

Women Going Places: Women and Transport in a Competitive Environment

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Abstract

The place of women in transport planning and development has been marginal if not invisible. This has resulted in a lack of recognition of their needs and of the distributional impacts that current transport policy and directions have on women. It has also led to limited attention being paid to women and women's experiences in their use of both cars and public transport: their travel patterns and mobility issues remain largely unexplored. In addition, the current policy environment of privatisation and competition in the transport arena contributes to the exacerbation of women's disadvantaged status, and does little to encourage gender sensitivity in transport policies and practice.

The thesis explores these issues with particular reference to the travel experiences of fifteen different women living in various parts of Melbourne and Victoria. It also uses material collected from a number of transport policy makers and service providers to ascertain the dimensions of the new competitive environment.

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Introduction

The field of social policy has been enriched in recent decades by analyses which locate gender as a central frame of reference (Pascall, 1986; Dominelli, 1991; Maclean et al, 1991; Briar et al, 1992). For it is from these research efforts that an understanding can be gained of the differential impacts of policy directions pursued by governments. In some policy areas, such as community care and health, this has led to a challenging of the sexist¹ assumptions on which policy is based and the subsequent development and implementation of policies and programs which are sensitive to women's needs and therefore more likely to result in equitable outcomes.

The area of transport policy however has been a relative newcomer to such scrutiny and the gendered dimensions of travel patterns and transport needs have only recently been recognised. This perhaps reflects a general lack of recognition of the field of transport as a legitimate area of social policy inquiry, overshadowed as it has been by the traditional six fields of housing, income security, education, health, community care and employment. Clearly, however, transport policy is an important site for such investigation as it is hard to overstate the importance of being mobile in order to achieve both independence and quality of life.

In considering the gendered nature of travel patterns and needs, this thesis (situated primarily in the Victorian context) seeks to contribute to existing understandings by researching some differences between women on the basis of a range of variables including those of age, geographical location, lifestage, ethnicity, income and primary transport mode. As part of this process, it explores the utility of the concept of 'transport disadvantage'. The work seeks to influence social policy in the transport arena through the filter of women's experiences and, in using such experiences as its basis, the research reflects a fundamental tenet of feminist endeavour. However, the work does not purport to be comprehensive from the perspective of feminist methodology.

Importantly, in this study, the transport patterns and needs of women are located within the context of competition policy which is the key impetus for contemporary public sector reform in Australia. It is becoming increasingly apparent that this policy is providing a robust framework for the delivery of fundamental changes in public organisations, such as

¹ Eichler (1991) defines sexist approaches as ones which exhibit androcentricity, gender insensitivity, double standards or overgeneralisation. (See p.26 of this thesis)

those responsible for transport, and in some instances is leading to the privatisation of transport services. The implications of this environment for women in the light of their diverse travel patterns and transport needs are then considered.

The first Chapter of the thesis provides contextual and thematic material on trends and issues in transport policy, planning and development. This not only includes a recognition of the primacy of the car vis-a-vis other transport modes but also highlights the fragmented manner in which transport planning has occurred. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the dominant contemporary influences on transport policy and planning: privatisation and competition policy.

Chapter Two moves the focus specifically to women, identifying what is known of their transport needs and mobility patterns. The concept of 'transport disadvantage' is also considered in terms of its application to groups of women. Chapter Three contains both description and analysis of empirical data collected from women during the research and seeks to identify differences between women, moving away from homogenising paradigms in which all women are deemed alike. A frame of reference is used which identifies women as car users (drivers and passengers) and as users of other transport modes including public transport, bicycling and walking.

The fourth Chapter seeks to analyse the competitive environment through a series of interviews with transport policy-makers and service providers. This leads to a broad examination of some preliminary outcomes from the application of competition policy in the transport field as well as discussion on the practice of competition generally. The fifth and final Chapter locates the transport experiences of women within this competitive environment, questioning whether such an environment will ultimately operate to the benefit or detriment of women. The thesis concludes with some suggestions as to how the needs and experiences of women as individuals and collectively can be more comprehensively identified and addressed as part of the transport agenda.

Chapter One

Transport Policy, Planning & Development

We have never tried transport planning in Melbourne. There has been a lot of road building and even some road planning, and occasional (largely unsuccessful) attempts to 'do something' about public transport, but none of this is transport planning.
(Mees 1995, p.1)

1.1 Introduction

It makes little sense, and is indeed difficult, to explore the terrain of women and transport – women's patterns of mobility, issues and transport needs – without first developing an understanding of the broader context of transport policy, planning and development. It is within this context that women's experiences of transport and mobility must be located. This chapter will seek to explore some of the key policy directions, planning processes, primary players and current debates in the transport field, in Melbourne and Victoria. It is suggested that both a macro and micro perspective is useful as a frame of reference to inform this discussion of transport. As Aitkins argues (1989) transport must be viewed as more than an economic endeavour as it plays a critical role in the spatial and social infrastructure of any community. At an individual level, the importance of mobility in terms of its impact on personal quality of life is very apparent. A consciousness of both these dimensions will assist in evaluating the adequacy of transport policy and planning responses over the years. Several themes can be identified which characterise the essence of transport policy development:

- the car and roads versus public transport; and
- system coordination versus system fragmentation.

As Ogden suggests (1994)

...Melbourne has a valuable historical legacy in the extensive rail and tram/ light rail public transport network. It is one of the largest networks for a low density metropolitan area anywhere in the world.
(p.2)

Until the 1950s and the more universal introduction of cars to Australian cities, the focus was very much on the establishment of public transport infrastructure. During the late-19th century, Melbourne witnessed the establishment of much of its fixed rail and tram network. This network was radial in orientation and far reaching, extending to the urban fringes of

a growing metropolis. Ogden (1994) argues that this extended infrastructure was not so much a response to the perceived transport needs of present and future populations, but rather served the requirements of land owners who would profit through speculation when a transport line was built in proximity to their property. The Melbourne Transit Authority (1987), in its *Metplan Discussion Paper*, has estimated that in Melbourne there are 332 route kilometres of tram, 336 route kilometres of rail, and an extensive bus network. This compares well in terms of world standards.

1.2 The transport picture – patterns of travel

Despite the extensive public transport infrastructure described above the system does not appear to act as a major transporter of people for life's activities and demands. The Industry Commission's (1994) recent enquiry into urban transport provides information on travel patterns by modal share for Melbourne as follows:

TABLE 1 TRAVEL PATTERNS BY MODAL SHARE IN MELBOURNE

Mode of transport	Percentage of use
Car as driver	47
Car as passenger	19
Walking	19
Public transport	10
Other	5

This data suggests that ten percent of journeys in Melbourne are undertaken by public transport compared to some sixty-six percent by car as either passenger or driver. Given these figures are based on data collected in 1985 (more recent ABS data does not consider total trips), it is anticipated that this gap may well have widened for all trips over the past ten years, the car assuming the position of primary transport mode. Hence, it could be argued that although public transport infrastructure is extensive, it remains rather under-utilised by the population.

Trends observable in the figures from the Industry Commission's 1994 study on urban transport have recently been supported by research completed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1995a). In its focus on journey to work patterns, this research indicates that, comparatively since 1974, there has been a 15% increase in the numbers of people using the car for transport to work. Furthermore, there has been a concomitant 11% decrease in those using public transport for the same purpose. The main reasons cited as to why people did not travel to work by public transport were that there was no transport available or that the

time taken to commute was too long (p.13). These statistics therefore describe a picture in which the car clearly outstrips public transport as the key mode chosen by people for journey to work and other trips.

1.3 A focus on cars and roads

One of the major roles for planning is to ensure a fair distribution of resources according to clearly established political priorities and that this distribution allows all people to gain access to the facilities which they need. The problem with a car based society is that not all people have access to a car, and even those that do have a car in the household may not be drivers or the car may not be available. (Banister 1994, p. 215)

...the transportation studies (USA) in the 1950s and 1960s pioneered large scale road and highway planning and in the process public transport, especially rail, was glossed over and almost eliminated from many cities. (Newman & Kenworthy 1989, p. 105)

Since the 1960s much transport planning in Australia has been equated with the planning of road infrastructure. While the scene for such an approach was set by increased road funding throughout the post-war period (Newman & Kenworthy 1989, p.101), it has been particularly enhanced by planning efforts, such as the 1969 Transport Plan for Melbourne, which purport to be concerned with notions of ‘balanced transport’ (asserting a focus on both public and private dimensions), but in fact are primarily planning exercises in the development of roads (Mees, 1995): in essence a similar circumstance to that described in the USA by Newman and Kenworthy in the quotation cited above. In the 1990s, at the State level in Victoria, an emphasis on road funding is evident once again with the development of linking, ring-road and by-pass infrastructures around Melbourne. Advocates of these projects argue that they will assist in the establishment of a more integrated and connected road system which will address road transport needs into the twenty-first century. It is often inevitable, however, that dollars allocated to road infrastructure detract from the resources available for rail and public transport more generally¹, although it is recognised that some elements of a public transport system, such as buses, may be enhanced by funding to roads through, for example, the establishment of priority bus lanes and express services.

¹ It would certainly appear from the following table that over the past five years increases in road funding at the state level have had a related impact on expenditure in public transport. The figures represent percentage••• allocations from the total transport budget in Victoria over the specified years: (*continued over page*)

Building large road systems has an impact on the very nature of a city and leads almost certainly to greater car dependency. It is possible through this orientation to see roads as developing a life of their own, of the need to develop more roads as a result of the congestion on existing roads. Indeed this has been a powerful argument used to support the current changes to road infrastructure in the Victorian context as evidenced by the controversial slogan on the South Eastern Arterial network: ‘We’re clearing this car park to get you on the move!’ One must question however if such responses can in any way be described as permanent and sustainable solutions:

However, once locked into a primary road-based system a momentum develops which is very hard to stop. The obvious response to the failure of freeways to cope with traffic congestion is to suggest that still further roads are urgently needed. The new roads are then justified again on technical grounds in terms of time, fuel and other perceived savings to the community from eliminating the congestion. This sets in motion a vicious circle or self fulfilling prophecy of congestion, road building, sprawl, congestion and more road building. (Newman & Kenworthy 1989, p.106)

In the recent enquiry conducted by the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution in the United Kingdom (1994), it was emphasised that approaches which sought to address congestion by building new roads were ineffective and that new methods must be pursued. In particular, recommendation 58 stated that:

Planned expenditure on motorways and other trunk roads should be reduced to about half its present level... The resources released should be used to expand environmentally less damaging forms of transport. (p.244)

(Footnote 1 continued)

	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95
Road•	34%	38%	33%(1)	41%
Public transport••	39%	37%	34%	28%

Source: Victorian Budget Documents

(1) In this year, the Liberal Party implemented sustained cuts/reductions in funding across all portfolio areas, in response to the perceived Victorian ‘debt crisis’

• ‘Road’ includes all budget elements associated with the program areas of Road System Maintenance; National Highway Management and Road System Development.

•• ‘Public transport’ includes all budget elements associated with the program area of Passenger Services, including the sub programs of Metropolitan Services, Regional Services, Interstate Services, Trading and Catering Services and Infrastructure Services.

••• Percentage figures do not include any budget items related to administration, corporate infrastructure costs, traffic and road use management and road safety programs. Program areas and titles have altered from budget to budget, necessitating estimates across years. All comparisons may not therefore be exact. It is acknowledged that transport expenditure also occurs at federal and local levels, however state government remains the sphere with constitutional responsibility for transport overall.

Although it is recognised that this is a British report, the impact of these statements in the Australian context is, at a minimum, to provide impetus for further thought on our transport planning directions. While the Royal Commission's advice may be attempting to influence policy and planning away from the development of major freeway and road infrastructure in the United Kingdom, public opinion on government spending in this country, as highlighted in the Economic Planning Advisory Committee (1994) study on *Public Expenditure in Australia*, suggests that two thirds of those surveyed (67%) favoured an increase in road spending compared to 55% who supported increases in public transport spending. Furthermore, a recent study on community attitudes to transport issues in Melbourne completed by the Public Policy Group of the Royal Automobile Club of Victoria (1994) states that two of the top three issues for action identified by the surveyed community were those of linking Melbourne freeways and improving traffic flow. This may in part indicate why governments continue to pursue large road-development options in the face of overseas experience which emphasises the inadequacy of such approaches. Indeed, the politics of road funding often see governments responding primarily to the requirements and demands of the electorate. An obvious point: as is the maxim that beneficiaries (car drivers and road users) know when they have benefited, but those who may lose as a result of policy directions (for example, society through externalities such as pollution and road accidents) don't so clearly know when they have lost! In the latter instance, this may be a consequence of the more 'long term' nature of such externalities.

1.4 Transport planning – a fragmented approach

A particular feature of the transport environment in the Victorian context has been the plethora of organisations that have been responsible for the planning of transport services. Historically, not only have there been separate entities for the development of road and public transport infrastructure, but, within the public transport domain, there existed distinct organisations for the various modes of public transport, such as train and tram. This approach has had significant ramifications for transport practice, as for example is reflected in the lack of integration in ticketing across transport modes until recent times. It has also encouraged a competitive frame of reference in the planning and development of public transport and road services which has contributed to the obscuring of connections between systems. One outcome from this may be a failure to recognise that significant benefits could accrue for car travellers in an improved public transport system, such as less congestion on roads if more people are travelling by train, tram or bus. Overall, where there is a multiplicity of organisations responsible for planning and development, this may lead to fragmentation in service delivery, heightened competition for resources and a lack of integration in transport policy directions overall.

1.5 A summary overview of key transport policy and planning initiatives related to Victoria in the 1990s.

The following table illustrates the diversity of players in the transport policy/planning field. Not only are these located in both the federal and state spheres, but also there exist significant lobbying bodies for car based and public transport interests. The information is useful in highlighting the way in which policy processes generally tend to separate road and public transport planning. However, a key planning document (*Transporting Melbourne*) currently being prepared by the Department of Transport, has as its major claim 'to set directions for an integrated transport system for metropolitan Melbourne beyond the year 2000. It will flag future planning needs and proposals and suggest actions which focus on affordable, realistic and achievable outcomes. Its objectives are to ensure that transport strategies are integrated with urban and other government policies, provide a framework for road, public transport and freight plans, and are consistent with overall budgetary requirements' (Department of Transport, 1995, p.15). This document has not at the time of writing been released².

² Recent advice from the Department of Transport has indicated that *Transporting Melbourne* will not be available until mid 1996.

TABLE 2 RECENT KEY TRANSPORT POLICY AND PLANNING DOCUMENTS RELATED TO VICTORIA

Source	Document	Purpose / Content
Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet	Social Justice Research Program Locational Disadvantage Studies (1992)	Considers issues related to locational disadvantage including those of mobility and access to public and private transport options.
Parliament of Victoria, Crime Prevention Committee	Developing a Safer Public Transport System (1993)	Researches and makes recommendations in the area of personal safety on public transport systems.
Industry Commission	Urban Transport (1994)	Reviews "institutional, regulatory and other arrangements affecting transport operations in Australia's major metropolitan areas and larger cities/ towns" (from Terms of Reference - volume 1: xviii)
Vic Roads	Linking Melbourne (1994)	Outlines a road development strategy to meet the economic, environmental and social needs of individuals and the commercial sector in Melbourne until the year 2000.
	Travel Demand Management Initiatives (1994)	This document aims to complement Linking Melbourne and develops initiatives which: promote more efficient use of motor vehicles, consider energy efficient forms of transport and encourage joint responsibility - government, business and the community - for implementing travel demand management actions.
Australian Urban and Regional Development Review	Timetabling for tomorrow (1995)	Examines urban public transport issues and possible policy responses. Outlines strategies for the future.

1.6 Dominant influences on transport planning and development in the 1990s – privatisation and competition policy

The engine which drives efficiency is free and open competition.
(P. Keating, One Nation Statement, 1992)

The dominant economic rationalist paradigm in Australia over the past decade has been characterised by a reduced role for government and the public sector particularly in the area of service provision, a focus on competition as the major road to efficiency, often with the private sector as a key player, and an increased reliance on the market to cater for individuals' needs. Specifically, the delineation of governments as entities which should 'steer' and not 'row' (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) has led to the shedding of service delivery roles in preference to those linked with policy and planning functions. Associated with this direction has been a restructuring of government departments in an effort to develop organisations which have as their primary responsibilities those related to policy development, contract management, regulation and quality control. These reforms have been underpinned by political, economic and managerial theories which support the notions of smaller government, of the central role of the market in society, and of the need to separate the purchasing and providing functions of organisations, if efficiency is to be achieved as the primary goal.

The framework within which much of this change has been and will continue to occur is that evident in the Report of the Independent Inquiry into National Competition Policy (1993) and the subsequent Commonwealth and State legislation and agreements which have been derived from this. Commonly known as the Hilmer reforms, named after the chairman of the Independent Committee of Inquiry which completed this work, Competition Policy comprises a number of elements as follows:

1. *Limiting anti-competitive conduct of firms;*
2. *Reforming regulation which unjustifiably restricts competition;*
3. *Reforming the structure of public monopolies to facilitate competition;*
4. *Providing third party access to certain facilities that are essential for competition;*
5. *Restraining monopoly pricing behaviour; and*
6. *Fostering 'competitive neutrality' between government and private business when they compete. (p.xvii)*

As outlined by Ranald (1995), competition policy will lead to fundamental changes in the structure and operation of many public utilities, including those delivering water and electricity and to other areas of government activity, such as public transport. Furthermore,

through the reform of legislation, it will remove the protections which have previously characterised the practice of some professions, such as the legal fraternity, and it will extend the reach of the *Trade Practices Act* to many of those participating in the market, both public and private sector in orientation. Internationally competition policy can be seen as being complementary to a number of trading agreements, for example the GATT, which focus on removing restrictions and enhancing trade liberalisation. In these respects, the potential consequences of Australia's competition policy are certainly far reaching. In the transport arena, as the competition document concerns itself primarily with theories and principles, it offers little in the way of practical application unlike the case in other substantive areas such as those related to public utilities. In his analysis, Ogden (1995) suggests that competition in the transport industry may take several forms: competition between modes (for example, rail and plane in inter-capital freight); competition within modes (for example, interstate bus services); and competition for the market (for example, provision of transport services in a defined geographical area). In the current environment, several contemporary reform elements can be identified which are clearly illustrative of the application of competition policy and principles in the field of transport.

The first example relates to the reorganisation of the transport bureaucracy in Victoria and its two constituent components of the Department of Transport and the Public Transport Corporation (PTC). While in the past, the Public Transport Corporation has had a significant if not, in some respects, monopoly role in service delivery through the transport modes of tram and bus in particular, it is moving towards being simply one of a number of operators and competitors in the transport market. This is being achieved through the packaging and contracting out of transport services previously provided by the PTC, for example metropolitan bus services. While 'in-house' PTC bids may well be successful in winning some tenders for transport services, these bids will be increasingly structured as independent business units, and will develop an individual identity distinct from that of the PTC. It is therefore not inconceivable in the longer term that the PTC may well cease to exist. The scale of this reform is clearly illustrated by the reductions in staff resources at the PTC which have decreased from some 18,500 staff in the late 1980s/early 1990s to 10,500 people in 1995. (McKenzie, 1995)³. Associated with this fragmentation of the PTC has been the strengthening of the Department of Transport in relative terms – its staff profile for the same period moving from around 60 people to 110 people – to take on the major functions of contract management and regulation.

3 Personal communication in an interview with H. McKenzie, Department of Transport.

A further example of competition policy in action is provided by the recently passed *Public Transport Competition Act* which is illustrative of a number of competition principles, particularly those related to the reform of legislation or subordinate instruments which restrict competition for no justifiable reason. The corresponding Bill for this Act was introduced in the Autumn session of the Victorian Parliament in 1995 and was the subject of a second reading speech on the 11th May. It achieved the status of an Act in the Spring session of Parliament, 1995.

TABLE 3 A SUMMARY OF THE VICTORIAN PUBLIC TRANSPORT COMPETITION ACT 1995

Public Transport Competition Act – Victorian Parliament
<p>Purposes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Remove regulatory restrictions on road based public transport; (2) Ensure that public transport services continue to be provided in the public interest; (3) Increase the range of skills and experience available to the Public Transport Corporation board of management by providing for additional appointments.
<p>Target</p> <p>Act covers all road based public transport, but not taxis.</p>
<p>Specifics in relation to stated purposes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) a. Increase capacity to introduce more competitors and take less account of the impact of granting new licences on existing services & licences; b. Remove limits on the uses to which vehicles can be put which implies that providers can respond more innovatively to needs; c. Regular passenger services to be operated only under a specific contract; d. Introduction of an accreditation system. (2) a. Act provides option for bus industry to be a regulated industry for the purposes of the Regulator-General Act: regulate prices, quality standards and market conduct. (3) Reconstitute four member Public Transport Corporation board and the Minister to appoint an expanded board – chair, chief executive of the corporation and between 2-6 members with appropriate skills as so defined.

The Act ensures that road based public transport reforms are consistent with competition principles in that competition will be guaranteed by periodic competitive re-tendering of service contracts [section 6(c)]. It also recognises that in order to provide regular passenger transport services competition may need to be restricted, that is, if too many competitors exist then the appropriate usage threshold to ensure public transport viability may not be reached [section 28(3)]. However, it also provides the Secretary of the Department of Transport with the power under section 29, to introduce new services in proximity to a route where a contract has already been awarded.

A third and very practical example of competition policy in the transport field is one related to the tendering of metropolitan bus services in Melbourne which occurred in 1993. This has resulted in the Sydney based National Bus Company winning the tender to run 37 bus routes in the east and north of Melbourne (Oliver, 1995). In essence this has meant that the National Bus Company is responsible for approximately 80% of the bus services previously run and managed by the Public Transport Corporation, with the remainder being contracted to Metbus, a discrete business unit within the Corporation. In summary, therefore, across Victoria all bus services have been contracted out, the vast majority to the private sector (Steering Committee on National Performance Monitoring of Government Trading Enterprises, 1995: 62). This change is being accompanied by the development of new service contracts which focus on output rather than input based funding. Contracting out can therefore be seen as a manifestation of privatisation. As suggested by Gomez-Ibanez & Meyer (1993):

Privatisation can assume many different forms, but three are most common: the sale of an existing state-owned enterprise; use of private financing and management rather than public for new infrastructure development; and outsourcing (contracting out to private vendors) public services previously provided by government employees. (p.1)

The process of competitive tendering in the provision of bus services is not unique to Melbourne and is in fact consistent with world wide trends on the use of competition to achieve potential cost savings and, in theory, better quality services.

TABLE 4 BUS SERVICE COMPETITION AROUND THE WORLD
(Source: Talvitie, Hensher & Beesley, 1992)

UK - London	UK - outside London	New Zealand	Canada
<p>Prior to 1984, most bus services (London Transport) were operated under a protected monopoly. Approximately 45% of services were put out to tender for contracts of up to three years.</p>	<p>In 1986, public transport bus services were deregulated. More than three quarters of existing services are operated commercially. Within this system, there is a clear separation of policy and planning from operations.</p>	<p>From July 1991 as a result of an act of parliament, all public transport services were to be provided commercially or under a 'competitive pricing procedure'. The model of purchaser/provider split was also evident in these reforms.</p>	<p>Competitive tendering is being introduced at a slow rate in a number of communities. Dedicated school bus services are already provided under competitive tender arrangements.</p>

Developments in the rail industry also reflect elements of Hilmer competition policy, not only through the facilitation of competitive processes for the allocation of service contracts, but also in the encouragement of third party access to facilities – for example rail infrastructure – to enhance competition. In Victoria, there are currently two private rail operators Hoys in the south-east of the state covering the Shepparton and Cobram areas, and West Coast Railway which runs the Warnambool train to the south-west of Victoria. In the future it is likely that a competitive framework will be introduced in the area of rail freight services, currently dominated by V Line Freight. The key issue in this respect would seem to relate to the size of the market and whether in fact it is sufficiently large for competitive arrangements to be introduced.

