffic reduction reports.* Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Development Department.

Scottish Executive (2003) *Scottish Transport Statistics.* Edinburgh: The Stationery Office.

Scottish Executive (2004) 'Household transport in 2003: some Scottish Household Survey results', *Statistical Bulletin*, Trn/2004/6 (November).

Scottish Executive (2005a) *Scotland's transport future: guidance on local transport strategies.* Edinburgh: Scottish Executive, 2005.

Scottish Executive (2005b) 'Travel by Scottish residents: some National Travel Survey results for 2002/2003 and earlier years' *Statistical Bulletin*, Trn/2005/3 (April).

Skinner, C. (2003) *Running around in circles: coordinating childcare, education and work.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) (2003) *Making the connections: final report on transport and social exclusion.* London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Spain, D. (1996) *Run don't walk: how transportation complicates women's balancing act.* US Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, Washington D.C.

Summerfield, C. and Babb, P. (eds) (ONS) (2004b) *Social Trends 34.* London: The Stationery Office.

TRILOG (1999) *The Trilateral Logistics Project: Summary Report.* Report for the European Commission, DG VII. Available at: http://www.inro.tno.nl/trilog/

Turner, J. and Grieco, M.S. (1998) 'Gender and time poverty: the neglected social policy implications of gendered time, transport and travel'. Paper presented at International Conference on Time Use, University of Luneberg, Germany, April.

Turner, J., Apt, N., Grieco, M. and Kwakye, E.A. (1998) 'Users not losers: gender representation in transport design and operation'. Paper presented at the 8th World Conference on Transport Research, Antwerp, July. Available at: http://www.geocities.com/transport_research/98wctr.htm

Twomey, B. (2001) 'Labour market participation of ethnic groups', *Labour Market Trends*, January, pp. 29-42.

Walby, S. (ed) (1999) *New Agendas for Women*. London: Macmillan.

Walker, D., Sowter, M. and Reynolds, S. (2004) *Regional Transport Statistics*. London: DfT.

Wilson, R.A. (2000) *Projections of occupations and qualifications: 1999/2000*. Sheffield: DfEE.

APPENDIX

Since 1997, a new policy landscape in the UK transport sector has been created. It has been characterised by the production of a series of policy documents, guidance and guides of best practice. These include:

1. Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions *Guidance on the Methodology for Multi-Modal Studies*
   http://www.webtag.org.uk/webdocuments/1_Overview/2_Multi-Modal_Studies/1.2.1.htm (updated summary of guidance)

2. Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions *Guidance on full Local Transport Plans*
   http://www.dft.gov.uk/stellent/groups/dft_localtrans/documents/divisionhomepage/032384.hcsp

3. Department for Transport web-based guidance for major schemes
   http://www.dft.gov.uk/stellent/groups/dft_control/documents/contentservertemplate/dft_index.hcst?n=6012&l=2

4. Department for Transport, web-based guidance on the Transport and Works Acts
   http://www.dft.gov.uk/intradoc-cgi/nph-idc_cgi?qckQuery=transport+and+works+acts&IdcService=GET_SEARCH_RESULTS&SrchType=q&qckSection=&x=25&y=13

5. Office of the Deputy Prime Minister web-based guidance on Planning Policy Guidance 13: Transport (revised 2001)
   http://www.odpm.gov.uk/stellent/groups/odpm_planning/documents/page/odpm_plan_606896.hcsp

6. Department for Transport web-based guidance on production of bus, walk, cycle and public transport strategies
   http://www.dft.gov.uk/stellent/groups/dft_localtrans/documents/page/dft_localtrans_027771.hcsp

7. Department for Transport web-based guidance on appraisal of Local Transport Plans (LTPs)
   http://www.webtag.org.uk/

8. HM Treasury web-based guidance on (Cost-Benefit Analysis) CBA manual
   http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/economic_data_and_tools/greenbook/data_greenbook_index.cfm

9. Department for Transport web-based guidance on the New Approaches Transport Appraisal (NATA) manual
   http://www.webtag.org.uk/

10. Department for Transport web-based guidance to the Transport White Paper and Transport Act 2000
http://www.dft.gov.uk/intradoc-cgi/nph-idc_cgi?qckQuery=transport+white+paper&IdcService=GET_SEARCH_RESULTS&SrchType=q&qckSection=&x=23&y=13

11. Web-based guidance specific to Scotland and Wales

Scottish Executive Audit of Interim Local Transport Strategies
http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library2/doc11/ltsa-00.asp

Scottish Executive guidance for full Local Transport Strategies
http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library2/doc11/ltsg-00.asp

Scottish Executive guidance on Transport Scheme Appraisal
http://www.scotland.gov.uk/consultations/transport/stag-00.asp

National Assembly for Wales Transport Framework for Wales
http://www.wales.gov.uk/subitransport/content/policy/framework/index.htm