The most recent example of competitive tendering in the area of roads would be the successful tender by Transurban to develop City Link. As part of the Linking Melbourne strategy – a plan by the Victorian Government for road construction over the next twenty years – the City Link project is the most costly, estimated at around \$1.7 billion, and will connect and extend a number of major freeways in the metropolitan area: the Westgate, the Tullamarine and the Southeastern freeways. Although the private financing of road infrastructure is not a new phenomenon on the world stage, in the Victorian context, the City Link project represents a major intervention and investment by the private sector into the provision of public infrastructure through its financing role. One of the main questions raised by such developments, as Quiggan (1995) suggests, is ‘whether the direct and indirect public contribution is greater or is less than would have been required if the project had been undertaken by the public sector’ (p.28). This question is often hard to determine, given the protection offered by commercial confidentiality claims, which may well preclude project detail from full debate and evaluation in the public realm.

From these examples therefore, it is possible to summarize the primary impacts of competition policy in the field of transport as follows :

- the separation of policy and planning functions from operational activities within government transport instrumentalities;
- the restructuring of the operational arm of government into discrete and self contained business units;
- the development of new transport market competitors through the accreditation of providers and the mechanisms of competitive tendering and outsourcing/contracting out of services and projects⁴.

⁴ Outsourcing usually to refer to the purchasing of services to perform functions which remain internal to the organisation while contracting out suggests the externalising of organisational activities, previously provided by employees, through the awarding of contracts to third parties particularly the private sector.

1.7 Competition, transport and equity

The promotion of competition will often be consistent with a range of other social goals, including the empowerment of consumers. However, there may be situations where competition, although consistent with efficiency objectives and in the interests of the community as a whole, is regarded as inconsistent with some other social objectives. For example, governments may wish to confer special benefits on a particular group for equity or other reasons.
(Report of the Independent Committee of Inquiry, 1993, p.5)

Under the heading of competition and community welfare, the Hilmer report considers the goals of Competition Policy other than those related to economic efficiency. Limited attention is devoted to this discussion and it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that there is some uncertainty as to how competition policy not only relates to, but what impact it has for these other social goals or indeed what such goals might be (Russell 1995a p.5). One fundamental social goal in the field of transport has been the subsidisation of those who are deemed transport disadvantaged in order to ensure that their mobility and travel capacity is maintained. Commonly referred to as community service obligations (CSO), these include concessions in fares to pensioners, students and others on low incomes, programs such as multi-purpose taxis for people with disabilities (in 1995, the Victorian Taxi Directorate estimated that there were around 5 million subsidised trips at an average cost of \$5, totalling \$25 million dollars in subsidies for this program alone) and subsidies to country services which connect small towns with larger regional centres.

As identified by the Bureau of Industry Economics (1995) community service obligations are where “government’s require infrastructure providers to supply services to certain sections of the community on a non-commercial basis. These directions generally relate to the government’s broader policies or social goals (for example, employment, regional development, equity)” (p.29). Until recently, community service obligations have often been funded through the practice of cross subsidisation. This is a significant factor in the context of a competitive policy environment in that there is a move away from such cross subsidising practices, to the direct and external funding of community services obligations from government budgets. This direction perhaps reflects the reality that potential competitors may primarily be drawn to the lucrative end of markets, requiring governments to ensure that CSO obligations, however defined, are maintained (Bureau of Industry Economics 1995, p. 31).

One particular criticism of the CSO approach is that it would appear to marginalise the social objectives of transport policy, by defining these elements in such a manner as to facilitate their separation and insulation from other objectives and goals within the field. While this

may well assist with clear identification and quantification, it does little to promote the notion of transport policy which pursues multiple, integrated and intrinsically connected goals, be these social, environmental or economic in orientation. A further issue is evident in that community service obligations seem to become equated with the mechanism of travel concessions, that is, such concessions are the defining feature of what constitutes a society's community service obligations. This would appear to be a particularly narrow construction which does not take account of complex equity issues, such as those related to locational disadvantage and for example the possible role of government in developing and maintaining public transport infrastructure in rural or metropolitan fringe areas.

1.8 Summary

From the above it is evident that any framework for understanding transport planning would need to highlight the primacy of the car in terms of both past and present day policy and practice, as well as the lack of integration and coordination which has characterised transport developments generally. An additional and central element of this framework in the 1990s is the introduction of competition policy which appears to be encouraging profound change in the transport arena. This, in turn, raises particular issues such as the meaning of equity in the new transport environment and how this will be translated into practice.

Chapter Two

Women, Transport & Disadvantage

2.1 Introduction

Moving from a general exploration in the first chapter, of trends and issues in transport policy, planning and development, this section assesses the current knowledge of women's travel patterns and transport needs.

2.2 The nature and extent of women's travel – what we know

2.2.1 The limited boundaries of current discussion

In the Australian context, the dominance of private transport modes over public transport modes has been well documented. Moriarty and Beed (1990) have traced a number of changes over recent decades in an attempt to explain this dominance, their thesis suggesting that the increase in private car ownership and use, and the declining importance of public modes in individual transport patterns, can at least in part be linked to a heightened dispersion in the urban form. Colloquially referred to as 'urban sprawl', this dispersed form is manifest in metropolitan fringe communities which may be located seventy kilometres or more from the heart of cities. Others have expanded this theme: Newman and Kenworthy (1989; 1992), for example, suggesting from their research that levels of car dependency were directly related to patterns of urban development and population density. From this work it is clear that the relationship between transport and urban form is a complex and interdependent one. Of particular interest has been the contribution to the debate by Moriarty (1993) who has highlighted the concept of travel convenience, including aspects of privacy and comfort for individuals as well as travel speed, to explain our predilection for car ownership and private travel. This insight is useful as it suggests that individuals may well choose the car as the primary mode of travel regardless of the efficiency, safety and accessibility of public transport systems. Such an outcome obviously presents major challenges for policy makers.

This emphasis on private transport modes has had implications for the study of women and transport. As women are less likely to use cars as drivers than men – and are more likely to use public transport or walking as a mode of travel – the transport interests and issues of women as a group are not as readily reflected in policy and practice contexts and debates which emphasise the primacy of the car. Since the mid-1980s for example, there has been a plethora of government activity and reports related to roads, the frame of reference has

been one of linking, by-passing and connecting, in an attempt to move traffic around rather than through the city area, to connect localities, to enhance the mobility of individuals and to advance the economy through more direct road links to ports and industrial areas (Victorian Government, 1987; Victorian Government and VicRoads, 1994). Current discussions at the Victorian state level in relation to the City Link project also reflect this orientation. Of considerable concern, therefore, is the potential for women's experience of transport systems to be lost or distorted in the pursuit of travel concerns emphasising the use of private vehicles, thus exacerbating transport disadvantage: "People without access or with limited or negotiated access to private transport are seen to lose out from policy decisions that accord high priority to roads construction, as they are likely to be disadvantaged relative to car users, in accessing employment and services" (Glanville, et. al., 1994). This is not to suggest that all women will be disadvantaged, as indeed women are users of cars, but that a policy orientation which focuses on roads does have particular implications for women as individuals.

2.2.2 Women and transport as a 'legitimate area' of social policy analysis

An observable trend in some social policy texts over recent years has been the inclusion of travel, transport or mobility as a significant arena for social policy debate and development. Michael Cahill, for example in his 1994 work *The New Social Policy*, includes a chapter on travelling which, among other foci, investigates both public and private transport spheres primarily in the context of the United Kingdom. Such consideration of transport as an important policy sphere challenges the traditional academic allegiance to the so-called primary social policy areas of the family, community care, income, education, health, housing and employment. Public infrastructure debates have also identified transport as an important site for concern. The Australian Urban and Regional Development Review (1994 & 1995) has contributed much to such analysis. With its emphasis on integrated planning and the linking of physical, economic, social, environmental and cultural concerns, it has identified transport as a key area of investigation in improving the living circumstances of Australians. Transport, with other contemporary policy areas such as the environment, is thus recognised as having a significant impact on both an individual's quality of life and a community's standard of living, and is therefore worthy of attention. Put simply, almost every person has a need to travel (Hillman et al, 1978, p.153). Importantly, Cahill's work – while largely adopting a generic approach to the question of travel – does identify the issue of gender differences in access to transport, highlighting that women are both the major users of public transport and are less likely to have a driving licence or access to a car than men (p. 95). The recognition of travel as an important policy domain for women has perhaps in part been encouraged by the women's movement, which in the 1980s began to see

transport as a feminist issue, and “one which [had] a vital role to play in the struggle for equality” (Hamilton, K & Jenkins, L.1989). This is particularly significant in the area of women’s access to employment and services, such as child care

2.2.3 A hierarchy of transport modes – the perceived ‘lower status’/ invisibility of some methods of travel and the impact of this on women

The dominance of the car in Australian society has had the concomitant effect of relegating other travel modes to positions of lesser importance, particularly in terms of the allocation of resources. As Chapter One shows, roads are a major item on the public agenda of transport policy debate and those associated with roads would appear to constitute a well informed and influential lobby, not in small part as roads are viewed as an integral part of a healthy economy. It is important to note however, that measures of what constitutes a healthy economy – definitions of economic growth – take limited account of environmental issues such as the concept of sustainability or indeed, as Marilyn Waring (1988) suggests, the contributions made by women in their caring and domestic roles. Although not writing in the Australian context, Susie Ochenschleger (1990) argues that there is a ‘road user hierarchy’, at the top being those who drive trucks then cars, and at the bottom, those who walk or ride bicycles. This analysis is particularly significant when one considers the demographic material available on women and modes of travel, including walking and cycling. Ochenschleger suggests that walking is very important for women and that walking trips are often related to shopping or the escorting of children. She cites a number of transport studies in the UK, including that conducted by the Greater London Council in the mid 1980s entitled *Women on the Move*, to support her claims. In 1978, Hillman, Henderson and Whally were investigating the importance of walking in travel and the implications this should have for planning policy generally. In Australia, ABS data (1991) suggests that walking as a mode of travel to work may well be more significant for women than men: 4% of women in the MSD walking as their means of travel to work compared to 3% of men. Obviously, these figures suggest little in relation to the importance of walking for women who are not in the paid labour force.

It is reasonable to suggest that over the last ten years there has been an increased recognition of the impact of private vehicles on the environment, in the form of vehicular contributions to greenhouse-gas emissions, affecting global warming (Watters 1994). Other environmental concerns stemming from urban environments which support and extend private vehicle use, include those of ‘acid rain’ and the depletion of non-renewable fossil fuel supplies. (Knight, 1993) These concerns have stimulated an interest in environmentally friendly travel modes, including those of walking and cycling and as such may well offer a point of convergence

with the travel needs of women as walkers. Such needs have been recognised through eco-feminist approaches but have still not permeated the mainstream environmental agenda to any large extent.

2.2.4 Analysing socio-demographic indicators: general patterns of women's travel

The Australian Bureau of Statistics produces data from Census collections on travel patterns. Included in the *Basic Community Profile* is information on modes of travel to employment with an analysis based on gender. From the 1991 Census material, over three quarters of the population Australia wide (76.6%) and in the Melbourne Statistical Division (77.6%) travelled to work by car as drivers, thus illustrating our reliance on and preference for private vehicles. The point is even more pronounced when the 1991 data are compared to census material from 1971 and 1981 (ABS, 1995a). In 1971, travel to work by car as driver accounted for around 56% of trips, while in 1981 this had increased to 69% of journeys. If travel to work by car as a passenger is included in the calculations, the result is as follows:

TABLE 5 LONGITUDINAL COMPARISON OF JOURNEYS TO WORK BY CAR AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WORK JOURNEYS

1971	1981	1991
68.8%	78.5%	84.3%

When all journeys – rather than just journeys to work – are considered, it is clear that “private cars dominate travel in Australia, accounting for nearly 90% of all trips” (Industry Commission 1994, p.55). In considering gender differences in methods of travel to work, it is evident in the MSD data that women:

- were 10% less likely to use cars as a driver than men;
- were twice as likely to travel in a car as a passenger;
- were greater users of public transport overall than men; and
- were more likely to walk to work than men and less likely to ride a bicycle. (ABS, 1991)

These patterns were also similar for the Australia-wide data. It could be argued that as the next century, the percentage of women (as drivers) using the car may well begin to approximate the male percentage, as women without licences tend to be located in older-

age cohorts. Nevertheless, there will always be certain groups of women who are less likely to hold a licence, including those who are young, who are unemployed or from non-English speaking backgrounds (Mitchell 1994, p.124).

In 1993, the Australian Bureau of Statistics produced a publication on women in Australia which compiled data from a range of sources “relating to the situation and progress of women in Australia” (ABS, 1993). It is interesting to note that while the table of contents of this publication includes a number of significant areas in women’s lives – health, education, families, work, housing, income & leisure – it only deals with travel and transport data in the context of these other issues, perhaps reflecting the more marginalised status of transport as an area of social or public policy enquiry, or that data on women’s travel patterns is more underdeveloped than that available in other areas. This publication is useful, nevertheless, in that it distinguishes between groups of women in its presentation of some socio-demographic data. For example, the relative position of disadvantage of single mothers is evident, in that they utilise the car as driver, to access shops and services, 11% less than their married counterpart. In addition, their use of public transport for the same purpose is 14% greater than that of a married woman with children. Additional detail would be required to be definitive here, in that some women may be married but separated. A further example is evident in the area of women over the age of sixty years who are much more reliant on using a car as passenger or public transport, than a car as driver (ABS, 1993)¹

From an overseas perspective, the British example of the National Travel Surveys produced by the Department of Transport, represents a more comprehensive attempt to understand “the use of transport facilities made by different sectors of the population and trends in these patterns of demand” (Department of Transport, 1994). These surveys also provide time series data by comparing some basic indicators from previous travel surveys with the most recent data collected. The current data provides personal information and travel details for individuals in 10,413 households collected over a period of seven consecutive days. These details relate to the purpose of the journey, method of travel, length of journey and time of day that travel occurred. Of relevance to women and travel in the 1994 publication are the following findings:

¹ It is recognised, from a feminist position, that collective terms such as ‘single mother’ and ‘married woman’ inject a form of gender consensus and in so doing offer little that is helpful in understanding the circumstances of individual women, although they do assist in broader analysis. The issue of gendered data collection, statistics and definitions is therefore recognised, but is beyond the immediate scope of this research.

- the increase in women aged 17 and over with a full car licence was from 46% in 1989 to 55% in 1993;
- women travelled double the distance in cars as passengers than men and one third the distance in cars as drivers in the 1991–1993 period;
- generally, women go more often to the shops than men and spend more time there;
- women used buses (in London, other local and non-local) more than men, and trains (the Underground and British Rail) less than men.

2.2.5 Studies on women's travel patterns

The primary focus of public transport research, planning and provision, in the past and present has been on the needs of mass markets: for example those commuting to and from work to central business locations (Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992). The seeds of this approach can be seen in some of the outcomes from the 19th century industrial revolution, particularly in the separation of workplace and home, which necessitated adequate transport facilities to connect the two, and, in some instances, led to secondary advantages of improved urban mobility generally (Smerk, 1968). While the rationale for such an approach is argued in terms of efficiency, long term viability and at generally meeting the requirements of capital in industrialised cities, it offers little to those whose life patterns and needs vary from mass markets, and even less to those whose activities might relate more closely to the private sphere of home and community.² Importantly, the approach does not seem to accord with contemporary policy debates concerning the nature of work and employment, particularly considering such dimensions as working from home [in March 1992, 6% of employed women and 2% of employed men worked from home (ABS 1993, p.136)] and the emphasis on part-time employment or job sharing in the context of sustained unemployment levels and lifestyle changes. It is from a perspective that recognises the fact that individual travel needs can and do differ from those of mass markets, that some (for example Lang, 1992) have come to study the area of women and transport.

A further contribution to understanding women and travel has come from the field of feminist economics. Since Waring's significant work in the late 1980s, *Counting For Nothing. What Men Value and What Women Are Worth*, which identifies women's 'chauffeur' role as one which should figure in any accounting exercise of women's unpaid work, there has been a growing body of literature which pursues economics from a feminist perspective (Ironmonger, 1989; Ferber & Nelson, 1993; Beasley, 1994). These seek to

² To describe home and community as the private sphere is to enter into a current feminist debate. Just what constitutes the public sphere and the private sphere, or how useful these terms are, is open to discussion from a poststructuralist viewpoint.

document and account for the work of women, in particular unpaid work in the home or the community. The transportation of others increasingly appears to receive attention in these calculations:

To this end I propose the following model of modern Western women's labours:

1. *sex-differentiated waged work;*
2. *public unpaid labours which replicate features of (3) to (8);*
3. *'service' support labours, including travel (writer's emphasis), educational and civic duties, etc.;*
4. *'housework', including shopping, cooking, washing, home maintenance, gardening, etc.;*
5. *'body work'/body management including organisation of diet, exercise and sleep, maintenance of 'beauty', childbirth, activities related to menstruation and health, etc;*
6. *sex;*
7. *child care;*
8. *emotional labour, including 'husband-care', care for friends, neighbours, relatives, etc. (Beasley 1994, p. 33)*

Valuing women's travel through the filter of feminist economics also assists in connecting this aspect of their unpaid work role with others, such as that of caring for children and community involvement.

In the Victorian context, there have been few attempts to understand the nature and extent of women's travel. The Women and Transport Taskforce was established in the late 1980s under the then Labor Government. Its brief was to advise the Minister for Transport, and to report to the Victorian Government on the nature and extent of transport issues affecting women in the community. The taskforce utilised a number of methods including some survey work, a public meeting and case studies, to highlight issues in relation to women's transport needs. From this research, the Women and Transport Taskforce (1988) concluded that:

- *women are more vulnerable than men to assault;*
- *they are more likely than men to be travelling to work outside peak periods, or to places outside the central activity district (CAD);*
- *their travel patterns are more locally based;*
- *most women must carry parcels, shopping jeeps, prams or pushers, or take young children on public transport vehicles;*
- *the issue of walking proximity to public transport access points is important to women;*

- *women are more likely than men to need timetable and route information about a wider range of services, including local services; and*
- *women have lower levels of car access and are more sensitive to issues of service frequency and inter-modal coordination.* (p.iii)

This research had a primary focus on public transport systems and advocated the need for these systems to change – in the areas of safety and security, service delivery and consultation – if equitable attention was to be given to women’s travel needs. Suggested strategies included:

- *safety / security* – better lighting at rail stations and in car parks, increased transit patrol and staffing levels at stations which were adequate for safety;
- *service delivery* – improved coordination between rail and bus services, reduced waiting times at night and week-ends by increasing service frequency and more appropriate bus route design, particularly in outer suburbs;
- *consultation* – the establishment of regional consultative structures to assist in ensuring that transport services are responsive.

Despite several attempts, it has not been possible to trace the passage of the recommendations from the Taskforce’s research and it appears that the final report was largely left on the proverbial shelf. This outcome perhaps reflects problems with an approach which seeks to consider women’s transport needs within the boundaries of existing systems rather than adopting a more structural perspective which questions the very nature of the systems themselves (although the later approach certainly offers no guarantee that action will happen and does in effect demand more profound change). Pragmatically, the recommendations from such reports are often not implemented when there is a change of government and previously pursued directions are no longer deemed relevant. Nevertheless, the themes highlighted in this research have been identified and developed in other work, both in Australia and elsewhere. The Greater London Council’s (1986) survey into women’s transport needs in London found that :

...women make substantial use of bus and walking modes for all purposes, but relatively limited use of rail. This reflects the fact that many of their trips are likely to be local and short. Car use is also relatively low, reflecting the fact that many women do not have access to a car, nor have a driving license. Journeys to work and for shopping are those most commonly made by women, with a third of women travelling to work, and a quarter of women going shopping five or more days a week. Just over 40% of women were in paid employment, of whom about 40% were in part time jobs. (p.15)

In short, the survey emphasised that women's travel patterns were different to those of men – not only as a result of differences in labour force participation, but also as a consequence of differences in gender roles – and therefore required policy responses that reflected such difference. It is perhaps not surprising however, that such policy responses do not seem to emerge in practice. This may reflect a lack of integrated planning generally in the transport arena or, as some would argue, a lack of planning per se (Mees 1995), combined with an unrealistic and problematic reliance on the market to determine and meet transport needs. David Banister (1994) argues that effective transport planning can only occur through the collaborative efforts of key players, between the public and the private and between the different spheres of government. In addition, Banister suggests that transport planning should reflect an interconnectedness with relevant policy spheres, for example those related to the environment. To this can be added the imperative of recognising the diversity of travel needs which exist in any community and which are evident within identified groups: for example, women. The key issue which would seem to emerge from such studies as that of the Greater London Council is whether the different travel patterns of men and women are related to real behavioural differences and choices or are largely the result of imposed constraints, for example, lack of access to the family car.

In July 1995, the planning firm Perrott Lyon Mathieson completed a study on women's transport needs for the Victorian Women's Planning Network. The report commences with a quote by Edith Cowan, which was part of her first address to the West Australian Parliament on being elected, and outlined the practical difficulties experienced by women with children in prams, using trains:

...a sort of court martial (should) be held to inquire into this question and the Government should be asked to make the punishment fit the crime...the suggested punishment being that the Minister for Railways should be made to parade the streets of Perth for the whole of one afternoon with a heavy infant in one arm and a bag of groceries in the other! (p.2)

The Report then went on to assert that 'some three quarters of a century on, the fundamental issues relevant to women about transport, access to and suitability of transport relative to women's needs, do not seem to have significantly changed' (p.2). As part of a methodology which included some group interviews with women, it was found that women :

- feared for their personal safety when using both public and private transport as well as for the safety of their children;
- overwhelmingly preferred to use a car; and
- accorded greater priority to the convenience of travel modes rather than the cost.

It is now widely acknowledged that women are much more the victims of inadequate public transport than men. But the literature has largely ignored divisions other than gender. In Green Views, life stage and resources meant that poor public transport was of some benefit to some women, justifying the commitment of income to a second car and freeing them from the transport routes designed for men, as they carried around or catered for young children, shopped and visited. For those without jobs, that freedom was curtailed by the necessity to 'consider petrol'. But they were not as constrained as those women without cars who relied on public transport and increasingly became aware that as others obtained cars they left the estate during the day. (p.190)

In her paper to the 1994 Adelaide conference on women and transport planning, Kerkin (1995) suggested that it is essential to retain a primary focus on the diversity of women's transport needs, and not to subsume those needs under broad categories such as 'social disadvantage'. This will more likely ensure that women are seen as individuals within their social and physical environment and that policy responses can perhaps more adequately cater to their needs. A clear tension is evident, however, in that policy inevitably responds to a more collective, rather than individualised framework of needs (except, theoretically, market-oriented policies although perhaps these have at their core the universal and collectivising notion of the 'empowered consumer'). This suggests perhaps that any policy approach should not be based on foundations which fail to recognise the existence of difference but on a capacity to identify connecting points between differing needs and perspectives. And it is in this context that the notion of equity may be useful. It is with this challenge in clear view that attention is now turned to the concept of transport disadvantage.

2.3 Considering transport disadvantage

Not being able to get around, to be restricted to a particular place, to be dependent on other people for travel is often a characteristic of disability or imprisonment. (Cahill 1994, p.78)

2.3.1 Introduction

A review of relevant literature indicates that there is no single definition of the concept of transport disadvantage and indeed no agreement on the term itself or what it includes. The words *transport poverty*, *mobility disadvantage* and more recently *activity poverty* (Loder & Bayly, 1994) have all been used to describe situations where individuals cannot access transport to meet their needs. Furthermore, while most individuals will experience some mobility problems at various stages in their life, for example, being unable to board a

crowded peak-hour tram, this does not necessarily mean they could or should be described as transport disadvantaged. Presumably, attempts to articulate more clearly the dimensions of the concept, and at the same time, move away from generalised definitions, are important if we are to understand who is affected, how and why, and specifically the impact on both an individual's quality of life and community well-being³. This, in turn, should offer significant information to policy makers and analysts in the transport field. In exploring the concept further, the term *transport disadvantage* will be used.

2.3.2 Defining transport disadvantage – some choices

There have been varied attempts to define the concept of transport disadvantage. The following table provides a summary of the main approaches used to this task. In considering transport disadvantage there appears to be four points of reference which may be used individually or in combination. These are whether the definition of transport disadvantage:

- focuses on public or private modes of transport;
- conceptualises transport as a question of demand or supply;
- is based on a range of personal attributes or variables; or
- recognises benchmarks or standards to be achieved, be these legal, social or financial.

These areas are summarised in the following table:

³ This is in line with Kerkin's (1995) comment on the inherent problems with overarching terms, for example, 'social disadvantage' (see p.27 of this thesis).

TABLE 6 SUMMARY OF APPROACHES TO DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF TRANSPORT DISADVANTAGE

A focus on public or private modes of transport	A question of demand or supply	The relevance of personal attributes or variables	The standard or benchmark to be met - legislative imperatives, policy & financial frameworks, societal expectations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the car as the primary mode in western society • the individual choice of car (behavioural issues) • need for safe, reliable, frequent and affordable transport systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supply of transport differs between areas (fringe and locational disadvantage studies) • issues of different demand at life cycle stages • location and spatial dispersion of activities (activity poverty) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • age • physical mobility • gender • income • cultural background • physical location 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • physical design and infrastructure - for entering, safe travel and exit from transport • legislative context, for example, Disability Discrimination Act (1992) • mobility expectations increase over time • equal opportunities or equal outcomes.

2.3.3 A focus on public or private modes of transport

(i) Transport disadvantage in the age of cars.

It is perhaps not surprising, given the predilection for car use and car ownership in Australia, that some have understood the concept of transport disadvantage in terms of the availability of private vehicles. As stated in a 1992 strategic planning document by the then Victorian Public Transport Corporation :

The transport poor are those who cannot afford a car, by virtue of low income and other factors, or who do not have access to a car or some other form of private transport. This group includes most persons in households with no car, and also persons who do not have access to family car(s) at times when they wish to make trips. It also includes those people who have one or more cars but, in so doing, leave themselves financially impoverished. (cited in Loder & Bayly, 1994, p.3)

In relation to the transport experiences of women, the car is an important site for investigation, not least as women, like men, are major users of cars. For women, however, the significance of public transport modes and the importance of walking suggest that determination of transport disadvantage solely on the basis of access to a car or private vehicle is insufficient. A broader frame of reference must be pursued which incorporates the variety of transport modes which are used by women. A strength of the above definition is evident however in its recognition that it is not always the case that the most disadvantaged are reliant on public transport for their travel, and indeed, poorer sections of the community may spend a disproportionate amount of their incomes on cars compared to those in higher-income brackets (Industry Commission 1994, pp. 204-5). The latest household expenditure data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1995) suggests that those in the highest income quintile group spend only marginally more of their household income on transport than those in the lowest income quintile group. This is further explored in Chapter 4 in the context of the perceived inelasticity of transport demand.

(ii) Transport disadvantage in the context of public transport

From a broad perspective, transport disadvantage may result in any situation where public systems do not offer a safe, reliable, frequent or affordable service. In practice, however, such a definition needs to be segmented to provide more specific direction for intervention to address situations of transport disadvantage.

2.3.4 Transport disadvantage – a question of demand or supply ?

Sutton (1988) has considered the concept of mobility deprivation and suggests that this is linked to levels of mobility choice, defined as follows :

- level one:** *effective demand*, in that a person's travel needs are met by available transport modes;
- level two:** *depressed demand*, in that mobility is depressed due to the absence of transport or as a result of the cost of travel;
- level three:** *frustrated demand*, where mobility is suppressed to the degree that travel is not even considered.

This model raises the complex question of whether transport and associated circumstances of disadvantage are more accurately described as issues relating to demand (or derived demand) or supply. As part of the National Housing Strategy, Newman, Kenworthy and Vintila (1992), in considering the connections between housing, transport and the urban form, suggested that the transport system has largely been supply oriented, responding to demands that are made rather than actually managing such demands. They suggest that this

is particularly evident in the supply of both roads and parking resources. And yet, when public transport systems are considered, surely the reverse is true in that the perceived lack of demand for public transport has led to minimal development of viable alternatives to car travel. (It is acknowledged that with an improved public transport system, demand may well have been created). The type of supply orientation articulated by Newman and Kenworthy will perhaps lead to the allocation of resources on the basis of factors which give insufficient weight to the needs of those deemed disadvantaged.

2.3.5 Individual variables and transport disadvantage

This is perhaps the most common approach in the literature to determining the dimensions of transport disadvantage. In 1992(a), the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet in its locational disadvantage studies, identified a number of transport groups and the nature of the disadvantage they experienced. These groups were identified on the basis of variables such as age, income or resources, employment status and personal mobility. The findings were as follows :

TABLE 7: SUMMARY OF THE INDIVIDUAL VARIABLES APPROACH TO TRANSPORT DISADVANTAGE

Transport Disadvantaged Groups	Nature of Disadvantage
<p>Young (1) Preschool children (2) School children (3) Working or unemployed youths without a car (working or living in outer suburbs)</p>	<p>Unable to travel alone. Unlicensed and dependent on parents, older friends or public transport for motorised mobility. Difficulty of reaching employment (actual or potential) via public transport, especially in outer areas.</p>
<p>Old (4) Aged/ frail</p>	<p>May never have learnt to drive. Failing physical faculties reduce ability to drive, and/or to use other means of transport (including walking)</p>
<p>Poor (5) Resource -poor (6) Information-poor (eg. migrants, new residents)</p>	<p>Lack of money to own and run a car and/or to afford the cost of public transport Lack of knowledge of available services</p>
<p>Home workers (7) Homemakers</p>	<p>Household car may not be available during the day. Sometimes unable to drive (unlicensed). Also tied to children (time constraints, prams and associated paraphernalia)</p>
<p>Disabled (8) Handicapped (9) Physically ill</p>	<p>Difficulty in driving and/or in using conventional forms of public transport. Availability of parking spaces close to destination is critical.</p>

(Reproduced directly, section (vi) table 5)

A connection may be made between such variables and low trip making behaviour in order to demonstrate the existence of transport disadvantage. In a subsequent report by the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (1992b) small numbers of trips were made by older people, those on low incomes or with disabilities and those with limited access to cars. However, Elisabeth Ampt (1994) has cautioned against this approach, suggesting that limited numbers of trips do not 'automatically indicate transport poverty and therefore some activity poverty' (p.14). Furthermore, it would seem important not only to consider transport disadvantage within the context of the number of trips made, but also to be cognisant of other factors, such as the connections between trips, which may also provide useful insights into the notion of transport disadvantage.

One of the main problems with the individual variables approach to defining transport disadvantage would appear to be its failure, in most instances, to take account of the external and environmental factors which affect mobility, for example, the extent and range of transport infrastructure in any geographical area. It utilises an individual focus which needs to be supplemented with 'contextual' information if a complete picture of transport disadvantage is to emerge. This is important if the site for change is to be correctly identified, responsibility for this change at times resting with the individual but more often with a policy and planning framework which should be better informed by, and more responsive to, people's needs. A further issue with this approach is evident in the way it focuses on segmenting and separating groups within the population, rather than identifying some of the commonalities which may exist across groups in terms of transport needs and disadvantage. This is not to suggest that difference should be discounted, but that a frame of reference seeking to make connections is more useful in a policy environment which responds to the grouping of individuals rather than individuals themselves. An overarching concept of transport disadvantage – which focuses on defining factors in addition to individual variables – would therefore be more useful. Finally, it appears that the individual variables approach takes account of gender issues primarily in the context of those working at home. This is clearly a limited construction.

2.3.6 Benchmarking and transport disadvantage

Some approaches to transport disadvantage rely on the establishment of service standards or benchmarks below which it is perceived disadvantage will occur as an inevitable outcome. A current example of this can be seen in the development of accessible public transport standards under the Federal Disability Discrimination Act (DDA). Introduced in an operational sense in 1993, the DDA provides the legal context, in conjunction with relevant and previously existing state discrimination laws, for ensuring that people with disabilities do not experience discrimination in relation to their access to a range of services and programs including transport. The potential utility of the legislation has already been seen in the transport field via the October 1994 findings of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission in relation to the access of people with disabilities to Adelaide buses (Vintila, 1995). The development of accessible public transport standards under the Act aims to specify some minimum standards for the accessibility of public transport, implicit recognition existing here of the disadvantaged status of those who use transport which does not conform to these specifications. The DDA therefore has a strong rights orientation which would appear to identify disadvantage from a structural perspective, that is disadvantage which stems from systems and structures which are founded on inequity.

2.3.7 Recent explorations of the concept of transport disadvantage/ transport poverty

Loder and Bayly, in conjunction with the Transport Research Centre (1994) have suggested that the concept of transport poverty is more usefully linked to that of activity poverty – deprivation of access to activities. In short, transport poverty (deprivation of access to resources, be they financial, vehicular or personal functioning) leads to a deprivation of access to activities, which is activity poverty (p.18). This approach would appear to place emphasis on the ramifications stemming from transport poverty, or why in fact it matters if someone is transport disadvantaged, rather than primarily considering the meaning of transport disadvantage itself. The approach is at core however problematic as, at times, it is difficult to understand the difference between transport poverty and material poverty as it is articulated in the Report. In addition, consideration of the notion of activity poverty, removes the focus from the primary site of transport and mobility.

In its recent research into urban transport, the Industry Commission (1994) briefly considered the meaning of transport disadvantage. In this Report, the individual variable model is primarily used, coupled with those people who are disadvantaged as a result of residing in areas where insufficient transport services exist. Importantly, this work – like the locational disadvantage studies described earlier – does not simply equate those who are the most transport disadvantaged with those who are dependent on public transport, this being evident through its recognition that people with access to a car may also experience a degree of transport disadvantage.

2.4. Conceptualising women's travel – linking women, transport and disadvantage.

2.4.1 Introduction

Can the concept of transport disadvantage be usefully applied to assist in understanding women's mobility and travel issues? Even after a cursory analysis, it is evident that many women would not fit the disadvantaged category, hence there is an initial need to identify those groups of women which may have a higher than average potential for transport disadvantage on a range of variables including age, residential location, income, access to private vehicles and lifestage. The following table identifies and considers these groups of women attempting to define the specific elements of their transport disadvantage. These elements are considered within a framework consisting of four key areas, namely infrastructure issues, spatial issues, resource issues and design issues.

TABLE 8 ELEMENTS OF TRANSPORT DISADVANTAGE IN RELATION TO SPECIFIC GROUPS OF WOMEN

	Infrastructure Issues	Spatial Issues	Resource Issues	Design Issues
Groups of women with higher than average potential for transport disadvantage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supply of transport services; • differences between areas; • differences in provision over time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • distance to be travelled to specified destination 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ability to pay for public or private transport services; • access to service information; • availability of support staff where required 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ability to use different transport modes: on & off & while in motion; • community mobility in relation to walking and bikes; • issues of safety; • ticketing options
Older women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demographic shifts and movement of women to outer areas to be with families 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • decreasing trip rates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • greater reliance on public modes of transport with ageing : affected by variations in systems including availability of support staff; increases in fares and costs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • may be problematic - heights, widths, movement of vehicles; • affected by accessibility of footpaths
Women with children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • require access to public and private systems at off peak times - schools, pre schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • preference for local travel destinations • sensitive to intermodal connections 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • costs / fares associated with transporting children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • capacity of transport to accommodate pushers, prams; • difficulties in removing children from restraints in private vehicles
Women without cars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • depend on good supply of public transport - safe/frequent/reliable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sensitive to transport systems capacity for connecting and integrating travel 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased focus on walking / increased sensitivity to 'primacy' of roads

TABLE 8 CONTINUED

	Infrastructure Issues	Spatial Issues	Resource Issues	Design Issues
Women who are poor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • more likely to be reliant on public transport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • likely to have higher residential mobility which may affect access; • sensitive to spatial issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • unable to run private car • affected by increases in public transport costs leading to depressed demand 	
Women with disabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • transport modes that are more accessible to disabled women, for example, trains compared to buses, drivers and conductors compared to driver only vehicles. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • impact of the non-availability of support staff on transport vehicles and at stations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • importance of the way the service is provided, eg ticketing options • importance of parking spaces close to destinations
Young women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lack of services available after peak times, especially in the evenings and on week-ends 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no access to private vehicle; • access to service information may be problematic; • unable to travel alone 	
Women in fringe and rural areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reduced provision of services in fringe and rural areas/ dispersed population centres, due to economic rationalist frameworks; • 'frontier' provision mentality of fringe areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • longer distances to required destinations, with perhaps little impact on actual travel time 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • need for transport space to accommodate parcels, packages, hefty shopping

TABLE 8 CONTINUED

	Infrastructure Issues	Spatial Issues	Resource Issues	Design Issues
Women with English as a second language			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience difficulty accessing required information on services required - information barriers to access 	

A simplified version of this table results in a matrix which assists in the identification of key points of disadvantage for particular groups of women.

TABLE 9 KEY POINTS OF DISADVANTAGE FOR PARTICULAR GROUPS OF WOMEN

Variable descriptor	Infrastructure issues	Spatial issues	Resource issues	Design issues
Low income			•	
Disability/ frailty				•
No car	•	•		
Rural/ fringe area	•	•		
Limited/ no english			•	
Caring for others	•			•

Focusing on low-income women as an example: while these women may well experience elements of transport disadvantage if they live in a fringe metropolitan area with limited infrastructure, the primary factor which impacts on their transport disadvantage is that of limited income or the issue of resources. Policy responses would therefore focus on increasing their income or subsidising the costs of their travel⁴.

⁴ These twin policy responses are complex in that the former would appear to challenge the idea of disadvantage while the latter arguably reproduces it!

2.4.2 Understanding some specific dimensions of women's transport disadvantage

2.4.2.1 Women's mobility and women's work

Men and women participate differently in the paid labour force. This is not only evident in the types of occupations they pursue but also in the construction of their employment. For example, women are much more likely to be employed on a casual or part time basis than men. As indicated by ABS data, as at August 1992, women comprised 42% of all employed persons. More specifically, they constituted one third of all those working full time and three quarters of those employed part time. (ABS 1993, p. 123) What would be the impact of women's higher participation in part time work on their travel patterns? It could be reasonably suggested that:

- women may well require transport outside peak mass market and core full time travel times;
- they may not have as ready access to a car or private vehicle, this perhaps being utilised by the full time employee in the household;
- they would benefit from coordination between child care and transport services which are proximate to their home residence and place of employment.

In considering work, it must be remembered that the unpaid sphere of caring for families, children and relatives has long been the traditional responsibility of women, and as such – and as a result of its invisibility and unrecognised financial contribution to a market economy – is seen as having inherently less value than paid employment (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, 1992). As the primary domain of women, this unpaid employment may also have particular influences on travel behaviour and transport patterns. It may well necessitate:

- travel outside so called peak times (recognising that the definition of peak times is largely defined by reference to the movements of those in full time, paid employment);
- multiple trips in any day;
- the negotiation of transport modes with children and goods.

2.4.2.2 The link between travel mobility and gender role.

Pickup (1988) like a number of others, has identified that women's patterns of mobility are in large part a consequence of their gender role. Of particular interest is the thesis that low mobility is identified as a consequence of this role in a number of respects :

- *impact of gender related tasks on women's access to opportunities;*
- *impact family role playing exerts on patterns of women's car availability;*
- *low mobility which derives specifically from the conditions under which women travel, the problems of coping with children while travelling and women's fear of assault. (p.102)*

This concept of low mobility may fit with level two or three on Sutton's (1988) scale of mobility deprivation as previously described (p.30 of this thesis) suggesting that women may experience depressed or even frustrated travel demand as a result of these factors.

2.4.2.3 Safety issues

The survey into women's transport needs conducted by the Greater London Council in the mid 1980s highlighted that the most critical transport issue for the 905 women involved was that of security while travelling. This was particularly evident in the context of evening or night travel, where 80% of respondents stated that it was unsafe to travel on their own or use public transport at these times (GLC, 1986). Bus travel was seen as offering greater security in travel than other modes of public transport due to the more immediate presence of a conductor. Only 17% of those interviewed felt comfortable on the London underground at night and almost two thirds of women would avoid going out on their own at night if at all possible. Women may therefore be perceived as transport disadvantaged as a result of the vulnerability they experience and the inability of transport systems to offer personal security.

Similar findings have been evident in Canadian and Australian research and, particularly in the context of Canada, have resulted in the development of innovative responses to improving safety on public and private transport. The Report of the Women and Transport Taskforce (1988) on women's transport needs in Victoria, Australia, states that '[c]oncerns about personal safety and security for both women and their children is a major influencing factor in the decision to use public transport and the type of mode of public transport' (p. 27). Issues of concern to women were ranked as follows:

TABLE 10 TRANSPORT ISSUES FOR WOMEN
(WOMEN AND TRANSPORT TASKFORCE, 1988)

• Safety at night	36%	• Efficiency	5%
• Safety of children	17%	• Staff available at night	4.5%
• Safety by day	14%	• Cleanliness	3.9%
• Availability	6%	• Waiting time	3.8%

Almost 70% of issues identified in this survey related to safety/security for women themselves or their family. The study prepared by Perrott Lyon and colleagues(1995) similarly indicates that women are particularly sensitive to issues of security and safety in their use of both public and private transport. Furthermore, there is a tendency for women to prefer travelling in a car as opposed to public transport, the former being perceived as more secure.

Does the available evidence justify these significant levels of anxiety around safety and personal security issues? Crime statistics data recently released by Victoria Police (cited in Russell 1995a, p.12) indicate that there has been an increase of 33% over the past few years in assaults occurring between motorists. Interestingly, the Crime Prevention Committee (1993) in its investigations into the public transport system found that it was a safe system, although people overwhelmingly perceived it to be unsafe:

The evidence gathered has led the Committee to the view that the public transport system within Victoria is safe. That is not to say that crime does not occur on the system. It does. The system is safe relative to the level of reported crime, compared with the overall number of passenger journeys. It is safe compared to other states and countries. It is safe compared to other public venues.

The problem encountered by the Committee is that the public perceive the system to be unsafe, and very unsafe at night. It is unclear whether the community perceive public transport as being less safe than other public venues although statistically it is not.
(p.141)

Clearly from the point of view of women, there is much still to be done in the area of personal safety and transport and in exploring the connections between perceptions and reality!

2.4.3 Transport disadvantage – a critique

In her chapter in the recently released book, *Change of Plans*, Sue Zielinski (1995) suggests that the term ‘transport disadvantage’ is problematic in that it may become both self reinforcing and self defining for women⁵. A more positive orientation therefore surrounds the use of the word ‘access’ – leading to the notion of ‘limited access’ to describe circumstances of disadvantage – which more readily suggests that change is possible in terms of improving the availability of public and private transport options which can effectively meet women’s needs. Zielinski considers the term ‘transport disadvantaged captives’ as it applies to women, suggesting that it describes those who are car-less and therefore forced to use public transit systems, these inevitably being deemed inferior. She argues that these terms are socially constructed and that they stem from cultural assumptions related to both cars and travel:

An access-based approach is more socially equitable than a transportation-based approach because it down plays the need for costly transportation and prioritizes the needs of people who are the least advantaged, or cannot or choose not to drive. (p.149)

Strategies for such an access-based approach include reorienting the hierarchy of transport modes that currently exists and refocussing attention on an integrated transport system. While this work is useful in its reframing potential and in its questioning of language, it adds little to our understanding of the dimensions of transport disadvantage or limitations on access as experienced by women. Nevertheless, it does act as a timely reminder of the central goal, that of improving the access of women to life choices and life generally and the role of transport in this process.

2.5. Summary

This section has attempted to explore the dimensions of women’s travel and transport disadvantage. It has also raised a number of discourse issues namely the importance of ‘terms’ in organising ideas and policies. The section offers contextual material within which to consider the experiences of individual women and groups of women, the subject of discussion in the following chapter.

⁵ There would appear to be some consensus here with the ideas of Kerkin (see p.27 of this thesis).

Chapter Three

Moving Women*

For feminists, the everyday routines traced by women are never unimportant, because the seemingly banal and trivial events of the everyday are bound into the power structures which limit and confine women. (Rose, 1993, p.17)

3.1 Introduction

In order to explore the differences between women in their travel, and to consider the gendered dimensions of transport disadvantage, fifteen individual women participated in the current research. Their participation was established following a series of steps. In the first instance, a number of geographical areas were selected in Victoria - inner urban Melbourne around Collingwood and Fitzroy; middle suburban communities in the western region of Melbourne at Deer Park and St Albans; and the rural communities of Hamilton and Coleraine – these areas collectively reflecting a measure of locational diversity. Using local government contacts, existing women’s groups in these and surrounding areas were then identified and approached for two primary purposes. The first of these was to discuss the research in broad terms and through this process to involve women in the identification and development of key issue areas for further exploration. The second purpose was to facilitate the self-identification of women interested in participating individually in the research. The table below lists the women’s groups involved in this process (A group interview schedule is included in Appendix 1.) A total of thirty women indicated their willingness to participate, and from these, fifteen women were selected to be involved in the research. This selection acknowledged the need for diversity amongst the participating women to accommodate the exploration of difference in transport patterns and issues, and therefore choices were made on the basis of a number of variables including age, lifestage, residential location, income, ethnicity and primary transport mode utilised.

*This title borrows from the research by the Greater London Council (UK) in the mid 1980s on women and public transport.

TABLE 11 WOMEN'S GROUPS ATTENDED DURING THE RESEARCH

Groups/meetings of women attended
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coleraine Community Services Group • Kew Private Playgroup • Informal meeting of Zonta members – Footscray Group • Coleraine Adult Day Activity Support Group • New Mother's Group – Arthur St Maternal and Child Health Centre, Northcote • Hamilton Neighbourhood House Women's Group • Group of young women in years 11 & 12 at Good Shepherd College in Hamilton • Hamilton Pensioners and Low Income Support Group • Deer Park Community Information Centre – Volunteers Group • Deer Park Community Information Centre – Custodial Mothers Access Group • Werribee Friendship Group • Fitzroy Turkish Women's Group • Collingwood Turkish Women's Group • Collingwood Greek Women's Group • Collingwood Over 60s Women's Group

The fifteen women were involved in two interviews with the researcher. (An individual interview schedule is contained in Appendix 2.) The traditional paradigms of interviewing – with a focus on a one-way process, which does not require the interviewer to give information and an attitude which sees participants primarily as data sources – may disadvantage women, by not validating “their subjective experiences as women and as people” (Oakley 1981, p.30). As a data collection technique however, interviewing does “allow... access to people’s ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher” (Reinharz, 1992, p.18). From this perspective, an opportunity arises to correct the invisibility or distortion of women’s experience which may occur in any research process. Furthermore, interviewing, particularly that which is partially or fully unstructured in format, would seem to allow the interviewee to be more actively involved in the process, through the determination of direction and content and would therefore enable greater attention to be paid to the differences between women. Indeed, as Ann Oakley states in her challenging piece entitled, *Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms* (1991), involving women in an interview process which is informed by a feminist perspective, necessitates an inclusive and interactive orientation where there is often an exchange of ideas and information between the interviewer and the interviewee; where there is clear recognition of the social interaction that is taking place in the interview; and where the interviewee is acknowledged as both a person and a woman. It is such principles which have provided the methodological framework for the current research.

The participating women also completed a travel diary for a period of fourteen days. Travel diaries are certainly not new in transport research and are primarily intended to gather quantitative data on personal journeys. In this research, the technique was not only used to document women's mobility patterns – including how they travelled, where to and why for a given period of time – but importantly to elicit qualitative and impressionistic material, such as women's experience of travel, including their personal feelings and responses. As Layder (1993) suggests 'diaries are [an] efficient means of obtaining qualitative information on the fabric and dynamics of...activity' (p.116). The travel diaries with the interviews, therefore, provided a picture of the transport experiences of those involved.

TABLE 12 SUMMARY DETAILS ON THE FIFTEEN INDIVIDUAL WOMEN INVOLVED IN THE RESEARCH

A profile of fifteen women (pseudonyms have been used)

- **Mary** is a woman in her mid forties. She is married with two children, a boy thirteen and a girl aged nine years. She lives in a middle-ring suburb in the west of Melbourne.
- **Sally** is twenty-one years of age and a single parent. Her daughter is almost three and they live in a flat in an inner western suburb.
- **Louise** lives in a medium sized country town. She has two children and shares the house with her husband.
- **Mavis** is seventy-three years of age. She lives by herself in a unit in a small country town. Mavis has two adult children and several grandchildren.
- **Ninevah** came to Australia from Turkey in 1981 and lives in an inner Melbourne suburb. She is married with four children.
- **Jane** lives with her partner and young baby in inner Melbourne. She is thirty years of age.
- **Joanne** has spent the last eight of her twenty four years living in a medium sized country town. She shares a rented house with some friends
- **Barbara** is in her middle fifties and lives with her husband in a small Victorian country town. She has three adult children and eight grandchildren.
- **Olive** has occupied the same inner city house for forty-six years. She is eighty years of age and lives alone.
- **Cathy** is in her mid thirties and has four children ranging in age from five years to eleven years. She is separated from her husband and lives in an outer Melbourne suburb.
- **Anne** lives with her husband and two young children in East Kew. Her children are aged three years and five months.
- **Tamara** has two young children and is twenty-five years of age. She rents a house from the local leasing cooperative in a middle- ring western suburb. She is bringing her children up on her own.
- **Tatjana** has lived at her current address in a middle ring western region suburb for sixteen years. Originally from Malta, she is married with two teenage children.
- **Deborah** lives in an inner Melbourne suburb. She is married with a young child less than a year of age.
- **Dorothy** is a woman in her early sixties who lives by herself in a small country town.

The following table compares some of the key socio-demographic characteristics of the fifteen women participants with those of women in the general population. While the women were not selected on the basis that they would be a representative group, it can be seen from this summary that, in the majority of socio-demographic areas, there were broad similarities with the population at large.

It should also be noted that there were no paid fulltime working women in the participant group. This did not occur by design.

TABLE 13 COMPARISON OF SOME SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS OF WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH, TO THOSE OF WOMEN IN THE GENERAL POPULATION

Population indicator	Women involved with the research (%)	Women in the general population -% (ABS : VIC)
Age		
• 20 - 29 years	4 (27)	16
• 30 - 39 years	5 (33)	16
• 40 - 49 years	2 (13)	13
• 50 - 59 years	1 (7)	9
• 60 - 69 years	1 (7)	8
• 70 - 79 years	1 (7)	6
• Over 80 years	1 (7)	3
Family Type		
• Single person	4 (27)	With a partner: 55
• Couple with no dependents	1 (7)	
• One parent family	3 (20)	Without a partner: 45
• Two parent family	7 (47)	
Birthplace		
• Australia	13 (87)	75
• Overseas	2 (13)	25
Housing Occupancy		
• Owner/purchaser	9 (60)	65
• Rental (private)	5 (33)	19
• Rental (public)	1 (7)	16
Employment		
• Employed in the paid workforce	5 (33) part time	52
• Not employed in paid workforce	10 (67)	48
Residential Location		
• Metropolitan Melbourne	10 (67)	71
• Rural Victoria	5 (33)	29

3.2 The group responses

Many transport issues were raised by women as part of the initial group process. The total number of women involved at this stage was 144, with group sizes ranging from 4 women to 18 women. Children were also present at half of the fifteen group meetings. The complete listing of issues is located in Appendix 3 and constitutes a comprehensive reference if more detail is required, as only summary comments will be made here. The issues have been organised within the same framework developed for the transport disadvantage matrix, outlined in the last Chapter. This will assist with some preliminary analysis on the practical application of the matrix. It should be noted that some issues could fit comfortably within several categories and an attempt has therefore been made to locate the issue on the basis of the emphasis given by the woman or women raising the point in question. Presentation of the material is also based on the geographical location of the group – inner metropolitan; middle/outer metropolitan and rural areas. Of overall interest is the diversity of issues raised and the greater emphasis placed by the women on public transport comment, even though for many the car was their primary mode, or at least a regular mode, of transport.

Some common issues were raised by women in groups across different geographical areas. The issue of travel safety was evident. This not only included the personal safety of women and children when mobile at night and using public transport, but also extended to the need for safe driving practices of transport staff. Cars and car travel were associated with positive themes, including those of personal independence, autonomy, freedom and confidence, as well as practical convenience enabling one to move more easily between locations and carry people and goods with a minimum of fuss. Inadequate parking facilities, however, was often cited as a problem with car travel. The design of public transport was consistently raised and the associated difficulties this created for easy access and travel. The importance of interconnections between varied transport modes was often highlighted. Infrastructure issues related to frequency and lack of public transport services were also evident.

At times there was a coalescence of issues raised by women in middle/outer metropolitan areas and those in rural areas. The costs of running a car for example tended to feature in the points raised, as did the condition of roads and road maintenance. Women in metropolitan areas identified the problems associated with private vehicles and baby capsules, particularly the manoeuvring of these in and out of cars. Only women in rural areas identified taxis as part of the public transport system in their discussion of issues, suggesting that fares were sometimes prohibitive and that facilities were often not available to appropriately restrain small children.

A number of broad areas of transport disadvantage can be identified from the issues raised by women's groups. These include disadvantage as a result of:

- the cost of transport;
- the nature and extent of services - services not available or reliable, a lack of coordination;
- managing children during travel;
- system or policy failure - such as a lack of support staff associated with public transport, inadequate information available on transport services;
- design problems in both public and private transport; or
- unsafe travelling environments;

and are identifiable within the transport disadvantage table described in the previous chapter.

3.3 The travel diaries

At the conclusion of the first interview with the fifteen women, a two-weekly travel diary was given to participants to complete in the intervening period prior to the second interview. (A sample page of the travel diary is included in Appendix 4.) The required content of the diary was discussed and it was identified as the proposed primary focus of discussion at the second interview.

3.3.1 Summary of data from participants' travel diaries

The table below summarizes the quantitative information provided by the fifteen women in their travel diaries. An individual breakdown of this data for each participant is contained in Appendix 5.

TABLE 14 SUMMARY OF DATA FROM PARTICIPANTS' TRAVEL DIARIES

Total number of trips	337	Average number of trips in a day	
		• Week	3.3
		• Weekend	1.3
Destination		Mode used	
• Local *	229	• Car	209
• Other	107	• Bus	3
• Unclear	1	• Tram	2
* local = within residential suburb or country town.		• Train	1
		• Walk	74
		• Taxi	1
		• Bicycle	19
Multi-mode used		Car use	
• Car / train / tram	2	• Driver	163
• Car / train / bus	1	• Passenger	64
• Car / bus	4		
• Car / train	3		
• Car / tram	1		
• Car / walk	7		
• Walk / bus	5		
• Walk / tram	1		
• Walk / tram / car	2		
• Taxi / train / bus	1		
• Bike / car	1		
Accompanied travel		Purpose of travel	
• No-one	81	• Shopping	124
• Children	154	• Employment	19
• Friend	43	• Transporting children	86
• Partner / children	45	• Visiting service provider	53
• Friends / children	5	• Visiting friends/ family	57
• Partner / relative	8	• Recreation	55
• Service provider	1	• Attending meetings	42
Total multi-purpose journeys	85	Journey ratings	
		• Poor	23
		• Average	138
		• Good	156
		• Not rated	20

3.3.2 Discussion of the travel diaries

(i) Overview

The fifteen women participants completed 337 journeys in the two week period. Of these, just over two-thirds involved the use of a car for the total trip or at least a part of the trip in conjunction with another transport mode. While this clearly identifies the primacy of the car as a travel mode, it also highlights the importance of exploring women's transport issues from the perspective of women as car users, both drivers and passengers. In their car travel women were drivers for marginally over two-thirds of their trips and passengers for the remaining one third. Data from the 1991 census which analyses mode of transport to work by sex suggests that when paid work trips by women in cars are considered, almost four out of five involve women as the car driver, this constituting a higher percentage therefore than the current research data for all trips as stated. Walking was used as a mode of travel by slightly in excess of one in five trips for the women participants. This is broadly consistent with data contained in the Industry Commission's *Urban Transport Volume 1: Report* (1994) which states that walking is the second most common way of travelling, with 19% of all trips in Melbourne using this mode as stated in Chapter One.

Just over two-thirds of the trips made by participating women involved travelling to local destinations, local being defined as within their suburb of residence or country town. This accords with the two studies that have been completed in Victoria since the late 1980s, where it was found that women's travel tended to be more locally based (Women & Transport Taskforce, 1988; Perrott Lyon Mathieson Pty Ltd, 1995). Much of this travel was accompanied, some three quarters in the current study. Four out of five of these trips involved travel with children. This is strongly indicative of the gendered nature of women's travel, particularly in terms of their responsibilities towards children and raises clear policy implications, such as the responsiveness of public transport modes to women's travel needs.

The gendered division of labour is evident in the purposes cited by women for their journeys. For only two women, did shopping not appear in their top three purposes for travelling. For twelve of the fifteen women, shopping was the primary or secondary purpose for their travel. In some instances this activity was undertaken with other journey purposes. In his recent longitudinal research, Bittman (1995) argues that although shopping is more likely to be a gender neutral-activity, in that it is an unpaid work activity which tends to be less sex-segregated, women's mean shopping time is a third greater than men's mean shopping time, and furthermore that 'most of the improvements in the relative shares of housework comes from women reducing the time they spend in unpaid work rather than men increasing the time they devote to housework, child care or shopping' (p. 12).

Many of the participants in the study were surprised at the amount of travel they did, the diary in this way providing a tangible account of their mobility in a way not previously considered. For the first time, a number of women saw their travel as a part or function of their unpaid work role. Indeed, one woman planned to use the material from her travel diary to support documentation on her contribution to the household for a forthcoming Family Court hearing.

As part of the collection of qualitative data in the travel diaries, women were asked to rate their journeys on a scale from 'poor' to 'good'. Just over a third of the women found it difficult, almost inappropriate to give their trips a grading, travel being perceived as something you simply did to get from place to place. In this way, travel was seen as an unvalued means to an end. Nine out of ten journeys were rated as 'average' to 'good' with limited information being offered as to why such ratings were given. Rather, if there were no particular problems with the journey, the 'good' or 'average' rating tended to be the outcome. It was only where there had been a very evident issue or problem with the journey that a 'poor' rating was afforded to the trip, such as a car breakdown or long delays in the arrival of public transport. It is evident from the diaries that there was a much greater capacity to rate public transport journeys compared to car journeys, thus perhaps indicating the enhanced expectations which exist around public travel. Where poor ratings were given these were attributed to a range of factors as follows:

- footpaths and walking surfaces not well maintained;
- personal, emotional state making travel difficult;
- insufficient finances to catch public transport;
- children crying in the car;
- reliance on a driver who was not particularly skilled or had poor eye sight;
- weather conditions making driving dangerous;
- waiting long periods for public transport;
- stress associated with getting children in the car and to appointments on time;
- difficulties finding suitable parking reasonably close to destination;
- car maintenance difficulties and breakdowns;
- age of public transport vehicles making travel uncomfortable and
- speed with which trucks travel along the road.

(ii) Women with children

Ten of the fifteen participants were women with children, ranging in age from less than a year to seventeen years. The main purpose of travel for these women was shopping and the main mode of transport used was the car. Travel was more likely to be local in nature. Where public transport was used, it would often be in conjunction with another form of public transport or a car. Only a small minority of the trips taken by women with children were unaccompanied and these were mainly related to the purposes of paid employment or visiting a service provider. Unaccompanied trips were more likely to be made by women with teenage children than by those with younger children. Almost one - third of the journeys were multi-purpose in orientation. In three out of four instances, when women's male partners or husbands were in the car, women would not occupy the role of car driver. This may reflect some gendered expectations in relation to cars, space and control.

A number of travel differences within the group 'women with children' can be identified. Firstly, women with children in inner areas of Melbourne were more likely to walk as a mode of transport than those in middle or outer areas or those in rural areas. The finding perhaps highlights the self-contained nature of inner suburbs where social infrastructure is better developed, and in closer proximity, compared to other areas. Secondly, women in middle and outer areas were more likely than those in other areas to be transporting their children to destinations. These children were at a stage in their lives where they wished to undertake activities with friends and could not travel independently, either because of their age or due to the absence of transport infrastructure. Not only does this perhaps raise the issue of the availability of recreational and other services for young people in some areas, but also potentially indicates the development of a pattern or culture of dependency for children and teenagers in outer areas where there is an expectation from a very young age, that parents will be their primary source of transport. And thirdly, and perhaps not surprisingly, the more children women had, the more trips they undertook in the fortnight period, thus highlighting their gendered role in relation to the care of children.

Many women identified the stressful side of travelling with children – crying and arguing – as well as the need for considerable organisational ability to take account of all contingencies, including the weather. The latter required both time and energy and appeared to be more of an issue for those who travelled on public transport. Those who travelled by car identified the positives of this mode of transport in that it had the potential to operate as a type of child care medium offering musical entertainment and immediate stimulation for small children. It could also have a calming influence on children, inducing them to sleep and offered a private space for dealing with children who were tired, upset or angry. In a

related area, many women saw themselves as peace keepers in the car – between children, between partners and children. This role created considerable stress for the women concerned.

Women with very young children and those with toddlers consistently raised issues related to footpaths, prams and walking, including lack of ramps and sloping curbs to assist mobility and problems encountered with uneven surfaces. While public transport modes did not figure strongly in the lives of women with children, it did present particular problems such as those related to getting on and off transport and to reliability – waiting for transport with children was described by several women as being particularly tiresome. Although not targeted at women with children, the federal *Disability Discrimination Act* and the associated guidelines for accessible travel will potentially address a number of mobility issues – particularly those of entering and exiting transport – for women with children.

While safety issues for women themselves, rather than their children, were evident in the travel diaries, they were not as consistently raised as the literature identified in Chapter Two would suggest. Interestingly, a different expression of personal safety was often articulated in the diaries, that of car safety and the importance, for example, of having quality tyres on a vehicle when driving in the rain. This particular issue has received limited if any recognition in previous studies on women and transport.

(iii) Women as public transport users

There were six women in the study who described themselves as primary public transport users. While it is often the case that women are ‘equated’ with public transport – namely, there is limited if any reference to women in their use of private vehicles – this group of participants has shown that even women who identify themselves as public transport users are in fact significant car users, almost one third of their trips being undertaken by car. These journeys were primarily as passengers in cars and therefore in some respects could be equated perceptually with public transport journeys, both offering women a passive role as a passenger in a vehicle.

Of the public transport trips undertaken by women, approximately one in five was multi-modal in nature, which highlights the importance of inter-connected timetabling across modes and the need to explore the multi-purpose dimensions of the travel, specifically the connections between women’s trips. Trains and buses were the most commonly used vehicles, this reflecting the predominance in numbers and routes of these public transport modes, compared for example to trams.

(iv) Older women

The four older women involved in the research completed a lower number of journeys in the fortnight, with an average of sixteen trips in the period compared to twenty-three for the participants as a whole. This reduced journey rate for older people is consistent with research findings from two Australian surveys -the Federal Office of Road Safety Research (1986) and the South East Queensland Household Travel Survey (1992) both cited in Loder and Bayley Consulting Group and Transport Research Centre(1994). Three of these four woman did not have access to their own vehicle, which was a significant factor in terms of their comparatively fewer number of trips:

Important factors relating to low trip-making were old age, low income, low availability of a car, and disability....Car availability was the mainfactor to influence trip-making behaviour. (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 1992b, p.8)

Older women were more often passengers than drivers in a car. The one participant who owned a car and had full access to the vehicle at all times described the independence she felt at not having to rely on her children or others to keep her mobile. She felt that this assisted her in maintaining “a positive attitude to life”.

The journeys of older women were primarily local in orientation and almost one third of their trips were unaccompanied, a higher number than for the participants overall. This probably reflects lifestage issues related to the increased likelihood of solo travel with age, in particular that women live longer than their male partners. With the exception of the journeys of one participant, none of the older women were accompanied in their travel by grandchildren, an area which may be fruitful for future research given the increased understanding in the late 1980s and 1990s of the role of grandparents as carers and childminders in households where both parents are employed in the paid workforce. Older women showed considerable variety in the purpose of their trips, from shopping and visiting service providers, to recreation, attending meetings and visiting friends. This diversity was more evident in the trips of older women than other participants. While a quarter of the trips of women participants overall were multipurpose in orientation, less than one in ten of the journeys of older women fitted this category, perhaps reflecting their simpler, more relaxed lifestyle and a differing relationship with both time and space. It is also clearly related to the absence of children on a day-to-day basis in their lives.

Three of the four older women relied on community transport. Such transport was generally under the auspice of local government and was in the form of a small community bus or community car. These vehicles often had special features, such as an additional step on the

bus, a wide sliding door or specially placed handrails for leverage, which improved access for individuals. The benefit of these services was often described as being most evident in their flexible route systems, the limitations of fixed route transport being simultaneously expressed as a lack of proximity often to both the home residence and/or destination, thus necessitating considerable walking.

Like women with young children, older participants commented in their travel diaries on the significance of footpath and road surfaces in terms of safe mobility. One older woman who lived in inner Melbourne said she was particularly mindful of glass and syringes in parks and walking spaces.

(v) Rural women

Five participants in the group lived in rural communities. Women who lived in a small rural town (approximately 1,200 residents) were over four times as likely to travel outside their local area as those living in a larger rural town (more than 12,000 people). This may reflect the greater and more varied access to services and facilities in larger regional centres of Victoria and the need for women to access such centres. Predictably, the car was the major mode of transport in rural areas; in six out of ten trips the car was utilised for travel. Bicycles figured more significantly as a mode choice for those who lived in the country when compared to city women.

3.4 The individual interviews

I can spend as much time waiting for public transport as using it.

(Mary)

I couldn't survive without my licence. (Deborah)

(i) General comments

Overall, the individual interviews highlighted women's preference for the car as their mode of travel. Public transport was sometimes chosen for its entertainment value – particularly in relation to the potential novelty for children – or where parking presented a problem in terms of cost or ease of access, but did not figure as a constant option or viable choice in the transport discussions with most women. Walking to destinations, or using bicycles as a mode of travel, seemed to occur when trips were recreational in orientation or leisure-focused.

The concept of convenience in travel was usually used in relation to transport by car. The car not only provided door-to-door transport and enabled spontaneous travel, but made easy the task of carrying goods and shopping and travelling with children. Women in diverse geographical areas however, also saw some forms of public transport as convenient, in

particular the train when used to travel to the city. These women generally lived in close proximity to train stations, strongly disliked and avoided the parking hassles associated with the city and appreciated the way in which train travel could take them directly to the centre of the city. From these accounts, it could be argued that the train represented a viable alternative to car travel. Interestingly, women in inner suburban areas of Melbourne also used the term 'convenient' to describe other forms of public transport, such as trams and buses. This seemed to relate to the increased frequency and relative availability of public transport in these suburbs. These women however, were often not active users of such transport modes in their travel patterns. This may suggest that attaining increased patronage on public transport does not solely depend on having a fast, reliable and efficient transport service (although this is obviously important), but may also require significant changes in individual behavioural orientation.

Of the fifteen women, six did not hold current car licences: two women were in receipt of low incomes, one was from non-English-speaking background and three were older women. This may indicate that while the numbers of men compared to women with licences may well be becoming more equal as the 21st century approaches, there will always be certain women who are less likely to have licences. Of the fifteen households: four had no car, seven had one car and the remaining four had two cars. One of the women in a two-car household suggested that 'just about everyone has two cars these days' (Jane). Those with two cars tended to be women of households in a higher income bracket. Limited if any reference was made by the women interviewed to environmental issues associated with increasing car ownership and use. The age of vehicles used by the women varied greatly, although it was noticeable that cars in sole parent households tended to be consistently older. Approximately 50% of the women with cars in their households were members of the RACV. With two exceptions, the women interviewed acknowledged a lack of ability in the area of car mechanics and technical maintenance.

Overwhelmingly, the women did not personalise the concept of transport disadvantage to their own situation, with the exception of two women who were in households without cars. This reflected the broader trend in the group to describe those without access to a car or with a disability of some kind as transport disadvantaged.

Without exception, women in the study believed that government had a strong role to play in maintaining and developing a quality public transport system, quality being defined as encompassing safety, affordability, frequency and reliability. Four of the women interviewed did not see government as having to be responsible for the actual provision of services, but

rather for ensuring that the necessary services were available. All women stated that they would support increased budget allocations to public transport services. Policy issues raised by women during the interviews were as follows:

TABLE 1.5 KEY POLICY ISSUES RAISED BY WOMEN DURING THE INTERVIEWS

Policy Issue	Dimensions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Closure of toilets on train stations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creates problems for women with children and older women who may experience some incontinence.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tolls as part of City Link 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs this would entail for the individual and the family; how long the toll would last.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Staffing at stations and on public transport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concern at the lack of staff available to assist and support women; difficulties experienced in purchasing tickets.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived shift in policy from facilitating public transport travel to policing public transport travel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased numbers of inspectors on vehicles who are punitive and judgmental.

(ii) Low income women

I couldn't visit Keilor twice in two days; I couldn't afford it.
(Tamara).

All I want is a reliable car, one that starts when you turn the key and stops when you turn it off. (Louise).

Those women in the interviews who described themselves as poor – as a consequence of limited income – were often in the position of having to choose between travel and other necessities such as food. Put simply, the cost of a bus or train trip was weighed against the purchase of a litre of milk when finances were tight. These situations challenge general beliefs in a system of 'trade offs', in that such beliefs may ignore the limited capacity of individuals to 'trade' without experiencing severe hardship. As Merle Mitchell (1994, p.110) suggests 'the cost is not simply a preference for one benefit rather than another, but rather between different kinds of hardship'. This notion of 'trade offs' perhaps has some further limitations, particularly in consideration of the inelastic nature of demand for transport services (this is discussed further in Chapter Four). The interviews indicated that for those poor women who travelled by car, the vehicles would often not be serviced when financial pressures became extreme, such findings being consistent with those of the

Australian Institute of Family Studies' locational disadvantage research into the lives of families living at Berwick, an outer fringe municipality of Melbourne. For several women, the absence of regular servicing and maintenance of their vehicles was a conscious cause of ongoing stress, in particular related to whether they would arrive – and arrive safely – at their destinations.

(iii) Rural women

Do you know if you don't have a car in the country it's a serious thing.
(Joanne)

Rural women, even more fervently than their metropolitan sisters, emphasised the importance of having access to a car. They stated that in contrast to the city, where a person can use public transport, there are very few alternatives in country areas and hence a strong car culture develops in non-metropolitan locations and particularly to enable connections with family and social supports¹. This may have been exacerbated in recent times by the closure of some country rail lines as part of the overall cost-savings agenda in the state. In addition, rural women believed that a car was essential, as a result of the long distances travelled between locations. The two key issues raised in relation to car travel were the price of petrol and the maintenance of road infrastructure. With reference to the first issue, women believed they spent considerably more on transport than women in urban areas. This is consistent with the latest household expenditure data from ABS (1995, p.10), which indicates that spending on transport in metropolitan areas is around 14% of total expenditure, compared to 17% in rural areas and 16% in other urban areas².

Taxi services in particular were identified as a viable transport option in rural areas much more consistently than in metropolitan areas, reflecting the relative absence of other public transport modes³. Interestingly, the taxi service seemed highly personalised, with the women interviewed having local knowledge of drivers. This was perceived as both positive and negative, positive in that it alleviated some of the fears associated with taxi travel, of being in a car with someone unknown, and negative in that the circumstances allowed for little anonymity or privacy. In rural areas, public transport was seen as having a critical and primary role to play in linking smaller towns to larger regional centres.

1 It is interesting to note the work of Millward (1995) which suggests that the notion of a 'rural idyll' with close family ties was more likely to occur in outer suburban localities than in rural localities" (p14).

2 Rural is defined as localities with a population of less than 1,000 persons; Other urban areas are all towns and urban centres with a population of 1,000 persons or more excluding capital cities.

3 One of the consistent problems identified by rural women with children, in relation to taxis, was the absence of car seats and restraints to carry children safely.

(iv) Women with children

I just don't know what I'd do, how I'd manage without a car. I can't bear to think about it. (Mary).

Nothing beats walking out of the house and getting into a car when you've got kids. (Tamara).

I've had a number of instances when I've been waiting at a (tram) stop with my pram and the tram just drives straight on. (Sally).

Women with children consistently raised issues related to the design of cars and public transport and the problems they encountered while travelling with children: such as storage of prams/pushers on buses and trams; the opening width of back doors in cars and how this may impede the easy restraining of children; and negotiating entry to or exit from public transport vehicles. Four of the women with children recounted personal stories of their own experience or that of a friend, where there had been quite serious issues of prams being stuck in transport doors or vehicles taking off too quickly, without ensuring that all passengers were safely clear of doors. Such issues have indeed received some media attention in the past year.

(v) Older women

Carrying parcels could kill you truly. (Mavis).

On trams you feel like you could fall over while you're looking for a seat once the thing has taken off (Olive).

All of the women stressed the importance of maintaining personal mobility as they became older. This was deemed essential for both physical and emotional health. In using public transport, several of the women spoke of the anxiety they felt at having to be quick and efficient in entering and exiting vehicles, and there was a general reluctance to rely on transport staff to assist due to the variety of responses with which a request may be met (from support, to statements indicating it was not in a bus driver's job description to help old people)! The older women interviewed were enthusiastic in rating train travel as the most accessible form of public transport, primarily due to the relative ease of embarking and alighting. In addition, train stations provided greater protection, than for example bus shelters, in inclement weather. A particular problem with train systems however, was seen in the lack of clear information at stations, over loud speakers and on overhead boards, to convey changes to services and timetables.

(vi) Women from non-English-speaking backgrounds

Consistent with the experiences of migrant women in many areas of their lives, the primary issue raised in relation to public transport and car transport was that of information, specifically a lack of information in their own language to assist them in making choices about travel options. In many instances, this necessitated a reliance on husbands/ partners or children to obtain the necessary information, at times acting as an interpreter for the woman. One possible analysis of this situation may lead to technical responses such as the provision of transport information in community languages. However Pardy (1995) has argued that there must also be a recognition of the broader implications, that language is not simply a technical thing, and indeed that migrant women risk having their identity compromised, as one's own self is integrally connected to one's capacity to communicate. Pardy's analysis bears some resemblance to the transport experiences of one of the women interviewed (Ninevah), who described the frustration and humiliation she felt in watching transport personnel speak to her children about a public transport infringement she had unknowingly committed.

3.5 Summary

The individual and group interviews with women, and the data contained in the fifteen travel diaries, are illustrative of the rich material which can be gathered and analysed in relation to developing an understanding of women's travel patterns and transport needs. The following Chapter provides an account of the emerging competitive environment in transport. This will assist in assessing such policy directions and how they may impact on women.

Chapter Four

Over the Competitive Edge – Transport Policy Makers and Providers

Why don't you – all of you, you and Norman Cole and Ted Stoker – why don't you put your heads together and make a cheaper pump instead of squabbling over a few percent here or there?'

What would happen to competition?" said Wilcox. "You've got to have competition

Why?

You've just got to.

(David Lodge, 1988, *Nice Work*, Penguin, London, pp.206-7.)

4.1 Introduction

Locating women's experiences of travel within the current competitive environment necessitated a series of interviews with those involved in policy development/ implementation and service delivery in the transport field. To this end, sessions were held with representatives from the following:

TABLE 16 POLICY-MAKERS AND TRANSPORT PROVIDERS INTERVIEWED DURING THE RESEARCH

Policy makers	Transport providers
Department of Transport Department Premier and Cabinet Victorian Taxi Directorate	West Coast Railway Met Bus V Line Passesnger National Bus Company

A complete listing of those interviewed and the interview schedule are contained in Appendices 6 and 7 respectively. An interview was also conducted with the Public Transport Union to gain their impressions of the reforms. In addition, phone contact was made with the RACV in order to consider issues related to women as car users.

4.2 The character of transport

In his work on the social impacts of public utility privatisation in Britain, Ernst (1994) argues that water and energy services occupy a special position in society as 'merit goods'. In essence, these goods are those which everyone needs, regardless of their capacity to pay,

and as such must involve regulation by government to ensure access. In exploring the 'essentialness' of these services, Ernst establishes that they are non-substitutable and absolutely necessary for daily living. Furthermore, he considers the inelasticity of demand for utility services, regardless of price increases and household income levels. This analysis can be usefully applied to the area of transport and mobility and is supported by material in the 1993-1994 Household Expenditure Survey Australia (ABS, 1995). The data shows that those in the lowest twenty percent of income earners spend almost 13.5% of their average weekly household expenditure on transport, only 2.5% less than those in those in the highest quintile (p.5), this illustrating to a large extent the principle of inelasticity of demand. Furthermore, those households whose income was primarily derived from earned sources, spent only 3% more on average than their counterparts in receipt of government pensions and allowances as their primary source of income (pp.6-7). Perhaps therefore, transport can also be considered as a 'merit good', essential for life, not substitutable¹ and with inelastic demand. This raises the issue of the need to consider the special characteristics of transport in terms of its handling in a competitive environment.

4.3 The nature of transport reform.

The reform process in the Victorian transport industry has been driven by a number of political and economic objectives. In the political realm, the State debt crisis was used as the impetus for cuts across most areas of public sector activity, including transport, to achieve better financial management in the form of curtailing government expenditure compared to revenue. This led, for example, to the introduction of public transport 'holiday' timetables in December of 1992 which effectively reduced the level of service provision at either end of the day. (These timetables remain substantially in place today). Further political objectives were evident in the State Government's desire to reduce the power of unions in the transport field which it held responsible for the considerable industrial action and unrest occurring in the industry over the past ten years. A smaller role for government and an expanded role for the private sector were also identifiable as key political – perhaps also ideological – objectives of the reform process. Economic objectives included those related to increased efficiency through competition and an associated improvement in the quality of services for consumers overall. In practical terms, the reform process has led to the following changes in the transport service delivery system:

¹ Not substitutable in this theoretical sense implies that people must be mobile. However, it is evident that substitutability can exist within and between private and public transport modes.

TABLE 17 SUMMARY OF ELEMENTS IN THE VICTORIAN TRANSPORT REFORM PROCESS

Bus Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of Met Bus, a discrete legal entity and business unit within the Public Transport Corporation; • Introduction of National Bus Company as a private provider, responsible for 70 - 80% of ex - PTC bus services
Rail Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For passenger services, introduction of two new private companies – West Coast Railways (Warrnambool line) and Hoys Roadline (Shepparton line) – who with V Line constitute the three players in the field. • For freight services, the creation of V Line Freight, a business unit within the Public Transport Corporation.
Tram Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tenders called for the management and development of the Melbourne Heritage Tram Fleet and for the development of the Hawthorn tram depot. Further tenders for metropolitan tram services may be called in 1996.
Road Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Major road infrastructure development – City Link – to be financed, built and operated by the private sector consortium Transurban.
Taxi Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of the Victorian Taxi Directorate, responsible for all regulatory functions in relation to taxis. The Directorate's role is to oversee improved training and testing arrangements for drivers and to introduce new identifiable livery for all taxis. • Deregulation of the industry has been recommended by both the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission and the Industry Commission (Urban Transport Report) but has not been agreed to at the political level.

4.4 Outcomes from the reform process

It is, of course, not possible to fully assess the outcomes of the transport reforms as many if not most have been introduced quite recently over the past three years. However some preliminary observations related to the impact of the changes can be made and will also provide a context within which to consider the transport experiences of women in a competitive environment, the subject for discussion in Chapter Five.

4.4.1 Increased number of providers in the transport field

Although a rather obvious point, the reforms have led to an increase in the number of private sector organisations involved in the provision of public transport services, notably in the areas of rail and bus. Unlike the experiences of some States – in South Australia for example, a new private competitor in the field of bus services is a management firm with very limited experience in the transport arena – these new players appear to have entered the market equipped with some knowledge and experience of transport provision. During the interviews, all saw their futures as expansionist in orientation, embracing a diversity of transport functions and often developing their operations across different transport modes. This raises the issue of how any organisation defines its core business and indeed whether an organisation may be compelled to take on new ventures to ensure longer term viability, for which it may not be thoroughly equipped². In competitive times, such risk-taking behaviour is more likely to occur.

An increased number of providers has ramifications for the effective coordination of any transport system in terms of minimising the fragmentation that may occur. Symbolically, the National Bus Company has adopted new corporate colours of yellow and red and a discrete logo – a smiling bus which is ‘coming to get you!’ While this distinguishes the NBC as a service provider, it also separates the organisation in part from the broader transport system often identified by green and gold. Increasing the number of providers also raises a host of regulatory issues particularly in the area of standards for safety and service delivery. Given the down-sizing of the transport bureaucracy over recent years, the question of necessary resources for such regulation becomes immediately apparent. As Self (1995) suggests:

Can government regulate effectively? Regulatory bodies are small and weak compared with the large industries or firms which they must regulate and on which they must rely for information ... In brief,

² In this respect, anecdotal evidence from the U.K. suggests that a number of the major bus companies are being awarded new rail franchises to run various parts of the old British Rail network.

there is little hope of effective and far-sighted public regulation unless the public sector can maintain a distinctive morale, authority, independence and prestige...(pp.344-5)

A further issue of single-point accountability becomes relevant in an increasingly diversified service system, as does the task of ensuring that consumers can identify and utilise avenues of redress for their grievances. A single system also allows more readily for the transfer of resources, of redistributions, following peaks and troughs. One of the train operators interviewed suggested that the value of injecting new competitors into the system was in the creation of a benchmark or comparison standard for best practice and that this was a positive initiative. Responses to the issue of fragmentation tended to be divided on the basis of length of history within the transport industry, those with a longer history expressing the view that there was now a lack of collaborative effort overall, with limited recognition that all services were part of the one transport system. Interestingly however, given that it has sought to distinguish itself as a transport provider as described above, the National Bus Company experienced considerable frustration at not being notified for some weeks of train timetable changes, which affected its connections at stations and resulted in a number of customer complaints. Several policy-makers highlighted the compounding impact of this fragmentation within transport in terms of its capacity to intersect effectively with related policy fields, such as urban planning and the environment.

4.4.2 The provision of services

One of the key economic objectives of the reform process was to encourage improvements in service delivery, thereby offering benefits to customers. Since its commencement of operations in September 1993, West Coast Railway has continued to offer the services provided previously by V Line and does not appear to have altered the frequency of the timetable, with three daily weekday services between Warrnambool and Melbourne and two/ three daily week- end services. The National Bus Company inherited thirty-nine bus routes and now runs thirty-seven. It has altered all except six of these services by extending into additional streets, thereby ensuring that no household on its routes is more than 400 metres from a bus stop. Admittedly from a low base, it has also increased week-end and off-peak services in some areas. In addition NBC has commenced the introduction of smaller buses on some routes, arguing that these can offer higher frequency and more flexible services in residential areas. The British experience would seem to support this view:

Minibuses have lower operating costs per vehicle-mile... They also [offer] service advantages to customers in the form of higher frequencies or more direct routings, as well as higher speeds. Minibuses, owing to their smaller size...can venture further into residential housing developments...The mini's manoeuvrability and

size have also led some operators to offer “hail and ride” services in which the minibus will stop at any point on the route to pick up or discharge passengers. (Gomez-Ibanez & Meyer 1993, p.51)

While Met Bus and V Line Passenger have made some minor changes, their services have predominantly remained the same in frequency, focus and orientation.

The view was consistently expressed by almost all those interviewed that governments should not be involved in the provision of services, the primary reason for this being that they had a poor track record in the transport operations area. The role of government was outlined as that of transport regulation, contract development and service quality monitoring. Overall there was a strong endorsement also of the purchaser/provider split, that of ensuring a division between planning and operations as a way to achieve best practice in both areas.

4.4.3 The cost of services/reform

The way we do business has changed... There is an imperative to deliver improvements without any budget or cost implications.
(Transport policy maker)

This issue can be considered from both a macro and a micro perspective, in that it is asserted by proponents of the reform process that cost savings overall will inevitably flow from increased competition in the transport system and that individuals will benefit from reduced prices for transport services. In the former instance, comment was made on several occasions as to whether calculations of the cost savings in the reform process overall, would take account of the internal resources required to manage the process of contract development and evaluation, particularly of staff training and reskilling in these areas as well as the use – often at considerable expense – of the services of private consultants and legal experts to assist with key aspects of the change agenda. Price Waterhouse, for example, was engaged to manage the tendering process for PTC buses. It was asserted that such costs were often overlooked or discounted and that the necessary financial data was often not available to comprehensively assess the extent of savings accrued as a result of the reform agenda. The point was also made that regardless of contracting out and privatisation efforts as a way of achieving cost reductions, significant savings would have accrued to the public purse as a result of key policy changes such as those relating to driver-only trains and unstaffed stations.

In terms of the cost of services to individuals – and recognising the difficulties experienced in obtaining comparative materials at this stage – there appeared to be no instance in which costs had significantly reduced, although some fare structures now enabled commuters to travel greater distances at a similar cost. Taxi fares had actually increased in 1994 by almost

ten percent, this being particularly significant for the public purse, in that those eligible for membership of the Multi Purpose Taxi Program are provided with a subsidy of 50% on taxi fares. Some would argue that deregulation would alter this situation through the provision of cheaper services for users. While maximum fares for transport were specified by the Minister in most instances, it is interesting to note the existence of the capacity for providers to determine special fares, which offers them some room to manoeuvre in fare determination. It has been suggested by some researchers in the field of international transport privatisation [Gomez-Ibanez/Meyer (1993)] that :

...whether users of a new service or infrastructure facility would gain or lose from privatization depends on the situation. They are most likely to lose in three circumstances: first, where the transfers to taxpayers are large, because cutting subsidies or realizing sale proceeds is an important goal or because a private firm faces much higher tax liabilities; second, where the efficiency gains or the rents captured from landowners or labor are modest; and third, where lack of effective competition or regulation allows the private firm to retain any cost savings or transfers rather than pass them on to users in lower prices or expanded service. (p.285)

It is also instructive to consider the findings in the area of public utility privatisation where it has been found in the British experience, that although in some instances prices have fallen substantially, for example for those in the business sector, the price outcomes for domestic users have been far more variable (Ernst, 1994). Differential outcomes of another kind ('spatial' outcomes rather than 'class of consumer' outcomes) are similarly evident within the British bus industry which has been deregulated and privatised over the past ten years:

Whether bus riders lost or gained is more difficult to determine. On the one hand, some riders have clearly lost, especially those who are no longer riding and those who still ride but have been asked to pay much higher fares; in two metropolitan counties where fares had not changed for many years, South Yorkshire and Merseyside, these fare increases were substantial. The chaos and uncertainties of competition may also have driven some riders away, particularly where the transition was badly managed. On the other hand, some riders almost surely gained, especially those in new areas with new minibuses services and intense competition. (Gomez-Ibanez & Meyer 1993, p.58)

Such findings suggest that it is difficult to assert consistently that cost reductions will flow to all service users as a result of the reform process and that a more thorough and differentiating analysis is required.

4.4.4 Decision-making structures

It is a well known fact that women form the major part of the users of public transport, however the sector is largely managed by men. (Duchene & Pecheur, 1995 p.127)

The field of transport – in policy, planning and service delivery – has historically been a strong male domain and this tradition appears to be continuing during the reform process. Only one respondent was a woman and she raised the issue of gender imbalance within transport decision-making arenas, as one of concern. For example, West Coast Railway is a company managed by a Board of Directors comprised of three men. Each of these also hold a key management portfolio within the organisation which employs a total of 50 permanent staff. Almost one third of these staff are women who are located within the service delivery area with one exception, that of the Catering Manager, thus constituting a somewhat traditional ‘domestic’ arena for women’s activity. The National Bus company is part-owned by two families in Sydney. These families, with a third partner, are the directors of Westbus in NSW which is a British owned company. It is possible to suggest that the organisation of a family business may often rely heavily on the decision-making of male members. Of the 16 members of the Board of the R.A.C.V, only one is a women (RACV 1995, p.5). This is particularly significant for an organisation which has slightly over 50% of its 1.5 million members as women. (It is also interesting to note that of the 8 members of the Group Management Team none is female.) While it is acknowledged that overall this information is hardly definitive in character, it suggests that one element of any evaluation process of the reforms should identify and consider the presence and role of women in transport decision-making and the existence of structural barriers to women’s participation.

4.4.5 Recognition/knowledge of particular transport needs

The general comment made by transport providers was that the environment over the past two-three years of rapid change had meant that limited, if indeed any, time had been available to consider the transport needs of particular groups within the population. A number of providers asserted that governments should continue to play a key resourcing role in ensuring equitable access to transport services for disadvantaged groups but could not provide specific strategies on how this would occur in practice. Consensus did exist amongst the providers however, that the state must cover the costs for any vehicle

modifications as a result of the endorsement of accessible transport standards under the *Disability Discrimination Act*. The National Bus Company was particularly interested in this issue of financial responsibility in light of its recently-acquired fleet of mini/midi buses which had not been designed with low floors, enabling easy access for those with a disability. This is particularly important given the long life of such vehicles.

The concept of transport disadvantage was usually defined within the context of geographical location and an associated lack of transport infrastructure, or as a description of those with limited physical mobility. The most commonly identified need specifically related to women was that of personal safety and security during travel. This was seen as necessitating action strategies including improved lighting and support facilities at stations – to be offered through the new policy initiative of *Premium Stations* – video monitoring and electronic surveillance equipment, and better connections between elements of the service system, for example train and taxi services. The only other indication of a more gender-specific need was offered by Met Bus through their current initiative of modifying the internal environment of their vehicles, by trialing a new seat configuration to allow for easier access and storage of goods and prams while travelling. It is suggested that there is a particular irony in all this, given that one of the principles underpinning the reforms is that of heightened attention to customers and their needs: the ‘new’ customer focus within a market-orientation leading to better quality services. The practice however would appear to be far from the rhetoric at this stage.

4.5. The Practice of competition

4.5.1 Expectations and overall assessment of the competitive environment

Participants identified a variety of expectations in relation to the competitive environment. These were largely expressed as opportunities:

- to seek improved access to existing transport infrastructure, such as access to rail infrastructure;
- to develop more equitable funding and subsidy arrangements between roads and rail;
- to facilitate more competition between modes of transport, challenging for example, the frame of reference which sees High Street Kew as ‘owned’ by the trams;
- to redevelop contractual arrangements for services on the basis of outputs, such as the number of passengers carried, rather than inputs, for example fuel costs and kilometres to be travelled;
- to address ‘special needs’ as Community Service Obligations, externally funded by government.

An overall assessment of the environment highlighted both positive and negative features as follows. These obviously reflected the particular standpoints of the participants involved.

TABLE 18 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE COMPETITIVE ENVIRONMENT BY POLICY MAKERS AND TRANSPORT PROVIDERS

Positives	Negatives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of a new 'can do' environment in transport; • Beginning establishment of service benchmarks for best practice; • Breaking of the influential and restrictive base of unions and the altering of archaic work practices; • Creation of opportunities for improvements in the service system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fragmentation of the transport system; • Lack of attention to financial costs of the reform process and to issues of who is benefiting; • Speed and extent of change allowing for limited evaluation; • Need for closer assessment and more informed decision making in some areas before changes are made; • Implications of contract failure for service provision and the issue of contingent liability.

4.5.2 The level playing field

There's no sense of rugged individual competitors here. (Transport provider)

For some, the government acts like an open cheque book. (Transport provider)

The only people who believe in the level playing field are the people who believe in the Flat Earth Society. (David Parkin, *The Age*, 28/8/95)

The notion of competitive neutrality is an important principle in National Competition Policy suggesting that the public sector should not enjoy any commercial advantage over the private sector, as a result, for example, of cross-subsidising processes which may detract from full cost pricing in any exercise. However, during the interviews, a number of issues emerged which seemed to suggest that the concept of a level playing field was not as robust in a practical sense as in a theoretical sense. Contracts signed between the Department of Transport and the National Bus Company or West Coast Railway were for a period of seven years, while those for the PTC entities of MetBus and V Line Passenger Services were for a one year period only, even though it was indicated by these latter participants in the research that extended contract times were requested to facilitate longer term planning and encourage a certain amount of surety amongst staff. The level of support available to assist in the new private organisations was also considered by some as being contradictory to the

notion of competitive neutrality. An example was given of the West Coast derailment at Werribee in the last quarter of 1995 which resulted in a directive being received by V Line Passenger to replace the damaged train carriages with their own stock, which meant that V Line itself was short of resources to cover its own timetable and had to run several bus services on train routes at a considerable financial loss. PTU business units such as Met Bus, were required to comply explicitly and in a publicly-accountable manner to a range of government instruments and regulations, including those of equal opportunity and occupational health and safety. This is not to suggest that private operators are being exempted from these requirements, but rather that there appears to be less pressure on these operators, at this stage, to comply publicly with legislated requirements. Public sector superannuation costs were around 13% while the private sector accommodated a much lower figure of 6%. It was agreed by all participants that there was considerable interest from government in ensuring that the private contractors were successful in their new ventures and thus tangible and intangible support was readily available to these organisations. An example is evident in the fact that the contract for support services – locomotive, cleaning, tracks, vans, stations – between the Department of Transport and West Coast Railway was still not finalised after a two year period, this resulting in a fluid and extensive range of supports being continually available to West Coast Railway in the interim period before the signing of a final contract (including the requirement on West Coast Railway to maintain tracks to passenger standard only, rather than the more weighty financial burden of maintenance to freight standard). Inevitably, a loose agreement (as compared to a fixed and tight contract) around support services can operate to the benefit of a transport provider when operating in an environment characterised by strong political will to make a success of new privatised arrangements.

4.5.3 What happened to staff?

The interviews covered discussion around the issues of staff pay and conditions through the reform process as well as some tracking of the movement of PTC staff. Although none of the new players in the transport field were required to take on PTC staff, the following table indicates the numbers/ percentages of PTC staff who were engaged:

TABLE 19 PUBLIC TRANSPORT STAFF CHANGES DURING THE REFORM PROCESS

West Coast Railway	Have 50 permanent staff including 24 who came from V Line.
National Bus Company	Of the organisation's 350 staff, just over 150 used to work for the PTC.
Met Bus	Employ 220 staff now, the majority of whom have come from the PTC.
V Line Passenger	Unavailable, but reductions had been made in staff numbers overall which were consistent with established state government percentage targets for this purpose.

With the exception of West Coast Railway – which has a relatively small staff complement as described in 4.5.3 – none of the service providers could offer exact information on women in their workforces, such as numbers/percentages or jobs held. Met Bus estimated that up to ten percent of their bus drivers were women and that this figure was lower than previous male-female ratios of bus drivers within the PTC. Information was received from the National Bus Company that approximately 2% of their drivers were women. In the Taxi Industry, available data indicated that of the 30,000 licenced drivers in Victoria, 200 were women. The issue was raised that in rural areas it is difficult to determine breakdowns on the basis of sex as licences were often awarded to a husband and wife team. All providers stated that the gendered character of their workforce was an area targetted for some exploration in the future. However they generally could not indicate how this would occur or why it was important³.

It was difficult to determine the nature of pay and conditions that accompanied the transition process, as limited and contradictory information was available. The Public Transport Union argued that the reforms have been at the cost of worker's wages and conditions (see Table 20 below) and would therefore inevitably lead to a decline in service standards due to the failure to protect and value an organisation's human resources.

³ Ottes (1995) has argued that in some instances companies prefer to employ women bus drivers: 'the companies that have recruited women drivers generally took into account their good relations with customers, but is particularly interesting to note that women were found to have other qualities that had not been considered at the outset. As women in general tend to drive more smoothly than their male colleagues, less fuel is consumed and fewer accidents occurred. These qualities are highly appreciated by public transport systems.' (p.133)

TABLE 20 COMPARISON OF NATIONAL BUS COMPANY AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT UNION ENTERPRISE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS

National Bus Company		Public Transport Union	
Salary (Straight Shift, Driver Grade 5)	\$382.50	Salary (Paid to all on award and EBA)	\$487.80
Annual leave	4 weeks	Annual leave	5 weeks
Long service leave	After 15 years	Long service leave	After 10 years
Superannuation	4%	Superannuation	14%
Sick leave (after 1 year)	8 days	Sick leave	15 days
Casuals used on 'needs' basis in emergencies			No casuals

Source: Murphy, 1995

Others (such as West Coast Railway) suggested that there had been no reductions in actual pay rates, staff being no worse off, with significant ground being made through multi-skilling.

It is clear that the reform process has resulted in decreasing unionisation in some areas. Prior to the successful tender by the National Bus Company, some 80% of bus runs and 90% of staff at the Doncaster and Fitzroy depots were unionised. This latter figure is now around the 20% mark and has been accompanied by a change in unions for bus drivers, from the Public Transport Union to the Transport Workers Union. There has also been a regrading of transport employees in some areas. For example, the new designation of 'competent employee' replaces some of the previous gradings and certifications required to perform particular job roles in the train industry. With a few exceptions – train drivers, train controllers and signal staff – managers and superior officers are responsible for determining and assessing 'competent employees' for the completion of particular tasks.

4.5.4 Reform timeframes

Things happen very quickly and there often does not appear to be a grand plan. (Policy maker)

It's a fact of life that costing can get a bit rubbery when you're in a hurry. (Service provider)

A consistent comment by a number of those interviewed was the speed with which reforms had been introduced and the implications of this. In the train industry, for example, no appropriate monitoring or regulatory system had been established to verify the sale of train tickets, the Department of Transport largely relying on the provision of information by service providers and on the conducting of occasional random audits of manual systems. This raises a broader issue of the lack of evaluative mechanisms in place to assess the outcomes of the change in terms of the originally specified objectives. It was also suggested that the speed of the reforms did not allow at times for the full appreciation by decision-makers of the sensitive and technical nature of some transport areas requiring particular skills and expertise to ensure that safety standards were maintained. Tender timelines, from the point at which tenders were called to the point at which they closed, were often quite short, in some instances less than a two week period. This could potentially impact on the comprehensiveness of submissions generally and the accuracy in costing elements for the service activity in question. Short timelines further affected any capacity for consultation before decision-making.

4.5.5 Availability of information

Throughout the interviews, there was a real sense of difficulty in obtaining access to information. Commercial confidentiality precluded the examination of service contracts which had been signed with the new private providers. West Coast Railway, although in operation for several years, had not produced any documentation for public dissemination in the form of annual reports. The Department of Transport's Annual Reports offered overviews of the reform directions, with limited detail on particular initiatives or developments. Quiggan (1995) suggests in his work on private infrastructure that the absence of information to assist in assessing the impacts of major reform is not uncommon and that this acts to shield the decision-making process on key issues from any public debate. In this respect, the contracting out and privatisation of public transport services would seem to fit within Quiggan's analysis.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has broadly considered the nature and practice of competition in the field of transport. It suggests that it is difficult to be confident of the outcomes from competition policy as, at these early stages, much of the data is equivocal and certainly requires more thorough examination in its own right. Its usefulness for the purpose of this thesis however, is to provide a framework within which to evaluate the consequences for women in an increasingly competitive transport environment.

Chapter Five

W(h)ither Women and Transport ?

5.1 Introduction

In this concluding section three primary themes, stemming from material in the preceding chapters, are explored. The first theme assesses the current competitive policy directions and asks whether these will ultimately advantage or disadvantage women. The second theme summarises the findings from the research in relation to women's travel patterns and transport needs. It argues that, from a strategic perspective, women may need to make alliances with other groups in the population in order to achieve change in public and private transport systems. The final theme considers women's inability to gain public interest in, and priority for, their issues on the transport agenda. This is attributed to the perceived failure of transport planning generally. Importantly, the last section emphasises the necessity of a robust regulatory framework in an increasingly competitive transport environment.

5.2. Women and the market

The critical question which emerges in an environment where competition is the defining feature is how women will fare under the new arrangements and whether in fact 'the market' is a liberating or constraining force for women. Before considering this question in the specific field of transport, a number of general observations can be made: in relation to the role the state has played in enhancing women's status in society; in considering the nature of the relationships women have with public and private spheres of community life; and finally through a recognition of women's general economic position relative to that of others.

Firstly, adopting a broad frame of reference, it can be argued that where economic, political or social benefits have accrued to women this has generally occurred through the public rather than the private realm. This is not to suggest that the state always acts in the best interests of women, or indeed to the advantage of all women – some feminists have clearly articulated the relative advantages that are evident for middle class women compared to working class women, for example in the area of superannuation – but that it is via the state and state intervention that gains for women have been made, including those related to political citizenship, income security and equal opportunity (Glanville, 1995). A scenario

therefore, where the market and the private sector play an increasingly central role in service development and delivery may well be limited in terms of responding to women's needs and issues.

Secondly, as feminists of different persuasions have identified, a major site of exploration, and indeed women's struggle, has been that which defines public space as the arena of men and private space as the arena of women.¹ In the latter instance, the home and the community are at best seen as contradictory sites for women, both vehicles for their liberation in some respects and their oppression in others (Williams, 1993). Privatisation and marketisation, with their concomitant and increased reliance on the family and community as providers, funders, doers and carers – through such excluding mechanisms as user pays – means that women's involvement in the private sphere may be emphasised and reinforced at the expense of their involvement in the public sphere. In this respect, their needs may remain both marginalised and hidden. In the face of a declining state role, it will inevitably be women who bear the major responsibility for ensuring the maintenance and continuity of healthy communities and families.

Finally, consideration of the general position of women in society may also engender concerns for their welfare in an increasingly competitive and privatised environment. As Ranald (1995) argues, women continue to occupy the margins in terms of economic security:

Women's economic position compared with men's is still extremely unequal, and reflects their continuing responsibility for unpaid work and child care in the family, and their unequal access to paid work... In the paid workforce, women are clustered in lower paid jobs and form the majority of those earning less than the median wage... Women [constitute] 95% of sole parent pensioners. Overall women form the majority of pensioners and beneficiaries. (p. 11)

This position inevitably makes women more vulnerable and sensitive to fluctuations in prices or charges that may result from more privatised systems of service provision, women perhaps therefore being the primary bearers of market fallout or market failure. It is interesting therefore to note the Industry Commission's (1995) cost estimates stemming from the introduction of national competition policy. In the field of rail transport for example, these suggest significant increases, around 20%, in passenger rail fares!

¹ It is recognised that some poststructuralist feminist analysis questions the utility of this public/private dichotomy, for example, by arguing that its real limitation is that it is conceptualised within white western feminism (Howe, 1995)

Turning to more specific applications in the field of transport, it is evident that the new competitive arrangements, in and of themselves, will encourage lack of integration and coordination across service areas and also perhaps in policy development. The culture of competition, of striving to gain an edge over others, of attempting to secure an organisation's future and viability, of seeking to distinguish a company's operations from that of its competitors (evident for example in the National Bus Company's choice of a distinctive livery as cited in Chapter Four), inevitably means that there will be a decreased focus on information exchange, on resource sharing and on cooperative arrangements between services. This is an issue for all consumers including women. Self (1995) has argued that the impact on coordination is one of the key 'unhappy consequences' (p. 340) of the new systems that are emerging:

....the trends towards administrative fragmentation, compartmentalism, self-contained budgets, contractual relations and contracting out strongly impede cooperation between agencies, especially of an informal kind, or the adoption of common policies and standards, except where clearly imposed from above.. (p. 340)²

Necessarily, an increased number of players in the public transport arena as a result of the contracting out of services means that issues of coordination and integration become more complicated. The contractual process itself creates a primary relationship between the government entity, for example the Department of Transport which is responsible for contract negotiation and monitoring, and the contracted provider. It is suggested that this also does little to promote dialogue or networking between providers themselves. For women, any decreases in coordination and integration of services come with a particular cost. As noted in Chapters Two and Three, the travel patterns of women may well be interconnected in nature, utilising several transport modes, making them vulnerable to any lack of coordination in transport systems.

The current reversion to broad market forces through the competitive environment is occurring in a wholesale fashion. The belief that such an environment will inevitably produce better outcomes for consumers through the development of more efficient and better quality services, while often claimed in the policy initiation, formulation and

² Anecdotal evidence from Britain has indicated that since the privatisation of the bus industry, it has not been possible to coordinate the publication of timetable information across transport sectors and modes. In addition, there appears to be considerable duplication of service delivery along popular and financially-attractive routes. These services may not be interchangeable, in that a weekly bus pass from one company, does not necessarily allow travel with a competitor. On some less trafficked routes, there is a complete dearth of buses.

implementation stages is less often evaluated against the practical reality³. What is known is that certain market conditions must exist to produce these results, including a multiplicity of buyers and sellers in the market place, no natural monopolies and readily available information to all parties. What this may mean for elements of the transport system which do approximate natural monopolies, for example the rail network with tracks, signaling equipment and stations, is unclear, suggesting that there is an urgent need for some discussion of the policy implications of marketising such monopolies. It is perhaps rather ironic in this context that the Kennett government is attempting to create a defacto monopoly along the City Link route, through its plans to narrow existing road options, in order to secure its profitability for investors. A more careful and detailed analysis is required, therefore, to determine what aspects of transport provision may be amenable to producing better outcomes as a result of competition. In essence, limited attention has been paid to assessing the possible distributive impacts of an increasingly competitive transport environment and whether any groups of women are advantaged or disadvantaged by such developments. This is a particular issue where a policy direction is being pursued with great vigour and in fact accords with an ideological perspective on the role of government and the role of the market in society.

Of relevance here are the opportunities for women to participate in discussion and decision-making around the fundamental change which is occurring in the transport industry. The rapidity of the change process has meant that few if any opportunities have been available for such input. This fact, coupled with the limited presence of women in the fields of transport policy and planning generally, suggests that the views of women in relation to an increased role for the market in transport provision have hardly been aired. The use of tollways for example as part of the City Link project may well have particular ramifications for some groups of women in light of the most recent household expenditure data (ABS 1995) which indicates that there is very little difference in expenditure on transport by households which earn the top income compared to those at the bottom (p. 5). The data also highlights the fact that while average weekly household expenditure increased by 18% from 1988/89 to 1993/94, transport expenditure increased by 20% for the same period (p. 3). This perhaps reflects the non-negotiable nature of much travel. Such information may well lead

³The possible privatisation of some tram services in Melbourne has prompted the Chairman of West Coast Railway to indicate that his company would be interested in a contract to run the whole metropolitan tram service, suggesting that 'We would give a better service to the customer and cut the cost to the taxpayer'. (*The Age*, 7th April 1996, p. 3.)

to the conclusion that the use of tollways as a component of the private financing of public road infrastructure could have differential impacts for women depending on their level of income. In considering opportunities for participation in transport decision-making it must ultimately be remembered that the market is not a democratic forum. Opinions can only be communicated through individual choice and there is not only little sympathy for collective views but limited if any capacity within market systems to respond to such views. This does not auger well for the capacity of market processes to act as a route towards responsive and equitable transport planning.

The competitive ethos is indeed impacting on many areas of public life. It is changing the structure of service provision – in that the mixed economy of welfare now sees increasing responsibilities resting with non-government organisations, the private sector and families (particularly women) – and is often accompanied by a shift away from localism, as services are often no longer locally based or locally managed. This in turn may exacerbate the contradictory nature of the car for women in that their trips become more complicated and they are required more often to act as a transporter of others. As women are major users of health, community care and social security services, their travel patterns are particularly affected by the centralisation of services and any movement away from the local domain. This consequence of the competitive environment should be closely monitored.

As highlighted in Chapters Two and Three, issues of safety in travel are paramount to women. Such issues relate not only to personal safety and the safety of children in women's care but also to the safety of vehicles in which women are travelling. Increased numbers of providers in the public transport sphere, a likely result of the competitive environment, must be considered in the context of maintaining safety standards, how this will be done and the necessary systems for monitoring and regulation. In addition, issues of accountability around transport safety, recognising the high costs which may result from safety failures, become less clear in contractualised arrangements, where a variety of organisations may be responsible for different components of the transport system. A market environment therefore may offer little to women in terms of improving responses to questions of safety. On this point, it is interesting to note the results from a recent survey on rail privatisation in Britain (*The Guardian*, 17/4/96). This was conducted by a polling organisation (ICM)

and involved a random sample of 1,200 adults across the country. The survey indicated that 43% of respondents believed that the railways would be less safe when British Rail was fully privatised, compared to 34% who felt it would be safer and 24% who remained unsure⁴.

The increased presence of the private sector in the new transport arrangements raises the issue of the capacity of this sector to take account of the particular needs of women. Much of the rhetoric around the introduction of national competition policy suggests that, compared to the public sector – which is characterised as inefficient, slow to change and lacking in innovative potential – the private sector is keenly placed to respond to the requirements of markets. Yet, it remains to be seen how in fact private culture embraces issues of equity and community service obligations within the field of transport. It is noted that often the private sector's capacity to accommodate different social needs may largely depend on the availability of government subsidisation for this purpose. In addition, it is inevitable, given the *raison d'être* of the private sector, that concerns related to equity and access would assume a lower priority than those of profit and cost. The capacity of the private sector therefore to take account of the varied transport needs of women remains largely untested.

Finally, women should be concerned with the limited attention being paid within the context of transport reform to the role of government in more market-oriented and competitive systems. It is evident that considerable thought needs to be given to how effective policy making and planning will occur in light of the separation of the so-called 'steering' and rowing functions of the state (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992), given that an intimate knowledge of service outcomes on the ground has often been used to inform good practice in both policy and planning activities in the past. More specifically, the monitoring and regulatory functions of government in the new transport environment appear to be receiving marginal if any emphasis. This is a particular concern in the context of current transport reforms, which will lead to a reduced role for government and an increased role for the private sector. It is suggested that an apparent ethos within the Department of Transport of 'make competition work whatever the cost', appears to leave little energy for more evaluative and regulatory concerns at this stage of the process. As Russell (1995) suggests:

4 This survey is also informative in that it reflects the British public's considerable unease about privatisation generally and specifically in relation to issues of cost and quality:

47% of respondents thought that services would get worse;

33% of respondents thought that services would get better;

20% of respondents were unsure;

and

79% of respondents thought that services would be dearer;

12% of respondents thought that services would be cheaper;

8% of respondents were unsure of the pricing implications from privatisation.

The private delivery of public services requires the development of a framework of regulation governance and accountability beyond that currently apparent. (p. 30)

5.3 Women and Transport

In exploring the dimensions of women's travel it is apparent that women do have different needs from other people in the population. This is most evident around their gendered role of caring for children and in relation to issues of safety during mobility. At times, women's travel patterns appear influenced by imposed constraints, for example limited access to a family car or lack of income to facilitate travel; alternatively, the differences may be understood as a result of behavioural choices.

It is recognised that there is perhaps a real danger however, in separating women out as a group in terms of their travel needs. A number of dimensions are evident here. Firstly, it would appear to be strategically important, in order to bring about change, to make connections between the transport needs of women and the needs of other groups in the population as there are indeed alternative factors – such as lifestage, geographical location, availability of income or access to a private vehicle – which regardless of gender, may be key determinants in understanding patterns of mobility and travel needs. Secondly, identifying women as a distinct group may further marginalise and segment them through a process which defines women as 'other', as different. One could ask the question 'different from what' and whether in fact the standard for comparison is actually one which is determined by and related to men! Such definition will not necessarily lead to a challenging of mainstream systems or a fundamental reconfiguring of the transport task. Finally, considering women as a group in terms of their travel needs, offers little to assist in understanding the differences between women. This research has illustrated that such differences are indeed evident and dependent on factors including whether: women have children; live in urban, metropolitan fringe or rural areas; have access to a car; are conversant in English; or receive an adequate income. Recognition of these differences is regarded as a preliminary step only, to be followed by the development of a real understanding of such differences, which can only emerge from discussions with women themselves. It is in this way that appropriate transport policy choices can ultimately be made.

It is suggested that the utility of the concept 'transport disadvantage' in considering women's needs is limited. It is certainly not a metaphor for women as in fact some women are grossly disadvantaged relative to other women. In addition, the notion of transport disadvantage tends to locate women's transport concerns in a generic basket and link them substantially to public transport modes. This would seem to be problematic in that the most

consistent theme in the research relating to transport disadvantage, was that which arose from lack of access to a private vehicle. Identifying women as transport disadvantaged may ironically serve to consign them to this position as well as offering limited insight into where one might move next in a policy sense, in order to address the issues implicit in describing an individual as transport disadvantaged.

The current research has highlighted the fact that overwhelmingly women's choice in mode of transport is the car. This is a particularly important point given that discussion around women and transport as a policy domain, often excludes consideration of women as car drivers and passengers, rather choosing to focus on women as public transport users. Women themselves saw those of their number without access to a private vehicle as substantially disadvantaged and a number articulated the belief that public transport was simply not a personal option or choice. Using an adaptation of Williams' (1989) thesis in relation to 'community', the car is seen as contradictory for women in that it may offer a measure of freedom and independence in terms of mobility, at the same time as further reinforcing gender roles and responsibilities, for example the transportation of children and dependent others (the popular sticker on cars, 'Mum's taxi', has a clear meaning in this context!). The perceived loss of 'localism' in the current competitive environment – in that services may no longer be based or managed on a neighbourhood model – also affects women in terms of the distances they may need to travel by car. The research has further indicated that women may feel compelled to transport their children to destinations as a result of concerns about safety or indeed to fulfill the expectations of young people to 'go places and do things.' This major contribution made by women to the transportation of others, especially children, has recently been confirmed by post-graduate research at the RMIT Transport Research Centre. Chen (1995) has found that 'the mothers and the fathers of nuclear families tend to have different responsibilities for the caring of children. In such families, more than 80% of trips made to pick up or drop off children are made by mothers' (p. 13). It is perhaps therefore a particular irony, that while many women describe the car as a life saver and as something they clearly could not do without, the car nevertheless can act as a restraining force on women's lives. The research has also indicated that the women interviewed did not have a personal appreciation of issues related to car use and the environment. While at times there was some broad acknowledgement of such issues, there was no particular evidence of more localised impacts on women's travel behaviour or transport choices.

The clear preference of women for cars is understandable. Their role as primary transporters of others and the convenience, particularly in terms of time, of using a car for this purpose is hard to understate. In addition, the place of the car in late twentieth century society as a

symbol of freedom and independence, perhaps the ultimate consumer good, certainly suggests that it is indeed in women's interest to favour the car as a mode of transport. However, this is a very different question from whether women need cars and whether future societies will be able to afford and accommodate the expectation that all adults of both genders should have access to their own motor vehicle. Ottes (1995) outlines this dilemma:

...as access to a car is a prerequisite for obtaining access to the town centre and all it has to offer, women are keen to have a car and use it...We are therefore faced with a real challenge that demands a complete change of course, something of a revolution in fact, with a view to both controlling traffic and developing the supply and use of alternative means of transport. We are driven to such action by the key issues of preservation of our cities and their way of life, the safeguarding of our environment and by safety concerns. (pp.128-9)

Recent evidence from Britain indicates that there is growing dissatisfaction with the so-called 'car culture' and its effect on the environment (Moxham, 1996), and similar sentiments have been expressed by some communities in Melbourne in response to current freeway developments. It is the responsibility of public policy therefore, to respond not only to preferences and also to need, but ultimately to evaluate any preference or need in the context of the demands these may place on society's social, economic and environmental fabric. In this respect public policy must have an essential eye to the future (a requirement that is certainly not as characteristic of the market or the private sector). It is clear that responding to the legitimate demands of women will challenge future policy-makers in ways which are rather more complex than merely manufacturing cars or building more roads. Yet, however policy makers eventually respond, they will need to have one eye firmly fixed on gender-justice and the other just as resolutely fixed on inter-generational justice.

In relation to public transport, women identified inadequacies in existing systems across four areas : infrastructure issues, spatial issues, resource issues and design issues. This is not to suggest that every public transport trip was problematic for women; indeed a significant number of women recounted positive public transport experiences. However, the overwhelming impression gained was of a public transport system which required significant reforms in order to accommodate the needs of women. This evaluation is certainly not new and the voices of women can be added to those of many other commentators on the deficiencies in public transport systems.

5.4 Transport planning and regulation

Perhaps one of the most critical problems for women in ensuring that their needs are on the transport planning agenda, is to actually locate the agenda in the first place! It is evident that there has been, and continues to be, real failure in the field of transport planning. The multiplicity of factors contributing to this major deficit will now be identified.

A very primary and important point would be for those with an interest in transport to return to the fundamental question of 'transport planning for what end?' Indeed, it is rather insufficient to infer the need for such planning without first explaining why it is necessary. Put simply, transport planning is essential to achieve economically, environmentally and socially efficient transport ends⁵. In addition, planning is necessary to ensure that transport outcomes are equitable for both individuals and communities. For women, this requires planning attention to be given to both public and private forms of transport, to the importance of connections and coordination between transport modes and to the impacts on women's travel of their gendered responsibilities. It also necessitates a focus on the importance of transport being both available and reliable for women.

It should be recognised that the field of transport has traditionally involved a mixed economy, in that services are provided through both public and private spheres. However, private forms of transport, such as the car, have been heavily relied on in the past. This has created particular tensions for the development of a single system of transport planning, most evident in the debates around relative levels of subsidisation and funding to roads compared to public transport. In addition, some vested interests, such as car manufacturers and the roads' lobby, have been particularly influential in ensuring that primacy is given to their concerns. The development of major road projects such as City Link therefore, must be considered within the broader context of transport planning generally and how these may impact differentially on interest groups including women. A pertinent point here in the current environment is the way in which private infrastructure financing may eliminate or marginalize a number of important transport policy options over the medium and longer term. This is certainly evident, although still somewhat unclear, in the nature of the contractual arrangements between the Transurban Consortium and the State government. As is becoming increasingly apparent, these arrangements may well impair the capacity of present and future governments to explore a range of public and private transport options.

⁵ In an extension of this theme, Neil O'Keefe has recently argued that '*transport provision and infrastructure needs to be planned and developed as an integral part of wider metropolitan planning that recognises the critical role that transport plays in the pursuit of economic efficiency.*' (O'Keefe, 1995, p.7)

As Wigan (1994) asserts:

There are real dangers in privatising sections of the road system without an overall policy and plan, as the need to underwrite the revenue streams of privately funded bridges, tunnels and roads progressively constrains the government in its task of managing the system as a whole. (p.11)

An integrated and coordinated transport planning system should be broad in scope embracing the many modes of transport and with a focus on creating sustainable communities in the future.

Although primary responsibility for transport rests with the States in our federated system, it is clear that all levels of government have a role to play in transport policy and development. The complexity of intergovernmental relations in this field has also contributed to a lack of clarity concerning directions in transport planning. Of particular concern in the current environment of local government reform, is the capacity of this sphere of government to fulfil its transport planning potential at the local level in the face of State government legislative and policy directions, which contribute to the agency status of local government rather than the creation of a strong and independent municipal council (Murfitt, et. al., 1996). The mechanisms being used to change the political economy of local government in this way are compulsory competitive tendering, council amalgamations and the replacement of elected councillors with appointed commissioners. This situation is ironic given the statements made by the Industry Commission (1994) in its report on urban transport which suggest that the role of local government is particularly important in planning land use, transport infrastructure and public transport services. Such recognition of the role of local government however should not detract attention from the primacy of the Commonwealth sector in transport planning, in terms of its all important financing and macro-policy responsibilities.

To be effective, transport planning should reflect an understanding of the integrated nature of the endeavour. Russell (1995) has emphasised the connections for example between transport planning and land use planning and it is also increasingly important to plan in the arena of transport, with a clear focus on environmental issues. At a more micro level the lack of appropriate connection between transport planning and community care planning, for example as part of the Home and Community Care Program (HACC), is evident. This program is intergovernmental in nature and funding responsibility, and aims to support older and disabled people safely in their own communities. It is evident in the Victorian context, unlike the NSW experience, that community care programs do not have a strong transport component, the model of HACC development in this State giving scant attention

to the travel and mobility needs of its target group. It is argued therefore that both a macro and micro perspective is important in any consideration of the dimensions of integrated transport planning.

A particular concern in planning stems from the current economic rationalist approaches which may lead to a mind set identifying public transport and road transport for example, as little more than economic endeavours. A key imperative in planning therefore will often be the priority of efficiency and lowest cost. This approach fails to recognise the role which transport plays in the spatial and social infrastructure of any community (Aitkins 1989). Furthermore, it pays little attention to the impact which poor mobility invariably has on quality of life issues or to the interconnections between physical, economic and social concerns. This latter point should remain a central reference in any transport planning framework. It is a particular concern that the 'new political economy of transport', including markets, competition, contracts and a disengaged state, may well act in a way that is actually antithetical to the very idea of state planning.

Perhaps the most obvious failure in transport planning relates to the lack of formal planning processes and mechanisms which facilitate a coordinated approach at the ministerial level, bureaucratic level and community level. It is evident for example that several ministers may hold distinct transport portfolios, that major transport projects such as City Link are not connected in any formal way to other transport planning structures and that there appears to be limited if any opportunities for consumer input into transport issues, apart from that which is defensive in orientation. Clearly, this approach must change if we are to enhance our capacity for proactive, integrated transport planning.

In the final analysis, any transport planning regime requires a vigorous regulatory component, particularly, as cited earlier in this Chapter, in an environment where privatisation and competition are in the ascendant. The primary function of such regulation is to act as a break on the possible failure of the market. This may be reflected, for example, in the over-provision of services on financially lucrative transport routes, which may be to the detriment of service infrastructure in other areas. The 'marketisation' of transport services must therefore be accompanied by the active relegation of service delivery and safety matters. This is not only as a consequence of the obvious public interest issues involved, but also as most private systems will remain subsidised by public dollars and by an on-going commitment of taxpayer funds. Necessarily, such a situation demands public accountability. Thorough consideration would need to be given to regulatory domains and instruments, to where such instruments would derive their power and authority and to what sanctions may exist to enforce action. As Ernst (1994) argues, albeit in the area of public utility regulation:

The merits in overlaying the operation and management of public utility services with a system of independent public regulation is probably the most positive lesson to have emerged thus far from the privatisation programme. (p.180)

Such comment is useful in determining regulatory directions in the current reform process. Ultimately, such regulation would assist in evaluating whether or not the transport reforms have achieved their stated objectives of more efficient and better quality services for consumers.

In conclusion, the title of this thesis, *Women going places*, is positive in orientation, suggesting movement, progression and advancement. However, in the field of transport it could be argued that women are going nowhere! Not only is this a result of the lack of recognition of women's general and specific transport needs but is perhaps inevitable in a policy environment which gives a higher priority to economic issues than those of equity and social justice.

Conclusion

I'm talking about changing the metaphors through which we think about public transport, road building, cars, the environment and mobility, to ways of thinking that don't lock women (or anyone else) into static pre-determined roles, but encourage flexibility, development and change. (Huxley 1995, p. 2.)

It is perhaps incumbent on those who are critical of current transport policy directions and their impacts to offer some alternatives for consideration. As Huxley (1995) suggests above it is important to start by challenging existing metaphors, for example, how we view cars vis-a-vis public transport; how we consider women's travel needs in relation to those of men; and our conceptualisation of mobility to encompass more than just journeys and destinations. This will lead to the development of viable strategies for action. It is in this latter vein that these conclusions attempt to provide some possibilities for women to enhance their position in the transport stakes. The following suggestions are made:

- Women should advocate with others for the development of a strong transport planning and regulatory framework. This should incorporate consideration of both public and private transport modes and have a clear focus on social justice outcomes in the context of an increasingly competitive and privatised transport environment. Importantly, this would assist in addressing the issue of transport coordination, which is not only of fundamental importance to women in their travel patterns, but also to the population more broadly. Any transport planning and regulatory framework should offer meaningful opportunities for women to be involved in decision making.
- Women in metropolitan, regional and rural areas should participate in the development of a Charter of Rights which clearly articulates the importance of travel for quality of life and in facilitating participation in all aspects of community. (It is recognised that there has been some recent progress in establishing an *Australian Charter for Women in Cities*, stemming from developments at a number of women's conferences over recent years.)
- Women should lobby the Department of Transport to include gendered-initiatives as part of their contractual arrangements with public transport service providers, for example, those in line with the European tradition of the providing external hooks, in buses and other vehicles, for the safe storage of prams/pushers in a manner which does not impede other commuters. In addition, the Department of Transport should be encouraged to consider how existing transport infrastructure can more readily accommodate the

different needs of women, for example providing some play areas for young children in railway stations. It is recognised that modifications which meet the needs of women may well simultaneously address the needs of other groups in the population

- Women should encourage policy discussions which consider the dilemma of private car usage from an environmental perspective. In this area, there may well be a need for strong and perhaps unpopular decisions in a political sense. Of note, in the Danish experience is that engineers remove a lane, rather than adding one, when traffic becomes too congested! (Eichler, 1995, p. 152)
- Women should demand research which accurately documents their travel patterns and transport needs. Consideration, amongst other factors, could be given to the nature of women's access to cars in households and the connections between work, child care and transport for women.

By pursuing these or similar directions, women's transport needs and travel patterns will not only be more visible, but will also contribute to a more holistic understanding of the mobility needs of the broader population. This may in turn influence policy directions which pursue 'the economic' at the expense of 'the social', recognising that both foci are essential for equitable policy outcomes.

Appendix 1

Group Interview Schedule

General demographics

Age of women
Residential location
Life circumstances – married, children, income, etc
Languages spoken at home
Main way of getting around
Access to a private vehicle
Licence

Transport issues

Infrastructure issues:	Supply of services, differences in provision over time.
Spatial issues:	Distance to be travelled to specified destination, interconnections.
Resource issues:	Ability to pay for public or private transport, availability of support staff where required.
Design issues:	Ability to use different transport modes, community mobility in relation to walking or riding, ticketing options.
Other issues:	Safety.

Continued involvement with research

What would be required – interviews, travel diaries
Timescales

Appendix 2

Individual Interview Schedule

General information on participant

Age.

How long lived in current residence – describe your area to me.

Living arrangements.

Ethnicity.

Children/age of children.

Current, past work/professional background.

Community involvement/interests.

Access to car (age) partner/husband access to car (age).

Licence–when, how, why – always an expectation for you/what of your children.

Nature of participation in household activities – domestic break up.

In receipt of any CSOs/income.

Define yourself as what class/why.

Travel mode of participant

Main mode identified.

Others used – train, tram, bus, car, walking.

When, where, how?

Associated costs with each mode.

What influences choice of mode, if choice exists.

Information on public transport systems in the area

What do they know?

What routes are near their place of residence?

What do you think makes a good public transport system–what would you require?

Women's expectations of mobility/travel

Is travel/mobility important/to you? Why?–expectations.

Provision of transport/who should provide–what are government responsibilities?

Personal frame of reference on transport–public or private?

Policy context

What has influenced planning and development in the transport area?

Knowledge/understanding of privatisation, competition.

Concept of transport disadvantage

What is this?

Does it have any application to anyone you know?

Any application to you personally?

Car travel

What do you know about the workings of a car?

What happens in breakdowns—who assists?

What is known of current policy initiatives?

What are the main positives and negatives?

Public transport travel

What are the main positives and negatives for you?

What is known of current changes in policy/directions?

Other

Consent form.

Travel diary.

Next interview time.

Appendix 3

Summary of Issues Raised by Women's Groups

As far as possible these ideas have been expressed in the words used by the women involved.

Inner Metropolitan

Infrastructure	Resource	Design	Spatial	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public transport is organised in a radial system which makes travel across suburbs or towns more difficult. This also makes the car a better travel option as you can get to places more easily. The light rail is a great service. It is more intimate and their always appears to be people around - day and early evening. It is very difficult travelling by road when kids get out of school - frantic and busy and lots of cars. Multi-modal ticket is a good advance but it is a shame that the three hour travel ticket has changed to two hours. The seniors over 60 card is an excellent concession (\$1.90 for several sections & \$1.10 for two hours). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The mechanism of parking is not the problem, it is the difficulty in trying to find car parking spaces. Stations should be staffed for reasons of safety, so that people can actually buy tickets and to give public transport a sense of life. Cars can be expensive to run. It is essential to be in the RACV or equivalent. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doors may close on you while you are trying to alight from the bus (The driver may not see you). Trains have improved enormously by bringing the station platform level with the train itself. This is very important if you have a jeep with you. Heights of steps on buses and trams is a problem for older people. Trains are the most comfortable transport mode as there is space to walk around and the feeling of motion is soothing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Car travel is so convenient, offering you door-to-door service. Buses may not necessarily pull into the curb to assist with alighting. If you are older it may be difficult to step down into the gutter. It is often a bit of a struggle. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cars are better for transporting goods and carrying shopping. If you have the time, public transport can be both freeing and relaxing. Driving in the city can be complicated - for example, where you make right hand turns from the left side or the right side of the road. Women are slower getting on and off or in and out of transport as they usually have things to carry or children to look after. Every body over 70 years should travel free - community service obligation. None of the women present would travel on public transport at night, but would travel in a car, keeping doors and windows locked firmly. It is safer pulling up in a car at night, going door-to-door. If drivers in buses or trams have the green light they tend to go, regardless of the fact that someone is waiting for transport.

Inner Metropolitan

Infrastructure	Resource	Design	Spatial	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frequency of services is a problem and this is a long term issue. Resources are required as well as giving a priority status to public transport. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulties finding adequate car parking when shopping - undercover etc when raining. • Fairfield station is very dilapidated. • Often no staff at railway stations, particularly at night or on the week-ends. • Closure of toilets on stations is an issue for pregnant women who tend to wee a lot. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Design of baby capsules means they are difficult to put in and out of cars. You need to allow time to do this (difficult to be spontaneous in your travel). • Back doors of some cars do not open wide enough to get capsules in and out. • Gap between the train and the station platform is difficult for women with prams to cross. • Design of buses and trams means that you need people to assist you getting on with a pram or a pusher and often you may end up wedged in an aisle, causing problems for travellers as they try and get past. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connections between transport modes is very problematic. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some women felt they were more anxious in their driving since having a child. Worried about the child in the car and what 'may' happen. • Some women avoided peak hour and night driving as they felt anxious. • "A car is essential and you just have to pay for it!" • Difficulties occupying several children in a car - safety issues here. • One woman did not like leaving her baby in the car when she went in to pay for petrol. She lamented the introduction of self service systems.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public transport is not efficient or frequent enough to be a viable alternative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty in fitting prams through toilet entrance doors. • Cost of petrol means you may have to think twice about where you are travelling to. • One car in the family is very difficult organisationally and with kids. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Design of cars means that children can sleep easily. • Design of cars means you can carry baggage easily. • Positives of the car - reliable, warm, comfortable, waterproof, built in entertainment, capacity to carry. • Design of seat belts and restraints for kids are still not foolproof. Need some creative developments in this area. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connections between transport modes is very problematic. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both cars and public transport entertain kids. • maintenance of cars becomes more problematic as they age • Parallel parking with two kids is problematic in the car. • Cars provide women with independence and autonomy. • Personal safety in cars - kids demand attention. • Personal time is an issue - time becomes more critical when you are using public transport (deadlines to pick up kids for example)

Inner Metropolitan

Infrastructure	Resource	Design	Spatial	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hard to understand the ticketing system (supply of information services). • Timetabling was seen as problematic after hours and on week-ends particularly. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bus drivers seen as unhelpful in assisting people onto vehicles and giving information - they do not seem to have time to assist any more. • Detail on bus timetables hard to obtain. • Insufficient knowledge of car maintenance and repair, especially changing tyres (in Turkey, authorities run learning to drive and maintenance courses concurrently - a new initiative.) • Cost of obtaining a license was prohibitive in terms of lessons required. • Greater security on trains could be achieved by having additional staff on stations and roving on trains. • Closing toilets on stations is good for cleanliness and safety, but where will women with children go? • Sundays - no conductors on trams. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult to get on with children and parcels (bus and tram) "sometimes impossible if no-one to help you". • Amount of vandalism has decreased (train and bus). Greater feelings of personal safety. • Hard for people with disabilities on public transport and pregnant women. • Air-conditioning often inadequate (needs of menopausal women). • Seating facing each other implies too much intimacy and no space to hold on). • Getting on and off trams with prams was problematic. • Not much information available in other languages. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sometimes hard to make connections. • Not sure how to get to a destination by public transport (Broadmeadows) implies husband has to drive. (Would not know how to find out how to get to Broadmeadows). • Distances which must be travelled often mean a number of connections. These often don't work very well. Interconnections are a problem. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public transport seen as safer than a car and in this way more comfortable. • Safety issues on buses as a result of speed travelled, braking too fast. • Cars offer greater personal safety. • Prefer cars as these are more convenient, particularly with children, for example if children get sick. • Difficult to go out at night: 'I don't feel safe.'

Inner Metropolitan

Infrastructure

- Ticketing system, moved the multi-modal ticket from 3 to 2 hours some 2 years ago. It is not as useful. Difficult to finish shopping in three hours.
- Lack of/ inadequate services on Sunday mornings.

Resource

- No staffing at some railway stations presented problems with safety and ticketing. Unable to purchase tickets at some stations and yet you can be fined if caught without a ticket. This caused one older woman particular concern.
- Lack of conductors to help you generally. Feel embarrassed and vulnerable asking members of the general public for help.
- All stations should be staffed for information and security reasons.
- Hard to use a trolley on a tram or bus as often no-one to assist you.
- Many of the women expressed a fear that train station offices would not be open and that they may not get a ticket.
- Difficult to get information on public transport services available in Greek. This means most of the women would usually rely on their children to draw a map and show them how to get to places.
- One woman had noticed the closure of toilets on public transport - trains - and said that women need toilets more than men, especially when they have children with them and because of increased incontinence amongst women.

Design

- Trains are level with the platform which means they are easier to get on and off.
- Trams and buses are too high to get onto for many older people.
- Walking is great but you need to watch uneven surfaces on footpaths. It is easier to go shopping via walking as you can't easily lift shopping jeeps / trolleys on and off public transport.
- Some women experienced difficulty during their trip - hard to hang on, fear of slipping out of the seat - a bit of an ordeal!
- Cars can carry shopping more easily.
- Steps on buses and trams are very hard to negotiate.
- Transport information - public transport signs - are all in English.

Spatial

- Public transport is often late which means that you may not arrive places on time - difficult to plan your journey.
- Cars get you to places more quickly most of the time, except in peak hour traffic.
- Sometimes trains seem to wait for connecting buses other times not - a bit ad hoc.

Other

- Trains are warmer than trams and buses and therefore more comfortable.
- All women present said they would not travel on public transport at night, especially trains. Trams and buses were slightly better as they had people more closely at hand.
- Several women found bus drivers very polite.
- Sometimes bus drivers were in too much of a hurry and it was difficult to board a bus safely and travel safely. You may get thrown around - issues of instability and balance.

Middle/Outer Metropolitan areas

Infrastructure	Resource	Design	Spatial	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While train services for Werribee to the city were seen as being adequate there were less connections around the different communities of Werribee. • The night rider bus was seen as an important initiative, especially for young people. • There is a need to develop roads in some areas of Melbourne, particularly in the west - congestion will become an even greater problem otherwise. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parking can be a great hassle with cars. In many popular shopping and other spots there often does not appear to be enough facilities. • Running a car can be costly, particularly if you are committed to regular servicing. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cars allow for easy carriage of shopping. • Traffic planning in Werribee was such that there were not many exits and entrances to some significant parts of the community. • Concern expressed by one woman who had seen a young woman's pram trapped in a train door, with the woman frantically trying to release it as the train started moving. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The car is particularly convenient for getting from place to place. It takes you straight to the door. • Interconnections on transport are often problematic, travellers having to wait long for considerable amounts of time. Usually, you are lucky if you get a direct connection. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cars make for safer travel at night. You can lock all your doors and it takes you from door to door. Cars feel much safer than public transport, particularly as there are often few if any support staff on stations. • When you use the car as your primary way of getting around, you don't really think about using public transport at all. • The standard of people's driving should be checked more regularly to ensure they are skilled to an appropriate level. • The 60 plus ticket has been a positive initiative (\$2 to take people anywhere, not in peak period). • Road tolls are problematic as the provision of roads is something that governments should do.

Middle/Outer Metropolitan areas

Infrastructure	Resource	Design	Spatial	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Travel destinations do not seem to assist shoppers, eg. poor timetables to get to Highpoint. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Car parking spaces, actual numbers are often inadequate. • The cost of public transport is often prohibitive, particularly with children. The fact that you have to pay for your pension concessions up front is also problematic. • The costs of running a car and petrol prices also creates difficulties (two women said this). • No assurance of safety on public transport due to the lack of resource people, particularly in the late evenings and on weekends. • Insufficient places to sit and wait before public transport arrives, particularly if it is delayed. • Problems with the cleanliness of vehicles. • Drivers often not very helpful or personally supportive. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Car is the most convenient, particularly in terms of being able to carry many parcels. • For walkers, some footpaths are not well designed or maintained. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are many delays on public transport and connections are not good between transports. • Congestion on roads is a problem getting to places. • Planning a journey is difficult. Timetables aren't synchronised. Why can't different modes of transport work in together. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Car is the most useful method of transport as it offers you savings in terms of time. • Some women always locked the doors in their cars when travelling day and night. One young woman became intimidated when she felt that men were 'eyeing' her off in the car. • Those with children also said that they worried about them on public transport - trains leaving late, teenagers having to walk through deserted tunnels at night.

Middle/Outer Metropolitan areas

Infrastructure	Resource	Design	Spatial	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trains running late or delayed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs associated with maintaining and owning a car are very high and considerable. • Inadequate supports available to assist people in getting on and off vehicles - conductors are not required to help. • Country trains more comfortable and safe than suburban ones - transit police, ticket checkers, more enjoyable. • Problems with toilet closures on railway stations, especially with kids. • Attendants needed at train stations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulties in getting young children out of baby capsules. • Gap in the platform between the edge and the train, makes it difficult to get pushers on transport or wheelchairs (One woman had a young child in a wheelchair). • Can't get on public transport in peak hour - hopeless with a pram. • Escalators at Parliament Station are too steep - scary and fear of falling backwards. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear of being stranded in outer areas if car breaks down, for example along Ballarat Road/ Western Highway (worry about leaving kids in cars while walking along the highway to get assistance). • Late transport and how this creates problems with connections. 	<p>Safety issues with multiple kids: who do you put in and who do you get out first.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heaviness of traffic and problems related to the noise of kids in cars. • Lack of adequate lighting in many parking areas - new communities, car parks, new train stations (underneath tunnels). • Some women present would not use public transport after 6pm. • Transport taking off quickly and creating anxiety in terms of getting off in time, especially with kids. • Breast feeding on public transport is problematic - an issue for long journeys. • The need occasionally to keep kids quiet with food and this not being possible where no food is allowed on vehicles. • The attitude of ticket inspectors is scary and ridiculous - power, authority issues. • Physically draining on public transport with children.

Rural areas

Infrastructure

- Differences between country and metro areas - limited pt services available compared to city; roads generally in poorer condition.

- Can't get to Hamilton in the pm from Coleraine as no bus service to bring you back.
- Fixed public transport routes can be a problem (compared to the ease and convenience of the car).

Resource

- Car as convenient and a time saver (personal resources).
- Older cars are more expensive to run - maintenance and petrol consumption. People have older cars in country areas.
- Support and assistance from bus drivers is variable.
- Good facilities at Ballarat train station.
- No taxis in Coleraine -this is seen as a gap in the services that are available.

- Cost of cars, especially petrol, in country areas can be prohibitive at times.
- There is a real need for toilets on trains and platforms if you are travelling long distances. Children often need conveniences.
- No means of restraining young children in taxis - very problematic and unsafe.

Design

- Lack of seats when walking for stops and rests.
- Cars are best for those whose movement is limited (from woman in a wheelchair).

- Kids can sleep comfortably in cars .
- (Design & resource) - closure of bus and train doors before you have time to get out. Drivers sometimes appear not to see or don't really look
- Not enough room for wheelchairs and prams on public transport. Largely feel like you are intruding. Should be appropriate hooks on buses, trains and trams to hang up prams.
- Steps for aged people to get on public transport especially buses are very high.

Spatial

- Need for a car when you live out of town is paramount. Need for a reliable car as many people live out of town!
- On the return bus trip from Hamilton to Coleraine, the bus stop is not in the city centre but at the train station which means a considerable walk with parcels etc. (on the way in from Coleraine, the bus stops outside Coles in the city centre).

- People live a lot further away from places in country areas.
- Often hard to make connections between places/communities when you are on public transport - you therefore have limited choices about where you can go (may isolate women and restrict movement).

Other

- Importance of mobility and having a car for independence. This is not the same as having access to a car with someone else as the driver.

- Cars are useful as they are convenient and you can go where you want to go; particularly necessary in emergencies with kids.
- Weather can be a problem when travelling on public transport.
- Community bus (18 mths ago) woman with a four year old disabled child not allowed to travel with child as she was not disabled!
- Kids are hard to keep under control on public transport.
- Personal safety issues are very evident when travelling on public transport or when walking around, especially at night or if you have children in your care.
- In the country you are disadvantaged without a car but not in the city (major difference).

Rural areas

Infrastructure

- Very limited public transport in Coleraine compared to Hamilton and so having access to a car is very important.

Resource

- Women are an important resource for taking their children different places in the country - recreational and sporting purposes. Without this assistance it is difficult to know how children and young people would get around.
- Unlike Hamilton, there are no taxis in Coleraine.
- The cost of petrol in the country is much higher than in the city and people often have to purchase much more due to the distances travelled.
- Seat belts should be supplied in buses.
- Taxis are an expensive mode of transport to use on a regular basis.
- Need for good public toilets to be available with car travel and public transport travel, especially for children and older people.

Design

- Cars are often difficult for older people to get in easily; sometimes the doors are not wide enough.
- The design of buses makes it very hard for older people to travel on, particularly getting up and down off vehicles.
- Issues of where you put shopping, pushers and prams on public transport and how cars much more easily accommodate the carrying of goods.
- The new ticketing system was seen as complicated and relied on people knowing where to obtain tickets.

Spatial

- Distances to be travelled in the country are often quite long. Need reliable transport to ensure that you reach your destination.
- Connections between trains and buses for going to Melbourne often don't work and you can be left waiting for some time on platforms etc. It is always an issue, something to think about, that of hoping that buses are running on time.

Other

- Cars were seen as a convenient way to get around, saving time and particularly assisting with shopping. It offers an immediate service and in this way can cater for people's needs.
- Drivers of the community car expressed some fears about the responsibility of taking people who are sick to appointments and also of how much faster the traffic travels in Hamilton.
- Public transport seen very much as a city service / city function for city people. Cities have regular and more frequent timetables.

Rural areas

Infrastructure

- In this country area there is very limited public transport infrastructure. No buses around town. Public transport is something which is more associated with the city.
- There are both bus and bus/ train services to Melbourne
- Sale of tickets on public transport is not convenient. Sometimes, it is unclear where you should buy tickets from.

- One of the major differences between the country and the city is the lack of public transport infrastructure.
- Roads in country areas are often more run down and inadequate for the needs of local populations.

Resource

- Cars are an invaluable personal resource. You are not restricted in your movement and can be fully independent.
- Often there are limited facilities at railway stations.
- If you go to Melbourne by train it is often a bit scary when you get there as it is hard to get information about the suburban train networks, especially at night. There should be timetable information on every train. There appears to be an assumption that everyone knows the system. You should be told for example what the next stop is on the train.

- Taxis are a costly way to get around and are more expensive to use after midnight. Not all groups are eligible for concessions.
- The cost of petrol in country areas is much more expensive than in the city.
- Car travel in the country requires some extra activities - opening and closing gates for example.

Design

- Cars are comfortable, dry and warm.
- It would be hard to take kids on public transport. Lots of bags to carry.

- No car seats automatically provided for those with young children travelling in taxis (need to organise these ahead, and they are not always available).
- Difficult to fit passengers in a car when you have kids in car seats or restrainers.

Spatial

- Cars are the quickest mode to get you from one place to another in country areas.

- Walking from place to place with children is difficult - they get tired. Particularly also if you have shopping as well.
- Cars take you more quickly from place to place.
- Difficult to make connections to some places - South Australia for example, which requires an overnight stay.

Other

- Walking is not really an option in most instances in terms of getting to places as it takes too long.
- Cars are not good for the environment and cause noise and air pollution.
- There were some personal concerns expressed about some of the people who travel to Melbourne by train.
- Cars help give you freedom to travel and therefore develop your personal confidence. This is important for anyone but particularly for women as many women don't feel safe to go places.
- There needs to be more guards and support people on trains for women to feel safe. Stations should be better lit, and there should be someone to go to if you have a problem.

- While bikes are good for exercise, you need to watch the traffic and the weather and they take you at least twice as long to get anywhere.
- Low income, Ministry housing is often placed out of town and people don't have cars which makes it very difficult for them.

Three women in the group felt nervous about travelling at night.

Appendix 4

Sample Page of Travel Diary

Day:

What number journey was this ?	1	2	3
What time did you leave home?	AM PM	AM PM	AM PM
What time did you arrive home?	AM PM	AM PM	AM PM
Where were you going?	Street & suburb	Street & suburb	Street & suburb
What was the purpose of your journey, eg. shopping, paid employment, education, recreation, visiting friends / family, visiting a service provider, professional.....			
How did you get there, eg. train, car, bus , tram, walk, bike, taxi..... If you travelled by car, were you a driver or a passenger?			
Did anyone else travel with you ? If so, who?			
Please rate the quality of your journey : Poor...average..good			
Why have you given your journey this rating?			
Are there any other comments you want to make about this journey?			

Appendix 5

Travel Diary Information: Louise

Total number of trips – 22

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 1.7

Weekend–1.25

Destination

Local (suburb) – 22: Hamilton

Other –

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 20

Bus–

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 2 Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used

Car & walk –1

Car use

Driver – 16

Passenger – 5

Accompanied travel

No-one – 3

Children – 3

Partner/children – 15

Friend/s –

Partner – Friend/children – 1

Purpose

Shopping – 17

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children – 7

Visiting service provider – 6

Visiting friends/family – 4

Recreation –

Attending meetings –

Transporting friends –

Multi-purpose journeys – 8

Journey Ratings

Poor – Nil

Average – 5

Good – 17

Issues Raised

- Old car (1965 Toyota) sometimes doesn't start – not given a high priority in household spending: leads to frustration;
- Kids require alot of organising getting in and out of the car, especially when it is raining;
- Children get tired if you walk alot with them and it's hard to carry grocery bags;
- You seem to run around alot after other people at times. This will be exacerbated by husband starting TAFE course in the near future.

Travel Diary Information: Sally

Total number of trips – 18

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 1.4

Weekend – 1

Destination

Local (suburb) – 15

Other – 3

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 2

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 12

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used

Walk/tram – 1

Walk/tram/car – 2

Walk/bus – 1

Car use

Driver – Nil

Passenger – 4

Accompanied travel

No-one –

Children – 14

Family/children – 4

Friend/ s –

Partner –

Purpose

Shopping – 8

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children – 2

Visiting service provider – 8*

Visiting family/friends – 3

Recreation – 4

Attending meetings –

* = often for the child

Multi-purpose journeys – 9

Journey Ratings

Poor – 2*

Average – 9

Good – 7

• Insufficient \$ to catch public transport

Issues Raised

- Sometimes have to take daughter out when sick;
- Shopping is much easier with a car;
- Weather conditions are very problematic for walking and catching public transport;
- Walking in the rain is hard with a child – starts crying, etc;
- Cars may or may not stop when you are getting off tram;
- Can't get on tram by self with pusher and with bags on pusher;
- Trams may not stop for you when you are waiting for a tram;
- Tram drivers may or may not be helpful – can't rely on them;
- Often difficult to find a park in major shopping centres;
- If walking after dark need to stay on the main streets and roads;
- Good example of helpful bus driver – daughter's coat left on bus.

Travel Diary Information: Mavis

Total number of trips – 10 (respondent was sick for one day & only filled in the travel diary for one week)

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 0.8

Weekend – 0.5

Destination

Local (suburb) – 10

Other –

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 5*

Bus -

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 5

Taxi –

Bike –

* = community car (4)
friend's car (1)

Multiple mode used – nil

Car use

Driver –

Passenger – 5

Accompanied travel

No-one – 5

Children –

Partner/children –

Friend/s

Partner –

Friend/children –

Service provider – 1

Purpose

Shopping – 2

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children –

Visiting service provider – 1

Visiting friends/family –

Recreation – 1

Attending meetings – 6

Transporting friends –

Multi-purpose journeys – nil

Journey Ratings (Four journeys not rated)

Poor – none

Average – 1•

Good – 5

•elderly driver not as skilled

Issues Raised:

- The skill and pleasant manner of the drivers of the community car made many trips 'good' in terms of a rating; important to feel comfortable and safe in the car and confident in the way someone drives;
- Would not always feel confident to say something if unhappy with the driving – depends who the driver is;
- Found it difficult to rate trips – was happy to be taken places.

Travel Diary Information: Barbara

Total number of trips – 10

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 0.6

Weekend – 1

Destination

Local (suburb) – 3

Other – 7

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 10

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk –

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used – nil

Car use

Driver –

Passenger – 10

Accompanied travel

No-one –

Children –

Partner/s' children – 5

Friend/ s – 2

Partner – 3

Friend/ children –

Service provider –

Purpose

Shopping – 3

Employment –

Education – Transporting children – 1

Visiting service provider –

Visiting friends/family –

Recreation 6

Attending meetings –

Transporting friends –

Multi-purpose journeys – nil

Journey Ratings

Poor –

Average –

Good – 10•

• 2 were rated very good

Issues Raised:

- Journeys provided an opportunity to get out of the house and therefore were always good – give you a measure of independence;
- Grandchildren caught a V Line bus from Hamilton to Ballarat, connecting with the train to go to Melbourne. Bus was on time, very clean and in good condition. Driver was very friendly and helpful with grandchildren;
- Petrol is very expensive in the country – sometimes you wonder whether you'll have enough money to cover your costs;
- Difficult to get in and out of the back seats in cars when you have a physical disability (stroke);
- Need to be able to move quickly to make bus and train connections when going to Melbourne; this is often hard when you are in a wheelchair;
- Ramp at Spencer St station is very steep for wheelchairs and also very long – need someone to push you up!
- No taxi service in Coleraine is a limitation (need this as it is like public transport).

Travel Diary Information: Joanne

Total number of trips – 38

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 28

Weekend – 1.25

Destination

Local (suburb) – 33

Other – 5

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 7

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 9

Taxi – 1

Bike – 18

Multiple mode used –

Car/train / bus – 1

Taxi/train/bus – 1

Bike/car – 1

Car use

Driver – 0

Passenger – 9

Accompanied travel

No-one – 28

Children –

Partner/children –

Friend/s – 9

Relative – 1

Friend/children –

Service provider –

Purpose

Shopping – 18

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children –

Visiting service provider – 8

Visiting friends/family – 12

Recreation – 7

Attending meetings – 3

Transporting friends –

Multi-purpose journeys – 7

Journey Ratings

Poor – 6

Average – 12

Good – 20

- Passenger with an older person who couldn't see well when driving;
- Raining heavily while walking;
- A lot of wind and traffic while riding a bike – exhausting and need to be very careful;
- Waited over half an hour for a taxi (in Hamilton).

Issues Raised:

- Participant stated she found it difficult to rate journeys, although she appeared to do so quite well;
- Increased traffic in Hamilton makes bike riding around town difficult; hills also make riding difficult;
- Importance of fine weather when bike riding or walking; impact on your sense of well-being;
- Difficulty of not having a car at times when you have to carry bags, get to the station for travelling;
- Very 'public' on public transport if you feel sick when travelling
- Bike riding can be relaxing;
- Often considerable waits between connecting transports;
- Difficulties fitting bike in a car;
- Hard to get information on public transport systems when you arrive in Melbourne from the country;

- Often feel you can't ask others for a lift – very imposing;
- Taxis are expensive/costly;
- People often don't look for bikes at night – so it isn't a very safe option in a lot of circumstances.

Travel Diary Information: Cathy

Total number of trips – 49

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 3.8

Weekend – 2.75

Destination

Local (suburb) – 24

Unclear –

Other – 25

Mode used

Car – 36

Tram –

Walk – 10

Bike – 1

Bus –

Train –

Taxi –

Multiple mode used

Car/train/tram – 2

Driver – 38

Car use

Passenger –

Accompanied travel

No-one – 8

Partner/children –

Partner –

Children – 39

Friend – 2

Purpose

Shopping – 15

Education –

Visiting service provider – 3

Recreation – 3

Employment – 3

Transporting children – 29

Visiting friends – 4

Attending meetings – 7

Multi-purpose journeys – 15

Journey Ratings

Poor – 1*

Good – Nil

Not Stated – 12

Average – 36

* Trucks on the road at Anthony's Cutting

Issues Raised

- Organisational issues with car transport when you have four children;
- The needs of older children in outer areas as they grow up means you have to transport them to activities, etc;
- Difficult to rate travel – it's just something you do or have to do!
- Fearful of large vehicles on the roads – trucks driving very fast;
- Kids in the car – "I'm meant to referee as well as drive";
- Hard to get onto public transport with a number of kids although it improves as they get older;
- Extremely difficult to take prams on trams;
- Hard to push pram on groovy paved surfaces!
- Walking with four kids – need to keep an eye on each of them. Once my second youngest almost got knocked over by a car coming around the corner;
- The kids and I get sick of travelling;
- I enjoy the relaxed feeling of train trips to Melbourne by myself;
- Bike travel is fun with the kids but takes a lot of organisation.

Travel Diary Information: Tamara

Total number of trips – 28

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 2

Weekend – 2

Destination

Local (suburb) – 21

Other – 7

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 22

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 4

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used

Car/tram – 1

Car/walk – 1

Car use

Driver – 21

Passenger – 3

Accompanied travel

No-one – 2.5

Children – 21.5

Partner/children –

Friend – 4

Partner –

Purpose

Shopping – 4

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children – 19

Visiting service provider – 8

Visiting friends – 7

Recreation – 3

Attending meetings – 7

Multi-purpose journeys – 14

Journey Ratings

Poor – 5

Average – 12

Good – 11

• parking problems (disability)

• car playing up

• rough weather conditions

• glass on footpath when walking

Issues Raised

- Unevenness of footpaths when walking with daughter if she is in her wheelchair;
- Walking is pleasurable in nice weather;
- Peak hour – lots of traffic/no or limited traffic means a better trip;
- Problems with parking spaces, especially those marked for people with disabilities;
- Lack of cheap parking in city;
- Closer to home means a better trip – not much travel;
- Weather, especially rain causes problems when driving.

Travel Diary Information: Tatjana

Total number of trips – 12

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 1.1

Weekend – 0.25

Destination

Local (suburb) – 10

Other – 2

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 4

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 1

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used

Car/bus – 3

Walk/bus – 4

Car use

Driver – Nil

Passenger – 7

Accompanied travel

No-one – 4

Children – 2

Family/children – 3

Friend/ s –

Partner – 3

Purpose

Shopping – 8

Employment – 3

Education –

Transporting children –

Visiting service provider – 1

Visiting family/friends – 1

Recreation – 2

Attending meetings –

Multi-purpose journeys – 4

Journey Ratings

Poor – 1•

Average – 3

Good – 8

• Wasn't feeling well

Issues Raised

- Need the car when you are doing shopping and have alot of bags;
- I have become very patient with public transport and try not to find fault – you don't usually get anywhere if you complain;
- I'm a positive person and would find it hard to rate something negatively.
- There is alot of choice in relation to bus travel in this area and bus travel is relaxing – it makes you take life easily;
- Wouldn't walk in the dark at night and wouldn't travel much by pt at night
- I enjoy driving in the car;
- Driving with kids in the car can be tricky – they may argue alot. My husband may growl at them and then I get nervous. If my husband is grumpy it's not as enjoyable for me. I want him to concentrate on the road.

Travel Diary Information: Anne

Total number of trips – 15

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 1.1

Weekend – 1

Destination

Local (suburb) – 6

Other – 9

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 15

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk –

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used – nil

Car use

Driver – 10

Passenger – 5

Accompanied travel

No-one –

Children – 10

Partner/children – 3

Friend/s –

Partner –

Friend –

Family/children – 2

Purpose

Shopping – 7

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children – 3

Visiting service provider – 3

Visiting friends / family – 4

Recreation – 1

Attending meetings – 5

Transporting friends –

Multi-purpose journeys – 5

Journey Ratings

Poor – 1

Average – 7

Good – 7

• very disorganised & stressful trying to get out of the house and into the car with kids

Issues Raised

- An easier drive if children sleep in the car;
- Often get tired loading and unloading goods associated with children from the car;
- Dilemma of leaving the children in the car while you run in and do a quick bit of shopping – feel a bit guilty;
- Children getting to the stage where they can wiggle out of their seatbelt can be a problem and where they lock their own car door – makes you feel a bit out of control. This also applies to automatic car windows!
- Bulky clothes on babies make strapping them in difficult – also, the awkward position you have to bend over; Also the difficulty of adjusting seatbelts on kids seats and restraints – often quite hard;
- Great when you have someone to assist you in loading and unloading the car;
- Kids crying as you drive in the car is stressful – affects your mental state;
- Feeling safe in a car with good tyres is important when it is raining;
- Congestion and traffic in some local areas can be very problematic;
- Parental disagreements in car about what children can and can't do (eg. opening windows) are stressful.

Travel Diary Information: Jane

Total number of trips – 31

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 2.4

Weekend – 1.75

Destination

Local (suburb) – 16

Other – 15

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 12

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 13

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used –

Car & walk – 5

Car & train – 1

Car use

Driver – 15

Passenger – 3

Accompanied travel

No-one – 2

Children – 24

Partner/children – 5

Friend/ s –

Partner –

Purpose

Shopping – 11

Employment – 3

Education –

Transporting children – 3

Visiting service provider – 1

Visiting friends – 5 Recreation – 12

Attending meetings – 2

Multi-purpose journeys – 5

Journey Ratings

Poor – 2•

Average – 24

Good – 5

• unevenness of footpaths

• difficulties getting parking

Issues Raised

- Difficulties walking with a pram – need to lift pram down and over curbs and gutterings; need for strength;
- Impact of weather on waking;
- Traffic congestion on major arteries, eg. Hoddle Street;
- Hard to drive when son is crying – issues of concentration, getting anxious;
- Problems with getting a car park in some inner city areas;
- Experience some fear when large trucks rush by /travelling very fast;
- Logistics associated with getting two children safely in and out of a car;
- Difficulties experience when driving at night due to lights of other vehicles.

Travel Diary Information: Deborah

Total number of trips – 19

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 1.2

Weekend – 1.75

Destination

Local (suburb) – 11

Other – 8

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 9

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 9

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used –

Car use

Driver – 9

Passenger –

Accompanied travel

No-one – 3

Children – 9

Partner/children – 6

Friend/s –

Partner –

Friend/children – 1

Purpose

Shopping – 5

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children –

Visiting service provider – 5

Visiting friends/family – 4

Recreation – 7

Attending meetings – 2

Transporting friends –

Multi-purpose journeys – Nil

Journey Ratings

Poor – nil

Average – 6

Good – 13

Issues Raised

- Difficulty of ‘rating’ a trip generally – that is ‘you just go somewhere’ – don’t think of the actual trip a lot;
- Lack of ramps and sloping curbs to assist when walking with a pram;
- Try and travel by car outside of peak times;
- Emotional state affects driving a lot;
- Conscious of having a baby in the car and nervous effect created when she cries all the time or isn’t very settled;
- I seem to get more tired in the car since the baby has been born – more tired overall;
- Travelling with other children in the car can be stressful as they become eager and excited;
- Pram gets stuck in tracks when crossing train lines, if you don’t cross at the right angle;

Travel Diary Information: Dorothy

Total number of trips – 14 (participant was in hospital for 4 days)

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 0.8

Weekend – 1.5

Destination

Local (suburb) – 8

Other – 6

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 13

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk –

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used

Car/bus –1

Car use

Passenger – 2.5

Accompanied travel

No-one – 2

Children –

Partner/children –

Friend/ s – 12

Partner –

Friend/children –

Service provider –

Purpose

Shopping – 3

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children –

Visiting service provider – 7

Visiting friends/family – 5

Recreation – 2

Attending meetings – 2

Transporting friends – 4

Multi-purpose journeys – 4

Journey Ratings (2 journeys not rated.)

Poor – 2•

Average – 5

Good – 5

• old bus/no springs & very noisy

• personal worries affecting journey: emotional state

Issues Raised:

- Sometimes vehicles make the journey very tiring - feel poorly, sore and achey;
- Personally not a confident driver and fast traffic worries me – did not do a lot of driving until husband died.

Travel Diary Information: Olive

Total number of trips – 16

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 1.3

Weekend – 0.75

Destination

Local (suburb) – 10

Other – 6

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 5

Bus – 3*

Tram – 2

Train –

Walk – 6

Taxi –

Bike –

* = community bus

Multiple mode used – nil

Car use

Driver –

Passenger – 5

Accompanied travel

No-one – 8

Children –

Partner/children –

Friend/s – 8

Partner –

Purpose

Shopping – 10

Employment –

Education –

Visiting friends –

Recreation – 2

Attending meetings – 3

Multi-purpose journeys – nil

Journey Ratings (2 journeys not rated)

Poor – 1•

Average – 3

Good – 10

• footpaths and walking surfaces not well maintained

Issues Raised

- Need to feel confident to ask tram conductor questions/route information, etc;
- Pay careful attention when walking to surfaces of footpaths, keeping an eye out for glass and syringes – as there are a lot around the local area;
- Driving in the car is great – gets you out of the house & takes you door to door;
- Getting on and off buses can be difficult – need wide, preferably sliding doors and handrails for leverage; may need to create an additional step at times;
- Catching lights and limited traffic makes for a good run in the car;
- Important that transport can pull up close to where you need to alight and enter wherever you are going.

Travel Diary Information: Mary

Total number of trips – 40

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 3.3

Weekend – 1.8

Destination

Local (suburb) – 35

Unclear – 1

Other – 4

Mode used

Car – 37

Tram –

Walk –

Bike –

Bus –

Train – 1

Taxi –

Multiple mode used

Car/train – 2

Car use

Driver – 33

Passenger – 4

Accompanied travel

No-one – 13

Partner/children – 3

Partner – 1

Children – 23

Friend –

Purpose

Shopping – 7

Education – Nil

Visiting service provider – 1

Recreation – 4

Employment – 10

Transporting children – 21

Visiting friends – 2

Attending meetings – 5

Multi-purpose journeys – 14

Journey Ratings

Poor – Nil

Good – 27

Average – 13

Issues Raised

- No-one checking tickets on trains;
- Public transport not on time – train;
- Lack of traffic – good;
- Catching St Albans railway gates makes the journey very low;
- Weather impacts on driving – hailing, visibility, etc;
- Issues of safety – walking at night, waiting to be picked up at night, in the dark.

Travel Diary Information: Ninevah

Total number of trips – 15

Average number of trips in a day

Week – 1

Weekend – 1.25

Destination

Local (suburb) – 5

Other – 10

Unclear –

Mode used

Car – 12

Bus –

Tram –

Train –

Walk – 3

Taxi –

Bike –

Multiple mode used – nil

Car use

Driver – 10

Passenger – 2

Accompanied travel

No-one – 3

Children – 8

Partner/children – 1

Friend/s – 2

Partner –

Friend/children – 1

Purpose

Shopping – 6

Employment –

Education –

Transporting children – 1

Visiting service provider –

Visiting friends/family – 6

Recreation – 1

Attending meetings –

Transporting friends – 1

Multi-purpose journeys – nil

Journey Ratings

Poor – 2•

Average – 2

Good – 11

• Son crying in the car

• ran out of \$ and so couldn't travel to where I needed to go

Issues Raised

- Car ride is an outing for the kids and gets them away from the house – outside, which can often be difficult when you live in high-rise flats as they tend to play inside;
- When the children are unhappy in the car, so am I – I get angry and hot, feel unwell and distressed;
- If you haven't got much money, this limits your mobility and travel;
- If your friends don't drive or have access to a car, they often want you to take them places;
- Would like to travel more by tram, but it is often too long to wait with kids – never know really when the next service will come;
- Feel safe in the car at night, but would not walk or catch public transport. Lock my car doors at night and would prefer to travel with someone else;
- Feel more comfortable as a passenger in a car – can relax more.

Appendix 6

List of Policy Makers and Transport Providers Who Were Interviewed

Providers:

West Coast Railway:	Mr Don Gibson, Chairperson of the Board
Met Bus:	Mr John Wilson, Managing Director
V. Line Passenger:	Mr Geoff Smithwick, Managing Director
National Bus Company:	Mr Peter Oliver, Managing Director

Policy Makers

Department of Transport:	Mr Hector McKenzie, Assistant Secretary, Metropolitan Passenger Services
Department of Premier and Cabinet:	Ms Lois Goodes, Senior Policy Advisor Cabinet Office
Victorian Taxi Directorate:	Mr Mark Curry, Manager Policy

Others

Public Transport Union:	Mr Michael Overend, Divisional Representative and Organiser
Royal Automobile Club of Victoria:	Various contacts in the research and planning area, by telephone.

Appendix 7

Interview Schedule for Policy Makers, Planners and Providers

About the organisation

Changes over the past few years in

- departmental organisation;
- aims & philosophy;
- approach – roles and responsibilities / functions;
- staffing changes;
- management, board, gender of managers;
- resources;
- future plans.

Current organisational chart

- relationship with Premier & Cabinet: transport competition personnel;
- relationship with PTC;
- roles and responsibilities of Department vis-a-vis PTC: current and future.

The concept of transport disadvantage

- what it means;
- effect on what they do;
- past and present program and policy responses;
- government.role.

Gender exploration

- in what ways does gender figure in what they do;
- response to two Victorian reports on women's travel needs;
- women as employees and women as service users.

Describing the competitive environment

- impacts, changes, outcomes and expectations;
- understanding of Hilmer/application in the context of transport.

Current issues comment

- CityLink
- Public Transport Competition Bill
- other

Description/analysis of the service

- route, frequency;
- arrangements with other organisations re stock & maintenance;
- staffing arrangements & structure – place of women;
- funding arrangements, eg. general and fares;
- most profitable leg of journey;
- age of stock;
- record keeping: customer satisfaction, number of commuters, government requirements re statistics;
- changes from old service : nature and extent; difference between public and private sector provision;
- issues with service - specific and general;
- fit of service with transport generally: connections & links with planners.

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